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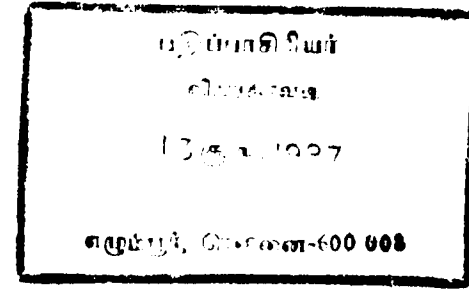


Maharashtra State

GREATER BOMBAY DISTRICT

VOLUME I

(Revised Edition)



721/87.

GREATER BOMBAY GAZETTEER

MAHARASHTRA STATE GAZETTEERS



सत्यमेव जयते

Government of Maharashtra

GREATER BOMBAY DISTRICT VOLUME I

EDITOR

K. K. CHAUDHARI, M.A.



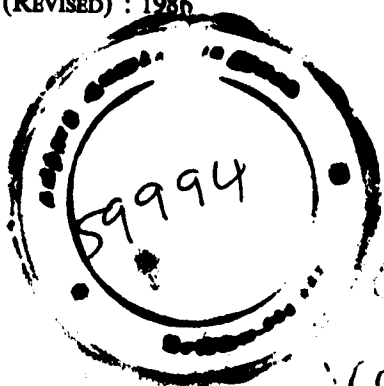
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CONTENTS

	PAGE
PREFACE	iii
MAP	
CHAPTER 1 : GENERAL	1
Geography 1 ; Geology 79 ; Climate 84 ; Forests 93 ; Wild Animals and Birds 94 ; Fish and Fisheries 99 ; Snakes 103 ; Floristic Wealth of Borivli National Park 110 ; Fauna 116.	
CHAPTER 2 : HISTORY	127
Ancient Period 127 ; Mediaeval Period 150 ; Muhammedan Period 157 ; Portuguese Period 163 ; British Period 172.	
Modern Period—	277
Educational Awakening 278 ; Growth of Political Conscious- ness 282 ; Bombay Presidency Association 298 ; University Education 304 ; Communal Upheavals 323 ; Dawn of Con- gress 327 ; Twentieth Century 345 ; Tilak's Trials 350 ; Miscellaneous Events 356 ; Swadeshi and Boycott Movement 360 ; Commerce and Industry (1825-1925) 364 ; Bombay City Improvement Trust 378 ; Bombay Congress (of 1915) 384 ; Home Rule Movement 386 ; Government Under the New Constitution 394 ; Dawn of Gandhian Era 396 ; Non- Co-operation Movement 404 ; Back Bay Scandal 434 ; Businessmen and Nationalism (1918-30) 436 ; Businessmen and Civil Disobedience 443 ; Emergence of the Communists 452 ; Re-emergence of Mahatma Gandhi 464 ; Civil Dis- obedience Movement 465 ; Congress Session (of 1934) 506 ; Economic Conditions (1933-1939) 508 ; Communist Activity (1932-1939) 514 ; Nariman Episode 524 ; Ministry Experi- ment 525 ; Outbreak of the War 532 ; Quit India Movement 543 ; Naval Mutiny 580 ; Dawn of Independence 584 ; Bombay's Relics in Repose 585 ; List of Governors of Bombay 597 ; Growth of Municipal Government 599 ; Mayors of Bombay 603 ; Succession List of Vice-Chancellors of the University of Bombay 606 ; References (for Modern Period) 609.	

	PAGE
CHAPTER 3 : THE PEOPLE	619
Introduction 619; Population 621; Hinduism 628; Lingayats 629; Jains 629; Religious Practices (Hindus) 630; Varkari Cult 634; Animistic Beliefs and Superstitions 635; Muslims 636; Christians 641; Bene Israels 642; Parsees 646; Hindu Customs 651; Religious Festivals 673; Fairs 717; Food 728; Dress 731; Ornaments 733; Games, Sports and Amusements 735; Table 743.	
A NOTE ON INSCRIPTIONS IN BOMBAY ..	751
BIBLIOGRAPHY	753
PLATES	761
INDEX	777



PREFACE

I consider it my proud privilege and a matter of great delight to publish this volume of the veritable cyclopaedic *Greater Bombay District Gazetteer*, which is being brought out in three volumes in the revised edition of *Gazetteers*. Although a *Gazetteer* literally means only a geographical index or a geographical dictionary, the scope of this revised edition is much wider and deeper. It is well-nigh a monumental work, contain as it does the most authentic and exhaustive narration of several aspects of life in a historical perspective. It can truthfully be said that the major portion in the present volume has the impress of profound scholarship. I can also veritably say that the scholarly narration of the history of Modern Bombay furnished in the part on Modern Period (Chapter 2) is a valuable contribution to learning. Bombay has been a subject of interest of many research scholars from India and abroad. Many of them have conducted research on a few aspects of the history of Bombay. Many of those studies are really meritorious. But hardly any one of the historians has published a book covering the period from the dawn of the Gandhian Era, which is probably the Golden Era in the history of India. The portion on History—Modern Period in this volume has filled up this gap in the knowledge on Bombay by furnishing a connected account from the eighteen thirties to the dawn of Independence.

The Bombay Island, or rather the cluster of islands, is supposed to have been the 'Heptanesia' of the Greek cosmographer Ptolemy. It is a 'City of Gold' of Gillian Tindall, but more truthfully it is a 'World City'. Bombay is originally a 'half-caste offspring of London', but most of

it is a real Indian town with an oriental opulence. Bombay, the *urb prima indis*, contains not just many different social worlds but whole solar systems of different societies moving separately and intricately over the same territory. The city, through the last 300 years, attracted people of so many races and languages from different parts of India and abroad.

Bombay, the capital of Maharashtra but the commercial capital of India, accounts for over 40 per cent of India's maritime trade passing through its docks. It developed as a manufacturing city like Manchester, Bradford and London in the nineteenth century. But unlike these cities, the unrestricted growth of Bombay continues and continues. The population of London has been slightly falling for decades. But the population of Bombay has nearly quadrupled in the last about four decades, and the density, at over one lakh per square mile, is one of the highest in the world. Thousands come here for seeking means of livelihood, life itself in an escape from the near-static poverty of India's rural heartlands.

The physical history of Bombay is the history of what one commentator (in *The Times*) called in the nineteen thirties "the great epic of reclamation which has been in process for two-and-a-half centuries, and of which the end is not yet in sight". Even today it is still merrily continuing. The seven original islands, the rocky skeleton of the one island into which they have been fused, accounted for well under half the present land surface. The city is further engulfing older villages and suburban settlements, driving back the palm trees, smothering the old pleasant bungalows with the fumes from chemical factories, scattering the shores of creeks with shanty-towns and polluting the entire environment with human existence at its poorest.

Although many believe that Bombay has no early history apart from the history of the surrounding region, the cluster

of seven islands was inhabited as early as the Stone Age. The antiquity of Kanheri, a great Buddhist centre with a rich cultural heritage, takes us to Bombay's rich past. The Aryans, the ancestors of the Maharattas, held sway in this part of India from the third to the thirteenth century, and power passed into the hands of Muslim invaders from Gujarat. The Muslim rule lasted from 1348 to 1534, after which Bahadur Shah, Sultan of Gujarat, ceded to the Portuguese the areas around Bassein and Bombay. By the marriage treaty between Charles II of Great Britain and Catherine Braganza of Portugal, the port and islands of Bombay were gifted to the British Crown, and they came into British possession in 1665. This was the first landmark in the history of this city.

The Modern Period in the history of Bombay may be said to have dawned in the eighteen thirties. Several momentous developments caused the emergence of a prosperous, modern and progressive city. The dawn of this most significant epoch was closely related to the rise of the intelligentsia and spread of Western education in the city. Establishment of the Bombay Association, and later, the Bombay Presidency Association gave birth to an upsurge in political and social awakening. The metamorphosis of the vibrantly progressive modern Bombay could undoubtedly be attributed to the collaborated efforts of the enlightened citizens, the intelligentsia and the dedicated Governors which Bombay was fortunate to have. Men of rare political sagacity and social reformers of great vision, like Jagannath Shankarshet, Bhau Daji Lad, Balshastri Jambhekar, John Wilson, Jamshetji Jijibhai, Dadabhai Naoroji, Cowasji Jehangir Readymoney, Naoroji Furdunji, Framji Cowasji, Mangaldas Nathubhai, Premchand Raichand, Goculdas Tejpal, Muhammad Ibrahim Mukba, Mahomed Ali Roghay, Mountstuart Elphinstone, Viscount Falkland, Lord Elphinstone, Bartle Frere, Alexander Grant and Erskine Perry, were the principal

makers of Bombay. The next generation of great luminaries and leaders of Bombay comprised Pherozeshah Mehta, K. T. Telang, Badruddin Tyabji, R. M. Sayani, V. N. Mandlik and Dinshaw Edulji Wacha.

The Bombay and Pune politicians provided a nucleus of national leadership right upto the emergence of Mahatma Gandhi. The embryo of nationalism developed from these cities. Bombay was rightly honoured by the first Congress session, and six sons of the city were elevated to the Congress Presidentship at eight Congress sessions. Gandhiji found in Bombay a congenial home for his satyagraha movements. It was here that he inaugurated his Non-Co-operation Movement, and offered a powerful form of peaceful resistance against the mighty power on Earth.

Bombay wrote patriotic poetry with its blood during the Civil Disobedience Movement. Her illustrious role in the salt satyagraha and boycott movement was a model for the rest of India. Bombay's enthusiasm was unique, and not bettered in any other part of India or at any other time, except perhaps in 1942-44. It is remarkable that throughout the Gandhian movement the Bombay industrialists were overwhelmingly in favour of economic nationalism, while the businessmen were quite consistently nationalists of the first order.

It was again Bombay which gave birth to "Quit India", and played its role as the nerve centre of the movement all over India. The very last British troops to leave India in 1947 marched through the Gateway of India to their ships home. They bade farewell from where they had entered. The British made history in Bombay. They gave her birth, nurtured her to bloom into a World City and left her when she no longer needed them.

The history of Bombay—Modern Period is based on exhaustive documentation work and the most authentic primary and reputed secondary sources. It was a proud privilege of the author of this portion to draw profusely from innumerable secret Government and Police files which

are otherwise inaccessible to other historians. Needless to say that it involved an enormous task and perseverance, but it ensured a high standard of precision, reliability, objectivity and thoroughness.

The portions on geography, urban landscape, relief and morphology, customs, rituals and the account of the various castes and communities bear an impress of great scholarship. Stupendous efforts, involving laborious and time-consuming processes were needed for the production of this work which has necessarily to maintain a high standard. The history of the city during the Muhammadan, the Portuguese and the British Periods is based on the narrative furnished in Volume II of the celebrated *Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island* edited by S. M. Edwardes (1909). The obvious reason is that the worth of that scholarly work has not diminished by the mere passage of time.

The above paragraphs would give a fairly clear idea about the contents of the present volume. The subjects dealt with in this volume were included in Volume I and Volume II of the *Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island* (1909) edited by Mr. S. M. Edwardes, and the *Thana District Gazetteer* of 1882 edited by Mr. James M. Campbell. The present revised volume follows an entirely different scheme of treatment and emphasis, which is probably more systematic and objective than the corresponding old Gazetteers of 1909 and 1882. The history of freedom movement, covered in the portion on Modern Period, is totally a new addition.

The entire write-up of the present volume, except a few pages in Chapter 1, has been contributed by esteemed research scholars in the field, as mentioned below. They have perseveringly strived for attaining a high standard, although we are quite aware of the shortcomings and constraints imposed by circumstances.

The revised *Greater Bombay District Gazetteer*, as said earlier, is being published in three volumes which together would contain about 2,375 pages in 19 Chapters. Volume I (the present one) contains Chapters 1 to 3, Volume II

contains Chapters 4 to 9, while Volume III covers Chapters 10 to 19. The chapter headings are given on the pattern prescribed by the Government of India. There are, however, immense and far-reaching deviations from the Central Pattern, both as regards the comprehensiveness and depth of treatment given to each subject. The deviations are inevitable due to the importance of Bombay as the nerve centre and the commercial capital of India, and her pre-eminence in the history of India's struggle for freedom. The *Gazetteer of Bombay* has to be worthy of this Great City. It has, therefore, been incumbent upon us to deviate from the scheme of the Government of India which envisaged publication of each District Gazetteer in a single volume. The entire write-up of about 2,375 pages would have been too bulky for a single volume, and hence its division into three handy volumes.

I must avail myself of this opportunity to state that a good deal of information pertaining to some of the subjects in this volume has been furnished more at length in Volume II and also in Volume III of this revised Gazetteer. A comprehensive history of Industrialisation, Trade and Commerce, Communications, Economic Development and Agriculture is furnished in Volume II, while Volume III includes the account of public administration, education, public life, journalism, voluntary social service organisations, theatre, and archaeology and objects of interest in Bombay. The readers would certainly be benefited by referring to these sections in the respective volumes.

I owe a great debt of gratitude to the scholar contributors of the present volume, namely, Prof. B. Arunachalam (Geography), the late Dr. V. V. Mirashi (History—Ancient Period), Dr. B. G. Kunte (History—Mediaeval Period, Muhammadan Period, Portuguese Period and British Period), Shri K. K. Chaudhari, myself (History—Modern Period), and Shri T. V. Parvate (The People). This monumental work on Bombay would not have been possible but for their contributions.

My study of History—Modern Period would have been rather impossible for me if that copious documentation was not available in the Gazetteers Department, the Maharashtra State Archives, Bombay Police Commissioner's Office and the Asiatic Society Library. My foremost thanks are due to Dr. L. B. Keny for his generous academic advice and for undertaking the laborious task of scrutiny of my manuscript of History—Modern Period, which work was entrusted to him by the Government of Maharashtra due to the absence of the Maharashtra Gazetteers Editorial Board at that time. I also owe my gratitude to Shri B. N. Phatak, son of the illustrious Prof. N. R. Phatak, for his incidental help, generous advice and keen interest throughout my work.

Several scholars in Bombay have been generous to me with their advice and help. It may be tedious to mention their names here. But it is literally true that my work would have been difficult without the generosity of Prof. Anil C. Tikekar and Prof. P. G. Raje of the Library Department of the University of Bombay, Dr. P. M. Joshi, Shri D. B. Karnik, Prof. Jim Masselos and the late Dr. V. G. Hatakar.

I also owe my thanks to the members of the former Maharashtra District Gazetteers Editorial Board for scrutiny of the first draft of some portion in this volume. These members comprised the following distinguished men:—

- (1) Additional Chief Secretary to the Government of Maharashtra (Chairman).
- (2) Shri P. Setu Madhav Rao.
- (3) Dr. V. B. Kolte.
- (4) Dr. C. D. Deshpande.
- (5) Dr. B. R. Rairikar.
- (6) Dr. (Smt.) Sarojini Babar.
- (7) Dr. V. T. Gune.
- (8) Dr. P. N. Chopra.
- (9) Executive Editor and Secretary (Dr. B. G. Kunte).

The present members of the Editorial Board, reconstituted while the volume was under printing, have very kindly encouraged me in this work. To all these men of distinction, mentioned below, I am highly indebted :—

- (1) Additional Chief Secretary to the Government of Maharashtra (Chairman).
- (2) Shri P. Setu Madhav Rao.
- (3) Dr. C. D. Deshpande.
- (4) Dr. U. M. Pathan.
- (5) Shri D. B. Karnik.
- (6) Prof. Y. S. Mahajan.
- (7) Dr. B. L. Bhole.
- (8) Shri S. G. Suradkar.
- (9) Dr. A. P. Jamkhedkar.
- (10) Dr. P. N. Chopra.
- (11) Executive Editor and Secretary.

I shall be failing in my duty if I do not express my gratitude to Dr. P. N. Chopra, former Editor, Gazetteers Unit, Ministry of Education, Government of India, New Delhi, who has always been my guide and friend, for his prized advice and scrutiny of a part of the write-up. The Government of India have kindly paid an *ad hoc* grant for the compilation and printing of the *Greater Bombay Gazetteer*.

Several Government Offices, the Bombay Municipal Corporation, various Government Undertakings, the Vice-Chancellors of the University of Bombay and the S.N.D.T. University, the Librarians of the University of Bombay Library, the Vidhan Bhavan Library and many other libraries, numerous organisations, and scores of enlightened citizens of Bombay, have readily and unhesitatingly helped me in this work. To all of them whose names cannot be mentioned here, my thanks are due. I must also thank Dr. A. P. Jamkhedkar, Director of Archaeology, and the Director General of Information and Public Relations, Maharashtra State, for providing photographs for the volume.

I am thankful to Shri R. B. Alva, Director of Government Printing and Stationery, Shri G. D. Dhond, Deputy Director and Shri P. S. More, Manager, Government Central Press, Bombay as also other officers, not only for the fine printing of this volume but also for patiently bearing with us while we made many additions to the matter even at the proof stage. My thanks are also due to Dr. V. N. Gurav, Deputy Editor, Sarvashri M. H. Ranade (Retd.), S. K. Khilare, P. N. Narkhede, B. M. Kausal (Research Officers) and Smt. M. S. Modikhane (Research Officer then), for their assistance in the work. I am also thankful to Smt. N. S. Alwani, Sarvashri N. R. Patil, K. Z. Raut, D. J. Nawadkar, V. B. Sangrulkar, R. R. Hanwatkar and V. J. Desai (Assistant Research Officers) for their assistance in the publication of this volume. I must also thank Shri P. S. Khobrekar, Administrative Officer and other members of the staff for their association with this work.

A separate select Bibliography for History—Modern Period has been added at the end of Chapter 2, while the Bibliography for the entire volume is furnished at the end of the Volume. An interesting addition to the Volume is a Note on Inscriptions furnished in the form of an Addendum.

I hope this cyclopaedic volume will be appreciated and found highly useful by all those historians, scholars and administrators who are interested not merely in the study of History, Geography and People and Their Culture in this colourful Great City of India, but also desiring to study the biography of Bombay.

BOMBAY :
Balipratipada
3 November 1986

K. K. CHAUDHARI
Executive Editor and Secretary

GREATER BOMBAY



CHAPTER 1—GENERAL

GEOGRAPHY*

THE URBAN AGGLOMERATION OF GREATER BOMBAY IS A unique entity in the physical and cultural setting of not only Maharashtra but also the whole of India. Located on the western sea-board, overlooking the Arabian Sea and commanding the Suez Route on the world shipping ways, and backed by a productive hinterland, linked through routeways on it through the Thal and Bhor *ghats* across the Sahyadri, this giant gateway to India is the economic nucleus of Maharashtra. It is a cloister of commerce and industry, business and administration.

Bombay in India and Maharashtra: Ranked eighth in the world, Greater Bombay had a population of 5.96 millions in 1971; the population figures hover around 8.2 millions at present (1981). As the administrative capital of the State of Maharashtra, it dominates the regional scene, accounting for 11.5 per cent of its total population, 39 per cent of its urban population, nearly 75 per cent of its industrial activity and nearly two-thirds of its industrial workers. As the leading port of the country, handling slightly less than a third of the external maritime trade of India, its port functions permeate and dominate the national economy. Easily the largest industrial node, with a concentration of textiles, engineering, chemicals and drugs industries, it contributes nearly 15 per cent of the industrial income of the nation. It is also the leading banking and financial centre of the nation and accounts for about 42 per cent of its total revenue from air-borne and sea-borne trade of India and 34 per cent of the national income, accruing through income tax revenues. The rapidly fusing amalgam of the Bombay city region has turned out to be one of the biggest urban complexes of the nation. Yet this great city of Western India has risen from humble ranks, of that of a group of fishing hamlets to that of an industrial giant over the span of a few hundred years; its history of spectacular growth is not paralleled by other cities in the country.

*The section on Geography is contributed by Prof. B. Arunachalam, Geography Department, University of Bombay, Bombay.

Location, Size and Area : Greater Bombay, the smallest of the districts of Maharashtra is entirely an urban district, that has submerged in itself the former villages in the peri-urban fringe. The district extends between 18°53'N. and 19°20'N. and between 72°45'E. and 73°00'E. It has an east to west extent of about 12 km. where it is broadest, and a north-south extent of about 40 km. The district covers an area of 437.71 sq. km. that constitutes 0.14 per cent of the total area of the State of Maharashtra. The importance of the district is also apparent from the fact that the district supports a population of about 8 millions, sharing 11.5 per cent of the population of the State, which is enormously out of proportion to the size of the district.

Geographically speaking, the district entirely lies outside the mainland of Konkan in Maharashtra in a group of islands separated from the mainland by the narrow Thane creek and a somewhat wider Harbour Bay. The district at present occupies the original island group of Bombay—now practically a southward protruding peninsula of the larger Salsette—and most of the island of Salsette, with the former Trombay island appended to it in its south-east. A small part in the north of the Salsette island, however, lies in Thane district. The Salsette-Bombay island complex lies off the mouth of the Ulhas river; the estuary in the Vasai creek and the Thane creek together separate it from the mainland. Thus, the district of Greater Bombay is surrounded on three sides by the seas—by the open Arabian sea to the west and the south and the Harbour Bay and the Thane creek in the east—but, in the north, the district of Thane stretches along its boundary across the northern parts of Salsette.

Administrative Evolution : Initially the district of Bombay included only the city island. In 1920, when the Salsette taluka was divided into North Salsette and South Salsette; South Salsette consisting of 86 villages was separated from the Thane district, to constitute the newly created Bombay Suburban district. This district was made up of two talukas: Borivali with 33 villages, and Andheri with 53 villages. Thirty-three villages from the Bombay Suburban district were transferred to the Thane district in 1945; 14 of these 33 villages, required for the development of Aarey Milk Colony, were returned to Bombay Suburban district in 1946.

On the 15th April, 1950, the municipal limits of Bombay were extended to include the Andheri taluka of the Bombay Suburban district as suburban Bombay. The Borivali taluka, together with a village transferred from Thane district was also appended to Bombay when the municipal corporation limits were further extended on 1st February 1957. Thus, the Greater Bombay district, comprising the city proper and suburban areas came into being since 1957.

Present set-up : For administrative purposes, the district is at present divided into 15 wards. The area, population and density of population in the different wards are given below :—

	Ward	Area (Sq. km.)	Population in 1971	Density per hectare
City	A	11.41	1,84,104	161
	B	2.46	1,75,131	712
	C	1.78	3,12,472	1,756
	D	6.63	3,82,742	577
	E	7.41	5,28,736	714
	F	21.17	6,62,516	313
	G	17.85	8,24,677	463
	Total	68.71	30,70,378	447
Western	H	21.05	5,23,633	249
	K	47.46	5,73,693	121
	P	64.27	3,72,335	58
Eastern	R	77.56	2,35,833	30
	L	13.46	2,73,507	203
	M	54.92	3,16,371	57
	N	55.44	4,79,660	86
	T	34.84	1,25,165	36
	Total	369.00	29,00,197	78
	Greater Bombay	437.71*	59,70,575*	137

Boundaries : The district is bounded to its north by the Thane taluka of the district of the same name. Commencing from the Arabian Seashore, to the north of Gorai, a fishing village, the boundary runs eastwards reaching Manori creek, a tidal outlet, and on crossing it the boundary runs north, along the eastern shores of the creek till almost the head of the creek where it turns in a general south-easterly direction to pass north of Culvem, and then along the northern limits of the Krishnagiri National Park over the Kanheri hills, whereafter the boundary turns further southwards keeping Tulsi, Mulund and Gavanpada to its south, till the boundary meets the tidal marshes adjoining the Thane creek.

Heptanesia† : The land on which the present Greater Bombay has been built lies on what formed formerly two groups of islands, stretching

* As per the Surveyor General of India, the area of Greater Bombay Municipal Corporation is 603 km², comprising Bombay City 157 km² and Suburbs 446 km². Figures for 1981 are given in Chapter 3.

† The entire description of ancient and mediaeval Bombay is based on the old Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island, Vol. I (1909) and Sir S. M. Edwards' *Re-View of Bombay : A Retrospect* (Bombay, 1902).

southward of the Ulhas estuary. These land masses made up of a succession of volcanic lava effusions, and possibly subject to local tilting of the earth crust and sea-level changes, were an archipelago of islands lush with coconut palms and other tropical green whose presence has been recorded in history almost since the beginning of the Christian era. Known to Ptolemy in A.D. 150 as Heptanesia on the Aparanta (North Konkan) coast of India, the Bombay city group originally consisted of seven separate islands, that remained practically unaltered in configuration until the eighteenth century. The northern island group—known as the Salsette group on which the present Suburban Bombay is situated—also consisted of a similar group of seven islands, the main and the largest island lending its name to the entire group. These islands remained separate till the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Seven Islands of Bombay : The cluster of Heptanesia, the configuration of which has been fairly well reproduced in an old map of 1843, had on its southern most tip a narrow tongue of rocky land, called today Lower Colaba, that extends further south in the form of a few submerged reefs beyond the Colaba Point. Northward of this island, and in close proximity to it was a small, almost triangular island, known in later Portuguese days as the Al Omanis, or in its anglicised corruption as the Old Woman's island. To the north of the Old Woman's island, and separated from it by a fairly wide strait of considerable width at high tide was the south-eastern part of the third island, which resembles to an extent the English alphabet H. This island, the largest in the group, later came to be known as Bombaim. The western part of this island was dominated by a single ridge running roughly north-south along the length of the island in its western prong and covered by rough tropical jungles. This ridge runs down to a point—the modern Malabar Point—into the sea. The central part and the eastern part consisted of a low-lying ground, bearing tamarinds and other shrubs at intervals and menaced from the north by a rocky ridge, subsequently named as the Dongri or the hill tract. To the south of this island, adjoining the lowlands was the Back-bay, a stretch of reef guarded waters. Northward again, beyond a very narrow creek lay a smaller island, part hill, part dale whereon the *Cassia fistula* and the brab were found to flourish. This island practically uninhabited till late in history was known as Mazagaon island.

Three islands compose the northern part of this island group. The middle one, shaped like a parallelogram was a sandy desert; it was flanked on the west by a narrow and tapering stretch of rock and on the east by a straggling island, trifurcated in its northern extremity, and possessed of a broken coast line. The last mentioned island known as Parel wa, mostly covered by tamarinds in the south and prickly pears in the north-west; extensive stretches of it were entirely covered by tidal marshes. It is from

the northern tip of this island that voyages crossed the arm of the sea to enter Salsette. The parallelogram shaped, middle island, known initially as *Baradbet* (Desert island) and Nevale, and later as Mahim, was perhaps the only low, flat plain possibly an emergent sand bar on the north-western flanks, and at the entrance to a wide bay known as the Mahim Bay. This island was full of coconut groves. The seventh island lying to the south of Nevale, in between the northern prong of Bombaim and Nevale was a rocky ledge separated from Bombaim by a wide stretch of sea, that was the last to be filled up in the process of amalgamation of the seven islands into one.

In between the seven islands was a fairly wide, shallow creek, into which the seas around poured during the high tides, and flooded the low-lying stretches of all islands.

Salsette group of islands : Separating this group of island from the Salsette group was a wide bay, the Mahim Bay. Salsette, or Sashti as it is known locally in Marathi and the largest of this group, lying centrally is dominated by a central mass of hills surrounded by tidal flats. To the south-east of this island, also characterised by a central hill mass, was the Trombay island. The rest of the islands, much smaller, all lay on the western flanks of Salsette. These included Bandra, Juhu, an old linear sand bar rising just above sea level by a metre or two, Vesava, Marve, Dharavi and Rai Murdhe, all with a knoll core and fringing wave-cut platforms and sandy beaches. These islands seem to have remained separate till as late as 1808. In 1825, Col. Jervis's map shows the west coast of Salsette broken into eight large and four small islands. At the time of writing of the old *Gazetteer of Thana* (1882), these islands could be reached during low tides by walking across the tidal inlets in between, barring the island of Dharavi that had to be reached by a boat.

Of the fact that these two island groups were known to early coastal travellers along the western coast of India, there seems little doubt from the references in Ptolemy, Pliny and others, but it is doubtful and not clear whether any regular landing point existed on these islands, though some scholars have attempted to identify the port of Seymul or Cheul with modern Chembur, though not very convincingly. But the fact that ports like Sopara, Kalyan and Cheul around these islands were well known in those early dates makes it obvious that these island groups must have been known. A dynasty of the Satakarnis or Satavahanas seems to have ruled over the islands of Heptanesta and Sashti during the early Christian era (about A.D. 133 to A.D. 154), according to Dr. Bhandarkar. Later, the Rashtrakutas who held sway over Aparanta must have also held control of these islands.

Early Inhabitants of Bombay : When these islands were first inhabited is not clear and the facts are masked in history. Perhaps at the beginning

of the Christian era, or even possibly earlier, these islands came to be occupied by a dark race of people, the Kolis, who journeyed from the nearby mainland mass of Aparanta. The antiquarian interprets the Kolis as the husbandmen; some even identify them as Kulis or members of the Kul tribe. Successive waves of Koli settlers seem to have invaded and occupied the different islands of these archipelagoes, and in spite of subsequent occupation by many other settlers in later days, the Kolis have survived in these islands till today. In what localities they precisely built their scattered groups of huts is difficult to say. They undoubtedly existed in two of the southernmost islands is apparent from the fact they acquired the name of Kola-bhat or Kolaba, the Koli estates.¹ Immigrants of a later period gave the smaller of the two islands the name, the island of Al Omanis or deep sea fishermen. 'Koliwadi' hamlets exist in almost all of the islands of both the groups, as can be seen from Mandvi Koliwadi, Dongri Koliwadi, Sion Koliwadi, Mahim Koliwadi and Mori Koliwadi (Worli), Kole Kalyan in Salsette and others. The situation of these hamlets today is comparatively remote from the seashore, but originally they all appear to have been close to the shores, as most Kolis in these areas were engaged in fishing.² Further evidence of their presence is afforded by the name Cavel (in the present Dhobi Talao area), which the antiquarian derives from Kol-war or Koli hamlet. Mungabhat or Mugbhat lane on the road from Cavel to Girgaum and Khotachiwadi approximately marks the site of old Koli possessions. The Koli occupation of the fourth islet of Bombay group is witnessed by the place name Mazagaon or Machchagaon (a fishing hamlet), and the presence of a temple of Ghorupdeo or Khadakadev³ where a Koliwadi even today survives.

Place Name of Bombay: The origin of place names in the Bombay-Salsette island groups is a fascinating, though speculative study. The name Bombay itself has been of much controversy. The Englishmen of the seventeenth century believed it to be a corruption of the Portuguese Buon-Bahia (good bay) and to be proof of the attachment of the Portuguese to the island's excellent harbour. Fryer, for example, spoke in 1673 of the "Convincing denomination Bombaim quasi Boon Bay". Ovington remarked in 1689 that the island was originally called Boon Bay in the Portuguese, while Grose in 1750 refers to "Buon-Bahia, now commonly Bombaim". Dom Joao de Castro writing two centuries earlier in 1538

¹ Dr. Da Cunha : *Origin of Bombay* (p. 64).

² Interesting facts of detail regarding Koli hamlets are given in Edwardes' *Rise of Bombay*. Also Sheppard, Samuel T., *Bombay Place Names and Street Names*, gives meaningful details.

³ Dr. Cunha interprets Ghorupdeo as a stone deity; Kolis are mainly Nature and tree worshippers.

says the island was called Boa-Vida (good life), because of its beautiful groves, its game and abundance of food.

The name Bombaim is much earlier than the Portuguese period. 'Boa-Vida' and 'Buon-Bahia' are merely corruptions of an earlier Hindu name Manbai, Mambai or Mumbai. According to Gujarat histories, a Hindu chief held the islands of Mahim, Mambai and Thane in 1430. Manbai or Mambe is mentioned in the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* under the dates A.D. 1507, 1517, 1578 and 1583. Even early Europeans like Gaspar Correa and Barbosa spoke of Bombaim (1508) and Thana—Mayambu (1516). Balti speaks of Bombaim in 1583, the Dutch traveller Baldoeus of Bombaim in 1666, and Tavernier of the famous port of Bombay in 1676.

Some have derived the name from Mubarak (lucky), an Arab origin, on the ground that the island was the first to be sighted by seamen arriving from Arabia and the Persian Gulf to Sopara, Cheul, Kalyan and others. Colonel Yule believes the name to be a corruption of Mumba, while others form the name by the juxtaposition of Munga and Ai, Munga being the Koli who built the original temple of Mumbadevi. Yet others derive the name from Mumba *rakshasa*, a corruption of the tyrant Muslim chieftain Mubarak Shah who ruled over the islands and destroyed many temples. Of these derivations, Mumba appears the most probable, and must have been borrowed from the shrine of Mumbadevi, which is known to have stood near the Phansi Talao or Gallows Pond, a site now included in the enclosure of the Victoria Terminus station of the Central Railway and which was removed by about 1700 to its present site, in order to admit the completion of the Esplanade and the erection of fresh fortifications. Even today the shrine of Mumbadevi in the heart of the city is accorded greater reverence than any other shrine in the city island. Mumbadevi is the patron deity of the Kolis, and the name is believed to be a corruption of Maha Mai or Maha Amma.

Early Place Names in Bombay: The earliest place names in the Bombay island group appear to be of Koli origin; they were *koliwadis* identified in their locations by tree name or some native element, as the Kolis were essentially nature and tree worshippers. Dr. Da Cunha, reports Edwardes in his *Rise of Bombay*, derives the name Parel to the existence of 'Bignonia suaveolens' or tree—trumpet flower known locally as Padel. Apollo in the third island of Mumbai is similarly derived by him as a corruption of the name 'Pallav', the harbour of clustering shoots adjoining a rude landing place in this island, where fishermen used to land fish. Some derive it as a corruption of the *padav* meaning boat. More striking names occur all over Bombay. It was one of those tamarinds which used to abound in this main island, and which survived till the British days and the erection of the Cathedral of St. Thomas that gave the title of Amliagal (in front of the Tamarind) to the Elphinstone

Circle, and even today a Tamarind lane survives in the Esplanade. South of Dongri, on low ground were groups of brab (*tad*) palms that seem to have given the names *Sattad* (satar) or Seven-Brab Street, *Dontad* or Twin-Brab Row. Here, also close to the seashore, were tamarind trees (*chinch*—*Tamarindus indica*) that gave the name Chinch Bundar in later days. To the north-west of Dongri, there existed a plantation of *thespesia Populnea* or *bhendi*, which has given its name to the Bhendi Bazar. A little westward of this location adjoining the *khadi* (creek) along its banks were a couple of *Ficus glomerata*, or *umbar*, that has given the name Umbarkhadi or Omarkhadi. Adjoining it was boundary hamlet, the foot-wash or Pydhonie. The comparatively narrow belt of land to the last of the hills was thickly grown with plantations of various kinds like the jack (*Ariocarpus integrifolia*) groves or Phanaswadi, the plantain grove or Kelewadi, and the cluster of brabs or Tadvadi, and the *bor* (*Zizyphus jujuba*) orchard or Borbhat. Borbhat was close to the low lying fields or Khetwadi, and nearby was the shrine of the village deity (Gavdevi). Close by was Kol-war (Cavel) adjoining Phanaswadi. The probable existence of four channels of inlets of the sea near Girgaum (hill village) seems to explain Chaupatty. From the hill village, one reached the patch of the ladder or *shidi* which went up the hill. On the left of the ladder was a plantation of *acacia arabica* or *babul*, closeby was built later a shrine, the Babulnath shrine. To the north of it was a hill ridge covered with a grove of Kambal (or *kamal* or *Odina wodier*) which seems to have given the name Cumballa hill. At the northern end of the hill carrying the Kambal grove and adjoining the sea stood three shrines, those of Mahakali, Mahasaraswati and Mahalaxmi. The Worli creek, to the north of this island was called the Kshirasagara and the *khind* in the hills before it continued in the Worli island further north later got twisted as Breach Candy. There were *tad* palms flourishing below the hill of the Kambalas and was a special haunt of the *dev*; hence the name Taddeo (Tardeo).

The name Byculla also is believed to be of early Hindu origin by some scholars. It is opined that the name *Cassia fistula*, i.e., *Bhava* or *Bhaya* may have combined with the word *Khala* or level ground to give the name *Bhaykhala*. An alternative derivation is from *khala* (threshing floor) of *Bhaya*. Further north, in the extreme south the Parel island was a tamarind covered valley, Chinchpokli. North of Parel lay the boat hamlet Naigaon, or *Nyaya-gram* (court house) of the days of Bhimadev, north of which were large banian rows, *vad-ala*. The Baradbet (Nevale) island carried some coconut palms in the area called *Mad-mala* (palm avenue). The name of the seventh island also seems to be derived from banian rows, *Vad-ali* or Varali or Worli.

Just like the Bombay island group, the Salsette islands lying in between the mainland and the Bombay group must have also been occupied by

Koli fishermen and husbandmen, though possibly some of the islands on the western sea-ward front, were unoccupied. There again hamlet names like Kole Kalyan (Kalina) and Kolivari bear witness. But, between the second and sixth centuries A.D., that the main island of Salsette—a group of 66 villages as the Maratha equivalence of Sahasetta, i.e. Saheti, supported a flourishing Buddhist monastery, visited by pilgrims on the mainland, and located in the neighbourhood of Kanheri is definite. Associated with them, possible groups of people other than Kolis, must have come and settled in these islands initially and later on spread to the Bombay islands as well.

Period of Hindu Colonisation : It is almost certain that during the period of the Shilaharas, viz., between ninth and eleventh centuries when Puri or Gharapuri (i.e., the Elephanta island) was the capital, a more rapid colonisation of these islands took place, and other people started settling. *Shrigundi*, the lucky stone at the extreme edge of the promontory of Malabar Hill, 'a fancied *yoni*, of not easy access in the stormy season, incessantly surf-beaten', that was later on sanctified with a shrine by the shaivaites is believed by archaeologists to belong to this period. Some years later, the original name *Shrigundi* got transformed as *Vahuka-Ishvara* (the sand lord) or Walkeshwar. Agripada and Nagpada also seem to be hamlets of this period, though when the Agris came into the island exactly is not clear and some do believe that they entered these islands later than the Shilahara period. Kayastha Prabhus also seem to have colonised the islands during the period.

The next significant wave of colonisation seems to have hit the islands during the close of the Hindu period about the end of thirteenth century when the Hindu king Bhimadev or Bimb Raja moved with a large retinue from the mainland, settled in the northern sandy island of Baradbet and built a city, the city of Mahikavati, later corrupted as Mahi or Mahim. According to old Marathi and Persian records he seized North Konkan, made Mahikavati his capital and divided his country into 15 *mahals* comprising 1,624 villages. Baradbet—a sand desert—sparsely peopled with Koli fishermen, overgrown with *babuls*, a fine temple of Valkeshwar, and a shrine of Kalikadevi was transformed into a city of temples and palaces. Brahmins, traders and others came with Bimb Raja and developed colonies in these islands. The Prabhus or the lords, a noblesse of commerce and politics built a temple for the family deity, Prabhadevi and lived closeby. Palshikar Brahmins, Thakurs, Bhandaris (the toddy-tappers), Bhois, Agris, Vadvals or Malis and Somavanshi Kshatriyas (Pathare Prabhus) also seem to have settled in these islands during this period. The Brahman Ali or Baman Ali or Bamnoli, between Vadala and Parel, and close to Bimb Raja's *wadi* was a flourishing Brahmin settlement of the period. Place names like Thakurwadi, Bhoivada,

Gavandi all belong to this period. The name Parel itself according to many is not a corruption of Padel, but is the site of the Brahmin settlement with a temple of Parali Vajjnath Mahadev. Parel is one of the early Brahmin settlements on these islands.

Of the other early and mediaeval place names, Mandvi appears to be the local Marathi name for a custom house. Bhuleshwar earns its name from the shrine of Shiva in his form Bhola. Sion seems to be the corruption of the Marathi *seema* (limit) or *shiv*. Dharavi seems to have got its name from its site at the doors of the island. Dadar, meaning step or bridge, however, appears to be of recent origin; its earlier name in Portuguese period appears to be Salvesong. Matunga appears to have been the elephant stable of the Mahim kings. Sewri is held to derive its name from Sivawadi.

Pratap Bimb, the son of the king Bhimadev is believed to have built another city in Salsette, at the present site of Marol, and named Pratappur. The name of this city still survives as Pardapur or Parjapur, an uninhabited hamlet. Thus, towards the end of the Hindu period (*i.e.*, thirteenth century) the island groups of the Bombay and Salsette had a sizable population of fishermen, farming and gardening communities and others living in groups of hamlets scattered all over the islands in the midst of luxuriant natural vegetal cover, groves and woods, and accompanied by shrines and temples.

Muslim Period Colonisation : The succeeding Muslim period, extending till mid-sixteenth century is practically devoid of any significant imprints on the soils of the islands. Sultan Kutb-ud-din, or Mubarak Shah I, with whose suzerainty the Muslim period commences in the area, is remembered for his tyrannical rule, and demolition of shrines and temples, and won for himself immortality as the demon Mumba Rakshasa. In a subsequent period (in A.D. 1347), the Gujarat Muslim, Malik Niku appears to have invaded these islands, destroyed the cities of Pratappur and others in Salsette and Mahikavati and fought a pitched battle at Byculla with the local chieftain Nagardev in which the invaders proved victorious.

The islands seemed to have evoked little interest among the Muslim rulers who came in successive waves from Gujarat and Deccan. The period of Muslim supremacy has left behind little by way of enduring monuments. The first home of the Muslims in the area appears to be Mahim, but they seem to have subsequently migrated to the Bombay island and founded a colony on land subsequently included under the British fort. They were mainly shipmasters, *nakhodas* and sailors, and rapidly became the most influential class of Muslims in Bombay. After the great fire of 1803, many of them were settled in old Nagpada and other areas to the north-west of the Crawford (Mahatma Phule) Market, and again they were shifted to new streets, north of Pydhonie in present

Mandvi, Bhendi Bazar areas, when the British infantry lines were constructed.

The most significant monument of the period, still surviving, is the shrine of saint Makhdum Fakih Ali Paru, to the east of the old town of Mahim. The Sat-Tar mosque in Masjid, the Zakariah mosque at Khachak near Mandvi, the Ismail Habib mosque near Pydhonie are the other significant mosques of the later Muslim period.

Portuguese Period : The Portuguese paid their first visit to the Bombay islands on 21st January 1509 when they landed at Mahim after capturing a Gujarat barge in the river of Bombay; in the next two decades they seem to have prowled near the islands often and captured Muslim vessels loaded with merchandise. It was in 1528-29 when the Portuguese Governor of Goa laid siege on Mahim, belonging to the King of Cambay, that the Portuguese realised the value of the harbouring facilities of the islands during the foul monsoon weather, and gave the name ' *a ilha da boa vida* ' (the island of the good life) to these islands ' as they had abundant food, refreshment and enjoyment which they needed '. In 1530-31 Nuno da Cunha, the Governor of Goa, collected a large fleet of 400 vessels, held a grand naval display in the harbour of Bombay, and a general parade of all his forces upon the plain (known later as the Esplanade, and now covered by the *maidans* in the Fort area). In 1532, he finally took the City of Bassein together with Thane, Bandra, Mahim and Bombay. In 1534, under the treaty of Bassein, Sultan Bahadur Shah of Gujarat bequeathed to the king of Portugal, ' the city of Bassein, and its territories, islands and seas with all its revenues '. This was later confirmed by a treaty of peace and commerce on 25th October 1535.

The Portuguese inherited from Sultan Bahadur Shah a feudal system of tenure, that prevailed throughout the Portuguese period. Under this system, the land of these islands was divided into manors, the land being granted to deserving persons at a nominal rent of 4 per cent to 10 per cent and the leases being renewable annually, triennially or even over a generation. For distinguished services the Jesuits (churches) were given lands in perpetuity. In return, they were called upon to render military service at hours of need.

In the general distribution of estates, that occurred after A.D. 1534, a third of Heptanesia, the island of Bombaim was let to one Mestre Diego as tenant for an annual quit-rent of 1,432½ pesodos (about £ 85 sterling); similarly the *kasba* of Mahim, and Mandvi or custom house of Mahim, the island of Mazagaon and the four villages of Parel, Vādala, Sion and Worli were all rented. The rent value of these islands increased considerably year to year, subsequent to this acquisition by the Portuguese. Under the English in early eighteenth century, the total revenue of the seven islands of Bombay alone amounted to about 26,000 pesodos.

According to the early accounts of the Portuguese period like those of Sir James Campbell, and Antonio Bocarro, a 'Quinta' or Manor House was built by the Portuguese sometime between A.D. 1528 and A.D. 1626 on the spot, where the arsenal used to stand (now Naval offices) behind the present Town Hall. This nucleus of Portuguese administration was set in a park with pleasure grounds, at the *kasba* of Bombaim, the principal seat of the island, near the little fort. In 1626, this manor house was described by a English navigator David Davies 'as a combined warehouse, priory and fort'. The islands produced a variety of tropical fruits like mango apart from cocoanuts and rice, especially in the northern island of Mahim. Mazagaon and Sion were noted for their salt-pans and the numerous Koli settlements were responsible for a large supply of fish.

During this period, Bombay was composed of several villages subordinate to two *kasbas* at which customs duties were levied. These villages were Mahim, Parel, Vadala and Sion under the *kasba* of Mahim and Mazagaon, Bombaim and Worli under the *kasba* of Bombaim. In addition, there were smaller settlements like Cavel, Kolbhat, Naigaon, Dongri and others. The *kasba* of Bombaim was not very populous, having a few Portuguese settlers, Kolis and Bhandaris and very small community of Moors who were sea traders. Some Kunbis and Agris who cultivated the fields and the Malis who tended the orchards were also living in the islands. The northern islands had more of the Prabhus, the Brahmins, the Banias and the Parsis, apart from the Kolis and Bhandaris.

This was also the period during which the religious order expanded their activities rapidly. Besides converting some ten thousands of natives in Vassei, Thane, Mandapeshwar and neighbouring localities, the Franciscans built the well-known church of St. Michael between 1510 and 1535 at the north end of the present Lady Jamshedji Road in Mahim, adjacent to the Collector's bungalow at that time. By about 1570, the building of the church of St. Andrew at Bandora had started. Both Franciscans and Jesuits vied with each other in converting the local communities to Christianity and building churches. Thus a chapel dedicated to 'Nossa Senhora de Bom Conselho' at Sion and the church of Lady of Salvation at Dadar were built in 1596. Three chapels affiliated to the Dadar church were built at Parel, Worli and Matunga. It was the Parel chapel that later in the British days served as the old Government House, and was finally transformed into the Haffkine Institute. By 1585, the Franciscans were in charge of Mandapeshwar, Mahim, Bombay, Karanja, Mount Calvary and Agashi. The church of Our Lady of Hope was also built in the Esplanade area to serve the Cavel parishioners. These ecclesiastics earned large revenues, founded a college at Bandra and lived in great comforts. Yet, one island, Mazagaon, escaped absorption by both the Jesuits and Franciscans, being in possession of the De Souza family

and its descendants by a royal patent of the king of Portugal. Apart from this island everywhere else, the landed property had fallen by the end of the sixteenth century into the hands of religious orders. The Jesuits owned the largest number of shrines and lease of land almost entirely the northern islands and as far south as Byoulla. They wielded considerable influence, but their ill-advised actions not only retarded the growth of population and trade, but were a source of danger to the Portuguese. They persistently destroyed Hindu temples and Muslim mosques and were the cause of unrest and flight of people, who were thus alienated and provoked to reprisals, like the event of December, 1570 at Thane when Malabar pirates plundered the town and stole the great bell of the cathedral. The old temple of Walkeshwar had been cast down; the shrines of Mahalaxmi and her sisters had for the time being disappeared, the goddesses waiting in concealment. The Archbishop of Goa in A.D. 1629 reported to the King of Portugal that the greatest enemies to the State in India were her own people; and among the enemies of Portugal from within, none probably did greater harm to the State of India than the Jesuits. The local Jesuits had gone that far as to usurp from the state the royal jurisdiction and revenues. They openly neglected the king's mandates and thus paved the way for an advance of European rival powers. The obvious results were the declining trade, a fall in revenues and taxes; the population hovered around ten thousands at this period.

Beginning of the British Period : In spite of their poverty, the innate natural advantages of the island group aroused the interests of the British who recognised their value as a naval base, south of Surat. It was for this reason that they fought the battle of Swally in 1614-15, landed in Bombaim and burnt the Manor House in 1626. In 1652 the Surat Council urged the purchase of Bombay islands from the Portuguese. However, it was on the 23rd of June 1661, when the marriage treaty between Charles II and the Infanta Catherine of Portugal was signed that the port and island of Bombay with all the rights, profits, territories and appendages whatsoever thereunto belonging were handed over to the king of Great Britain, his heirs and successors for ever. This memorable event was the prelude to the emergence of Heptanesia from negligence and poverty to its state of opulence and splendour as the queen city of Western India. In order to take possession of the fishing villages, Charles II despatched to Bombay in 1662 a fleet of five men of war under the command of the Earl of Marlborough, but on the latter's arrival he found that the Portuguese authorities though willing to transfer the island of Bombay were by no means disposed to part with Salsette, Karanja and other dependencies. It was only on 18th February 1665 that Humphrey Cooke, the first British Governor, took actual possession of the island without any of

its dependencies, that were added to the English only subsequently by the commission appointed to resolve the Anglo-Portuguese differences. However, it is worth observing that Antonio de Mello de Castro, the Viceroy of Goa, at the time did remark that in the cession of the island he foresaw 'the great troubles that from this neighbourhood will result to the Portuguese; and that India will be lost on the same day in which the English nation is settled in Bombay'. He fully recognised the possibilities of greatness that 'the inconsiderableness of the place of Bombaim' offered in the days to come; his appeals to the Portuguese king were of little avail.

Bombay in 1664: Dr. John Fryer's account of *Bombay in 1664* published in 1698 at London gives a realistic account of the island during the early years of the British occupation. To quote the words of Fryer, 'the chief feature of the island proper was a pretty well-seated, but ill-fortified house', situated within the present site of the Town Hall. About the house was a delicate garden and to the south-west of the house and the garden was an open ground, the Esplanade of the later days merging into plantations of coconut trees stretching in an unbroken line upto the Malabar hills on top of which was a Parsi tomb. Scattered among the palms were the small villages of Cavel, Kalikadevi or Kalbadevi, the hill village of Girgaum, composed for the most part of tiled, palm-roofed huts, though here and there might be seen a few better class dwellings, tiled and glazed with oyster shells. Southward of the house lay the parish of Polo-Apollo of the later days, with a few huts overlooking the islet of little Colaba. To the north of the house were a few dwellings, a Mandovim or custom house (later corrupted into Mandvi), the present area to which the custom house was later shifted. Further north was Dongri, with the fishermen's hamlets adjoining the Umarchadi.

The most important of the dependencies of the island was Mazagaon, a fishing town, that formed part of a larger and rich Manor. The Manekji Naoroji Hill of Dongri and Worli were part of this estate. The Franciscans possessed a church and a monastery here; the Portuguese also owned houses. Hamlets of Bhandaris and Kolis with the shrine Ghorupdeo (to the north of Byculla) were also seated in this island.

North of Mazagaon lay the lands and village of Parel, with a large Jesuit church, that in later days became the old Government House. The island of Worli does not find much mention in Fryer's account except for a reference to a small fort and fishing hamlets in it.

These islands supported a few Portuguese families, the 'landed gentry' of Bombay, Indo-Portuguese, native converts to Christianity living mainly in Cavel, Mazagaon and Parel, the Brahmins of Bandra, Parsis, Kumbis and Agris of Parel and Sion, the Kolis and the Bhandaris scattered all over, and the Prabhus of Mahim.

The period till 1675 saw a rapid rise of the population of the islands as ceded to Bombay, i.e., Mahim to Colaba, from 10,000 to 60,000. After a rapid succession of three Governors between 1665 and 1668 and a heavy increase in financial burden in the administration of Bombay by Letters of Patent issued on 27th March 1668, Charles II handed over the island to the East India Company for an annual rental of £ 10 in gold, payable on 30th September of every year.

When Cooke was Governor, he had built a fort, with 100 guns mounted thereon, around the old Manor House. In 1668, the court of directors ordered that the castle be enlarged and strengthened. These defensive precautions were of great utility to the Government when a Dutch fleet arrived off Bombay in 1673 with the intention of taking it by surprise. Yet, this was a period of steady growth and increase in population, for a number of reasons; the attraction to the island of merchants, so as to be free from the harassment of the Portuguese in the adjoining Vasai; the taking over of Mahim from the Portuguese together with Sion, Dharavi and Wadala; the strengthening of the garrison; and the encouragement given to the native settlers from the mainland and the declaration by Gerald Aungier, the governor who took over in 1669, that most of the lands were the property of private individuals and could not therefore, be considered as the property of the Crown or the Company.

Period of Gerald Aungier: It was General Aungier who took measures against the foes of his own household, established English law annulling all Portuguese rites and customs of law, created a court of judicature, marked out streets and erected buildings, warehouses, and a hospital all within the fortifications to make the island the most pleasant spot in India. He established a mint, and founded a system of caste representation by which delegates of different groups of people and interests could meet him. Thus, in less than a decade, he transformed the island of fishermen and *toddy* tappers into a thriving town of craftsmen, merchants and industrialists.

The islet of Colaba was annexed in Aungier's period to Bombay for reasons of security and defence, and the whole island group was divided into two precincts—Bombay and Mahim—for administration of law and justice. Arrangements were made for constant and secure supply of provisions, for strict supervision of shops and for a system of set prices. The utmost latitude of trade was permitted to weavers of cotton and silk, and freedom was granted for practice of all religions.

1675 to 1718: The next period from 1675 to 1718 was one which saw a rapid decline in the prosperity, and the population of Bombay dwindled from 60,000 to 16,000. The death of Aungier in 1675 was the prelude to a period of gloom and depression. It was a period that witnessed 'sedition

and strife, immorality, unhealthiness, and anarchy at home, and invasion, piracy and arrogance abroad. The climatic conditions of the island were so deadly that by 1689 it seemed no more than a parish graveyard. The visitations of plague between 1686 and 1696 took a heavy toll in life. Malaria was rampant, thanks to the extensive tidal marshes, that were getting rapidly silted, to the accompaniment of a putrid smell of dying fish. The careless life led by the Europeans was no mean reason to add to this situation. 'Luxury, immodesty and a prostitute dissolution of manners contributed to the Europeans dying like flies under the tropical humid climate'. Trade rivalries and dissensions brought considerable strife to living in the island. Added to the disorder, were external troubles due to repeated raids and acts of violence from the Siddis operating from Janjira near Murud, till they evacuated in 1690, under the promulgation of an order from Aurangzeb, the continued harassment to the island traders by the Portuguese at Thane and Karanja, piracy in the open sea by the Arabs and Malabar and the hostility of Shivaji and his successors in the mainland. There were fresh French alarms as well.

1718 to 1744 : The period 1718 to 1744 is characterised by quiet and steady progress and by the gradual restitution of the population which the troubles of preceding years had driven away from the island. Niebuhr states that the population of Bombay in 1744 numbered 70,000. This restoration took place in spite of the continued threat of external aggression by the Portuguese and the Siddis (who of course were on the decline). Angres and the Maratha power were at the very zenith. This was partly due to the policy of the East India Company during the period to hold aloof from hostilities, and to keep good terms with the Marathas on the issue of Salsette, especially after the fall of the Portuguese power from Vasai in 1739. Slowly, but surely, the company was exchanging the role of a purely mercantile community for that of a great political power, as it directed the affairs of the warehouse and guided the path to conquest and omnipotence. The internal security was also improved. A commodious lodge was built for the troops at Sion, the fortifications were strengthened and a ditch was formed round the town wall through donations from the business community, and a powder mill was constructed on the Old Woman's island. The dockyard was extended, and marine troops established. Internal administration too improved with the creation of a Mayor's Court, and construction of the country gaol in Dongri fort. Trade was encouraged with the establishment of a bank in 1720, and new trade contracts with China were developing on the distant horizon. Reclamation of land that indirectly caused the death of many in the immediate past, was taken up in earnest. A causeway was built from Sion to Mahim on the salt ground, and Captain Bate's scheme for stopping the Great (Mahalakshmi-Love Grove) Breach was approved

and measures initiated to fill the breach as soon as possible; the work however, was stopped in 1727.

By the year 1730, the population began to outgrow the limits of the Fort, and the value of breach stopping and reclamation fully realised. The Mahim to Salsette ferry boat service was re-established in 1730 and brought in a large number of people from Salsette to settle in these islands. An important land measure was effected to stop the use of fish manure on grounds of health.

The greatly improved living conditions in the island and the vastly increased population are reflected in the following description of 1742, as reported in S. M. Edwardes' *Rise of Bombay* :—

To the extreme south lies the point called Kolo (Kolaba) with a few scattered houses, and next to it Old Woman's island, upon which some houses and a gunpowder mill have been erected. Across the strait, lies the old Apollo parish and the Esplanade; the latter not greatly altered save that its palms have been trimmed, the former still remarkable for its burial ground, Mendham's Point. From the burial ground, the traveller reaches the Ditch and the Appollo Gate entering the latter and plodding northward, he marks on his right hand the Royal Bastion and beyond them, the Marine yard and Docks; on his left, lies a jumbled mass of dwellings and shops, stretching from the road, westward to the Town Hall; he leaves on his right hand, the Hospital and Doctor's house, the House of the Superintendent of the Marine, the marine storehouse and the Company's warehouses, and pauses not till he stands in the midst of a large tree-dotted space, the old Bombay Green. Immediately to the westward, he sees the church, St. Thomas Cathedral, and letting the eye wander past it, catches a glimpse of the great Churchgate situated where the modern Flora Fountain (the Hutatma Chowk), stands at present and the bridge over the Town Ditch. On his right, at the most easterly point, stands the Fort proper, with its Flag Staff Bastions, Tank Bastion and the house of the Governor. Northward, he passes across the Green, leaving on his right the Mint, the Tank House, the Town Barracks, and the Custom House, the latter two buildings being directly on the water's edge, and sees directly in his path a foundry and smith's shops. These form the southern limit of the Bazar Gate Street, up which he wanders, past "Mapla Por", past shops, godowns and the dwellings of natives, past all the cross lanes and side alleys, which intersect the native town on either side of Bazar Gate street from Town hall to Town wall, and finally arrives at the Bazar Gate, which is the most northerly entrance of the Town.

Two modern sections of Fort North and Fort South practically comprise the ground included within the old Town wall, though the

total area has been increased by reclamation on the sea-ward side. From the Castle one looked across to the Island of Patecas (the Butcher's island), also well fortified.

North of the Bazar Gate were more native houses, oarts, and the Dongri Fort, erstwhile a prison, and transformed into a fortress once again in 1739. Thence, one looked across a wide expanse of low-lying ground to Malabar Hill. On the Back Bay side of the intervening ground are the great palm groves, oarts and villages, which were noticed in earlier years; and northward of them is new land, reclaimed from the sea by the Love Grove Dam. The latter had not entirely sufficed to shut out the ocean; that benefit was effected later by the building of the Vellard, but there was a larger area available now for cultivation. The higher portions of the ground, thus reclaimed must have shown signs of habitation by the year 1744. The people were beginning to build houses in areas now comprised in Chakala, Oomarkhadi, Mandvi and Bhuleshwar sections. The works at Mahalakshmi had by 1744 left the Oomarkhadi and Pydhonie high and dry. It was not a long walk from Mazagaon to the village of Parel, with its hamlets Bhoiwada, Pomalia and Salgado, and thence one wandered to Wadala, divided into Aivadi and Goyadi and formerly owned by the Jesuits of Agra. In Sewri and Wadala, there were salt pans belonging to the Company, as also at Raoli; while the village of Matunga or Matuquem was entirely devoted to rice cultivation. The *Kasba* of Mahim contained 70,000 cocones palms.

To protect the island there were in existence at the end of this period the Great Fort with bastions and town wall, the Mazagaon and Dongri forts, the fort of Sewri on the shore, in front of the Salsette village of Maula, the small tower at Sion facing Kurla, the triple-bastioned fortress of Mahim on the shore in front of Bandra and the fort of Worli, on the high point, facing the Chapel of Our Lady of the Mount.

1744 to 1764 : The period 1744 to 1764 saw a further rise in population to about 80 to 85 thousands, though some estimates put it much higher. The political events of the period, the hostility of France, Holland and Spain, the insolence and final overthrow of Angria, and the close proximity of the Marathas resulted directly in the strengthening of fortifications and an increase of sea-power. In 1746, the dock pier-head was enlarged. The cavalier bastion of the castle was raised 16 ft. and more guns mounted. The parapets of the face and flank towards the sea on the Flag Staff Bastion were fixed with brick and masonry. The dock walls were extended, and the Dongri fort partially dismantled on the ground that it was in dangerous proximity to the town. Additions were made to the fleet in 1752. Three new docks were completed, replacing the old mud basin.

The growing defence and security of the island, and orderly progress of affairs added an incentive to immigration, afforded by a prospect of protection to trade. Proper spaces of ground to such of the inhabitants as may be included to build in the town were allotted. In 1750, Groves refers to the houses of black merchants, situated in the town, which are about a mile in circuit. Most of these merchant's houses were ill-built, with small window-lights and ill-arranged rooms. Several of the inhabitants had made encroachments on high roads by erecting buildings and sheds without licence. In 1754, the Governing Council thought it proper to pull down all palm leafed-sheds and pent-houses, and issued directives that no houses, wall compounds, sheds be erected within the town wall without a certificate from the Council. So numerous were the houses in the native town that many of them had eventually to be removed and rebuilt outside the town walls. The Apollo Gate area was cleared and the town was slowly improved by distributing the population over a wider area, rendered habitable by reclamation. Thus, a new town was growing northwards of the town wall, flanked by the partly demolished Dongri fort and the village of Girgaum and houses set in gardens along the Back Bay. New roads and burial grounds were also opened up. A road from Parel to Sion and from Churchgate to the Black Town, with a branch leading to the new burial ground for Europeans at Sonapur, set in a cocoanut garden, were built. Even Europeans started moving outside the fortified town. Mr. Whitehill had his Villa Nova in Mahim and the Governor his country house in Parel.

Even at the end of this period, Colaba and Old Woman's island remained separate. The other islands could be reached from each other during the low tides.

1765 to 1780 : The next few years saw the emergence of the Company as a political power and no more a mercantile community with limited trade ambitions. Population had further increased by 1780 to 1,13,726. At this stage Bombay Government offered to assist Raghunathrao Peshwa in securing throne provided that he would cede to the British. Broach, Jambusar and Olpad, Vasai and its dependencies, the whole island of Salsette and the island of Karanja, Khanderi, Elephanta, and Hog island. This was with the obvious intent of securing the principal trading inlet to the Maratha country for the English woollens and other commodities. When in 1774, the Portuguese intentions of recovering the dominions that they formerly possessed north of Bombay, became clear, the Company came out in the open to sign a treaty of alliance with Raghoba and commenced the first Maratha war by invading Salsette and laying siege to Thane. Thane was taken by storm, Salsette and the smaller islands were occupied. Although this treaty with Raghoba was annulled by the Governor General Warren Hastings, Salsette,

Elephanta, Hog island and Karanja continued to remain British possessions; in fact a further treaty with Raghoba in 1778 by Bombay's Governor, Hornby, brought in further additions of Vasai, Khanderi and other islands. A little after, Salsette and some islands were lost to the Marathas but were restored to them in 1780 by the Treaty of Salbye. All this military activity brought in its wake further strengthening of the island's defences. The garrison was strengthened, a marine battalion established, and troops posted on Salsette to garrison Thane. The fort and castle were again surveyed and faces raised. The outforts at Sion and Raoli were also made impregnable. Dongri fort was finally blown up in 1769, and a new fortress, the Fort St. George, was commenced in the following year. A new dock was also built in 1769 at Mazagaon.

The new political prestige that the Company acquired helped in further promotion of trade and influx of the trade community from the Maratha land. Internal administration showed further progress. Communications were improved between Thane and Bombay by a ferry service in 1776. In 1772, an accurate survey of the whole island was initiated. The year 1770 marks also the commencement of cotton trade with China.

The aspect of the town within the Fort started undergoing a gradual alteration. As there was a great want of room within the Town walls for Europeans to build, and as the Church street was found to be the most proper, the shops to the south of Church street were removed to the Bazar and small houses between the Church and Bazar Gate demolished. A new town began to rise to the north of the Bazar Gate. The Esplanade underwent considerable alteration being levelled and cleared of all buildings. Barracks for the Europeans were built on the Old Woman's island and the old powder house on it removed and replaced by the new powder works at Mazagaon. Perhaps the most remarkable alteration in the aspect of the island was the construction of the Hornby Vellard (Vellard in Portuguese means a fence) between Breach Candy or the beach beside the *khind* or the pass and Worli.

Parsons who visited the island in 1775 speak of the town being nearly a mile in length from Apollo Gate to that of the Bazar and about a quarter of a mile broad in the broadest part from the Bundar across the Green to Churchgate. The streets were well laid out and the buildings so numerous and handsome as to make it an elegant town. The Esplanade was very extensive and as smooth and even as bowling green. Forbes in 1778 speaks of the principal town of Bombay and of a smaller town called Mahim. He remarks that "the island of Bombay should no longer be considered a settlement or a separate colony but as the metropolis surrounded indeed by a large moat of an extensive domain."

1781 to 1814 : By 1782 the outposts of Bombay had advanced as far as Thane, and the Bombay Government could claim the sovereignty

of all the islands in the Ulhas estuary from Vasai to Colaba. Justice and internal administration tremendously improved and endeavour was afoot to preserve the health and growth of the town. Vaccination for the first time was introduced and was responsible for the abatement of smallpox. Regular postal communication with Madras was established by 1788.

By the turn of the century, encroachments within the walls of the town had become so numerous that the Black town was as fully congested as the native town and the streets, lanes and gullies were in a hopeless state of disrepair. The whole area was so filthy and nasty that the Government was seriously concerned and contemplated imposing penalties on the households for not keeping their street frontages clean. Expansion and improvement was a dire necessity. An opportunity of introducing wider and more regular streets and of removing congested localities presented itself almost unexpected, when a great fire broke out in the north of the town during the day on 17th February 1803. Jonathan Duncan said, "So great and violent was the conflagration, that at sunset, the destruction of every house in the Fort was apprehended. The flames directed their course in a south-easterly direction from that part of the bazar opposite to the Cumberland Ravelin quite down to the King's barracks. During the whole of the day, every effort was used to oppose its progress, but the fierceness of the fire driven rapidly on by the wind baffled all attempts; nor did it visibly abate till nearly a third part of the town within the walls had been consumed." Altogether 471 houses were destroyed, 5 of Europeans, 231 of Hindus, 141 of Parsis, 83 of Muslims, and 6 places of worship and 5 barracks. Many more houses had to be dismantled, having been rendered dangerous. The real importance of the fire lay not so much in the improvement of the town within the Fort walls as in the inducement it offered to the construction of a new town outside. New sites were selected, Custom House was closed and pressure was built on the old residents of the Fort to shift to the new sites so that the accommodation within the Fort was restricted to respectable and wealthy merchants. Milburn, in his *Oriental Commerce* describes the old town as it appeared between 1803 and 1808 as follows:—

"Between the two marine gates is the castle called the Bombay Castle, a regular quadrangle, well built of strong hard stones. In one of the bastions is a large tank or reservoir for water. The fortifications are numerous, particularly towards the sea, and are so well constructed, the whole being encompassed by a broad and deep ditch, which can be flooded at pleasure, that it is now one of the strongest places that the Company have in India. . . . In the centre of the town is a large open space, called the Green, which in the fine weather season is covered with bales of cotton and other merchandise, entirely unprotected; around the Green are many large well built and

handsome houses; the Government House and the Church, which is an extremely neat, commodious and airy building, are close to each other on the left by the Church Gate. On the right of the Church Gate is the bazar which is very crowded and populous and where the native merchants principally reside. At its commencement stands the theatre, a neat handsome structure. Since the fire of 1803, this part of the town has been rebuilt and the whole much improved."

The construction of the Sion causeway connecting the Bombay island with Salsette was completed in 1803, and must have proved to be of incalculable benefit. In 1799, a new gaol was built at Umarchadi and the old prison within the Fort locality in the Marine yard was shifted. Mr. Hornby's house in the Marine street used as the Admiralty House was, in 1800, reserved for the newly established Recorder's Court.

Trading communities were continuously pouring in and were settling in localities outside the fortifications and as near the docks as possible. From 1803 onwards houses, godowns, shops and markets began to rise and form the nucleus of areas now known as Mandvi, Chakla and Umarchadi. In 1800, there were 7 to 8 families living in what we now know as the Dongri Street. In a year's time, there were fresh arrivals from Cutch who built houses in the area and laid the foundations of one of the most prosperous of our commercial classes. The Parsis followed, and were holding the frigates for the Indian Marine. The *Jan-i-Bambai* (i.e., the soul of Bombay) and a Persian pamphlet written in 1818 by an anonymous Moghal scribe talks of the Memons as sellers of fuel, and the Khojas as sellers of paroled rice. The Bohoras living within the Fort, and the Moors living close to the four *bundars* of the island—the Bori bundar, the Koli (or Gowli) bundar, the Masjid bundar and the Chinch bundar—were spreading to live in the areas now developed as Umarchadi, Khetwadi, Tarvadi, Mahim, Bhandi Bazar and Dongri.

It is hence not surprising that, by 1814, the population of Bombay recorded had gone up to 2,35,000 of whom 70,000 were famine refugees from the nearby Konkan. Of this population, 10,801 (i.e. 250 English, 5,464 Parsis, 4,061 Hindus, 775 Moors, 146 Portuguese, 105 Armenians), were living within the Fort, an estimated 30,000 in the Mahim area and the rest residents between the Bazar Gate in the south and Parel and Mahalekhami in the north.

1814 to 1836 : By 1814, Bombay was set on the road to commercial prosperity. Military and political prestige had been acquired, trade was expanding, and internal security of living was tremendously improved. These, in contrast to the inherent weaknesses of the Maratha dominions on the mainland, provided the necessary thrust for a spurt to the island's population. In 1830, Lagrange had estimated the population of Bombay island at 2,29,000; another estimate in 1836 placed the figure at 2,36,000.

Two important events in the political history of the period are contributory to this growth in importance of Bombay. Piracy on the west coast of India, that was taking a heavy toll in the seas between Cee and Kathiawad, was finally and once for all brought to an end. The dynasty of Peshwas on the mainland, whose puppet head was Baji Rao Peshwa who was continuing them, was ultimately brought down and major portions of their dominions were annexed to the Company's territory in 1818. Free and uninterrupted flow of trade between Bombay and the mainland, that had suffered greatly in the past from the excessive restrictions of the Peshwa rule, was assured; the burden of trade taxation was made considerably lighter. With the fear of attack from the mainland by the native powers and from the seas by the pirate overlords having disappeared completely, the trade gates were literally opened wide. Mount Stuart Elphinstone, a man of genius and prudent statescraft, who became the Governor in 1819 fostered vigorously the expansion of trade, moderate and uniform settlement of revenues and education of the people. A good carriage road was undertaken upto the Bhor ghat as early as 1803, but was completed and opened for traffic only by 1830. Better communication by sea was also established. By 1830, regular communication with England to carry mails was established by steamer service, navigating the Red Sea and the Mediterranean and this helped in a relatively quicker delivery of mail in about 45 days.

Expansion of trade followed the quiet and peace that ruled in the interior mainland. About 1825, exports from Bombay became considerable. From 1832, a rise in the price of American cotton resulted in increased imports of Indian cotton and these imports touched a new high mark of almost a million bales. Bombay Chamber of Commerce came into existence in 1836.

The flourishing prosperity in trade and political strength brought in its wake internal structural changes and improvements in the city island. Colaba and Old Woman's island, which till now remained separate, became one with the city island, with the construction of the Colaba Causeway. These two islands rented to one Mr. Broughton ever since 1743 for a paltry sum of Rs. 200 per annum, had several houses built on them, including the Roman Catholic Church of St. Joseph. These islands formed a pretty retired spot, with healthy breezes. A good road ran along their length terminating at its extreme southern end on the light house and the lunatic asylum. The Queen's 6th Regiment was also stationed here. The construction of the Colaba Causeway was followed by commercial speculation in reclaiming ground for building factories, wharfs and mercantile operations. Land costs almost shot up 500 per cent in value; land was purchased wherever procurable and houses raised in every possible locality.

Changes were on the way in and around the Fort area as well. The Wellington Pier or the Apollo Bundar was extended and brought into use for passenger traffic in 1819. The Elphinstone High School was established in 1822 under its original name of the Native Education Society's School. The Elphinstone College came into existence few years later as the most appropriate tribute to Hon. Elphinstone who resigned the same year from the Government of Bombay. The proposal to build a Town Hall, though mooted in 1811, started taking shape in 1821, and the building itself was completed only in 1833 with the help of Government funds and two batteries raised for this specific purpose. A new mint was also created and started coin-minting in 1830. The old church in the Fort was consecrated in 1816 in honour of St. Thomas and was gazetted as the cathedral in 1838, soon after the raising of the island to the status of a bishopric. A new presbyterian church of St. Andrew was constructed in 1835. The St. Mary's Church meant for the spiritual welfare of the soldiers in Colaba was erected in 1825. The Christ Church at Byculla was built in 1835.

A new hospital in the Hornby Row was also built in 1825. The town was gradually creeping over the reclaimed higher grounds, westward along the Back Bay and northward to Byculla. It became absolutely necessary to build new roads, especially in the newly built up areas. The first and the most noteworthy of these roads, named after Governor Grant and constructed during his term of office, runs west to east from the head of the Chaupaty Bay to Byculla. Many old roads were improved, watered and lighted.

Of the striking additions of built up areas outside the Fort, mention may be made of the country houses at Mazagaon, four bungalows at Malabar Hill, newer housing structures at Market, Mandvi, Umarmkhadi and Bhuleshwar, some new handsome houses built at Girgaum, Byculla, Chinchpokli, the *Pantrapol* for the aged and diseased animals and the hot weather residence of the Governor at Malabar Hill. There were two large bazars in the Fort; the China Bazar, and the Chor Bazar, crowded with warehouses. There were three bazars in the native town, the most profitable trade in them being the sale of toddy.

The native town at the period roughly comprised a part of the present 'C' ward, most of the 'B' ward, Byculla, Mazagaon and Kamathipura. Kamathipura was initially settled by the Kamathis who progressively started settling westward into the adjoining Dhobi Talao, Girgaum, Chaupaty and Khatwadi. Parel was still a semi-isolated suburb, though fairly populated. Sion and Sewri and Mahim continued as in the earlier years as fishing and farming villages, and Mahim maintained its status as a town. Matunga, once a pretty artillery station, was almost deserted, and was in a state of ruins due to the ravage of diseases.

An anonymous account of Bombay published in the *Asiatic Journal* of May-August 1838 describes the island thus—

"The island of Bombay does not exceed twenty miles in circumference and communicates with that of Salsette by a causeway built across a channel of the sea which surrounds it. It is composed of two unequal ranges of whinstone rock, with an intervening valley about three miles in breadth, and in remoter times was entirely covered with a wood of cocos. The Fort is built on the south-eastern extremity of the island and occupies a very considerable portion of the ground, the outworks comprehending a circuit of two miles, being, indeed, so widely extended as to require a very numerous garrison. The town or city of Bombay is built within the fortifications and is nearly a mile long extending from the Apollo Gate to that of the bazar, its breadth in places being a quarter of a mile; the houses are picturesque, in consequence of the quantity of handsomely carved woodwork employed in the pillars and the verandahs; but they are inconveniently crowded together, and the high conical roofs of red tiles are very offensive to the eye, especially if accustomed to the flat turreted and balustraded palaces of Calcutta. The Government House, which is only employed for the transaction of business, holding courts—a large, convenient, but ugly looking building, somewhat in the Dutch taste—occupies one side of an open space in the centre of the town, called the Green. The best houses, and a very respectable church are situated in this part of the town, and to the right stands a long and crowded bazar, amply stocked with every kind of merchandise. Many of the rich natives have their habitations in this bazar, residing in large mansions built after the Asiatic manner, but so huddled together as to be exceedingly hot and disagreeable to strangers unaccustomed to breathe so confined an atmosphere. One of the principal boasts of Bombay is its docks and dockyards; they are capacious, built of fine hard stone, and are the work of Parsi artisans, many of whom, from their talents and industry, have risen from common labourers to wealthy ship-builders."

"The island of Bombay, from an unwholesome swamp has been converted into a very salubrious residence; though enough of shade still remains, the super abundant trees have been cut down, the marshes filled up, and the sea-breeze, which sets in everyday, blows with refreshing coolness, tempering the solar heat. The native population, which is very large, has cumbered the ground in the neighbourhood of the fortifications with closely built suburbs, which must be passed before the visitor can reach the open country beyond, at the further extremity of the island. The Black Town, as it is called, spreads its innumerable habitations, amidst a wood of cocoanut trees—a curious busy, bustling but dirty quarter, swarming with men and the inferior

animals, and presenting every variety of character that the whole of Asia can produce. The cocoanut gardens, beyond this populous scene, are studded with villas of various descriptions, the buildings within the fortifications being too much crowded together to be desirable; those belonging to European residents are, for the most part, merely retained as offices, the families seeking a more agreeable situation in the outskirts. Comfort, rather than elegance, has been consulted in the construction of the major portion of these villas Those persons, who are compelled, by business or duty, to live in the immediate vicinity of Government House, only occupy the houses inside the fortifications during the rainy season; at the other periods of the year they live in a sort of *al fresco* manner peculiar to this part of the world. A wide Esplanade, stretching between the walls of the fort and the sea, and of considerable length affords the place of retreat. At the extreme verge a fine, hard sand forms a delightful ride or drive, meeting a strip of grass or meadow land, which with the exception of a portion marked off as the parade ground of the troops in garrison, is covered with temporary buildings : some of these are exceedingly fantastic. Bungalows, constructed of poles and planks, and roofed with palm leaves, rise in every direction, many being surrounded by beautiful parterres of flowers, blooming from innumerable pots....."

"The greater portion of the wealth of the place is in the hands of Parsi merchants The houses of these persons will be found filled with European furniture, and they have adopted many customs and habits which remain still unthought of by the Musalmans and Hindus The Jews are numerous and of a higher degree of respectability in Bombay than in any other part of India: they make good soldiers The Portuguese inhabitants rear large quantities of poultry; but game is not plentiful on the island, in consequence of its limited extent Great quantities of the productions (of fruits and vegetables) sold in the markets are brought from the neighbouring island of Salsette, which is united to that of Bombay by a causeway This communication, which has a drawbridge in the centre, is a convenience both to the cultivators and to the residents of Bombay, who are thus enabled to extend and diversify their drives, by crossing over to Salsette. A great portion of Salsette is now under cultivation, the Parsis and other wealthy natives possessing large estates on the island....."

"The large Portuguese village or town of Mazagaon which is dirty and swarming with pigs is however finely situated occupying the shore, between two hills, and is moreover celebrated as being the place at which, the fine variety of mango was originally grown."

"A great number of the poor inhabitants of Salsette, Elephanta and other islands of Bombay subsist by fishing : cultivation is, however, extending in the interior"

1838 to 1872 : The period 1838 to 1872 is perhaps the most important epoch in the history of the island of Bombay, since during these years the old commercial town was transformed into a royal city set on the path of industrialisation. By 1872, the population figure recorded by Dr. Hewlett was 644,405. The appointment of a British resident at Sawantwadi in 1838, the inclusion of Angria's Kolaba in British territory in 1841, the bombardment of Aden in 1839, the assumption of the right to administer the affairs of Kolhapur in 1842, the conquest of Sind in 1843, and the annexation of Satara in 1848 all served to emphasise the importance of Bombay as the headquarters of the paramount power in Western India. In 1844, the Great Indian Peninsula Railway, the primus in India was projected; the first twenty miles of rail track to Thane were opened in 1853. "The 16th April 1853" declared the *Bombay Times*, "will hereafter stand as a red-letter day on the calendar The train that starts from beneath the walls of Fort St. George this afternoon goes forth conquering and to conquer." The progress of the railway was steadily sustained in the years to follow and Bombay started wielding direct influence in regions far beyond her own limits. In 1855, a contract was undertaken by the Peninsular and Oriental Company for the carriage of passengers and mails between Bombay and Aden thrice in a month, and two years later, it was converted into a weekly mail service. The first joint-stock bank, the Bank of Bombay, was started in 1840, and by 1860 a few more, the Oriental Banking Corporation, the Commercial Bank of India, the Chartered Mercantile, the Agra and United Service, the Chartered and the Central Bank of Western India had come into being and had gained an assured status. In 1854, the first cotton mill, the Bombay Spinning and Weaving Company's Mill, commenced working, and by 1860, six more had opened, attracting in the consequence a considerable industrial working population. Capital was plentiful in availability, and the spirit of enterprise even stronger. Almost overnight, Bombay was realising of being the Liverpool and Manchester of the East, rolled into one. The tall chimneys of half a dozen factories rising above the surrounding buildings, started marking a change in the skyline of Bombay.

The influx of population on one hand, and the changing character of the city functions on the other brought in further improvements in the island. The idea of demolishing the fort walls was mooted as early as 1841 and reclamation of areas from under sea was also on the way. The maintenance of the Fort of Bombay was not only considered a costly, useless waste of public money, but it had become a downright filthy nuisance to

the inhabitants. By 1855, "the Apollo Gate is now all but dismantled, the last portion of the arch tottering to its fall A large portion of the wall betwixt the gate and the southern entrance to the dock has been dismantled. The Fort had indeed become superannuated. Overcrowding had assumed serious proportions and heightened the chances of conflagrations within the fort, entry and exit to which was being regulated through a few gates. 'The fire which occurred lately', says a writer of 1844, 'attracted me to a part of the town which I never before visited, namely, a street running along the ramparts between the town barracks and Fort St. George. Its name is Mody Street. The first object which attracted my attention was a vast building in which were built enormous fires for cooking for some six to eight hundred natives. The ghee or oil employed in cooking, occasionally falls into the fire and causes the flame, to mount to rafters. The danger is very great and is by no means lessened by the situation, exactly in the rear, of the Powder Magazine. The building is, as I stated before, large, but not sufficient to enable from six to eight hundred persons to sit down to dinner, and the consequence is that they sit in the street to their meal and completely block up the thoroughfare. The warehouse, as I found on enquiry, is employed for housing cotton during the rains.' "

Sanitary conditions within and outside the Fort were also awfully poor. "The roads are macadamised with rotten fish and the dead carcasses of household vermin." The first step towards adequate supervision of the town was taken up in 1858. It was about this time that the Vihar water works was undertaken under the administration of Lord Elphinstone to provide the city with the supply of sufficient good water. Tramways in the Colaba causeway were laid in 1860. Slightly before, the Bellasis Road in the north of the City, and the Mahim causeway (1845), providing a second link between the city island and Salsette were built. After 1857, the city expanded so fast, that further improvements became a dire necessity. Malabar Hill, Breach Candy and Mahalakshmi were eagerly invaded by the Europeans and well-to-do natives for dwellings. Between the sea and the Girgaum Back Road, building operations were in continuous active progress, houses rising in all directions. In fact, Cavel and Sonapur became so overcrowded with houses, that practically there were no thoroughfares in them. As the occupied area expanded with the coming of industrial enterprises, new schemes, such as Elphinstone Reclamation Scheme, were provided in the central parts of the island to house the industrial families, but drainage remained awfully poor. As late as 1850, uncovered, open drains poisoned the health in Byculla, Fort and Esplanade.

In 1861, the Municipal authorities prepared the plans for a new system of drainage. Though between 1838 and 1860, many new roads were

opened, temples and churches built, the Grant Medical College founded, mills and water-works developed, yet a lot remained to be accomplished to improve the living. In 1860, the *Bombay Times* warned the public against the rapid erection of new cotton mills. In the years that followed, Sir Bartle Frere set his heart on improving the city to make it worthy of living.

The most remarkable of these improvements was the excellent linkage by railways of Bombay with the interior. On 22nd April 1863, the *Bhor Ghat* incline was opened for traffic. The first section of the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway was opened in 1860; the Broach and Baroda sections in 1861; and the Ahmedabad section in 1863. The cotton country developed a direct access to the merchants of Bombay, who exported the produce across the seas. In 1866, the Government made arrangements with the Bombay Coast and River Steam Navigation Company for running steam ferries between Bombay and Mandva, Karanja, Rewas, Dharamtar and Uran. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 effected a complete revolution in the trade of Bombay as it speeded up transport by reduction of the distance to England to almost half. A direct submarine cable was laid down from Suez to Bombay, a year later, in connection with the cable from Falmouth to Gibraltar. Truly, Bombay gained the status and proud position as the Gateway of Western India.

The improvement in the trade channels of Bombay led to an enormous increase in cotton trade and subsequent share mania. The outbreak of the civil war in America gave the necessary impetus for the unprecedented increase in cotton exports. So sudden was the demand, so high the range of price, so vast the profit that an economic disturbance set in. Dealers were indifferent to the quality, in spite of repeated warnings by the Press. Bombay fell a victim to speculation, and financial associations of dubious character sprang up like mushrooms. By 1864, the whole community, right from the English official down to the native broker became completely demoralised and were dependent on the fortunes of the stock exchange. New projects, not well thought out were put up, such as the Back Bay Scheme and the shares were sold by public auction. The value of land quadrupled; population was going up day by day. By the end of 1864, there were as many as 31 banks, 16 financial associations, 8 land companies, 16 press companies and 20 insurance companies, as against 10 in all in 1855. By 1865, the American Civil War ended, American cotton entered the English markets, the price of Bombay cotton fell fast and Bombay was in a state of economic ruin. Came the crash of the commercial bank, the Agra and Masterman's Bank and the Bank of Bombay. Influential cotton exporters were being declared insolvent. By 1868, the panic subsided, and a new Bank of Bombay was floated

to form 'an impregnable centre of commercial stability'. Out of these adversities, came the blessings of Bombay.

The gold that poured into Bombay during the heydays in the sixties brought wholesome improvements in the city. By 1862, the final order for the demolition of the Fort walls was given and reclamations were afoot on a large scale. About 6 millions pounds sterling were utilised in regulating and advancing into the sea below low water marks the whole of the island foreshore. Handsome works were effected on either side of the Apollo Bunder, extending south to Colaba Church and stretching from the Custom House to Sewri along the Mody Bay, Elphinstone, Mazagaon, Tank Bunder and Frere Reclamations. On the other side of the island was initiated, in spite of considerable opposition the Back Bay Reclamation from Colaba to the foot of the Malabar Hill to fill up the filthy tidal flats that were a foul pestilential swamp. According to Dr. Hewlett's report, by 1872, nearly 898.5 acres of land had been reclaimed and the area of the island had gone up from 18.62 sq.m. to 22.24 sq.m.

Many new roads were built. The Colaba causeway was widened and rebuilt in 1862-63. The Esplanade main road, Rampart Row, Hornby Row, Bori Bunder Road, Market Road and the road from Church Gate street to the Esplanade main road were all completed in the next 15 years. Cruick Shank road and the Esplanade cross road were widened in 1865-66. The Nowroji Hill Road was built in 1865. Bellasis, Clare, Falkland, Foras and Grant roads were completed by 1872. The Carnac, Masjid and Elphinstone overbridges were built by 1867, jointly by the municipality and the G. I. P. railway. Rampart Row east was built, connecting the Mint to Fort George Gate.

This was also the period when many new buildings started adorning the city. Mr. Premchand Raichand donated four lakhs of rupees for an university library building and a tower to be named after his mother, the Rajabai Tower. The J. J. School of Arts and 40 drinking fountains in different parts of the island, donated by Cawasji Jehangir, the Ophthalmic Hospital, the Parsi Hospital at Colaba, the Hospital for incurables at Byculla, the Sassoon Mechanics Institute, and the Victoria Museum were the enduring creations of this period. New rail workshops were laid at Parel, and the Bombay Gas Company was also set up. The first street lights were put up in the Bhendi Bazar area and gas lighting on the streets was initiated by 1866. Work at the dockyard at Mazagaon was started in 1863. The Elphinstone circle at the site of the Old Bombay Green was also laid out in 1862.

The Government too joined in the game and brought in new architectural styles to add to the splendour of Bombay. The Government Secretariat, the University Library, the Convocation Hall, the High Court, the Telegraph Department and the Port offices were all built in one grand line facing the area along the Esplanade; other buildings in a similar style

were built elsewhere. They included the Elphinstone College, the Victoria Museum, the Elphinstone High School, the School of Arts, and the Gokuldas Hospital. New police courts in Byculla and Fort, new light houses on Kennerly and the Prongs Islands, more harbour defences and batteries at Oyster Rock, Cross island and Middle ground were also set up.

The municipal government of the city also undertook many civic services that included the city water supply, the efficient drainage of the city island and the reclamation of the tidal flats. An efficient health department was also organised, new cemeteries and burial grounds were opened at Sewri and Dharavi, and the old ones at Church Street, Mazagaon, Lima Street, Mangalwadi, Girgaum, Grant Road and Mahim were all closed. The indigo dyers of Suparibagh and salt fish store dealers of Mandvi-Koliwadi were removed. Tanners were all shifted to Mahim and Bandra in Salsette to the east of the railway. By 1870, sewage works of Kamathipura, Fort and Portuguese Church street were completed. New markets were opened by the Bombay Municipality. The Bull Bazar market and the Bandra slaughter house were erected in 1867, and a year later other public and private markets came up at Sheikh Ali Janjikar Street, Rampart Row and Tank Bunder. The Crawford Market was built in 1869, and by the end of that year 9 public and 17 private markets started serving the public needs.

Water supply at Vihar was further improved, and the Tulsi works were begun. The Oval and the Rotten Row Playgrounds were laid out. During these years, a considerable growth of handicrafts also took place. There were silk looms near Babula Tank and in Jail road, a copper bazar opposite the Mumbadevi Tank; ivory and sandal wood carving, reed-matting and jewellery works around Bhuleshwar and Kalbadevi.

By 1864, according to the *Times of India*, the Governor prescribed the limits of Bombay to be 'the island of Bombay and Colaba and Old Woman's island,' sub-divided into the areas of Colaba, Fort, Mandvi and Bundars, Bhuleshwar, Breach Candy, Malabar Hill, Kamathipura, Mazagaon Mount, Chinchpokli, Worli and Mahim Woods and Matunga areas. A year later, the city was formed into 10 wards: (1) The Colaba ward, comprising upper, middle and lower Colaba; (2) Fort ward embracing the Fort, Esplanade and Dhobi Talao; (3) Mandvi including Chakla and the Market; (4) Bhuleshwar including Phanaswadi; (5) Umarchhadi and Dongri; (6) Girgaum including Chaupaty and Khetwadi; (7) Kamathipura including Kumbharwada, Khara Talao and parts of Byculla; (8) Malabar Hill including Walkeshwar, Mahalakshmi; (9) Mazagaon including Tadwadi; and (10) Mahim and Parel extending upto and including Sewri, Sion and Worli.

By 1872, a further redistribution of wards became necessary, following the rapid changes and newly built-up areas. With a changed nomenclature

the city was split into 6 divisions : A—Colaba, Fort and Esplanade; B—Market, Mandvi, Chakla, Umarchadi and Dongri; C—Dhobi Talao, Phanawadi, Bhuleshwar, Khara Talao, Kumbharwada, Girgaum and Khetwadi; D—Chaupaty, Walkeshwar and Mahalakshmi; E—Mazagaon, Tadvadi, Kamathipura, Parel and Sewri; and F—Sion, Mahim and Worli.

By 1872, the influx of population into the city was so great, attracted by prospect of employment in the public works that housing became one of the major problems. Overcrowding and unhygienic living cast dark shadows on the otherwise pleasant appearance of the city. As a Municipal health report of the year says that there was 'a thickly crowded and insanitary village of Hamalwadi in Lower Colaba'. Death-rate was high in the Market section, arising from the condition of the individual houses in the locality. Land in Mandvi was so valuable that the streets were narrow and the people overcrowded and the imperfect drains of the area were often choked. Chakla was no better and was full of ill-ventilated milch-cattle stables. In the heart of Dhobi Talao was the dirty irregular, labyrinth of Cavel, in which vehicles could not even pass through. Fanaswadi was honeycombed with sewers. Bhuleshwar was an indescribably filthy quarter of milk sellers. Khetwadi, once a large field, during the monsoons became a large pool collecting the monsoon rains. Chaupaty and Girgaum were full of cess-pools. Tardeo with its mills, became a place of mill employees. The villages of Sindulpada, Agripada and Julapada as well as Parel with open drains was almost impossible to traverse through. Sewri was somewhat better off, mainly due to the Frere reclamation improvements. Mahim was still a huge coconut plantation.

1872 to 1881 : The population of the city had shot up to 6,44,405 in 1872 with an abnormal sex ratio of 612 females to a thousand males, residing in about 30,000 dwellings. By 1891, this population had increased to 8,21,764 due to a steady growth in trade, public works and a growing attention being paid to the general convenience and comforts of the people. Communications were tremendously improved, both in terms of linkage with the interior and more regular and frequent sea voyages. The mill industry also expanded. By about 1880 there were 32 mills employing over 30,000 workers.

Building activity and reclamations made further progress. New markets were built at Mazagaon; the *dhobi* lines on the Esplanade were acquired for building railway quarters; many old damp buildings in Kamathipura were replaced by well-built chawls. Police stations, churches, temples and mosques sprang into existence in quite a number. The Tulsi works were completed in 1881. The Prince's Dock, designed by Thomas Ormiston as part of a scheme, to improve the whole foreshore of the harbour was opened in 1880 and soon after, a harbour trust was established. The earth excavated from the docks over an area of 12 hectares was used for further

reclamation of the Mody Bay area. Elsewhere land reclamation of about 50 acres of land in Sion and Kurla and of the mud flats near Tardeo and area near Arthur Road were effected.

The Bombay tramways commenced working about 1874 from Colaba area and the line was extended upto Byculla bridge by 1875; in 1876 they crept from the Wellington Fountain to the Bazar Gate street and a year later to the Sassoon Dock. Two years later, the trams travelled up the Girgaum road from the Esplanade to the Portuguese Church street, and also a line was laid from Pydhonie to the Grant Road bridge.

Quite a few roads were widened and new roads in the Cumbala-Malabar hills, Wodehouse and Mayo roads, Hope street, Masjid Bundar road, Napier road, Kazi Syed street, Chinch bunder 2nd road and the Prabhadevi road were built and opened for traffic.

The year 1876 saw the outbreak of small-pox in the city and a huge influx of 36,000 famine refugees pouring in from the stricken areas of the province and gravitating into unhealthy localities that gave rise to rapid spread of the epidemic in 1881. This was a blessing in disguise. A great advance in sanitary administration took place; many cattle stables from Bhuleshwar were removed and, for the rest, regular supervision was introduced with penalties for infringement of sanitary needs. In 1878 Municipality resolved to sanction a new main sewer from Carnac Bundar to Love Grove and a pumping station at Love Grove.

Other measures of improvement included street lighting and maintenance of public gardens like the Victoria gardens (1873), the Elphinstone circle garden and the Northbrook garden near Grant Road.

1881–1891 : The next decade witnessed the municipality being engaged in rendering the city island better suited to its growing population. Ground was purchased from time to time to widen roads; further road building was continued all over. The Fergusson road, the Ripon road, part of the Charni road, the Jacob Circle and Sankli street were all built. Kamathipura congested with industrial labour, was literally given a face-lift. Further drainage improvements were carried out in Queen's Road, Crawford Market, Mint and Agripada area. The whole Fort area by 1889 had a complete drainage system.

Water supply to the city was further improved; the Bhandarwada water works and the Malabar Hills filter beds were completed in 1884. The Pawai works were commenced in 1889 and the Tansa works were opened in 1892.

In the field of education, too, came further improvements during the decade. Primary education all over the city was taken over by the Municipality from the hands of private management; a deaf and mute school and the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute came into being.

The services of the tramways were further extended; a smallpox hospital was built along the Arthur Road. A hospital for women and children as an extension of the J. J. Hospital was donated by Sir Dinshaw Petit. The Cama and Albless Hospital and an animal hospital at Parel were among the munificent donations to the city from citizens.

Among the landmarks that came into being during this period, the most significant are the Victoria Terminus building of the G.I.P. railway, situated on the original site of the Mumbadevi temple near the Phansi talao or Gibbet pond, the European St. George's hospital on the ruins of the Fort St. George, the new building of the Elphinstone college (to which it was shifted, in the year 1889), the Municipal offices, and the Wilson college. The Prince's Docks were supplemented by the addition of the Victoria Docks and a new light house was erected at the entrance to the harbour.

Trade was having a boom, and the prosperity of Bombay 'is one of the most remarkable events of the Victorian reign'. Its internal appearance was rapidly undergoing a change. Numerous new buildings were erected in outlying localities like Tardeo, Byculla and Parel. In the older areas of Umarchadi, Dongri, Chakla, Dhobi Talao and similar sections, where every available inch of land was in use, piling of storeys upon old houses steadily continued, followed by house collapses during heavy monsoons. The Jains, a merchant community, who had expanded enormously in order to get as near to the business centre as possible settled in the ill-built old houses of these overcrowded sections. In fact, most of the city proper by the close of this period was in a position to become the plague centre, being choked with population living under insanitary conditions.

The mill industry which had further expanded to a status of 83 mills by 1890 was mainly responsible for further colonisation of the areas north of the city. Complaints of smoke nuisance were first heard of in the municipal reports in 1885. A marked change came over the localities such as Byculla, Parel, Tardeo, Tarwadi and Sewri. Innumerable chawls sprang up north of the Bellasis road housing the immigrant mill-labour from Ratnagiri, Kolaba and Satara districts. All the open land in Tardeo was built up; Nagpada was densely peopled. By 1890, Tardeo, Parel, Byculla, Tarwadi, Nagpada and Chinchpokali had expanded into one vast industrial labour dwelling quarters. Sir Edwin Arnold, in 1886, wrote: "Bombay of today is hardly recognisable to one who knew the place in the time of the Mutiny and in those years which followed it. Augustus said of Rome, 'I found it mud; I leave it marble'; and the visitor to India after so long an absence as mine might justly exclaim, 'I left Bombay a town of warehouses and offices; I find here a city of parks and palaces.'"

Social affinities of the immigrants were strongly present in the resident patterns in the city: "..... the Parsi mostly sought the home of his ancestors in the North Fort or Dhobi Talao; the Goanese were never absent from Cavel; the Julhai, the silk weaver, sought Madanpura; the grain merchants were a power in Mandvi; the Bene-Israel owned their Samuel street and Israel mohalla; the dancing girls drifted to Khetwadi and the 'scarlet woman' to Kamathipura; in the Null Bazar lived the Sidis; in Parel, Nagpada and Byculla, were millhands from the Konkan and labourers from the Deccan; many a Koliwadi from Colaba to Sion sheltered the descendants of the aboriginal fishing tribes of Bombay; Musalman was a power in Mandvi, Chakla and Umarchadi; the Arab haunted Byculla and, in Girgaum, the Brahman made his home."

1891-1901 : The decade at the close of the nineteenth century saw a marked fall in population of the City by 45,758 mainly due to the presence in the city for 5 years an extraordinary, virulent disease. Bubonic plague made its appearance in the city in 1896 in a part of the Port Trust estate and literally ravaged the city for quite some time. People died like sheep; a large exodus of population that could not be checked followed. In one single week, in 1897, as many as 10,000 people fled from the city. Business was paralysed and trade disorganised. The mill industry suffered severely both from plague and bad management; yet the number of mills increased to 136 by 1898. In 1899, the position of the industry was most critical; by the end of the year, all mills closed for three days in a week and some were wholly idle. The year 1898 also witnessed plague riots and a strike of dock and railway workers as well as cartmen. The nineteenth century ended on a note of gloom and depression for the city.

1909 : A vivid description of Bombay as it appeared in *Gazetteer of Bombay City*, Vol. I, 1909, pp. 14-19, is given below :—

The north and north-east of the city island was still an area of rice and salt lands strewn with palm groves and fishing villages; most of the flat land was still waste except for the land used for factories. To the west, the Worli-Malabar ridge was the home of the rich, while the extreme south in the promontory of Colaba was set apart for the military use. The city area both in the Fort and the native city to its north was packed with near about 10 lakh residents of the island.

"The high flat ledge to the east of the reservoir plateau on Bhandarwada hill commands one of the most complete and central views of Bombay and its surroundings. Beyond the Tank Bundar foreshore and the busy portions of Frere Bundar stand the quarried face of one of the smaller eminences fringing the eastern side of the island and several mills clustered at the foot of the woody slopes of Golangi hill. To the right

the bare sides of Rauli and Antop look out over the fishing village, the gunpowder magazine and the ruined fort of Sewri. In the distance behind Sewri hill looms the dim table-land of Tungar. Closer at hand and stretching eastward are the jungle-covered slopes and waving outline of Salsette, its central hills gathering in three main points above Vehar, Tulsi and Yeur. Further east across the north bay and mud flats of the harbour, behind the green swamps and gray salt lands of Mahul or north-west Trombay, rise the knolls of Parshik; and over them, thirty miles inland, seen only in the clearest air, the lofty deep-cleft crest of Mahuli, the guardian of the Tansa lake. At the east foot of Bhandarwada hill, the half mile belt which stretches eastward to the harbour with fair wealth of plantains, coco-palms, tamarinds, mangoes and pipals is thick with russet-roofed yellow faced dwellings from which stand out the picturesque pale gray facades of two Portuguese churches. Fringing the foreshore are the Peninsular and Oriental Company's Dockyard, the Mazagaon landing pier, the Clerk and Frere basins, the Malet basin and the British India Company's dockyard. Further south, close to the hill foot are the net work of siding and the long lines of low gray sheds that form the Wadi Bundar terminus. On the left out of acres of shed roofs rises the Port Trust clock-tower, beyond which the bulk oil installations stand out like fortresses dominating the foreshore; and between the tower and the harbour are the rectangular pit of the Merewether dry dock, the broad basins of the Prince's and Victoria wet docks and the unfinished out-line of the Alexandra and Hughes docks. South, over the Wadi Bundar sheds and sidings, for more than two miles stretch in weird chaotic confusion piles of many storeyed dwellings, their white and yellow walls and facades crowned with peaked gables and brown-tiled hummocky roofs, surmounted here and there by a flat view terrace.

"Beyond these miles of densely crowded dwellings, on the left at the edge of the harbour, stand the tower of the Port Trust Offices (Mody Bay), the Ballard Pier, the Mint, the Town Hall, the ancient Arsenal and the Custom House, Southward again, the spire of the Scotch church leaps skyward, and beyond it are dim outlines of the Sailors' Home, and the vast mass of four and five storeyed buildings, overshadowed by the dome of the Taj Mahal Hotel, which have sprung up of late years on the Apollo reclamation to meet the increased demand for European accommodation. To the right, there rises from the rough sea of roofs a notable cluster of public buildings—the light pinnacles of the Cathedral, the lofty crocket-ribbed dome of the Victoria Terminus, the peak-roofed finials of the Elphinstone College and Secretariat, the rounded summit and tiny minarets of the huge Municipal buildings, the tall square shaft, statued drum and plumed pinnacle of the Rajabai

Clock tower (280') overtopping a welter of lofty roofs, the steep rail-tipped roof of the short High Court tower (180'), the domes of the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway Offices and the turrets of the Public Works Secretariat, the General Post Office and the Telegraph Office which gaze down upon the handsome buildings of the Chartered Bank of India and of the Bombay City Improvement Trust. South of the Rajabai tower appears the line of lofty dwellings which occupy a portion of the old Cooperage and end in the new Admiralty House; while to the right out of the distant low green line of Colaba rise the spire of the Afghan Memorial Church and the far-seen column of the Prongs Lighthouse. In the middle distance to the right of the High Court the high pitched roof of the Esplanade Police Court, the clock tower of the Crawford Market, the finial of the Gokuldas Tejpal Hospital and the lantern of St. Xavier's College show like islands in the sea of roofs and tree tops. To the west, close at hand, are the reservoir, filter-beds and gardens of the lower western top of Bhandarwada hill.

"Beyond Bhandarwada hill to the south-west, behind the line of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway, stretches the scarped cliff of Naoraji hill (192'), its top and western slopes thick with houses. Further west, from the broken congeries of roofs that spread to the palms of Girgaum, stand out the wide enclosure and the lofty turrets and pinnacles of the J. J. and Motlibai hospitals. Still more to the right, among the brown roofs that lead to the factories of Tardeo and the foot of the Cumballa Hill, rise the cupola of the Synagogue, the obelisk of Byculla Church, and the twin slender spires of St. Mary's Church. To the north-west between the Bhandarwada reservoir and the gray of the flats, the crowd of brown roofs is partly hidden by the gardens and mango orchards of Mazagaon, while over all gleam the white golden-spiked dome and minarets of His Highness the Aga Khan's tomb and the peak-roofed tower of the Technical Institute. Further to the right across the middle distance, as far as the green belt of the Mahim palm-groves, stretch the flats bristling with many a lofty chimney-stack and dark with masses of huge steam-factories, the most distant being the Kohinoor mill at Dadar and the Jacob mill, and northward of these lie the lately built villas of Matunga and the sinuous line of the new Port Trust Railway.

"Round this great city, to the north-east, east and south, stretch the broad waters of the harbour. . . Among the shipping opposite the Carnac Bundar lies the bare rocky mound of Cross island, and about two miles south off the Apollo Bundar the small flat circle of the Middle Ground Shoal. Across the harbour the north east is filled by the long brown back of Trombay, sloping south to the point of Pir Pav. In the east rises the low greenery of Hog island, In mid water lies

the flat rocky line of Butcher's island and behind it the woody hills of Elephanta, and to the south-east the separate sharp-cut crests of Little and of Great Karanja."

"From the palm groves of Alibag, past the low line of Underi and the rocky knoll of Khanderi the sea spreads round the points and reefs of Colaba and so across the tree-fringed curve of Back Bay, until it is hidden by the woody bluff of Malabar Point which rises gently northwards to the houses and palmyra-crowned crest of the Malabar (280') and Cumballa (250') ridges. North-west, across the palm-dotted curve of the great Vellard, spreads second vision of open sail-brightened ocean, broken for a space by the woody hillock of Love Grove and again opening on either side of the rock of the Martand, till it is once more lost behind the bushy crest of Varli. The broken line of the latter section leads northward till the circle is completed in the palm-groves of Mahim and the leafy gardens and rice lands of Parel and Matunga, overtopped by the casuarinas of Bandora hill, and the long ridge of the Pali."

The Inter-War Years : The first three to four decades of the current century witnessed a further growth in population, expansion of the built-up-areas, civic improvements and a slow but definite trend of diversification of city functions, but at the same time the pangs of further growth started telling upon the living conditions in the *urbs prima in Indis*. The population of the city island had increased by over 50 per cent from 7.7 lakhs in 1901 to 11.6 lakhs in 1931, and had further shot up to about 15 lakhs in 1941. The growth rate of population that was about 22 per cent in the first decade had sharply fallen to about 2 per cent in 1921-31 mainly on account of epidemic ravages and outflows, but in the succeeding decade once again picked up a vigorous growth as the market conditions started reviving after the depression of the early thirties.

In 1895, there were 69 cotton mills working in the city. The outbreak of plague and its persistence during the following decade, at the turn of the current century, combined with severe financial depression retarded further progress. Japan, that had started building its own mills began competing with Indian yarn in the Chinese Markets. In spite, by 1915, there were 85 mills in the city, many of them having completely switched over to weaving from spinning and most becoming mixed spinning and weaving units. To quote Mr. Rutnagur from his book *Bombay Industries: The Cotton Mills*, "the outbreak of the Great War in 1914, and the stoppage of machinery shipments from Lancashire to India brought on a complete cessation in mill building in Bombay for several years, and even after peace was declared the heavy increase in the cost of land and building prevented the erection of new factories." Only one new mill was added between 1915 and 1925, although many of them were expanded. The Japanese competition made the Bombay mill owners look out for new

markets, improve their products through finer counts, diversification of woven products and better bleaching, dyeing and finishing. The Mill-owners' Association that had come into existence a few years back fought for the promotion and protection of trade, commerce and manufactures of India in general and of the cotton trade in particular, and got through its persistent efforts the cotton excise duty suspended by the Viceroy in 1925, and later abolished. It took another six years to obtain protection to the industry from the Japanese competition.

Being literally the Gateway of India, Bombay's trade had acquired great significance. The crisis in cotton trade in the early years was successfully beaten by the city's mill industry, but had its impacts on the growth of the city. In the early days of trade, cotton brought into Bombay was stored and dealt with on the 'Cotton Green' in the Fort, in the area now forming the Horniman Circle. The heavy congestion caused within the narrow limits of the Fort necessitated shifting of the Cotton Green to a new site in Colaba in 1844, where all the cotton from upcountry could be landed and loaded in boats. With the coming in of railways, the building of docks at a distance from the Cotton Green and the multiplication of mills in the north and centre of the city island, the carting of cotton from Colaba right across the city created unprecedented congestion of the bullock cart traffic in the main roads and a change of locality was necessary in the interest of the cotton trade as well as of the city itself. This change was finally effected in 1923, having been made possible by the Sewri and Mazagaon reclamations by the Port Trust authorities. The subsequent removal of the Colaba terminus of the B. B. and C. I. (now Western) Railway and the creation of the long distance terminal at Bombay Central in 1930, made it possible for a large area in the south of the city in Colaba available for residential quarters.

Apart from the shift of the Cotton Green and cotton godowns to the Sewri reclamations, the eastern water front started undergoing remarkable changes. The large areas of Port Trust reclamations were followed by the construction of the Port Trust railway in 1915, which over a length of about 12 kms from Wadala junction to Ballard Pier had a total length of about 175 kms of main lines and sidings. This railway brought overnight a transformation of methods of handling cotton. Huge cotton depots covering nearly 50 hectares of land were erected; to the east of the cotton depots were the grain depots, and farther north the manganese ore and coal depots. Together with the depots large areas were allotted to new industries like Chemical and Dyestuff Corporations, and the Imperial Chemical Industries and the Havero Trading Company.

Bulk oil installations were also set up in the new Port Trust reclamations in three groups; the liquid fuel and lubricating oil depots at Malet Bundar, north of the docks; the kerosene oil installations at Sewri, and

the petrol installations farther north at Wadala, all of them connected by pipelines with discharge berths on the harbour walls and at Pir Pav. This establishment encouraged a tremendous growth of oil trade of Bombay and Western India, which over a decade shot up from a mere half a million gallons to 19 million gallons.

The face of the city island had a further face-lift with the introduction of the Tata hydro power schemes in the *ghats* and the construction of overhead transmission lines from them, and a receiving station in 1915. The impure water supply from wells and ponds in insanitary surroundings was effectively stemmed by closing most of the wells and ponds, although with considerable resistance from the resident population. In an effort to improve the health of the people, the Government House at Parel was converted into the Haffkine Institute, and on its park grounds were erected the King Edward VII Memorial Hospital and adjacent to it the Seth Gordhandas Sundardas Medical College. Later additions in the same area included the Naoroji Wadia Maternity Hospital and the Bai Jerbai Wadia Hospital for Children.

A blessing in disguise following the plague ravage in the city was the coming into being of the City Improvement Trust entrusted with the work of making new streets, opening over-crowded localities, doing away with some of its worst slums of unspeakable squalor, reclamation of the land from the sea and constructing sanitary dwellings for the poor and for the police. The early schemes undertaken in this regard were the Nagpada improvement scheme, the construction of Princess street through a very overcrowded and ill-ventilated district, the construction of Sandhurst Road, right across the width of the island from Chaupaty to the Elphinstone bridge near the docks, and the opening of Gamdevi.

En bloc clearance was effected at Nagpada, Mandvi, Koliwada, Naoroji Hill, Kolbhatwadi and Bhatwadi, while other congested localities like the Guzari bazar, Memonwada, Tulsirampada, Anantwadi, Pathakwadi and Vithalwadi were improved by providing wide thoroughfares through them, like the Mohamad Ali road, Princess street and others. A broad road extending from Carnac road to Sewri was also constructed. Hughes Road was cut through the Malabar Hill, and areas lying between Malabar Hill and Gowalia Tank Road were made suitable for residential development, and also served as a western artery connecting Peddar road. The old Chunam Kiln lane was widened into the present Lamington Road.

The Trust also conceived the reclamation of low lying northern areas for accommodating poorer sections, and thereby decongesting the central parts of the city. This scheme, however, did not achieve its main purpose, as the costs of reclamation placed the value of the plots of land beyond the reach of the poor. However, it enabled the coming into being of the new

residential areas on a more neatly laid out design of wide streets set in a geometrical pattern, with provisions for not only residential blocks but also adequate space for parks and recreation grounds that were badly missing in the older parts. These lay-outs included the areas in Dadar, Matunga, Sewri, Wadala, Sion and Agripada. These schemes initiated in the twenties and thirties, due to financial difficulties, progressed slowly, and barring Dadar, Agripada and to an extent Matunga did not find full expression till much later, almost the sixties.

Single room tenements—chawls—to accommodate the displaced persons and the police staff were built at a number of places in the city like Agripada, Princess Street, Chandanwadi, Mandvi, Koliwada and others. Textile workers' tenements were also constructed by the mills on the Trust reclaimed lands in their respective neighbourhoods, as for example the chawls of Kohinoor mills at Naigaum and the Century mills at Worli.

During the thirties, development activity declined, partly due to the failure of the Back Bay Reclamation schemes, and partly due to the trade depression. The only activity of the decade was the execution of the Mackinson Plan of Mahim development scheme. Under the scheme, the Mahim Station Road, the Nardulla Tank Road, the extension of the DeLisle Road to meet Lady Jamshedji Road as the Gokhale Road, the extension of Mahim Bazar cross road to meet Tulsī Pipe Road, and the road between Dadar and Matunga road stations were all completed. In 1929, the municipality laid out the Shivaji Park.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, the Bombay Back Bay Reclamation scheme had reclaimed strips of land, to the west of the present Queen's Road, and the Cuffe Parade foreshore. In 1905, the Bombay Public Works Department considered the possibility of reclaiming the Back Bay and prepared four alternative schemes. After considerable delay due to the tossing forth of the proposals between the provincial and India Government, the scheme was initiated in the early twenties and was confined to the reclamation of two blocks (Nos. 1 and 2) in the northern end of the areas and blocks 7 and 8 in the southern Colaba end.

On the eastern harbour front, the war years saw a tremendous strain on the existing harbour facilities, when a large number of troops had to be handled in the quays. In order to provide greatly increased facilities for embarkation, the Alexandra docks were constructed and opened in 1914. The G.I.P. railway management was taken over by the government in 1925, and the same year witnessed the conversion of the entire suburban service to a more efficient and quicker electric traction, and this event was followed shortly by the hauling of goods and passenger traffic by electric locomotives over the main line track upto Igatpuri and Pune. Inland communications were considerably improved through telegraph

and telephone linkages of the main cities of the sub-continent with Bombay. The Bombay Telephone Company switched over in 1924 from the manual exchange to the automatic system, and by 1935 had as many as 12,000 exchange lines serving Bombay and its suburbs. In 1933, a direct radio-telephone service was opened to London. Although Bombay's airport at Juhu was opened for inland traffic in 1932, it had connecting services with Karachi, the international airport, to provide links for European air traffic. The first Indian air-mail line was inaugurated in 1932 at Bombay, and shortly after, a weekly combined mail and passenger service came into being connecting Bombay with Goa and Trivandrum. The Bombay roads which hitherto were crowded with the horse-drawn victorias, bullock carts and hand carts had the first electric trams by 1907, and two years later came the first taxi service in the city. Electric lighting in the streets were put up in 1918 in the southern parts of the city.

The systematic development of the Bombay suburbs in the Salsette island, to the north of the Mahim and Sion causeways dates from shortly after the First World War, when the Government of Bombay established a Development department for the purpose. The immediate practical results were the drawing up of numerous town planning and suburban development schemes. These schemes conceived an aesthetic lay-out of the most suitable areas to the north of the Mahim Bay, and had provisions for large open spaces, residential and shopping areas and a limited industrial development in selected localities. The provincial government inaugurated a State-aided co-operative building scheme to help people with small means to own their houses in these newly developing suburbs. Controlled and regulated by the Collector of the Bombay Suburban District in his capacity as the Salsette Development Officer, these buildings had surrounding open spaces within compound walls. Also, unsuitable and unsightly erections of all kinds were prohibited. Khar-Bandra development scheme was pushed ahead as a model suburban development scheme, and was followed by others in Vile Parle, Santacruz, Andheri, Ghatkopar and Chembur. These presented to the European visitor reminiscences of western suburbs of London, with rows of their neat and tidy buildings set on well-laid out roads, lit by electricity and served by a suburban electric train system.

The suburban district as a whole developed rapidly into the playground of Bombay, with a large number of clubs and recreation grounds to provide sports and social amenities. Juhu, Versova, Marve-Manori started attracting holiday crowds and picnickers through their attraction of swimming and bathing beaches, set in a string of coconut groves. Local administration in the suburbs was originally in the hands of a number of local authorities, but in order to promote an orderly

development of the suburbs, they were merged to form two major municipalities of Bandra and Vile Parle.

The industrial and commercial prosperity of the city in the second half of the nineteenth century and in the beginning of the current century turned Bombay from the colonial architectural style to a style of its own. Although the structures like the nave of the Cathedral, the Town Hall, the Byculla club, and others of this style were subsequently invaded by the *Gothic* style in mid fifties and later of the nineteenth century, adding to the not unpleasant medley of collection of period specimens. Of later years, the government had become more aesthetic, and fine edifices have sprung up in the *Gothic*, Italian and Saracenic styles. Sir Edwin Arnold thought it a happy inspiration to blend *Gothic* and Indian schools of architecture, and wrote of the Secretariat, the High Court and other buildings as being very remarkable structures, upon which he looked 'with admiring eyes'.

G. W. Stevens, the great journalist, thought Bombay had the richest and stateliest buildings in India, 'challenging comparison with almost any city in the world'.

Yet, the mixture of styles in the public buildings did not go without some unfavourable remarks from a few. Sir Sydney Low felt that the public buildings were 'designed with a fine official disregard for all local associations'. Samuel Butler talked of 'the present aesthetic reign of terror', and Aldous Huxley condemned the city architecturally as "one of the most appalling cities, of either hemisphere", but he argues that "it had the misfortune to develop during what was perhaps the darkest period of all architectural history", namely the later half of the nineteenth century. Spate sees in the grandiose architecture of the Fort buildings "an Arabian nightmarish medley of styles".

The advent of the professional architect in the earlier decades of the century helped in removing some of the more common grounds of criticism. The Gateway of India erected in memory of the King's visit in 1911, the Museum, additions to the University buildings, the Ballard Estate buildings, all much simpler in style but more utilitarian and in better harmony with the tropical climate, are the creations of this period.

The first cinema appeared in Bombay in 1908 in a tin shed near the municipal offices and in one or two tents in the *maidan*. A number of theatres, drama houses, musical clubs, symphony orchestras, and learned societies started adorning the city adding a colourful variety to the social ambitions of the people.

Years before Independence : The clouds that hung over the world during the late thirties and early forties when the European powers were plunged in a ghastly war had its impacts on the Indian soils and the social life in the city. The city functions and activities were geared up

to meet the war needs, and the port was congested with the troops on the move. The financial stringency of the period did not favour much improvement in the city. By 1933, the City Improvement Trust had been merged with the municipal corporation. The new reclamation area along the Back Bay, hitherto open, was allotted for residential sites, and the Marine Drive from Churchgate Reclamations to Chaupaty started taking shape flanked by uniformly rising, similar looking five storeyed buildings, housing residential flats criticised by some for the monotony of the 'pile of matchbox' style. The Back Bay provided a welcome and new relief to the upper strata of the white collared gentry working in the city and government offices, by providing accommodation close to the workspot. Looking backward, the Marine Drive, forming the Queen's Necklace, has added grandeur to the Back Bay face of the city, and presents a memorable spectacle when viewed from the crest of the Malabar Hills.

During the Second World War, the Municipal Corporation funds were depleted, and the Government, through the Municipal Act of 1944, empowered the Corporation to postpone the execution of works till after the war. Thus the funds of the Corporation were diverted to other pressing needs.

Fifties to the Seventies : The years immediately after the war brought a tremendous and explosive growth of the city and its suburbs that aggravated the urban problems and necessitated immediate remedial measures. The factors responsible were numerous. The country attained its Independence from the British yoke in August 1947, and as far as Bombay was concerned, this fact alone resulted in a new vigour of growth impetus. With the loss of Karachi as the leading international airport of the sub-continent, Bombay took its place overnight, and this resulted in the feverish activity in the early years of Independence in building a new airport at Santacruz, and equipping it to international standards to permit landing of the larger planes. A considerable volume of port traffic too was added to the already congested harbour area, with the diversion of hitherto Karachi-bound freight to Bombay. The early Five-Year Plans, taking advantage of the already existing well developed urban and commercial infrastructure of Bombay, promoted deliberately the growth of a wide range of industries, especially engineering, chemicals and pharmaceuticals in and around Bombay. The attraction of ready employment opportunities to the skilled as well as the unskilled, and better wages in the existing as well as the developing industries brought a continuous stream of immigrant working population not only from the different parts of the State but all over the country. This migrant stream has been growing in numbers over the years, and is continuing still unabated, resulting in an enormous growth of its population, beyond

all expected estimates. Immediately following the declaration of Independence, large influx of refugee population from Sind and Punjab poured into the city, and created an unprecedented problem of rehabilitating the refugees on one hand, and finding quick measures of decongestion of the city's poorer areas on the other.

To plan the post-war development, the Government appointed a committee headed by the Adviser to the Governor, and this committee stressed the need for including a large area within the urban limits of Bombay for providing space for expansion and dispersal of Bombay, and also recommended the need for a Master Plan for a controlled development of urban functions. It also suggested ways and means in which the town and the suburbs should be planned on healthy lines. Accordingly, the *Albert Meyer-Modak 'Outline of the Master Plan'* for Bombay was prepared in 1948. Though not a complete master plan in itself, it provided useful guidelines for detailed planning of areas earmarked for different purposes. It indicated lines along which the further growth of the city was to be regulated, and the suburbs and satellite towns beyond to be planned.

The dock explosions of 1944 destroyed the areas surrounding Mandvi, and made possible the application of the Town Planning Act to the area, from 1957, in spite of opposition from local residents. Likewise, the town planning scheme was brought to action to clear the Mahim Woods, and so too the Sion hill and marshes. The refugee population was accommodated in improvised structures in recently reclaimed areas in a number of localities, but mainly at Chembur (now known as Chembur Sindhi colony), the Antop hill, Chunabhatti, and Koliwada areas, while the better-off refugees started settling in Sion, Mahim, Bandra, Marine Lines and elsewhere. The influx of refugees was far in excess of the possibilities of rehabilitation within the city, and ultimately the Government in the early fifties set up a large refugee colony in a cleared area near Kalyan, which over the years has grown into a flourishing township, almost a city, with a population of over a lakh, and spreading over Ulhasnagar and Vitthalwadi areas.

The increase in population from about 15 lakhs in 1941 to nearly 24 lakhs in 1951 within the city limits not only created intolerable densities of population in many localities, but also the city was getting rapidly saturated with built up areas. The last left over marshes and salt pans in Sion, Wadala were also invaded by residential areas in the fifties. Open space in the city amounting to a meagre 140 hectares, proved utterly inadequate. The urgency of the situation forced the Government to expand the municipal jurisdiction beyond the Mahim Bay into southern Salsette. Accordingly, in 1950, the Municipal Corporation limits were extended upto Jogeshwari along the Western Railway and upto Bhandup along the

Central Railway. This limit was further extended in February 1957 upto Dahisar along the Western Railway and Mulund on the Central Railway. The jurisdictions of the Commissioner of Police, Bombay, and the Collector, Bombay Suburban District were made now coterminous with the extended jurisdiction of the Bombay Municipal Corporation. The area of suburban Bombay to the north of the Mahim creek thus amounts to about 446 sq. km.

Meanwhile, the outline of a Master Plan for Greater Bombay, lacking legal validity had gone out of date, and the Bombay Town Planning Act, 1954, needed fuller details than provided in the Master Plan. The Corporation, therefore, declared its intention to prepare a fresh development plan through a series of government notifications between 1958 and 1964, when the report of the development plan became ready. In between, the State Government appointed a study group headed by late Shri S. G. Barve and consisting of five panels to probe into the extent of the existing urban problems of housing, building materials, open space and other community needs, industrial siting and traffic. This group recommended a planned development of the suburbs, planned use of land for different urban uses, the immediate construction of the two express ways recommended by the earlier Master Plan, apart from feeder routes in the suburbs, creation of satellite townships in the adjoining districts, and a planned programme of public housing.

The 1964 Master Plan had as its main objectives the protection of the existing character of Bombay and reorganisation of its structure gradually by promoting development of its areas on neighbourhood basis with an internal self-sufficiency and a sense of healthy interdependence; the establishment of suitable zones in residential areas with gross densities of population ranging between 625 and 1,500 per hectare in the city and 375 to 625 in the suburbs; the gradual dispersal of the city population to the suburban areas; the decentralisation of commerce and industry from the city through reservation of areas in the suburbs for industrial and commercial uses; a comprehensive programme of slum clearance and provision of low and middle income housing; adequate provision of sites for schools, recreation, hospitals, markets etc., a regulated and co-ordinated comprehensive road development; and a phased programme of reclaiming areas with a view to making them available for development.

The fifties onwards witnessed a spectacular development of residential area all over the city and the suburbs. The marshes and salt pans of Sion, Sewri-Wadala were fully cleared, wide roads laid out according to preplanned schemes, and middle income people's apartments in three to five storeyed structures raised on them, with adequate provisions for open space and parks, educational facilities, medical facilities and retail shopping. Chembur-Deonar, hitherto a wilderness, too developed

fast as a residential area with a well developed shopping complex; these areas, by their planned neat lay-out and better looking structures present a sharp contrast to the older parts of the city with a haphazard and tardy growth.

Residential development in the suburbs commenced somewhat earlier along the Western Railway; the first development was mostly on the Western side, along the railway and the Ghodbundar (now Swami Vivekanand) road, the extension further west into the reclaimed marshes being much later in the sixties and seventies. The rail-heads with the converging commuting traffic provided invariably the necessary impetus for the shopping along the station roads. The development of the areas east of the railway line, however, was delayed till recently, and the coming into existence of the Western Express Highway. While Bandra-Khar were the earliest planned suburbs to be developed, rapid infilling took place in the sixties mostly in Santacruz, Vile Parle and Andheri, and the wave of feverish building activity continued unabated in the seventies in the outer western suburbs beyond Andheri on one hand, and the shoreside settlements like Juhu, Versova, and Marve on the other.

Along the Central Railway, Kurla is an old industrial and low income workers' area. Ghatkopar to Mulund, on both sides of the railway, but more to the east, is shaping into numerous *nagars* of low income housing colonies, housing mostly industrial workers, unlike the western suburbs that house service-seekers.

Planning of land use and zoning areas prior to development has facilitated industrial development in the suburbs in a somewhat more healthy manner, permitting segregation of industrial land use from others invariably. During the late fifties and sixties, the lake area around Powai, lying at accessible distances from both the railways and in between, flowered into a large industrial complex housing engineering and chemical units; while the old Kurla neighbourhood developed into an automobile industrial zone, with the erection of the Premier Automobiles in this area. All along the Central Railway between the Agra Road (now Lal Bahadur Shastri Marg) and the Railway, there developed in a ribbon-like fashion, numerous small and medium industries, mostly pharmaceuticals and light engineering goods. Chembur-Trombay has the concentration of refineries, petro-chemicals and a fertiliser unit. The latest area to develop is along the western outer suburbs, beyond Jogeshwari, and along the Western Express Highway; here many industrial estates and large expansion units of the older city units, like Mahindra's jeep unit are fast changing the landscape.

Together with these industries, slums have been developing fast in the suburbs. Road-work, quarrying on the hill sides, and building activity in the suburbs have all promoted the slum development, almost spontaneous

and mushroom-like, such spots creating an unhealthy atmosphere in an otherwise pleasant, greener-looking suburban environment.

Individual suburbs, in comparison to the city wards, have more open spaces and playgrounds for children. In addition the lay-out of a large Dairy colony in Aarey at the foothills, with neatly and hygienically laid cattle stables, and a Dairy Technology Institute provides a pleasant picnic spot for the weary, week-end holiday seekers. The conversion of a large part of the neglected Kanheri jungles into a beautified National Park with a zoo and a deer park and lion safari is another measure that provides for a large open space and recreation ground for the suburbanite, although its location in the extreme north of the Corporation limits is a limitation which inhibits a fuller use of this facility by the urban people.

While these changes have been gradually creeping over the suburban areas, the older parts of the city also slowly started undergoing internal morphological changes. With the closure of the tramways in 1964, many of the main roads were widened and improved to make way for a more efficient road traffic. Commercial land use steadily started usurping the main roads in the older residential zones like Fort, Princess Street, Dhobi Talao, Girgaum, Bhendi Bazar and others, pushing the older residents out into the suburbs. Many old residential structures, dilapidated and collapsing during the heavy monsoons, were pulled down and replaced by more modern, sophisticated multi-storeyed skyscrapers, particularly along the main roads. These buildings especially in the Fort, Walkeshwar-Cumballa Hills, Peddar Road, and the main roads of Girgaum and Opera House are fast changing the skyline and making the hitherto significant landmarks look almost dwarfs. This urban renewal, a feature of the seventies, has facilitated on one hand a heavier concentration of commercial, administrative and business functions in the old core and a steady push-out and decongestion of residential population in them. Another area, presenting an almost fairy-land appearance along the shores of the Back Bay is the new skyscraper area that extends south of the Marine Drive upto Colaba along the Foreshore Road and the Cuffe Parade. This area has two skyscraper complexes : a northern administrative-cum-business set-up housing the Mantralaya with its State administration, many government and semi-government administrative buildings like those of Air India, Life Insurance Corporation, Shipping Corporation and State Bank, business houses like Hindustan Petroleum Corporation, Express Newspaper group and the like and large five-star hotels like the Oberoi Sheraton. The second one further south houses mainly upper class residential population, like the ministers, business elite, and officers in government services.

A welcome change noticed in the development pattern of Bombay in the last thirty years is that of a slow but gradual dispersal of a number

of social and other amenities from the south northwards. Hitherto, the Fort area and its neighbourhood not only concentrated administration, commercial and business functions but also had all the concentration of higher education, better and larger hospitals, cinema houses, clubs and the like. All these facilities have now spread all over the city and the suburbs, so much so that commuting in one way by all the people is getting steadily replaced by a wider dispersed flow of people in all directions, but mainly north-south on account of the topographical lineation of the city and its suburbs as well as the orientation of the main traffic corridors.

With a steady dispersal of development, the population of the urban complex has not only grown to over 82 lakhs (in 1981), but has also spread into the suburbs; in fact, it is the suburbs that are growing faster than the city, and account for almost half the population, although spread over a much wider area than the city.

The city's communications and traffic channels too have substantially increased. About 2,325 BEST buses, private cars and taxis ply in them, the buses accounting for about 40 per cent of the commuting traffic. The railways have expanded their suburban commuting facilities enormously. The six traffic corridors of the suburban railways are working to their saturation capacity limits. Four track facilities on the Western Railway now exist between Churchgate and Borivli. In both railways, the suburban trains carry now nine coaches, and the platforms have been extended.

The port functions too have been further extended. Apart from improving the Butcher island oil terminal, providing for a large repair work for ships and ship-building yard at Mazagaon, the harbour front along the Alexandra docks (now Indira docks) and Apollo Pier is being expanded considerably to provide new berthing facilities.

The international airport at Santacruz, a creation of the last about 35 years, was continuously expanding and getting improved to cope up with a growing international traffic. A separate international air terminal at Sahar is now established to segregate domestic traffic and to avoid air traffic congestion.

The telephone facility inside the city has been improved through the establishment of numerous exchanges all over, and the introduction of a cross-bar system. Today, the city is connected with the large cities of the country by a direct subscribers trunk dialing system. A television network serving Western India, too, has come into existence.

Thus, the present metropolis of Bombay has grown out of humble origins of a group of fishermen's villages in a short span of three hundred years, and is still growing with considerable vigour.

RELIEF OF BOMBAY

Any one who sees the present day topography of Bombay will hardly be able to visualise the original relief of the area, much less imagine the

extent to which the topography and configuration of the area on which Greater Bombay stands has been shaped by human interference and action. A substantial area—possibly a half of the city area, and about a fifth to fourth of the suburban area—has been reclaimed from below sea-level by infilling, and pushing the sea outward through dyke-walls like those of the Back Bay reclamation. Many low hills have been quarried for road and plinth material, subsequently levelled and built up. Thus, most of the low hills around Sion, Raoli, Sewri, and Dongri-Mazagaon in the city, and around Kurla-Ghatkopar, Andheri-Jogeshwari, and Marol have been reduced to ground level. Much of the initial surface drainage and streams, especially in the suburban Salsette have been so completely modified that there is practically no natural drainage in the area. The original Mahim river draining into the Mahim Bay has been dammed in its upper reaches, while the building of the Airport at Santacruz has blocked it in its mid stretches. The lower stretches, close to the Mahim Bay, have become a stinking, fastly silting up, gutter carrying polluted waters, and industrial wastes, only removed during the flush of the high tides and floods of the monsoon. So also, the westward flowing Dahisar *nadi* draining the slopes of the Kanheri hills is no more a flowing stream; it is dammed at its upper reaches, while below in the flat terrain, it consists of local pits and depressions, holding pockets of polluted drainage. In fact due to the continuous increase in built up areas, and asphalted and macadamised road surfaces, natural drainage during the heavy monsoon rains has been so adversely affected that vast areas, and local depressions get readily flooded even with moderately heavy rains. Added to this, is the fact that most of Bombay and its suburbs is low-lying reclaimed land, barely a metre or two above sea-level, and during high tides, when the sea does not receive the sewage from the city drains, most of Bombay floats in flood-waters, often contaminated with sewerage, and hence carrying risks to health.

This brief review readily highlights the fact that much of the topography and its configuration is man-made; the rapidity with which man can bring about changes explains the quick changes in the configuration and surface appearance of the land of Greater Bombay.

The present day Bombay, built on the original cluster of seven islets, is not only a single land mass, but it is not even an island, with the effective filling in of the breach of the Mahim Bay between Sion and Kurla and the construction of the Mahim Causeway. Bombay city is situated on a peninsula, protruding south of Salsette. So too, Trombay, originally an island, to the north-east of Bombay island, along the head of the Harbour Bay today, forms a land mass, in continuation with Salsette, as the tidal creek and marshes in between have been reclaimed. Salsette, in which the suburban areas are located is, however, a large island lying

off the Konkan mainland, being separated from it by the Vasai creek and the Ulhas estuary in the north and north-east and the wider Thane creek to its east.

The original cluster of seven islands of Bombay, barring Mahim (Baradbet), was built around hill cores. Only Mahim was an old sand bar, on the protected, innerside of the Mahim Bay, behind the Worli head-lands.

With the silting of the lagoons in between, filling of the breaches between the islands, and gradual reclamation of the tidal flats, salt marshes and salt pan areas, present day Bombay consists of a low-lying plain about 40 km. long north to south, and 5 to 7 km. broad east to west, flanked by two parallel ridges of low hills running along the two shores. The eastern ridge, more discontinuous, and levelled in many parts continues below high-water level beyond Colaba, forming the dangerous reef marked by the Prongs Lighthouse. Point Colaba, the headland formed by the longer of these ridges, protects the harbour, lying on its eastern side and measuring 10 km. in width, from the force of the open sea. The other ridge terminates in Malabar Hill; and between the two lies the shallow expanse of Back Bay. This false harbour is one of the several beautiful bays, accessible only to fishing boats, which indent the western shore for a distance of 13 km from Colaba to Mahim. The western ridge is of a slightly higher elevation, but both the hills have steeper slopes on the eastern face. The western ridge invariably descends to the open sea, and ends with a foot-hill wave abraded platform, clearly visible during the low tide.

The Bombay peninsula is in the shape of a trapezoid, and is popularly likened to a hand-laid palm upwards, with the fingers stretching southwards into the sea and the thumb representing Malabar Hill, with Back Bay between the thumb and the forefinger. Others discover in it some similarity to a withered leg with a very high heel (Malabar Hill) and pointed toe (Colaba). On a slightly raised strip of land between the head of the Back Bay and the harbour is situated the original site of the Fort, the nucleus of the modern city now chiefly occupied by stately public buildings and mercantile offices; and from this point the land slopes westward to the central plain, which before the construction of the embankment, known as the Hornby Vellard, was liable to be submerged at high tide. In the north and east, large schemes of reclamation have similarly shut out the sea and partly redeemed the foreshore for commercial uses.

The eastern water-front, facing the protected waters of the harbour bay is the harbour area, with numerous docks, quays and berths. The dock walls lie adjoining deep waters of the harbour bay, with many navigable channels maintained through the Bay. The western water-front on the

other hand is a series of alternating headlands and bays, the largest of them being in the southern and northern extremes, namely the Back Bay and the Mahim Bay. It is in these bays that limited stretches of sandy beaches have been formed, the only other beach being that of Dadar, behind the Worli headlands in the Worli Bay.

The city area has no natural drainage outlet. The central area forming a depression, flanked by hills, and being on reclaimed grounds barely two to three metres above sea level is liable to flooding during the monsoons. Central Bombay extending from Dadar to Grant Road-Byculla, the great heavy rains forms a continuous sheet of water, posing one of the great problems for the city traffic and a major health hazard.

Suburban Bombay is located on Salsette. As late as 1808, Salsette included seven islands, namely Salsette proper, the main and largest of the islands, Trombay in the south-east, also large with a central hilly core, Juhu, Versova, and Marve, that are sand bars pushed inland by the sea, and resting on knolls, Dharavi and Rai Murdhe. Today they form together a single land mass, off the Ulhas mouth.

In the north centre of the island lies a hill complex that rises to elevations of 467 m. in the conical peak of Kanheri, 463 m. in Shendur, and 417 m. in Avagadh. Two spurs of ridges shoot off southwards from this hill complex from near Kanheri and Avagadh peaks, enclosing in between a horse shoe shaped valley, that opens out southward and slopes in the same direction. The western ridge, of a higher elevation, runs over a distance of about 10 km. and ends near Marol. The eastern spur, though lower, is longer, and gradually descends to the level of the plains around Ghatkopar-Kurla. Further north of Kanheri, this topography forms a tangle of jungle clad hill mass, that at many places practically descends to the level of the Ulhas estuary and is skirted by the Borivli-Ghodbundar-Thane road.

The central horse shoe valley in the hills used to be drained south by the Mahim river in the past. This river has been dammed in its upper reaches, so much so this valley today accommodates three small fresh water lakes, the Tulsi, the Vihar and the Powai, one below the other, that supply the city with 3 per cent of its domestic and other needs of water supply. Below Powai, the river today is mostly a storm drain and a gutter of sewerage, blocked off by the construction of the Santacruz airport at its Kurla end. The lower reaches is a shallow, fastly silting up drain of industrial wastes emptying into the Mahim Bay.

The Kanheri hill complex has a radial drainage system, with numerous rain torrents washing down its slopes in all directions. The largest of them is the Dahisar river that rises on the southern flanks of the Kanheri hills, and drains west to join the Marve creek; this river, however, has

been blocked to form the Dahisar project, to augment the water supply to the city to a small extent.

Surrounding the central hilly region, are extensive lowlying plains, that are reclaimed tidal marshes and flats just above tidal levels. They are widest to the west and south of the central hilly region, and narrowest to the north. In the east, along the Thane creek, sizable stretches of tidal swaps and salt pan areas, especially around Bhandup, still survive.

Traversing these low tidal flats, and occasionally rising to higher elevations are protrusions and outcrops of acidic and basic lava flows that in places form low hills, while in others form low dyke ridges like ribs. The low hill ridge of Kalina, the knolls of Marol, the vertically well jointed columnar basalts of Andheri (Gilbert Hill), Ambivli and others further north, are of this category. However, close to the coast on the western side, there runs a chain of low hills, broken and discontinuous, and a continuation of the western hill ridge of the Bombay peninsula that runs from Malabar Hill through Worli northwards. This ridge forms headlands at a number of places like Bandra, Danda, Madh, Manori and Uttan, Dongri, and where breached by the tidal creeks in between forms extensive tidal marshes. It is on this residual hill remnant that sand bars and spits of wave deposition like Juhu and Versova have been transfixed.

Small depressions, forming ponds of fresh water used to dot the low flats especially to the west of the main hill range in the past: as for example, the Padam Talao to the north of the Military Camp Hill, which used to exist within the present airport area. These depressions have been mostly filled up for hygienic reasons and have become built up in most cases.

As in Bombay proper, so too in the suburbs, natural drainage has been visibly affected by urban building activity. All along the shore fringes, extensive areas are flooded during high tides, and during the heavy monsoon rains, many low-lying areas are flooded and do not get readily drained.

To the east of Salsette lies the Thane creek opening into the northern part of the Harbour Bay. It runs for 16 km. north to south from near Thane to Trombay village; it is very narrow, barely 200 m. wide, at its northern, Thane end, and gradually opens out to over 2 km at its southern end, where it is bridged to carry over it a road from Bombay to Panvel. The Panvel creek debouches into it at its southern end, immediately north of the Hog island.

The Harbour Bay is studded from south to north with many islands. The Kansa or Gull islet, lies at the entrance of the Dharamtar creek to its east. The Karanja island, which consists of two hills rising to nearly 300 m,

and 200 m. height and an intervening valley; the Cross or Gibbet island, 20 m. high, which is situated nearly opposite the Victoria Dock, on the eastern side of a reef of rocks, with shoals extending north and south of it; the Butcher island, also 20 m. high and a km. long and a km. wide, which is situated 5 km. north-east of Cross island and contains an oil terminal; the Elephanta island, which lies 1.5 km. east of Butcher island and consists of two hills (the eastern 180 m. and the western 100 m. high); and Hog island which lies a km. east of Elephanta, on the south side of the entrance to the Panvel river, are the other islands in the harbour end. The northern end of the harbour bay is filled by Trombay with the small mosque of Pir Pav on its southern extremity, from which the land rises into a hill 300 m. in height. Outside the harbour, but within port limits, lie the islands of Henery and Kenery.

Among the reefs of the harbour may be noted: the Karanja reef which extends 3 km. west of Karanja island; the Colaba reef, opposite the Victoria bundar; the Cross island reef, which lies immediately north of the south channel beacon, nearly opposite the Victoria Terminus; and the Butcher Big reef which is separated from Butcher island by a narrow channel. The chief shoals are: the Colaba shoal, extending from opposite the Prongs reef for 5 km. along the east side of Colaba; the middle ground shoal, which lies north-east of the Dolphin Rock and 3 km. from the Sunk Rock, and has near its centre a rocky islet, about 10 m. high, surmounted by a battery; the Flag Staff shoal which lies nearly opposite the Custom House and north-west of the middle ground shoal; and the Elephanta spit, a shoal of the mud running in a north easterly direction from the north end of Elephanta island.

The chief rocks are: the Sunk rock on which a lighthouse stands, situated a little to the south-east of Colaba point and divided by a narrow channel from the Colaba shoal; Oyster rock, a flat rock about 23 m. high, surmounted by a battery, lying nearly opposite to Pilot Bundar about a km. from the shore; Nigger's head rock, lying south-west of Oyster rock; the Dolphin rock, a small rocky shoal carrying a lighthouse, partly visible at low water and lying 2 km. north-east of the Sunk rock; the Apollo spit or Falkland rock, situated a km. north-west of the middle ground shoal; the North Patch, lying nearly 1.5 km north-west of the middle ground shoal; the Elephanta rock, lying just off the southern extremity of that island; the Barnacle rock, which lies on the west side of the channel dividing Elephanta and Hog islands and is marked by a black pillar 10 m. high; and the Malet Shelf, a rocky patch close to the foreshore on the north of Prince's Dock.

To the west of Salsette, there are no islets at present. The Varsova creek, the Manori-Malad creek and the Gorai creek tidal islets, flush in and out during the tides, and they separate an arm of the mainland in which

are located Madh, Manori and Gorai, presenting a false appearance of insularity.

WARDS AND SECTIONS

The modern administrative divisions of Bombay are to a large extent based upon the physical divisions of the earlier days. The municipal wards now number 7 in the city and 8 in the suburbs, sub-divided into 88 sections, and 140 electoral wards. The police divisions almost correspond to the municipal wards.

A Ward : The municipal A ward includes the Colaba, Fort and Back Bay Reclamation areas.

Upper and Lower Colaba : Colaba that extends from Colaba Point in the extreme southern tip or Land's end, northwards upto the Indira Docks and Museum, is divided into an upper and a lower section. Upper Colaba mostly comprises the Defence area and hence the restricted development of residential and other urban uses. It, however, contains the Meteorological and seismic observatories of the Indian Meteorological Department, close to the Land's end, the premier research organisation namely, the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, and two churches, the R. C. and Afghan Church, whose spires are significant landmarks observable for a distance from the sea. Lower Colaba is a fairly densely peopled residential quarter, where sizable number of dock workers live along the eastern water front. Lower Colaba is a narrow elongated strip, not much wide east to west, connecting Upper Colaba with the Fort area. The main road, Shahid Bhagatsing Marg (formerly Colaba Causeway), running along the length, has a fashionable retail shopping front often visited by foreigners. East of the road, at its southern end, are the Sassoon docks, with its fish-landing bundar, while northwards along the harbour wall, are a number of high class hotels and clubs, of which the Taj Mahal Hotel with its magnificent dome, and the more modern Taj Intercontinental reign supreme. West of the Shahid Bhagatsing Road, running sub-parallel to it are the N. P. Parekh (Wodehouse) Road, and the Cuffe Parade along the foreshore. The Cuffe Parade skirts the new Back Bay Reclamation and has at its two ends two skyscraper complexes. The southern one adjoining Colaba is residential with Embassy and State Government officer's residences, and the northern one a business-cum-administrative complex housing the offices of a large number of Airlines, Shipping Corporation, State Bank and newspaper houses, Life Insurance Corporation, and the prestigious State Government office, the Mantralaya, and New Vidhan Bhavan in an imposing complex.

South Fort : The South Fort section bordered on the north by the Veer Nariman Road (the former Church Gate Street) and the Elphinstone Circle, is a part of the original European town of Bombay founded by the genius of Gerald Aungier and his successors. It has two parts: an eastern

section that was part of the original fortifications, and a narrow reclaimed area to its west, the two being roughly separated along the Mayo Road, and the Oval *maidan*. The eastern part has two main thoroughfares running north-south : one of them, the Mahatma Gandhi Road from the Prince of Wales Museum in the south to the Hutatma Chowk (Flora Fountain) follows the line of the old Fort walls behind the Apollo Bunder and Church Gate, and the other the Shahid Bhagatsingh Road (Chhatrapati Shivaji), that is the land boundary of the docks area. Its principal objects of interest are: the Indira Docks, Gateway of India, the old Yacht Club adjacent to the docks, the Prince of Wales Museum at the south end of the Fort, that houses a marvellous collection of Natural History, the old Legislative Assembly Hall overlooking the Museum, close to the old Apollo Gate of the Fort, the Town Hall, that houses the Central Library and the old Royal Asiatic Society facing the Elphinstone or Horniman Circle, laid on the site of the original Cotton Green, the St. Thomas Cathedral, an old landmark facing the circle, and lying adjoining the old Church Gate of the Fort. This area constituted the European business quarter of the colonial days, and today houses the Stock Exchange—the Dalal Street is to Bombay the Wall Street of New York and the Fleet Street of London, and a number of business houses. Along the Mahatma Gandhi Road, are from south to north, the prestigious Institute of Science, an institution of scholarship in Science disciplines, the Elphinstone College, the mother of the Bombay University, and the Government Archives, the old Secretariat buildings, the administrative offices of the University of Bombay, and its library in the Rajabai Tower buildings, and the High Court, apart from the head offices of the Bank of India.

The old Mayo Road marks the limits of the old seashore of the Back Bay front. The Oval and the Cooperage *maidans* to the west of the Mayo Road are the only vast open spaces and playgrounds in the south Fort area. Skirting the Oval on the western side is the Maharshi Karve Marg (formerly Queen's Road) with a neat row of five storeyed residential houses, and further beyond structures housing offices of business houses, colleges, and few hotels on the newer reclamations. The old railway line of the B. B. and C. I. from Colaba used to run along the western edge of the Oval, and the ruins of the Colaba station close to the Cooperage are still preserved. South fort is the main administrative core of Bombay.

North Fort : Like Fort South, Fort North also comprises two parts: an eastern part, to the east of Dadabhai Naoroji Road (formerly Hornby Road) which is a part of the old fortified town, and a western section that includes all the area to the west of Dadabhai Naoroji Road upto the Cross and Azad *maidans*, the Maharshi Karve Marg, and Church Gate Reclamations to the south of the Marine Lines station. The Victoria Terminus of the Central Railway lies at the north end of the Fort area.

The North Fort proper, bounded by the Dadabhai Naoroji Road on the west, by the Shahid Bhagatsingh Marg on the east, the Nagar Chowk near Victoria Terminus in the north, and the Veer Nariman Road in the South is traversed north to south by two main roads, the Bohra Bazar street and the Bazar Gate street. These two roads are old thoroughfares on the line of the original streets of the Fort intersecting the town on a steel grid pattern. This is the section in which during the Company days the Parsi and other native communities settled down within the Fort walls and carried on commerce. The area is the only zone of sizable residential population in the 'city-centre', and is marked by narrow streets and by-lanes, old residential buildings, interspersed with modern structures in place of fallen buildings, an old Parsi Fire temple, and other places of worship. The area is undergoing much renovation; the main streets are widened and straightened, and house an old shopping core. The Pheroze-shah Mehta Road, close to the southern boundary and parallel to the Veer Nariman Road is a 'banking' street housing the head offices of the leading banks of the country and many financial institutions. At its eastern extremity, adjoining the Town Hall are the Mint buildings in the site of the old Castle and the Reserve Bank of India.

Further east, beyond the Shahid Bhagatsingh Marg is the Port Trust area on harbour reclamations. Known as the Ballard Estate, it is a neatly laid area on reclaimed ground that houses the offices of the Customs, and numerous business houses, shipping companies and foreign consuls. Here, business is transacted on a bulk handling basis, round the clock. It lies in the core of the central business district of Bombay.

Along the north end of the Fort section are the Central Railway offices and rail terminal at Victoria Terminus, the General Post Office buildings, the Government Dental College and St. George's Hospital in the ruins of original Fort St. George.

The Esplanade area approximates in location to the present day Cross and Azad *maidans*, which, according to Fryer, was the grazing ground for buffaloes and cows and later was reserved as an open space in front of the Fort walls along the *maidans*, and is today an administrative-cum-recreation zone with so many offices, cinema houses, and a couple of schools and colleges.

Facing the Victoria Terminus across the Dadabhai Naoroji Road (north) is the Municipal Corporation building. Further north along the road are the 'Times of India' building and the Sir J. J. School of Art and College of Architecture, and the office of the Police Commissioner. In the northern extreme, along the Lokmanya Tilak Road (Carnac Road) are the Mahatma Phule (Crawford) fruit and flower market, the Shivaji *Mandai* and the Mohatta, Manish cloth markets. On the Mahapalika Marg, connecting the Nagar Chowk with the Dhobi Talao area are the

courts of the Presidency Magistrate, Cama and Albless Hospitals, the State Institute of Educational Training, and the *Ranga Bhavan*.

To the west of the *maidans*, is the M. Karve Marg with its S.N.D.T. Women's University, the Western Railway building and the Government of India offices; parallel to it is the Western Railway suburban rail track, terminating in the imposing Churchgate building complex. Further west are the Churchgate reclamations, mostly of the thirties and forties, with a rectangular pattern of streets terminating in the promenade of the Marine Drive. This section of the reclamations houses many star hotels, colleges, the Brabourne and Wankhede stadiums and playgrounds, while further north the area becomes more residential in character, nearer Marine Lines.

B Ward : The B Ward lies to the east of Abdul Rehman street and Ibrahim Rahimtulla Road right upto the harbour front, and extends from the Lokmanya Tilak Road (Carnac Road) in the south to the J. J. Hospitals and Ramchandra Bhat Marg (old Babula Tank Road) in the north. It comprises Mandvi, Chakala, Dongri and Umarchhadi areas. The area as a whole has a concentration of Muslim population and is the commercial core of the city, with both wholesaling and retailing functions.

Mandvi : Mandvi lies to the north of Tilak Road and comprises the area around Masjid railway station on the Central Railway. The western half of the area, to the west of the rail track, is intersected by narrow and irregular streets and constitutes a part of the old town outside the Fort walls which developed around a Koliwadi as the nucleus. In spite of considerable improvement and clearance of the area by the City Improvement Trust in the early decades of the century, the area still presents a crowded appearance. The eastern part, to the east of railway, is comparatively modern, being built up on reclaimed land, and contains a regular line of streets, ending on the Victoria docks.

Mandvi as a whole is a mercantile section with the docks on one side and godowns and shops of local merchants on the other. Along the P. DeMello Road (formerly Frere Road) are the great warehouses and granaries of the city, while along the Arayal road and the streets taking off from it are the iron (*Lohar*) bazar of the city. Western Mandvi is the seat of the wholesale grains, dry fruits market, and offices of numerous inter-state road transport carriers.

Chakla : Chakla to the west of Mandvi, but to the east of Abdul Rehman Street is also devoted to commerce. Bisected by the Nagdevi Street, which owes its name to the old shrine of Nagdev (serpent god), the nearly rectangular section ends up at its northern end at the Pydhonie Police station, located approximately on the site of the old 'Foot-wash'. Abdul Rehman Street is commercially the most important street of the

locality, housing mainly stationery dealers, watch dealers and leather shops. Historically, the most important part of the section is Pydhonie that roughly marks the boundary between the Muslim quarters to its east and south, and the Hindu residential areas to its west. The Minar mosque, close to the Pydhonie Police station is a two centuries old place of worship.

Umarchhadi : To the north of Mandvi is Umarchhadi, bounded on its west by the Bhendi Bazar along the Ibrahim Rahimtulla Road, and on its east by the Jail Road East. The southern part is a medley of irregular streets and by-lanes, and is occupied by a large number of low-class tenement buildings or chawls, housing Muslims. To the north of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel Road that splits the area into two, right in the heart of the area is the Muslim cemetery, and to its north-east, the old Jail built in 1804 by the Governor Duncan and now housing a children's home. This is an area where even today the horse drawn victorias can be seen, though declining, and a number of saddlers' shops along the main roads. The shopping front has a large number of Urdu bookstalls.

Dongri : To the east of Umarchhadi is Dongri, that contains an old residential quarter and a more recent harbour front housing the Clerk basin, the Frere basin and the Malet basin, the two parts being separated by the Wadi Bundar goods yard of the Central Railway and the Naoraji hill, adjoining it. This hill is the original Dongri hill, on which a fortlet was built in the early British colonial period, and was subject to attack by the Siddis. Dongri has an old settlement nucleus in its Koliwada. Dongri is a highly congested area with insanitary surroundings.

C Ward : The C ward to the north of Esplanade, and west of the Muslim quarters is the old Hindu core of the native town of Bombay. Though small in area, it is the densest populated area of the city, with areas having densities of 1,500 to 2,000 per hectare. It comprises the areas of Khara Talao, Kumbharwada, Bhuleshwar, Market, Dhobi Talao and Fanaswadi.

Market area : The Market section derives its name from the great cloth markets (Mulji Jetha and Mangaldas markets) that fringe the Shaikh Memon Street, its main and central thoroughfare. The Kalbadevi road which earns its name from a shrine of Kali or Kalikadevi, that was once located in Mahim but later shifted to this locality during the Muslim period, is its northern and western limits. Apart from the fact that this section has an old settlement in the present locations of Kantilal Sharma Marg (Lohar Chawl) and Vithalwadi, the section contains the Jama Masjid (1802), the temple and tank of Mumbadevi (1766), the patron deity of the islands. The Shaikh Memon Street is reputed as one of the richest streets of Bombay. The southern half of the street is the business quarter of rich cloth merchants, while the northern part is the *Sona-Chandi* (gold-silver) bazar and the bullion market. About half way up the

Kalbadevi road, stands the temple of Laxminarayan, built in 1875 by Mulji Jetha. The Kalbadevi road has the main copper, aluminium and stainless steel vessels market (Tamba bazar) and the Cotton Exchange, apart from a few Jain temples close to the Pydhonie end. The Samaldas Gandhi Marg (formerly Princess Street), at the south end of the area built on cleared land in 1905, has a wholesale umbrella market at its last end. Tilak road along the southern boundary is a fashionable retail shopping area for a wide range of consumer goods, toys and sports goods.

Dhobi Talao : To the south of Kalbadevi Road is the Dhobi Talao area, bordering the old Esplanade in its north. The section owes its name to an old tank used by washermen. Its north-eastern part lying between Kalbadevi and Jagannath Shankarsheth (old Girgaum) roads is the old Cavel, one of the original Koli settlements of fishermen converted to Christianity by the Portuguese. Cavel is still the lane of a large number of Christians. Across the Shankarsheth Road, in the north of the section, is another old area, Sonapur, that lies adjoining the Marine Lines Station. This area contains the old burial and burning grounds of the Hindus and Muslims and has the Chandanwadi crematorium. The wide area now occupied by the Maharshi Karve Marg, the rail tracks and the Parsi, Hindu and Islam gymkhana clubs is entirely on reclaimed ground of the current century. A newly constructed fly-over leading to Samaldas Gandhi Marg connects the Marine Drive with this area.

The area as a whole has a sizable Parsi population, and Parsi fire temples.

Fanaswadi : Immediately north of the Dhobi Talao lies the Fanaswadi, originally an orchard of jack trees. Outwardly, it resembles Dhobi Talao, and has been transformed over the years from a collection of garden estates to a densely built locality. Though the area is small, it has a comparatively large number of temples, of which the best known is the Vyankatesh Shrine (called Fanaswadi temple).

With its numerous *wadis* a group of buildings built within walled enclosures in by-lanes, and opening out into the main street through a narrow entrance, that can be shut off at will, the area is predominantly Hindu in composition, with clear caste and sub-caste differentiation of early migrants from Konkan.

Bhuleshwar : Bhuleshwar, to the north of Kalbadevi and Pydhonie is very different in appearance from the surrounding areas. It is so called from the great temple and tank of Bhuleshwar in the south of the area. This is an area predominantly occupied by the Gujarati Jains and the Hindus and has a disproportionately large number of temples. It has a very large number of irregular, narrow and confined streets; at its north-western end is the *panjarpol* or the home of the diseased and aged

animals. To the east of the Kika Street, the area turns steadily Muslim. Over the last two decades, the area is being improved and slowly decongested.

Kumbharwada-Khara Talao : To the north of Bhuleshwar are the Kumbharwada and Khara Talao areas, separated from each other by the Maulana Azad Road. Kumbharwada is occupied largely by the poor people. In the north of the area, adjoining the Maulana Shaukat Ali Road is the Northbrook Garden and the former site of Two Tanks. The Khara Talao area is essentially Muslim quarters and contains nine mosques. In its southern parts between the Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel Road and the Erskine Road is the Null Bazar opened in 1867 and so called from the fact that the main drain of the city flowed past this place on its way to the Worli sluices in the past.

D. Ward : The D ward lies to the west of C and E wards and covers the western prongs of a ridge that juts into the Back Bay as the Malabar Hill. It comprises the Khetwadi, Girgaum, Chaupaty areas lying at low level at the head of the Back Bay and the Walkeshwar-Malabar Hill and Cumballa Hill and Mahalakshmi. It consists of an upper class residential area in the hill slopes and the western shores, facing the open sea and the middle income, old residential areas on lower ground to the east of the hills.

Khetwadi and Chaupaty : These areas constitute essentially a residential Maharashtrian Hindu locality. About 1838, the area commenced to attract population and developed rapidly, after the construction of the Falkland and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel Roads, and the reclamation at Churchgate. The Chaupaty section contains remnants of the parts that once covered the whole locality, while the sea-face occupies the site of the old Lakdi Bundar. The Wilson College and the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan and the old Portuguese Church are the most noteworthy buildings in the area. The Chaupaty section, apart from its attraction to the people of south Bombay through its sandy beach, also is a centre of entertainment, with a large number of cinema houses, around the Opera House area. It has the main automobiles accessories and electrical and electronic goods markets, and is an area crowded by practising medical specialists.

Girgaum : The Girgaum area to the south-east of Chaupaty and south of Khetwadi has developed on old settlement sites : Borbhat, Mugbhat, and the Girgaum village (Khotachi Wadi) are its original nuclei. Along the main road, over the decades, has developed a retail shopping front, like the Chira Bazar.

Walkeshwar-Malabar Hills : To the west of Chaupaty and south of the August Kranti Marg (Gowalia Tank Road) are the areas of Walkeshwar-Malabar Hill. It has long been famous for the village and temple of Walkeshwar and the Governor's residence at the south end, adjoining the

Malabar Point. Towards the north end of the hill are situated the Malabar Hill reservoir and the Hanging Gardens over it, the Kamala Nehru Park and the Parsi Tower of Silence. Standing here, one gets a splendid panorama of the Chaupaty beach at its foot, the 'Queen's Necklace' formed by the Marine Drive, and the distant sky-scrapers and spiraling landmarks in the south of the city, as well as a picture mosaic of the nearby Hindu township, the farther harbour bay and the docks. Looking northwards, the towering chimneys over the roofs of buildings bear witness to the industrial character of the central parts of the city.

There were houses on the Malabar Hill occupied by the Englishmen as early as 1788, but its growth as an upper class residential zone dates from the time the Governor shifted his residence from Parel to the Malabar Hill. The occupants are mostly businessmen, and government officials. The Laxmibai Jagmohandas Marg (formerly Nepean Sea Road) to the west of the hill and at its foot, facing the open Arabian Sea, is a still developing posh residential area in this section.

Mahalakshmi : The Mahalakshmi section, to the north of Walkeshwar and west of the Western Railway track comprises the Cumballa Hill area, the foreshore adjoining it to the west, and the Tardeo area on lower ground. It has the double character of a upper class residential and a middle class quarter, the former occupying the summit and slopes of the Cumballa Hill and the Foreshore, namely the Bhulabhai Desai Road, and the latter the level ground to the east of the hill. The area had a few old mills, but some of them have been replaced by modern shopping complexes. Places of interest in the section include the Mahalakshmi temple at Breach Candy, that occupies the site of the three old temples destroyed by the Muslims, the Haji Ali Tomb in the sea, reached only during low tide, the Mafatlal Park and Breach Candy swimming pool and the Willingdon Sports Club. The area has quite a few hospitals, and specialist clinics around the Kemp's Corner fly-over and many quiet but posh residential localities. The population of the area is quite mixed in character, though predominantly Maharashtrian. The biggest cluster of Parsi population in the city lies in this section.

E Ward : The E ward is south-central Bombay bounded by the Western Railway between Grant Road and Mahalakshmi stations in the west, the Sane Guruji Marg and the Dattaram Lad Marg in the north, the Reay Road and the Mazagaon docks in the east and the Maulana Shaukat Ali Road and Ramchandra Bhat Marg in the south. Most of the E ward excluding Mazagaon, an original island on a low hill, is on reclaimed ground from below sea level in the central lagoons of the original island cluster. The area being barely a metre or two above sea level and sloping westwards to the Hornby Vellard and Love Grove sewerage pumping station is liable to inundations during the heavy

monsoon downpours. The area is part of the early reclamations of the eighteenth century and the site of the early mill industry. Even today the area is essentially characterised by the presence of numerous mill blocks and the mill workers' tenement colonies nearby. The sections contained in the ward include Tardeo, Kamathipura, first and second Nagpada, Ghodapdeo, Mazagaon and Byculla.

Mazagaon-Tarwadi : The Mazagaon section extending between Wadi Bundar and Clerk basin in the south, the Kala Chowkie Road and the cotton godowns in the north, and lying east of Shivadas Chapsi (old Mazagaon Road) Marg and Rambhau Bhogale Marg (old Ghodapdeo Road) upto the water front, is in its present form largely the outcome of the extensive harbour reclamations. Around the Bhandarwada hill water reservoir in the south-west still cluster remnants of the original village, which formed a part of the manor of the Tavoras in the seventeenth century. The original Portuguese village in this section was beautifully situated on the slope between two hills, on one of which was the Mazagaon house, a landing mark in the harbour. It had an excellent dock for ships and was adorned with two handsome churches, and the village itself was noted for its quality mango orchard. The remnant of the hill top, lying to the west of the Dockyard Road Station is at present occupied by the Baptista Gardens.

The northern half of the section is cut diagonally by the Reay Road. To the east of it, much of the land belongs to the Port Trust, with its ship repairs and building yards of the Mazagaon docks, the Port Trust offices, and a number of industrial units like the Mahindra and Mahindra, Pfizer (Dumex), and others. The extreme north of this section, to the east of the harbour railway is occupied by the cotton godowns and grain depots of the Port Trust.

The Tarwadi section that lies to the west of the Reay Road and east of Babasaheb Ambedkar Road is partly an industrial area and partly low income residential quarter. It is full of cotton spinning and weaving mills, specially north of Sant Savta Marg (old Connaught Road). The Veermata Jijabai Bhosale Udyan (former Victoria Garden) with its zoo and museum in this area is an important attraction to the tourists. South of the garden, around the Gloria Church is a Christian locality, with pockets of Parsi estates. The area has a few old bungalows within wide compounds, a left over of the bygone colonial days.

First and Second Nagpada Areas : The first and second Nagpada sections are divided by the Jamshetji Jijibhai Road from each other, but are really one area bounded on the south by the Maulana Shaukat Ali and Ramchandra Bhat Margs, on the west by the Maulana Azad Marg, on the north by the Sheppard Road and on the east by the Mazagaon Road. The whole locality approximately represents the limit reached by

the inflowing tides before the Hornby Vellard was built and was one of the most insanitary areas of the island until the City Improvement Trust developed it. Even today, during heavy rains, the area is liable to extensive inundations. The First Nagpada section to the east of Jamshetji Jijibhai Road is essentially a complex of the Sir J. J. Group of Hospitals and the Grant Medical College, besides housing the Richardson Cruddas of India Ltd., a structural engineering factory unit.

The Second Nagpada section is mainly residential with a number of industrial tenements, built along straight running roads by the City Improvement Trust in the earlier decades of this century.

Kamathipura : The Kamathipura section forms an almost perfect rectangle, bounded by the Maulana Shaukat Ali Road, the Maulana Azad Road, Jehangir Boman Behram Marg and the Suklalji Street. Until 1800, the area was liable to periodic tidal flooding by the sea water, and in spite of considerable artificial raising of the ground level by the municipal authorities, is still somewhat low-lying and an endemic area for water-borne diseases. The section earns its name from its being the original settlement of the Kamathis, a labour community who had settled in the area after migrating from the Telangana districts about the end of the eighteenth century. It is a crowded area, occupied mostly by low income group of residential population in old chawls. In its southern part, the area has a few mosques.

Tardeo : The Tardeo section lying between the Western Railway tracks, Suklalji Street, Maulana Shaukat Ali Road and Boman Behram Marg is almost a rhombus cut diagonally by the Falkland Road and the R. S. Nimkar Marg (old Foras Road). It is mostly reclaimed land forming a part of the original Byculla flats much of which were let at a low rental by the Government in earlier times on condition that the lessees reclaimed and improved the ground. The section used to be full of stables and was the former house of the Arab horse dealers. Today, it is essentially a mixed residential area, with Parsi apartments around the Guilders Lane and Boman Behram Marg, industrial chawls and tenements to the east of Bhadkamkar (Lamington) Marg and north of Nimkar Marg. Along the main roads, especially the widened and straightened Bhadkamkar Marg and to a lesser extent the Maulana Shaukat Ali and Boman Behram Marg, considerable urban renewal is taking place, with the older, dilapidated two storeyed structures being replaced by the more modern, multi-storeyed R. C. C. structures. These main roads, over the years, have developed a mixed retail shopping front, catering to the needs of the local resident population.

Byculla : The Byculla section between the two suburban rail tracks, and to the north of Tardeo extends upto Kala Chowkie in the north. As in Tardeo, the original level of the land has been artificially raised, and

the disadvantages arising from natural circumstances and from a huge lower class population are minimised by the six thoroughfares cutting through the section and emerging at the Gadge Maharaj Chowk, formerly known as the Jacob's Circle, and known prior to 1880 as the central station. This is essentially a mill area, with a concentration of spinning and weaving mills, and other factories and associated industrial workers' tenements. In the south, there used to be a number of stables in the past. The original Byculla Club was in the south-west of the area in front of the original race course. This area, especially around the Bombay Central Station and the Boman Behram Marg has been undergoing a face lift in the recent years. The Nair Group of Hospitals, the State Transport bus terminal and a number of private clinics and a cinema house are located in the area, part of which was in the past occupied by the Byculla Club. Further north, along the Sane Guruji Path are located, across the road, the City Jail and the Kasturba Memorial Isolation Hospital.

F Ward : The F ward is a large ward that lies to the east of the Central Railway track, from Chinchpokli Station northwards. It covers the whole of the north-eastern quarter of the city peninsula. It comprises the Parel, Sewri, Naigaum, Matunga and Sion sections. While the southern parts of the ward are older residential area, the northern parts have been occupied only in the recent decades. There is also a more basic distinction between the north and the south of the ward. The southern part is mill area, with low income industrial chawls abounding, and is predominantly Maharashtrian. The north is middle income apartments area.

Parel : The Parel section is bounded by the Central Railway track between Chinchpokli and Parel stations in the west, the Jagannathrao Bhatankar (Elphinstone) Marg and Jerbai Wadia (formerly Bhoiwada) Road in the north, G. D. Ambekar Marg (formerly Parel Tank Road) in the east and the Dattaram Lad Marg in the south. The original nucleus was a small village that still exists in the north-east of the section. The village, an old shrine or two and areas like Bhoiwada are the only legacies still remaining of the time when Parel was first chosen as a settlement by the followers of Raja Bhimadev. Parel village was the original Brahmin settlement of the mediaeval period. In the early British colonial period, this part of Bombay served as an area of country villas and residences. The old Government House, the Governor's summer resort, now houses the Haffkine Institute, a leading bacteriological research laboratory of the country. Today, Parel is a huge industrial quarter, having the heaviest concentration of the cotton textile mills, apart from the Central Railway workshop. The residential population is mainly mill-workers, housed in mill-owned or City Improvement Trust built industrial one-room tenements, with wooden balustrades overlooking the main street. Most of these two-storeyed buildings are a century old and are in a state of hopeless disrepair.

The Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Marg (formerly Vincent Road) running north-south splits the area into two, the western half being essentially industrial. The area to the east of the road is more open, with a number of parks and playgrounds, and further in the quiet interior, houses a huge complex of general hospitals, like the King Edward Memorial Hospital, the Tata Cancer Hospital, the Veterinary Hospital, and the associated medical and veterinary colleges. Notwithstanding modern industrial progress, this area still presents a country aspect.

Sewri : The Sewri section lies adjoining Parel to the east, and extends upto the harbour front. Till recently, most of it was unreclaimed, marsh and salt pan area. Much reclamation has been done since the thirties of the present century in the area, and is mostly built up today. The section falls into two parts, divided roughly by the harbour branch of the Central Railway. To the west of it, the southern part is an old mill area with its attendant chawls. Abhyudayanagar is a recent development block of an old slum area. Further north is the Sewri cemetery, once the garden of the Bombay Agri-horticultural Society.

To the east of the railway, much land is reclaimed and owned by the Port Trust. Immediately adjoining the railway to its east, are the Port Trust railway sidings and yard, the cotton and grain depots. Further east along the shore, are a number of factories like the Tata Oil Mills, motor tyre works, Hindustan Lever factories and the Nautical College. Further northwards, close to the Sewri station is the old Sewri village, and nearby the ruins of the Sewri fortlet on a low quarried hill. Adjoining are the timber pounds, a cement factory, the Port Trust offices, and the Shaparia dock and steel company. Nearby are the last leftover vestiges of salt pans, that are fast disappearing all around Bombay.

Naigaum : The Naigaum area lying roughly between Parel and Dadar stations on the Central Railway side is an old residential area and is at present the home of a number of cotton mills and B. D. D. chawls of mill workers. In fact, Naigaum is practically the northern limit of the mill area on the eastern side. In the east, around the old village of Wadala, are the newer developments of residential flats and the Government grain depots.

Matunga : The Matunga section extends between the Dadar Khodadad Circle in the south and King's Circle station and adjoining railway over-bridge in the north. Matunga, till the beginning of this century, was a wilderness, and is believed to have been the site of the elephant stables of King Bhimadev in the mediaeval period. At the turn of this century, this was a pleasant area with a few country villas and residences set in green surroundings. In the twenties, the Parsi colony and the Five Gardens area were laid out, and shortly after, the Hindu colony adjoining it. The rest of Matunga area was developed mostly in the forties. The relatively recent period of development of this area is reflected in the wider main

roads, neatly laid out streets, buildings erected within compound walls, and the lay-out of a number of gardens. Matunga at present has a cluster of educational institutions like the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute, the University Departments of Chemical and Textile Technology, arts, science and commerce colleges.

Sion : The Sion section includes all the area that lies north of the King's Circle railway station, and east of the main suburban rail track of Central Railway as well as a narrow strip of land on the side of the harbour branch of railway, south of King's Circle upto Wadala station. It includes the present day Sion, Koliwada, Matunga-Wadala estate and the Antop Hill area. The whole of this area in the earlier part of this century was a desolate waste of salt pans guarded by the bare hills of Antop, Raoli and Sion. The original settlement of the Kolis was close to the Sion hill, which carries the ruins of an old fort even now. Barring the Leper Asylum in green surrounding in the south of the area, and the military barracks built during the Second World War, the area had practically no habitations. The City Improvement Trust could plan on a clean slate the development of this area, under planned development schemes, by reclaiming land under salt pans, levelling the rock outcrops and quarrying the hill slopes, and by lay-out of wide main roads and straight streets taking off from them. Though the development was initiated in the forties the pace of growth was rapid mainly in the fifties and sixties, with the aid of Sindhi builders, who had made a large influx in these years. The area is a middle income residential zone with apartments housed in three to four-storeyed buildings. The King's Circle-Sion road culmination at the Rani Laxmibai chowk at its north end splits Sion into a western and an eastern counterpart, the western part housing the Lokmanya Tilak Hospital complex and a few educational institutions. Close to the King's Circle Station is a huge auditorium, the Shanmukhananda Hall.

G Ward : The G ward, to the west of the F ward covers the north of the city peninsula to the west of the Central railway main line. It comprises six sections—Mahim, Prabhadevi, Dadar, Worli, Chinchpokli and Love Grove. The ward is partly mill area, and partly residential, but predominantly Maharashtrian. It is an old settled area, developed over the original islands of Baradbet (Mahim) and Worli, and the reclamations adjoining.

Mahim : The present day Mahim section extends as a narrow ribbon along the Mahim Bay, and includes all areas to the west of the Lady Jamshedji Road from the Mahim Causeway and the N. C. Kelkar Road. It lies on the original island of Mahim, that is an old stabilised sand bar, and was the location of the mediaeval Hindu township of Mahikavati of King Bhimadev. Apart from the ruins of an old fort at the northern tip, overlooking Bandra in Salsette, an old Muslim mosque dating to pre-Portuguese days and a Koli hamlet, the area, till the thirties of this

century, was an extensive coconut grove, with a few country villas set in them. The area had quite a few tanks. Development by the City Improvement Trust was in two phases : the lay-out of the Shivaji Park scheme of 1929 and the Mahim town planning scheme of 1950. The area is essentially occupied by lower middle income residential population. The north, on either side of the Veer Savarkar (old Cadell Road) Marg is quite congested, but the area is more open around the Shivaji Park, which is the main 'meeting' ground of North Bombay for public functions. The swimming pool nearby, and the Mahim beach are the main attractions of the area.

Dadar : The Dadar section, to the east of the Mahim section, and north of Dadar railway station includes all the area lying between the Central and Western rail tracks as well as the area to the east of the Lady Jamshedji Road. Apart from the ruins of the *Kala Killa* (Rewah fort) on the Mahim creek area, it was originally an extensive low-lying marsh. Between two railway tracks is the Central Railway wagon workshop, while further north is the Matunga labour colony, and Dharavi slum adjoining the Mahim creek. The whole area is undergoing a face-lift in the present times with slum clearance schemes, and a main road traversing the area east-west connecting Mahim and Sion through two overbridges. The area to the west of the Western Railway track developed in the sixties is essentially lower middle income residential, though two mills are found in the area.

Prabhadevi : The Prabhadevi section lying to the west of the rail tracks but east of Veer Savarkar Marg is an old congested area densely populated. It is the site of an old settlement of the Prabhus, who settled during the days of the King Bhimadev, and built a shrine for their patron-deity, Prabhadevi, in whose name the area is still so called. The Gokhale Road (south) splits the area into a western and an eastern half, the western part having a few mills and chemical industries, and residential area. The Ravindra Natya Mandir is located here. The eastern part holds the main middle income retail shopping area, close to the Dadar station, which attracts people from all over North Bombay and the suburbs. This part has been cleared and developed mainly in the fifties and sixties and houses a few industrial estates.

Worli : The Worli section includes an old Koli hamlet, and the fort nearby on a headland jutting into the Mahim Bay. The old Worli hill has been mostly quarried and levelled, and has become built up with a huge Housing Board building complex of the middle income population. The Dr. Annie Besant road splits the area into a residential western half and a huge cotton mill area and a large complex of B.D.D. chawls and Television Centre. A number of pharmaceutical industries are located along the Dr. Annie Besant Road, apart from the Century Bazar at its north end.

Chinchpokli : This section bounded by the Ganpatrao Kadam (old Fergusson Road) Marg in the north, the Dr. E. Moses Road in the west, and the Sane Guruji Path (Arthur Road) in the east is roughly triangular area, that is low-lying and liable to monsoon flooding every year. The central part is railway land, housing the Western Railway wagon and carriage workshop. The rest of the area is a factory zone, and the accompanying lower income tenements in chawls. The area has an old Jewish cemetery, and a municipal *Dhobikhana* adjoining the Gadge Maharaj Chowk (Jacob Circle).

Love Grove : The Love Grove section extends from the Haji Ali in the south to the Acharya Atre Chowk at the junction of the Annie Besant Road with E. Moses Road. The area in the south is very low-lying and marks the last breach to be filled up in the amalgamation of the original seven islands with the construction of the Hornby Vellard, now known as the Lala Lajpatrai Road. The Bombay Race Course occupies an extensive area in the keel of this depression. Closeby are the Patel Stadium, the National Sports Club of India, and the newly erected Nehru Planetarium. Further north, over the old Worli hill area, now quarried and levelled is sited the Worli milk dairy. The south end of this hillock projecting into the small Worli Bay, and housing old bungalows, has been converted in recent years into the Shivsagar estate, a huge complex of multi-storeyed structures housing commercial firms and banks. Along the sea front has developed the Worli Sea face, an upper class apartment area, somewhat similar to the older Peddar Road complex.

Love Grove section is a curious mixture of residential zone, of the rich and the poor, with a huge slum area around the Love Grove sewerage pumping station right in front of the Worli seaface upper class apartments.

The *suburban divisions* include 8 municipal wards, namely H, K, P and R on the western side, and L, M, N and T along the eastern. These wards are relatively larger in size compared to the city wards, though they vary in population considerably.

H Ward : The H ward area, itself divided into a western and an eastern part roughly along the Western Railway track, comprises areas lying north of the Mahim Bay and creek, to the west of the Kurla-Mahim creek and south of the city airport and flying club. The built-up area is developed over the old island core of Bandra lying at the head of the Mahim Bay. It comprises low hills in the west, jutting south into the Bay, and low-lying tidal marshes in the east along the creekside, that have been progressively reclaimed in the last few decades.

The original settlement nuclei consist of a few fishing hamlets like Bandra, Chimbai, Danda and Kole-Kalyan as well as others like Pali, Mala, Sharli, Chui and Vakola. Most of these were Koli settlements. These settlements came under the influence of the Portuguese early in

the sixteenth century. The Portuguese made Bandra, the headquarters of a *Thanedar*, who was in charge of 65 villages, they also established a Jesuit college and a couple of churches. The St. Andrew's Church (the present one is built on the same site as the old one) was the earliest to be built in 1575 close to the seashore and was followed by the Church of St. Anne about 1620 on the site of the present Bus Depot. This latter church was built close to the landing point of the Bombay-Mahim ferry. The chapel of Nossa Senhora de Monte, or the Church of Mount Mary, as it is more popularly known, was built on the crest of the Bandra Hill around 1640 for the use of the garrison of the Agoada or blockhouse. It was rebuilt in 1761 after its destruction a few years earlier by the Marathas. Around 1750 was built the Church of Our Lady of Egypt in Kole-Kalyan mainly to cater to the local Christian population.

During the early days of the East India Company, the Bandra Jesuits could not see eye to eye with the Company, and repeatedly conflicts arose between them and the Company authorities as well as the Siddis of the mainland. This resulted in the Bandra settlements being subjected to invasions and the churches to plundering. The Church of St. Anne was completely destroyed. Finally, in 1774, Bandra came into British possession. The St. Joseph's convent and orphanage as well as the St. Peter's Church and its St. Stanislaus orphanage were added during the British period in the nineteenth century.

The opening of the Lady Jamshedji causeway in 1845 across the Mahim Bay brought Bandra much closer to Bombay, and the opening of the Western Railway track and Bandra station in 1864 gave further impetus to the growth of Bandra. A small township slowly emerged during the second half of the nineteenth century at the head of the causeway. With two main roads, one skirting the shores east to west, and another running northwards to the east of the settlement, the township had a municipal market, fishing hamlet and landing point along the shores, and storeyed houses of the native Christians away from the shores and up the slopes. The Bombay municipal slaughter house was built in 1867 on the low ground adjoining the site of the landing place of Bombay ferry, where the chapel of St. Anne stood. A number of tanneries had shifted earlier from the city fringes to the marsh-side to the east of the railway tracks, as the city started spreading north.

The present day H ward comprises the areas of Bandra, Khar-Pali, Danda, Santacruz, Vakola, Kalina and the newer Bandra reclamations on which are built the M.I.G. housing colony and Kalanagar. Bandra still retains much of its original character. The slaughter house has been recently shifted to Deonar and modernised. Khar was developed as a quite cosmopolitan 'model' suburb during the late forties and fifties of the present century under the town planning schemes, and

is a cosmopolitan middle income residential area of the commuting salaried blue and white collar workers. Danda continues to be a fishing hamlet, while the heights of the Khar-Pali hill complex is undergoing rapid urban renewal and replacement of the single storeyed and tiled structures as well as villas by the multi-storeyed sky-scrappers housing the city elite like artists and businessmen. Santacruz is essentially a middle class suburb of commuters, while Kalina owes its present day fillip in growth to the location of the airport functions inclusive of its workshops in the area, the housing colonies of the airport workers, and the location of the Bombay University Campus, apart from a limited mixed industrial development along the Vidyanaagari Marg.

K Ward : The relatively large K ward extends from the airport area northwards upto the Malad creek and the Oshivare *nala*. The Aarey Milk Colony partly forms its northern limits. The built-up area has developed over the south-western lowlands of the original Salsette island, the sandy shore islands of Juhu and Versova and the tidal marshes in between, that have been subsequently reclaimed. Madh across the Versova creek is also included in this ward.

A number of old fishing hamlets like Tara, Juhu, Versova and Madh as well as agricultural villages like Irla, Parle, Bamanwada, Sahar, Marol, Chakala, Oshivare, and Ambivli were the original settlement nuclei around which the present day suburban townships have grown. The present day sections of the ward include Juhu, Vile Parle, Andheri, Jogeshwari, Versova, Madh and Marol. Vile Parle, like Santacruz, is a middle income housing area. Some industrial activity is noticeable along its fringes, like the Parle Products Ltd. and the Golden Tobacco Company. Andheri is more mixed in character. East Andheri, Sahar, Chakala, and Marol are part of the newer industrial areas of Greater Bombay, developed since the fifties. A heavy clustering of small and medium sized engineering units, chemical factories, film studios and consumables production units has taken place along the Andheri-Kurla link road. The erection of the Santacruz Electronic Exports Promotion Zone (SEEPZ), and the Marol industrial estate area, both in Marol, have added considerably to the industrial importance of the area. Andheri West mainly comprises a number of Housing Board and private co-operative middle income housing colonies that are steadily pushing into the marshland. Juhu is the holiday-cum-picnic resort of Bombay with bathing beaches, holiday homes of the elites with private swimming pools set in the midst of cocoanut groves, and better class hotels. Closeby is emerging a posh, sophisticated upper class residential area of the villa type as a planned development over the Juhu reclamations. Jogeshwari is essentially a mixed residential area. A huge squatter's colony has developed on its eastern section in the foothills, nearby the archaeological

ruins of Jogeshwari cave. Versova and Madh still retain their fishing hamlet function, though holiday crowds visit these areas in large number.

The ward as a whole is residential, though industrial function is being added to it, especially on the eastern side.

P Ward : The P ward lies north of K ward extending upto the western seashores right from the central hill ridge of Salsette. Like the K ward, it includes the western lowlands and foothills (in the central parts) of Salsette, the old shore islands of Malawani, Madh and Gorai-Uttan, the latter two in parts. The present day sections include Goregaon, Malad, Aarey and Marve-Manori. A large number of the old settlements have now become submerged in the suburban townships of Goregaon and Malad, but their original sites can be readily identified by the quaint appearance of the built-up area. Manori, Erangal, Marve, Daroli and Akse among them were fishing hamlets, and still partly retain this character. Malawani, Valnai, Chincholi, Charkop, Pakhadi, Dindoshi, Maroshi, Aarey and Kurar have become completely urbanised. The eastern parts of the ward lying in the foothills have been transformed into a protected green under the Aarey milk colony, and houses the dairy plant of the city, the Dairy Technology Institute, the Government owned bakery, a cattle-feed processing plant and recreation grounds. On either side of the Western Railway track, and closeby to it have developed a number of middle and low income housing colonies, forming a number of *nagars* : the newer ones are further away from the rail head invariably on low, reclaimed ground. The coastal fishing hamlets maintain a semi-rural character. Though the ward as a whole is residential, a slow invasion by industries is taking place along the Western Express Highway, during the present times.

R Ward : The R ward lies along the northern limits of the Corporation area, to the west of the hills. It includes the modern Kandivli, Borivli and Dahisar areas, apart from the coastal villages of Gorai and Kulvem. The old settlement core still survives, though submerged in the townships, in Kanheri, Magthan, Akurli, Poisar, Shimpoli and Mandapeshwar. The National Park, a green belt on the fringes of the Corporation area, and the archaeological remains of the Buddhist caves on the slopes of the Kanheri hills, attracting large holiday crowds, lie in the east of the ward. The rest is residential in character, although still large open spaces are available for urban building. Along the Express Highway, a number of industries and industrial estates are springing up at the present times.

L Ward : The L ward is a long, narrow strip of an area, elongated north-south, extending from the Mahim creek to Powai lake. It includes Kurla, Chunabhatti, Saki, Chandivli and Asalpe areas. It is a mixed

industrial-cum-low income residential area. Two old textile mills in the south of the area, the Premier Automobiles and Kamani Engineering Works in the middle, the Larsen and Toubro Engineering plants near Powai and a large number of small and large sized engineering units, inclusive of automobile accessories, silk mills and glassworks contribute to the industrial importance of the ward.

M Ward : The M ward covers more or less the area of the original Trombay island, now a protruding peninsula of Salsette through reclamation of the intervening tidal marshes. The area has a hill core and a number of foot-hill villages like Chembur, Mahul, Anik, Maroli, Deonar, Trombay, Nanole, the population of which in the past used to earn their living through fishing, salt making and paddy farming. The southern and eastern parts lying south of the hill complex forms a protected and restricted area housing the Bhabha Atomic Research Centre, oil refineries, petro-chemicals, fertiliser plant, thermal power plant and associated industrial assemblage. Chembur in the last three decades has developed fast to emerge as a large and thriving middle income residential area of service seeking commuters, with its own shopping complex and social amenities. Chembur is growing mainly eastwards along the Trombay road to engulf Deonar, Govandi and Mankhurd into the township. Close to Mankhurd station, at the foot of the Trombay hills, on its northern flanks is developing a neighbourhood colony of Anushaktinagar, housing the staff of the BARC. Chembur-Deonar residential area is the home of prestigious institutions like the Tata Institute of Social Sciences, and the International Institute of Population Studies. The modern abattoir, replacing the old Bandra slaughter house is located near Govandi station.

N Ward : The N ward lies north of M ward and east of L ward, and extends from the central hill ridge eastwards upto the Thane creek. The old village cores are Kiroli, Powai, Kanjur, Bhandup and Haryali. Bhandup finds reference as an important settlement during the mediaeval Hindu period. The present day sections included in the ward are Ghatkopar-Rajawadi, Vikhroli and Bhandup. The Central Railway runs along the length of the ward, splitting into a western and an eastern part. The Lal Bahadur Shastri Marg, running parallel to the railway and to the west of it, and the Eastern Express Highway, recently constructed on reclaimed ground to the east of it, more or less demarcate the limits of built up area. To the east of the Eastern Express Highway, it is still tidal marshes mostly, and the last vestiges of the Bhandup salt pans are more or less on the way out. The area to the east of the railway is more residential while a few large factories have come up; here have spring up in the last decade numerous middle and low income housing colonies and nagars on low, reclaimed ground. Of them, Ghatkopar-Rajawadi

is better class, while Vikhroli and Bhandup have low income housing and squatter colonies, constituting large slums.

The area lying between the railway and Lal Bahadur Shastri Marg has developed into a ribbon of industrial area, mainly of light engineering, chemicals, pharmaceuticals and cosmetics, and associated low income housing colonies. Heavy congestion of the truck traffic on the main roads, and overcrowded living mark the area.

T Ward : The T Ward lies along the northern fringe of the Corporation area. The western half is mostly in the wooded hills that carry the Tulsi and Vihar lakes. Barring a few villages like Tulsi, Vihar, Sai and Gundgaon, the area is the last left-over of the wilderness not yet ravaged by the urbanite. Along the railway has developed the township of Mulund, on either side of the tracks, and owes its growth partly to its proximity to the adjoining Thane industrial belt.

URBAN MORPHOLOGY AND LAND USE

Certain salient elements stand out in the urban morphology and land use of Greater Bombay. The old pre-British, pre-industrial core area stretches over Girgaum, Khetwadi, Bhuleshwar, Thakurdwar, Umarkhadi, Mandvi and Mazagaon. Morphologically, these areas are characterised by narrow main streets, widened to an extent in the recent past, crooked gullies and lanes, interwinning, old buildings with wooden balustrades overlooking the streets, high ceilings, and groupings into *wadis* and localities enclosed within a compound of high wall with a single entrance. The *wadis* are socially homogenous. The built-up areas practically consume the whole area, and there is little space devoted to open grounds, parks and recreation centres.

The city centre located in the Fort area is essentially a zone of administration, business, finance and wholesale trade. Recreation, higher education and hotels also find a strong localisation in this zone. The Fort houses most of the State and Central Government offices, offices of the railways, banks and business houses as well as those of airways, inland and overseas communications. The streets are relatively broad and straight and reveal a grid pattern within the old Fort areas. A small residential core of retail shopkeepers still persists as a pocket within this region, to the south of the railway terminal at Victoria Terminus. The eastern sections of the Fort, adjoining the water front has a cluster of business houses and offices handling port functions, and is skirted by streets dominated by banking. On the western side of the Fort, on newly reclaimed ground, are the only vast open grounds of South Bombay, the Azad, Cross and Oval lined on their edges by administrative offices.

To the south of the Fort, the retail shopping-cum-residential ribbon extends south along the Colaba causeway and ends rather abruptly in

the low density residential zone, occupied by the Defence services in South Colaba.

The zone of contact that lies between the Fort, Girgaum, and Mandvi, namely the Dhobi Talao, Princess Street, Market areas, has retained its historical tradition of being the main area of wholesale and retail commerce. This shopping function extends in ribbon like extensions into the old core along the main roads. Street and road-wise differentiation and specialisation in shopping patterns is discernible e.g., hardware in Lohar Chawl, stationery in Abdul Rehman street, jewellery in Zaveri Bazar, leather work around the Phule Market, etc.

The elevations of Malabar, Walkeshwar and Cumballa hills house the upper class residential buildings in rows along different levels. The airy, western aspect with abundant sea breeze, proximity to the city centre and yet an aloofness from the congested old core have been responsible for attracting the upper echelon of society like businessmen, financiers and top level administrators to the area. Much urban renewal in the area is evident; villas set in the midst of a rich green are being fast replaced by skyscraper buildings housing flats. Along the Back Bay, this upper class residential zone descends to a promenade of monotonously uniform multi storeyed apartment structures—the Marine Drive housing upper middle society. The south end of Marine Drive, close to the administrative area, houses the diplomatic enclaves of Cuffe Parade, and further beyond along the Foreshore road adjoining the newer reclamations of Back Bay is another zone of skyscrapers, just emerging and fast changing the skyline. This again is mainly upper class residential. The upper class residential zone of Cumballa Hill descends in the north to the Hornby Vellard and extends beyond along the Worli seaface in a residential zone very similar to the Marine Drive.

The eastern, water-front extending from the Fort, northwards right upto Sewri-Wadala hums with port functions. Docks and wharves, warehouses and godowns and associated auxiliary functions characterise the area. Here, life runs on a clockwork and bulk-handling basis. The roads are congested with a heavy truck traffic.

To the north of the old residential core is a bowl of depression, on ground reclaimed early in the phases of development of Bombay. The lowest levels of this depression adjoining the Hornby Vellard has been converted into the Race-course. Elsewhere, this area extending as far north as the other old nuclei of North Bombay—Dadar, Naigaum is the zone of the textile industry. The skyline is dotted with the smoking chimneys of factories all over. While large areas are enclosed within the compound walls of textile mills, this zone records fairly high population densities, because of the presence of a large number of industrial workers' tenements,

chawls, many of which are housed in dingy old dilapidated structures with limited amenities. This is par excellence the labour area of Bombay.

The northern sections of the city island extending from Prabhadevi in the west to Wadala in the east, Dadar to Mahim and Sion is a middle class residential area, developed during the forties and later, submerging the old village course. The roads are better aligned and wider and the houses are generally three-storeyed. Unlike the older residential zones of South Bombay, North Bombay can boast of more open space, parks and greens.

Beyond the Mahim Creek, along the Western Railway and the Swami Vivekanand Road lie a succession of residential suburbs that have received and housed the population of middle income, service seekers. In the setting of these residential suburbs, some differentiation is noticeable, better suburbs on high grounds like Bandra, Pali Hill and Khar are the recipients of an upper strata of society, and such areas reveal considerable urban renewal in the suburbs and fast changing skylines. Middle and lower income housing colonies are strung all along the railways and on newly reclaimed grounds. Depressions, low-lying areas and creeksides house hutment dwellers. Though principally residential, these suburbs have been invaded at several points like the CST Road, Kalina, outskirts of Parle and other areas by new industry.

Along the Central Railway, between Kurla and Mulund, new industrial units have developed during the last 30 years. Kurla, however, is an old textile industrial core, an outlier to the main cotton mill zone. North Kurla-Ghatkopar-Vikhroli is an automobile and light engineering zone. Further beyond, upto the municipal limits along the Shastri Marg is a zone of chemicals and drug industries, paints and inks. In these suburban areas one notes some semblance to order of the land use and attempts to segregate types of land use. Thus, in the Central Railway suburbs, lower class hutments lie mostly to the east on reclaimed land.

Between the two railways, along the link roads between the western and eastern suburbs an industrial zone has developed during the fifties and sixties. Unlike the old industrial core, the industries here are mostly small and medium in size and are housed in industrial estates like those of Powai, Marol, Saki and others. It is mainly a light engineering area, though film industry and chemicals are also present.

To the east of Kurla is a fast growing residential suburb of Chembur-Govandi-Deonar. The building of the new bridge across Thane creek to the mainland along this section is leading to a ribbon-like residential area development extending eastwards upto Mankhurd.

Trombay is a 'restricted' industrial area with a cluster of two oil refineries, a petro-chemical complex, a fertiliser plant, a thermal power unit, and the Bhabha Atomic Research Centre.

A green belt is present in the north centre, clothing the hills of the central area. Substantial part of it, in Borivli, is devoted to the National Park, and south of it is a large reserve developed by the government owned Aarey Milk Colony. Where not under such reserves, the hillsides are under demolition by the quarrying industry. Such quarry sides have extensive development of hutments.

From the foregoing review, it is apparent that the suburban electrified railway service, the new highways, alternate arteries and trunk roads, act as powerful factors contributing to the new urban sprawl expansion. The post-war explosion of the metropolis is well reflected in the changing skylines of the city's landscape. A strong residential renewal is evident in the newer reclamations of the Foreshore zone, as well as in old core areas of urban decay.

Bombay Suburbs : Essentially a creation of the post-war explosive growth of population, sequential to the industrial and commercial expansion, the suburbs of Bombay reveal a still continuing urban sprawl in two ribbons northwards along the two railways. The suburban form broadly reveals the following elements and areal patterns : the original nucleus is a detached social *pada*, that has retained in most cases its anomalous co-existence with modern structures, that submerge the nucleus. The initial development is somewhat planned, but has often subsequent unrelated, unplanned extensions. Retail shopping and hawking cluster around the railway station, the entry points on which converge the entire commuting population daily. Industrial extensions are peripheral, in open sites, but with the expansion of the suburbs get engulfed. Slums and hutments mark their limits along the low ground. By and large, the suburban development is lop-sided, lacking in social and civic amenities.

Industrial Landscape : The unchecked and piecemeal growth of the city over last few decades to meet the growing needs of industries, commerce and port functions, and the growing population have resulted in a 'snow-balling' effect of its functions, though some functional zoning is visible. Industries have spread all over the city island, and have penetrated deep into the suburban zone.

The textile mill industry, with a bias towards weaving, has found a suitable localisation in the Parel-Mahalaxmi-Naigaum zone. The old core of oil mills and engineering units including machine building survives along the eastern outer front, particularly between Sewri and Mazagaon-Dongri. Industrial congestion and acute shortage of space have led to the recent expansion of the industrial landscape in ribbons along the main arteries and link roads of the suburban zone. Ready access to the rail yards, a relatively greater freedom of movement in the main roads, cheaper availability of land and nearness to the water and power mains

have aided the rapid expansion of the industries in the suburbs. These newer industrial areas show a greater degree of differentiation according to types and their associations of auxiliary industries. North of the old textile core of Kurla, and adjoining the Kurla rail yard, automobile engineering and electrical engineering industries have found a localisation. A zone of light engineering extends further along the Central Railway and Agra road upto Vikhroli, while beyond Vikhroli, right upto the municipal limits in Mulund is an area of light chemicals, drugs and pharmaceuticals and associated industries like cosmetics. Large power and water absorbing industries, mostly medium sized engineering units like machine tools have developed along the Andheri-Kurla link road and Powai lake area, particularly in Marol, Saki and Powai. Film industry has a localisation along the fringe of this zone. Western suburbs, essentially residential, have so far withstood the penetration of industries in them barring a limited development of food processing industries, such as soft drinks and confectionery. It is only during the last decade that some industrial expansion, once again of engineering industries, is taking place along the Western Express Highway, to the east of residential zone of the western outer suburbs. Most of Trombay, away from the railway, is a zone of restricted industries, such as oil refineries, petro-chemicals, fertiliser and thermal power plant. These are industries that mostly need isolation.

Two facts of significance are noteworthy in the suburban industrial development. Quite a few of the suburban industries are post-war expansions of the industrial units already existing in the city island, and their business offices are still in the city centre. Many of these industries are small and medium scale and are housed in State aided and private industrial estates. Auxiliary and associated industries develop together under the same roof in such estates.

Greater Bombay, as a whole, has about 6,048 factories, engaging 6.4 lakh workers. The textile units are the main employers of the industrial labour accounting for 41 per cent, followed by transport equipment industries (9.6 per cent), chemicals (6.6 per cent) and printing (3.5 per cent).

Port Functions and Commerce of Bombay : That the growth of Bombay into metropolis is primarily due to its commercial function needs hardly any emphasis. Though the rise of Bombay during the Portuguese and East India Company days was due to its maritime trade function, its commercial prosperity commenced with the opening of the Suez Canal route, its linkage with the agriculturally productive interior by railways and the growth of the cotton mill industry. The growth of port functions is intimately linked with its growth of commerce.

The port area of Bombay extends all along the eastern water front, adjoining the harbour bay, from Pilot Bundar in the south to Wadala in the

north. The port area covers about 761 hectares of land, out of which 283 hectares are the docks. The docks mostly built since mid-18th century comprise at present those of wet type—Prince's, Alexandra and Victoria with 51 berths, 3 of the deep water type—Ballard Pier, Bulk Oil and Butcher island with 6 berths, and two of the dry type—Merewether and Hughes, apart from a repair yard at Mazagaon. The port authorities maintain their own railway and road interconnecting the docks to handle cargo.

Though the hinterland of Bombay extends from Kashmir in the north, middle U. P. in the east and Karnatak in the south, deep inroads have been made into hinterland by other fast developing ports, Kandla in the north and Goa in the south. The present territory of Maharashtra will in any case remain its natural and basic hinterland. With the rapid expansion of the agricultural and industrial potentialities of Maharashtra, any diminution of port traffic resulting from a loss in area of hinterland has been more than compensated, and the port trade in the last few decades has increased enormously. The establishment of the two oil refineries in Trombay has in no mean measure compensated, and the port trade in the last few decades has increased enormously. In 1937-38, the total weight of cargo handled at the Bombay docks amounted to 5.5 lakh tonnes, while in 1958-59, it was 11.8 lakh tonnes, and in 1971-72, it had expanded to 16.1 lakh tonnes. In the last mentioned year, the port receipts amounted to 304 million rupees and expenditure to 252 million rupees. In that year, 5.25 lakh passengers embarked or disembarked. The main items of imports into the port include petroleum, oil and lubricants, grains, cement and bricks, machinery and machine parts and naval and military stores. The exports comprise petroleum, oil and lubricants, oil-cakes, coal, manganese and other ores, hides and skins and spices. Imports far exceed exports. The total trade that passes through Bombay Port constitutes 43 per cent of the maritime trade of the country.

Apart from its port functions, the city's commerce derives its strength of vigour from being the biggest financial centre in the country. It is the seat of the main offices of many Indian banks and the chief centre in India for many scheduled foreign banks, apart from its holding the headquarters of the Reserve Bank of India, the central banking and currency authority. As much as 19 per cent of the bank deposits of the nation, amounting to about Rs. 1,500 crores, are mobilised in this city. The Life Insurance Corporation, the stock exchange, the bullion and cotton markets all have their original and national economic circulation emanating from this city centre.

GEOLOGY*

Greater Bombay comprises the Bombay, South Salsette and Trombay Islands, bounded by 18° 53' and 19° 20' North Latitude and 72° 45' and

*This section on Geology has been contributed by the Geological Survey of India, Pune.

73° 00' East Longitude. The area is a small archipelago scattered along the west coast of India. The three major islands, Bombay, Trombay and Salsette are separated by tidal flats and creeks.

Many geologists studied the geology of Bombay. Thompson published the earliest geologic sketch of Bombay Island in 1836. A more detailed description was furnished subsequently by Buist in 1851 and by Carter in 1852 which was followed by that of Wynne of the Geological Survey of India in 1866. Hallows prepared the first geological map of Bombay Island in 1922. In the later part of the first half of this century a host of other workers carried out geological studies on different aspects of the Bombay geology. Prominent among these are Krishnan (1930), Naidu (1932), Kalapesi and Contractor (1935, 1936), Kalapesi and Dalal (1942), L. P. Mathur (1932, 1934) and Sukheswala and Poldervaart (1958).

General : The entire Greater Bombay area is occupied by Deccan basalt flows and their acid and basic variants, poured out between the late Cretaceous and early Eocene times. The basaltic flows are horizontally bedded and are more or less uniform in character over wide areas. Certain extrusive and intrusive mafic types are associated with basalts and are found in the Bombay Islands and its vicinity. This is in contrast to the monotonous uniformity displayed by the Deccan basalts in general. Furthermore, some fossiliferous sediments, mainly of tufaceous origin and partly of fresh water origin, rich in fauna, are also found in Bombay area.

The stratigraphic succession of rocks in Bombay area is given below :—

Recent	...	..	Alluvium, Sand and recent Conglomerate
Cretaceous to Eocene	...	..	Laterite
		..	Trap dykes
		..	Volcanic agglomerate and breccia
		..	Basalt flows with interbedded ash beds and fossiliferous fresh water shakes.

The Deccan traps belong to the plateau basalt and are so designated on account of their step-like or terraced appearance and their extensive distribution is up to South India (Deccan). They occupy about 5,18,000 sq. km. in Maharashtra, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and parts of the Deccan, and form the most extensive geological formation of the Peninsular India, with the exception of the metamorphic and igneous complex of Archaean age.

The traps in general may be divided into three groups, viz., upper, middle and lower as indicated below :—

Upper Traps (457 m. thick)	..	Bombay and Kathiawar, with numerous intertrappean beds and layers of volcanic ash.
Middle Traps (1,220 m. thick)	..	Madhya Pradesh and Malwa, with numerous ash beds in the upper portions.
Lower Traps (152 m. thick)	..	Madhya Pradesh and eastern area, intertrappean beds, but rare ash beds.

The trap country is generally characterised by flat-topped hills and step-like terraces. In the amygdular flows, the top is usually highly vesicular and the middle fairly compact, while the lower portion often shows cylindrical pipes filled with secondary minerals. Vesicular and non-vesicular flows alternate with each other, or the flows may be separated by thin beds of volcanic ash or scoria or by lacustrine sediments known as the "Intertrappean" Beds. The traps attain their maximum thickness of over 2,133 metres near the Bombay coast. As many as 48 flows have been recognised in Western India from borehole data, the individual flows varying in thickness from a few metres to 40 metres (West, 1958).

Besides the common dolerite and basalt, the Deccan traps comprise other types like lamprophyre, limburgite, monchiquite, porphyrite, andesite, monzonite, nepheline syenite, granophyre, rhyolite, obsidian and pitchstone. Felsitic differentiates such as the andesite, rhyolite, rhyodacite and pitchstone also occur in the Bombay area. Mafic types such as oceanite, ankaramite and monchiquite are also met within this area. Flows of picrite basalt, olivine basalt and oligoclase andesite occur in Deccan basalt terrain, but are not found in the Bombay area.¹

A typical Deccan trap is essentially composed of plagioclase felspar (An 50-70), augite and interstitial glass. The amount of pyroxene decreases with increase in proportion of interstitial glass. Both pyroxene and plagioclase occur as phenocrysts. Pigeonite has been reported to occur in the ground mass and as phenocrysts in some basalts. The glassy ground mass sometimes alters to palagonite, chlorophaeite, celadonite and delessite. Olivine, when present, is usually altered to iddingsite, delessite and serpentine. Magnetite and ilmenite are found in all types.

Some secondary minerals are often developed in the basalts either as infillings in the amygdular cavities or as products of alteration and replacement. The minerals of late hydrothermal activity are zeolites, calcite, chalcedony, etc.

Bombay Islands : Bombay Island has ridges along its western and eastern sides. The city of Bombay is built on the central low-lying part of the island. The western ridge comprises stratified ash beds overlain by hard, massive andesitic lava flows, both formations showing gentle tilt towards the west. The stratified ashes which display variegated colours and variable textures attain a total thickness of about 45 m. The varieties are, from bottom to top : (i) coarse grained acid fuffs of variegated colours noticed to the east of Worli fort, (ii) Yellowish brown ash exposed near Chowpatty beach, along the embankment of Walkeshwar road, Malabar-Cumballa ridge, Haji Ali tomb and the Worli and Worli fort hills. The exposures at Worli contain fossil tortoise and frogs (Rana Pussilla) and

¹ These uncommon types are so far reported at Pavagad hill (Gujarat State) about 375 km. NNE of Bombay.
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(iii) coarse grained carbonaceous ash covered by yellowish brown tuffaceous ash devoid of fossils.

The ash beds are capped by massive lava flows which attain a thickness of about 16 m. The rocks are aphanitic, have a conchoidal fracture and exhibit conspicuous hexagonal columnar jointing. They are exposed on the Malabar, Cumballa, Worli hills and extend on to the Salsette island. Dark coloured fossiliferous shales attaining a thickness of about 2 m. are exposed at the foot of the Worli hills. Being deposited during a period of quiescence and overlain by a later flow, these beds are known as 'Intertrappean Beds'. They are very significant as the fossils in them are helpful in fixing the possible age of the associated lava flows.

The eastern ridge represents a different suite of rocks. They are, from bottom to top : (i) basalt, greenish amygdaloidal basalt exposed at Bhoiwada, Mazagaon and Koliwada hills, (ii) red ash breccia noticed in the exposures at Sion, (iii) highly chilled basic lavas of Sewri fort and Antop hills, described as Melaphyre in the older literature, (iv) stratified ashes of Sewri and Cotton Green; the exposures described by earlier students of the geology of Bombay are now covered by buildings, but are exposed in some road cuttings.

The geology of the intervening low lands is more or less obscured by the development of the city of Bombay, but some of the recent excavations near Flora Fountain, Old Custom House and Dadar have revealed the presence of either the greenish-grey basalt or the yellowish brown ash.

Salsette Island : The central portions of Salsette island comprise a range of hills trending north-south merging into the tidal swamps towards the east; while towards the west these hills pass into wide plains with a few isolated hillocks. Basalt is the major rock unit constituting the main ridge extending from Ghatkopar, Vikhroli, east of Jogeshwari, Aarey Milk Colony to Kanheri and beyond. At places, there are ash beds intervening between successive flows; these may be seen in the outcrops of the Western Express Highway passing through Jogeshwari. The isolated hills near Andheri, Jogeshwari railway station, Chincholi and Mandapeshwar are also largely composed of basaltic types. Acid to sub-acid types are associated with the basalts at Dongri, Manori, Madh, Karodiwadi, Malad and Kurla. The basalts in the quarries at Gilbert hill, Andheri, exhibit perfect columnar jointing with spectacular pentagonal columns, over 40 m. in height.

Another interesting geological feature is the occurrence of a vast thickness of volcanic agglomerate near Tulsi lake and Kanheri caves, indicating a possible volcanic focus from which much of the pyroclastic rocks in the Bombay and Salsette islands may have extruded. These agglomerates are largely made up of elongated sub-angular vesicular bombs, blocks

of brown chert, trachyte, volcanic ejectment and small pieces of yellow to reddish brown limonitic matter, varying in size from a few centimetres to as much as one metre, set in a matrix of dense, dull light grey amorphous material. At places this matrix resembles bauxite. Some of these agglomerates show fine banding and layers with alternate siliceous and tuffaceous matter, at places with beautiful and intricate plications and contortions. Some of the horizons of the agglomerates and breccias, particularly those which are bauxitised, are quite soft. Differential weathering has resulted in the siliceous bands which stand out as fine minute ribs in some places, simulating fossil wood. This feature may be observed in caves No. 84, 85, 86 and 87 at Kanheri.

The basalts are intersected by sills and dykes of olivine dolerite, tachylite, etc. The dykes have a general north-south trend and appear to be limited to the eastern margin of the main ridge from west of Mulund, and the eastern banks of the Vihar lake to Vikhroli. Some of these dykes extend further south towards Mankhurd, Chembur and Nanole in the Trombay Island.

Volcanic breccias and ashes interbedded with basalts are noticed at several places near Ghod Bundar, around Tulsi and Vihar lakes, Santa-cruz, Kurla and Sion. The plains to the west of the main ridge extending from north of Bandra to Borivli and beyond are clothed by marine alluvium represented by saline marine muds, recent shell-limestones, calcareous sand stones, etc. A fair stretch of shore sands with occasional dunes extends from Juhu in the south to Varsova, Marve and Manori in the north.

Trombay Island : This island is separated from Bombay and Salsette by extensive tidal flats with a series of low hills extending north-south in the centre. Facies of amygdaloidal olivine basalt dipping gently towards west, with ramified layers and dykes of rock types described variously as oceanite, ankaramite and monchiquite etc., are prevalent in this area.

Laterite : Small plateaus east of Kanheri caves and south-west of Tulsi lake are covered by laterite with bauxite pockets at 500 m. elevation above sea level.

Structure :

Faults : A well marked fault is seen near Antop hill. Sukheswala (1958) has given evidence for two north-south running faults in Bombay island, one to the east of western ridge and other running along the western ridge. The faults extend into Salsette island and have maximum throw of 75' and 40', respectively.

Submergence of land in Bombay : Wynne reported in 1860 that the blue clay of the flats containing mangrove roots is said to have been found near Sion and in other parts of the island, undisturbed at places, now beyond the reach of the sea. Above this, at an elevation of 10 feet above sea level,

are sea shells, gravel and sand, loose or cemented into a variety of open shell limestone having 8 to 10 ft. thickness. This indicates that the clay containing the roots of mangroves, which grow only within the tide marks, must have been depressed in order to allow the stratified deposit of sea. Shells and gravel are believed to have accumulated, and afterwards both must have been elevated to the height at which they are found now. Ormiston (1878, 1881) had discovered a submerged forest during the Prince's Dock excavations. This indicates submergence of at least 30 ft.

Economic Geology : No minerals of economic importance are found in the Bombay area except pockets of bauxite in the laterite plateau, east of Kanheri caves. However, large quantities of building stones required for construction work in Greater Bombay area are mainly supplied from the quarries in the vicinity. The main rock types quarried are basalt, andesite and granophyric trachyte, basalt being the most abundant of all. The famous Gateway of India at Bombay is built out of granophyric trachyte.

Groundwater Conditions : The area coming under Greater Bombay limits is covered by Deccan lava flows, with intertrappean beds occurring at a few places. The yield for well in basaltic terrain depends on the thickness of the weathered zone of the basaltic flows, and the presence of joints and fissures, whereas the yield for well in intertrappean beds is dependent on their lithologic character. The sandy and calcareous intertrappean beds yield a copious supply of water, whereas the beach sands and clayey sands which overlie the basaltic flows along the coast, carry lenses of fresh water supported by a zone of brackish water which has hydraulic contact with the sea. Heavy drawal of water here upsets the equilibrium between the fresh and brackish water interface. The groundwater available to the wells in Greater Bombay region, however is mostly from these formations.

CLIMATE*

The climate of Greater Bombay is characterised by an oppressive summer, dampness in the atmosphere nearly throughout the year, and heavy south-west monsoon rainfall. The cold season from December to February is followed by the summer season from March to June. The period from June to about the end of September constitutes the south-west monsoon season, and October and November form the post-monsoon season.

Rainfall : The records of rainfall in Bombay are available for two stations, Kurla and Colaba for 72 and 88 years, respectively. Records of rainfall at a few other locations in Greater Bombay are available for

* The section on 'Climate' is contributed by the Meteorological Department of the Government of India, Pune.

a few years. The details of the rainfall are given in table Nos. 1 and 2. The average annual rainfall is 1917.3 mm (75.48"). Considering the rainy season as a whole, variation in the rainfall from place to place in Greater Bombay is not much. But on individual days the rainfall pattern is by no means uniform and the rainfall at some places is very heavy compared to other places. The variation in the rainfall from year to year is quite appreciable. In the 50-year period from 1901 to 1950 the highest annual rainfall amounting to 167 per cent of the annual normal occurred in 1917. The lowest annual rainfall, which was only 51 per cent of the normal, occurred in 1905. In this 50-year period the annual rainfall in Greater Bombay was less than 80 per cent of the normal in 10 years, two consecutive years of such low rainfall occurring twice. About 94 per cent of the annual rainfall in Greater Bombay is received during the south-west monsoon months of June to September. July is the rainiest month when about one-third of the annual rainfall is received. Some rainfall mostly as thundershowers is also received during the month of May and the post-monsoon months. During the period December to April there is very little rainfall. It will be seen from table No. 2 that the annual rainfall in Greater Bombay was between 1,700 and 2,300 mm (68" and 92") in 26 years out of 50.

On an average there are 73 rainy days (*i.e.* days with rainfall of 2.5 mm or more) in a year at Colaba and 80 at Kurla. The heaviest rainfall in 24 hours recorded in Greater Bombay was 548.1 mm (21.58") at Colaba on 10th September 1930. This record was however exceeded to over 22" on 4th July 1974 at Colaba. The unprecedented rainfall was ascribed to a cyclone.

Temperature : There are meteorological observatories at Colaba and Santacruz. In general Santacruz is slightly warmer during day, colder during night than Colaba, especially in the cold season. After February there is steady increase of temperature till May which is generally the hottest month.

The mean daily maximum temperature in May is 32.9°C (91.2°F) at Colaba and 33.3°C (91.9°F) at Santacruz. The mean daily minimum temperature in May is 26.5°C (79.7°F) at Colaba and nearly the same at Santacruz. Due to prevailing high humidities the weather during the summer is very oppressive. On some days the maximum temperature goes above 40°C (104.0°F). The afternoon sea breezes bring some welcome relief from the heat. After the onset of the monsoon by about the beginning of June, the weather becomes progressively cooler. But, towards the end of the south-west monsoon season, day temperatures begin to increase and a secondary maximum in day temperature is reached in October. The October heat is very oppressive in some years. Nights, however, become progressively cooler after the withdrawal of the monsoon. After November the day temperatures also begin to

decrease. January is generally the coldest month with the mean daily maximum temperature at 28.5°C (83.3°F) at Colaba and 30.6°C (87.1°F) at Santacruz. The mean daily minimum temperature is 19.3°C (66.7°F) at Colaba and 17.1°C (62.8°F) at Santacruz. In the cold season, in association with passing western disturbances across north India, the minimum temperature occasionally drops down to about 10°C. (50.0°F).

The highest maximum temperature recorded at Colaba was 40.6°C (105.1°F) on April 19, 1955 and that at Santacruz was 42.2°C (108.0°F) on April 14, 1952. The lowest minimum was 11.7°C (53.1°F) at Colaba on January 15, 1935 and February 1, 1929 and that at Santacruz was 10.0°C (50.0°F) on January 17, 1953 and February 10, 1950.

Humidity : In general Colaba is slightly more humid than Santacruz. Usually mornings are more humid than the afternoons over Greater Bombay. In the period from June to October the relative humidity is above 75 per cent. The driest part of the year is the afternoons during the period from November to February with relative humidity between 50 and 65 per cent.

Cloudiness : During the south-west monsoon months the skies are generally heavily clouded or overcast. Cloudiness decreases after the withdrawal of the south-west monsoon towards the end of September. During the period December to March clear or lightly clouded skies prevail generally. Later cloudiness increases with the progress of the season.

Winds : Winds are generally moderate, but they greatly increase in force during the monsoon months. Winds during May and the south-west monsoon season are mainly from directions between south-west and north-west. In the rest of the year winds blow from directions between north and east in the mornings and between west and north in the afternoons.

Special Weather Phenomena : During the later part of the summer and post-monsoon months some of the storms and depressions from the Arabian sea affect the weather, causing widespread heavy rain and gusty winds. Thunderstorms occur during the later part of the summer and in the months of September and October. Rain in the monsoon season is often associated with thunder.

Table Nos. 3, 4 and 5 give the temperature and humidity, mean wind speed and special weather phenomena, respectively for Colaba, and table Nos. 3(a), 4(a) and 5(a) give similar data for the Santacruz station.

TABLE No. 1
NORMALS AND EXTREMES OF RAINFALL IN GREATER BOMBAY

Station	No. of years of data	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Annual as % of normal and year†		Highest annual rainfall as % of normal and year	Lowest annual rainfall	Heaviest rain-fall in 24 hours*
														Amount (mm)	Date			
Kurla ..	a	3.1	1.3	0.8	2.5	17.3	476.0	725.9	414.8	295.7	75.7	15.7	0.8	2029.6	191 (1917)	54 (1941)	54	354.3 1915 Jun. 2
	b	0.2	0.2	0.0	0.1	0.8	14.7	24.5	21.5	14.4	3.0	0.7	0.2	80.3				
Colaba ..	a	4.1	2.0	1.5	1.5	18.3	464.8	613.4	328.9	286.0	64.5	17.5	2.3	1804.8	153 (1949)	47 (1904)	47	548.1 1930 Sept. 10
	b	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.8	14.2	22.2	18.2	12.6	3.0	0.8	0.3	72.7				
Greater Bombay a (District).	a	3.6	1.7	1.1	2.0	17.8	470.4	669.7	371.9	290.9	70.1	16.6	1.5	1917.3	167 (1917)	51 (1905)	51	
	b	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.8	14.5	23.3	19.9	13.5	3.0	0.7	0.3	76.6				

(a) Normal rainfall in mm.

(b) Average number of rainy days (days with rain of 2.5 mm or more).

* Based on all available data up to 1959.

† Years given in brackets.

TABLE No. 2

FREQUENCY OF ANNUAL RAINFALL IN THE GREATER BOMBAY DISTRICT

(DATA 1901-1950)

Range in mm	No. of years	Range in mm	No. of years
901—1100	3	2101—2300	5
1101—1300	2	2301—2500	4
1301—1500	3	2501—2700	4
1501—1700	7	2701—2900	0
1701—1900	6	2901—3100	0
1901—2100	15	3101—3300	1

TABLE No. 3
NORMALS OF TEMPERATURE AND RELATIVE HUMIDITY (COLABA)

Month	Mean Daily Maximum Temperature		Mean Daily Minimum Temperature	Highest Maximum ever recorded		Lowest Minimum ever recorded		Relative Humidity	
	°C	°C	°C	°C	Date	°C	Date	Per cent	
								0830	1730*
January	..	28.5	19.3	35.0	1961, January 17	11.7	1935, January 15	70	64
February	..	28.6	19.8	38.3	1949, February 28	11.7	1929, February 1	71	62
March	..	30.3	22.2	39.7	1958, March 8	16.7	1905, March 2	73	64
April	..	31.8	24.6	40.6	1955, April 19	20.0	1905, April 1	75	67
May	..	32.9	26.5	36.2	1959, May 1	22.8	1951, May 25	73	69
June	..	31.5	26.0	37.2	1901, June 10	21.1	1936, June 28	79	78
July	..	29.7	24.9	35.6	1902, July 11	21.7	1945, July 7	84	85
August	..	29.5	24.6	32.2	1948, August 28	21.7	1943, August 10	83	83
September	..	29.8	24.3	35.0	1929, September 26	20.0	1947, September 29	85	81
October	..	31.6	24.3	35.7	1957, October 29	20.6	1954, October 29	81	74
November	..	31.9	22.6	36.1	1957, November 21	17.8	1881, November 20	72	67
December	..	30.4	20.5	35.1	1959, December 3	12.8	1929, December 21	70	63
Annual	..	30.5	23.3	....	....	....	....	76	71

*Hours I.S.T.

TABLE No. 3(a)
NORMAL OF TEMPERATURE AND RELATIVE HUMIDITY (SANTACRUZ)

Month	Mean Daily Maximum Temperature		Mean Daily Minimum Temperature		Highest Maximum ever recorded		Lowest Minimum ever recorded		Relative Humidity	
	°C		°C		°C		°C		Per cent	
	Date		Date		Date		Date		0830	1730*
January	30.6	17.1	36.2	1961, January 17	10.0	1953, January 17	63	48		
February	31.6	17.2	39.4	1953, February 27	10.0	1950, February 10	61	46		
March	32.8	20.2	41.7	1956, March 28	15.0	1952, March 4	65	50		
April	33.4	23.5	42.2	1952, April 14	18.3	1951, April 3	67	57		
May	33.3	26.4	38.8	1959, May 1	20.6	1951, May 25	69	65		
June	31.7	25.9	36.7	1951, June 11	22.2	1954, June 19	80	74		
July	29.6	24.8	34.8	1960, July 22	22.2	1959, July 1	86	82		
August	29.0	24.4	31.1	1954, August 31	19.4	1950, August 1	87	82		
September	29.7	23.8	35.6	1951, September 30	21.7	1953, September 27	86	75		
October	32.4	22.6	36.8	1960, October 22	16.7	1952, October 30	75	65		
November	33.0	19.6	36.1	1951, November 2	13.3	1950, November 19	61	53		
December	32.1	17.9	35.2	1958, December 2	10.6	1949, December 23	62	51		
Annual	31.6	22.0	....	....	....	....	72	62		

*Hours I.S.T.

GENERAL

TABLE No. 4

MEAN WIND SPEED IN KM/HR

(COLABA)

January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	Annual
10.5	11.1	11.4	11.3	10.6	14.8	18.0	15.4	10.9	9.7	10.0	10.1	12.0

CLIMATE

TABLE No. 4(a)

MEAN WIND SPEED IN KM/HR

(SANTACRUZ)

January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	Annual
8.3	9.2	10.4	11.6	12.8	15.1	19.0	16.1	10.8	7.6	7.1	7.6	11.3

TABLE No. 5
SPECIAL WEATHER PHENOMENA
(COLABA)

Mean No. of days with	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sep.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Annual
Thunder	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.5	1.1	4.5	0.7	0.2	2.7	3.1	1.0	0.0	14.2
Hail	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Dust-storm	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1
Squall	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	2.4	1.6	0.7	0.1	0.8	0.1	0.0	5.8
Fog	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2

TABLE No. 5(a)
SPECIAL WEATHER PHENOMENA
(SANTACRUZ)

Mean No. of days with	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sep.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Annual
Thunder	0.0	0.2	0.2	0.7	1.8	7.0	1.6	1.0	3.0	2.8	0.1	0.0	18.4
Hail	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Dust-storm	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Squall	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.2	2.3	4.8	3.9	1.0	0.7	0.0	0.0	13.0
Fog	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.3

FORESTS

The Bombay island is totally devoid of any forest at present. The National Park on the northern outskirts of the western suburbs of Bombay is the only forest worth the name. The old accounts of Bombay and South Salsette which now comprise Greater Bombay show that there was a considerable vegetation growth in many parts. The immense growth of urbanisation and industrialisation, however, reduced the floral wealth of the city. Extensive areas under vegetation were rendered barren either for human habitation or for industrialisation. A stage has now come that extensive areas in the city are without any vegetation worth the name.

Old Marathi documents and the statements of early European writers have proved conclusively that Bombay originally consisted of seven separate islands, which remained practically unaltered in shape until the eighteenth century. During the era of later Hindu and Mohammedan sovereignty the area, now known as Apollo Bundar, was dotted with palm-groves and tamarind trees. Between Dongri hill and Malabar hill there were groves and orchards of oak-trees, brabs, ber-trees and plantains, extending to and perhaps covering the outskirts of modern Girgaum. There was a thick jungle on the slopes of the Malabar hill, and the reran a pathway known as *shidi* (probably the present Shery Road) from Malabar Hill to Gamdevi through groves and *babul* plantations. Tamarinds covered the land south of Parel. The Mahim area is described to be covered with trees of cocoas, jacks and mangoes. The *kasba* of Mahim contained 70,000 cocoa-palms, several gardens and rice fields while the village of Matunga was devoted to rice cultivation.

The vegetation of the island, in 1909 was composed almost entirely of types which prevailed in densely populated areas and which are usually known as weeds of cultivation. Most of the trees were grown along the road-sides, a certain number were cultivated in groves and orchards for their shade or for their fruit and other products, while the ordinary shrubs and trees which grew wild in villages on the western coast were also met with in considerable numbers. Many non-indigenous species were also grown in public and private gardens.

The luxuriant groves and gardens have almost disappeared now due to human encroachment. The only forest area within Greater Bombay lies in the Borivli National Park and the catchment areas of the Tulsi, Vihar and Powai lakes and the Krishnagiri *upawan*.

The forests in Bombay district consist of 8.07 sq. km. of reserved forests and 11.11 sq. km. of municipal forests which are entirely under the management of the Forest Department. These forests are included in the National Park, Borivli, for the preservation of scenic, floral, faunal, geological, historical and archaeological features in an unimpaired state for generations to come. In the National Park no silvicultural operations

are carried out, and the exploitation as well as tending of the crop have been stopped.

The important species found in the Bombay forests are Teak, *Khair* (*Acacia Catechu*), *Sisav* (*Dalbergia latifolia*), *Hed* (*Adina* or *Nauclea Cordifolia*), *Kalamb* (*Stephegyne* or *Nauclea Parvifolia*) and *Bamboo*.

The major portion of the forests forms the catchment areas of the Tulsi and the Vihar lakes with high hills rising on all sides. The vegetation in the Tulsi catchment area ranges from pure ever-green vegetation on hill tops to the marshy growth along the fringe of the lake. The middle zone is represented by the mixed deciduous types with teak and other timber. Teak is found mixed with trees like *ain*, *hed*, *kalamb*, *humb* and climbers in moist areas, and is mixed with deciduous trees like *sawar* and *pangara* in drier parts. In the catchment area of the Vihar lake, there is a higher percentage of *Khair* species. Towards the lake, the percentage of *tad* trees increases progressively, while percentage of other species decreases. The lake is surrounded by thickly grown *tad* trees.

Since the forests are included in the National Park all fellings and exploitation in these forests have been suspended from 1968-69. The main function of the Forest Department, therefore, lies in protection of the forests and regeneration of the forests, to improve the growing stock and beautify the park, construction of roads, rope ways, water channels, and provision of accommodation for tourists, etc.

The Maharashtra Government intends to develop the National Park as a holiday resort and place of tourist interest. This is particularly essential in view of the lack of recreation facilities in the city. In pursuance to this the Government decided to develop a lion sanctuary on the model of the Gir Sanctuary in Gujarat. Accordingly a lion safari was established at the National Park in the seventies. The lion park extends over an area of about 13 hectares. As many as nine lions were kept in the sanctuary initially. The lions are kept in the natural environment.

The lion park is open to visitors and tourists who can have a close view of the king of the jungle roaming in this free environment in the Park, from buses specially provided for the purpose.

The lion park has been developed by the Maharashtra Government at the cost of Rs. 9.33 lakhs, a major part of which has been contributed by the Government of India. Besides the lion park, the Government have also provided a children's recreation park and a mini railway train (*Vanarani*) at the National Park.

WILD ANIMALS AND BIRDS

Bombay is now so populous and overcrowded that it is no more a congenial home for wild animals. Human encroachment on their natural habitat has totally destroyed wild life in the environs of Bombay.

In the past a part of Salsette, which is now included in Bombay, was the hunt of wild animals like hyena, tiger, lion, leopard, panther, bison, jackal, deer, etc. Monkeys (*Primates*) existed in a strictly wild state prior to several generations. The jungle cat (*felis chaus*), the small Indian civet and the Indian palm-civet were occasionally found in the northern portion of the island, while the mungoose (*herpestes munge*) was of fairly frequent occurrence in Sewri, Sion and Mahim. The chief domestic animals such as horses, cattle and goats were imported in Bombay and were bred only on a very small scale in the city.

Greater Bombay at present comprises mainly of residential and industrial areas. The reclamation of vast areas in the recent years, the ever growing pressure of population, development of roads and the advent of the motor car and lorry have had a disastrous effect upon wild life. At present there is no forest in the true sense of the term except the Borivli forest, extending over an area of about 19.18 sq. km. Hence, wild life as such is almost extinct from Bombay.

The fauna mainly consists of the common varieties of domesticated animals, such as, cows, oxen, buffaloes, sheeps, goats, pigs, donkeys, and mules. Wild life is now seen only within the National Park. Among the big game the panther is found mainly in the hills with the low dense shrubs. It sometimes comes down to prey upon stray cattle, dogs, etc. near the park. Recent introduction of blue bull in the park has also added to the big game in the National Park. These inhabit the low-lying flat areas near the lakes of Tulsi and Vihar. The small game includes rabbit, jungle fowl, mungoose and species of squirrels. The jungle fowl in particular is abundant in the thorny bushes which occur in most of the places as undergrowth in the park areas.

The Tulsi and Vihar lakes are reported to provide a habitat to crocodiles and alligators which come sometimes to the banks of the lakes to bask in the sun.

The vertebrate wild life of the Bombay Suburban District includes, besides a number of fishes, 42 species of mammals, 251 species of birds including migratory—land and water birds, 38 species of reptiles and species of amphibia. The wild life is characteristic of that part of west coast of India which is north of Belgaum and south of Surat. This is, for the most part, wild life of the Deccan peninsula enriched with some elements of wild life of Kerala which is so markedly different from that of the Deccan peninsula, as Salsette island, of which the park is a part, was isolated effectively from the main land till few decades past.

Some sedentary of the adjacent main land are conspicuous by their rarity in the park.

A brief description of some of the important species is given below :

Tiger (*Panthera tigris*) : The Indian tiger is a rich coloured well-striped animal with a short coat. The average size is 275 to 290 centimetres.

Jungle Cat (*Felis Chaus*) : With its long legs and comparatively short tail the jungle cat has a very distinctive appearance. Its pale green eyes give it a coldly cruel expression. The colour of its fur varies from sandy grey to yellowish grey. The tail is ringed with black towards the end and has a black tip. The paws are pale yellowish, black underneath. The ears are reddish. Underside of the body is pale with vestiges of stripes on the underside and flanks. The size of a Jungle cat is a little over 60 centimetres.

Chital or spotted Deer (*Axis axis*) : The *Chital* is the most beautiful of all deer. Its coat is a bright rufous-fawn profusely spotted with white at all ages and in all seasons. Old bucks are more brownish in colour and darker. The lower series of spots on the flanks are arranged in longitudinal rows and suggest broken linear markings.

The graceful antlers have three times a long brow tine set nearly at right angles to the beam and two branch tines at the top. The outer tine, the continuation of the beam is always longer. Old bucks often have one or more false points on the brow antler where it joins the main beam. The average size of the spotted deer is about 85 cm.

Sambar (*Cervus unicolor niger*) : The coat of the sambar is coarse and shaggy. In the hot weather much of the hair is shed. The general colour is brown with a yellowish or greyish tinge. Females are lighter in tone. Old stags tend to become very dark, almost black. The antlers are stout and rugged. The brow tine is set at an acute angle with the beam. At its summit, the beam forks into two nearly equal tines. The *Sambar* is the largest Indian deer and carries the grandest horns. Its height at shoulder is nearly 150 centimetres.

Four-horned Antelope (*Tetracerus quadricornis*) : The four-horned Antelope or *chowshinga* and the *Nilgai* are distinguished from the true antelopes by several characters. Its horns are not ringed as in the case of true antelopes proper. They are keeled in front. The females are harmless. These animals are grouped in a separate sub-family, viz., the Boselaphinae. The four horned antelope is the only member of this group with two pair of horns. Of these the front pair is always shorter. One of the most interesting features of a *chowshinga* is the presence of a pair of well-developed glands between the false hooves of the hindlegs in both males and females. The colour of its coarse coat is dull red brown above and white below, oldbucks are yellowish. There is a dark stripe down the front of each of its legs. It is broader and more defined on the forelegs. The height of a male is about 65 centimetres.

Indian Wild Boar (*Sus indicus*) : The Indian wild boar is allied to the European boar, but distinctive in its sparser coat and in its fuller crest or mane of black bristles reaching from the nape down the back. The colour of the animal is black mixed with grey, rusty brown and white hairs. The tushes are well developed in the males. The upper and lower tushes curve outwards and project from the mouth. A well grown male stands 90 centimetres high at the shoulder and its weight exceeds 230 kg.

Monkeys : Three species of monkeys viz., the Bonnet, Rhesus Macaques and the common langur occur in the National Park, Borivli.

(a) **Bonnet Macaque (*Macaca radiata*)** : It is a medium sized long tailed macaque. A bonnet of long dark hairs radiates in all directions from whorl on its crown. The bonnet does not quite cover the forehead where the hair are short neatly parted in the centre. The coat of this monkey is variable both among individuals and with the season. In the cold weather it is usually lustrous olive brown and the underparts whitish. With the onset of the hot weather the coat loses its lustre, turns harsh and scraggy and fades to a buffy grey. Sitting on its haunches this monkey is just under 60 cm. high.

(b) **Rhesus Macaque (*Macaca mulatta*)** : The Rhesus has the usual squat, thickset build of a macaque. The hair on its crown radiate backwards from the forehead without the neat centre parting so distinctive in its relative the macaque of the southern India. The orange-red fur on its loins and rump distinguishes it from any other Indian monkey. The size of a male rhesus is about 60 cm. high in a sitting position, and scales about 7 to 10 kg.

(c) **Common Langur or Hanuman Monkey (*Presbytis entellus*)** : This is a long-limbed, long tailed, black faced monkey seen as much about towns and villages as in forests in India. Langurs from the Himalayas, Peninsular and Southern India and Ceylon are not distinct species, but merely races of a single species differing in size, heaviness of coat and details of colour. The size of a langur is 60 to 75 cm. high in a sitting position.

Striped Hyena (*Hyaena striata*) : A dog-like bull, massive head and fat body, weak hindquarters, and a heavy dorsal crest of long hairs sharply defined from the rest of the coat, distinguish the hyena. Its colour varies from cream, buff or tawny to grey or dirty white. There are transverse stripes on its body and limbs. The total length of a male is about 150 cm. and its height is about 90 cm.

Indian Hare (*Lepus nigricollis*) : The blacknaped hare is distinctive in having a dark brown or black patch on the back of its neck from the ears to the shoulder while the upper surface of tail is black. In the northern parts of its range this nape patch is grey.

Birds : The most abundant wild life encountered in Greater Bombay at present consists of bird fauna. A variety of birds occur all over Bombay city and suburbs, and particularly in the National Park, which are listed below :—

- (1) Red vented bulbul (*Molpastes cafer cafer*);
- (2) Red whiskered bulbul (*Old compsa joacous fuscicandata*);
- (3) Spotted babbler (*Pellorneum ruficeps*);
- (4) Yellow eyed babbler (*Chrysomma, sinensis*);
- (5) Indian tree pie (*Dendrocitta vagabunda vagabunda*);
- (6) Indian shama (*Kittacincta Malabarica malabarica*);
- (7) Red breasted flycatcher (*siphia parva subsp*);
- (8) Black Drongo (*Dicrurus macrocercus*);
- (9) Racket tailed (*Discemurus paradisous malabaricus*);
- (10) Tailor bird (*Orthotomus, sutorius guzerata*);
- (11) Indian oriole (*Oriolus oriolus, kundoo*);
- (12) Common myna (*Acridotheres tristis tristis*);
- (13) Common babbler (*Argya candata candata*);
- (14) White throated babbler (*Dumetia hyperythra*);
- (15) Central Indian tora (*Egithina tiphinon humei*);
- (16) Malabar gold fronted chloropise (*Chloropsis auripons frontatis*);
- (17) Blue throat thrush (*Cyapro sybroia succica pallidogularis*);
- (18) White throated ground thrush (*Ceokichla citrina cyamotus*);
- (19) Blue rock thrush (*Monticola solitarius pandoo*);
- (20) Paradise flycatcher (*Tehitrea paradisi paradisi*);
- (21) White spotted fontail flycatcher (*Leucocirca Pectorlis pectorlis*);
- (22) Little minivet (*Pericocotus perogrinus peregrinus*);
- (23) Rupus-backed shrike (*Lanius sehach erythronotus*);
- (24) Streaked fontail warbler (*Cisticola juncidis*);
- (25) Black headed oriole (*Oriolus anthormus maderas patanus*);
- (26) Common weaver-bird or Baya (*Plocens philippinus philippinus*);
- (27) Ashy-crowned or black-bellied finch lark (*Eremoptenix grisea grisea*);
- (28) Loten's sun bird (*Cinnyris lotenia*);
- (29) Purple sun bird (*Cinnyris asiatica asiatica*);
- (30) Indian pitta (*Pitta brachyws*);
- (31) Southern yellow fronted pied woodpecker (*Dryobates mamattensis mamattensis*).

Besides, there are many other winter visitors (migratory birds) which come to Bombay in December and January. It is reported that some of the winter visitors come to Bombay from foreign countries including Russia, Mediterranean countries, Iran and Afghanistan. In the coastal areas,

are found brown headed kingfishers, white breasted kingfishers (*Halcyon, Smyrnensis Smyrnensis*) and filed kingfisher. These are very common along the coast and are frequently seen catching the fishes and taking fishes from the left overs of the fishermen.

FISH AND FISHERIES

Bombay is known as a fishing centre from the earliest days and fishing was one of the chief industries during the pre-British epoch. Not only did the harbour yield fish supply but also the estuaries, ponds and tanks on the island were exploited for fishing. The Kolis followed fishing as hereditary occupation and carried their operations from Colaba, Chaupati, Mazagaon, Worli, Sion, Mahim, Bandra, Trombay, Madh, Danda, Vesava, etc.

A larger fishing boat which is traditionally used by Bombay Kolis is styled as *Machava*. Besides, *ballyav* and *toni* are also used. These boats are made almost entirely of teak, though occasionally some of their parts are made of mango tree and jack tree. They are built chiefly at Papdi near Vasai in Thane district and a few at Manori. The cost of a fishing boat in the past varied from Rs. 200 to Rs. 700 according to size and quality. The nets used by the Kolis were called *Dhol*, *Bhokse Jal*, etc. Formerly salt water was used to preserve the fish. Subsequently Kolis started to use ice for preservation of fish. There was little curing of fish in Bombay. The *Bombil* was not gutted before it was salted. It was simply hung up on strings in the sun for 3-4 days. The small fry was merely thrown on the sand to decompose and to dry in the sun, and then sold as manure. Fish canning and pickling on the western style was wholly unknown to the Bombay Kolis in the past.

At present marine fishing villages are concentrated along the coast line which is about 80 km. in length. There are about 21 fishing villages along the West coast, many of which are tidal ports. The tide to some extent adversely affects the free movement of fishing fleet except in a few ports of Sassoon Dock and Kasara Bundar. Fishing is extensively done throughout the coastline upto 30 fathoms from September to May. Besides this, the fishing crafts are being operated at Sassoon Dock and Kasara Bundar throughout the year. During the monsoon period off-shore fishing is suspended due to gusty winds. However, fishing at other centres is restricted to creek region. Unlike other maritime districts of Maharashtra State, the inland fishing activity in Greater Bombay is equally important. Production of fish at fish seed unit at Aarey is in progress to meet the demand of private pisciculturists.

There are about 4,917 active fishermen engaged in fishing in Bombay, of which 3,417 are engaged in marine fisheries and 1,500 in inland fisheries.

In addition to this, there are about 2,000 allied workers in fishing industry.

Marine Fishery : The important marine fishes caught in large quantity in Bombay area are as under :—

English Name	Local Name	Scientific Name
Bombay duck	.. Bombil	<i>Harpodon nehereus</i>
Golden anchovies	.. Mandeli	<i>Coilia dussumieri</i>
Prawns and Shrimps	.. Kolambi	<i>Penacus sp. Actes sp.</i>
Pomfrets	.. Saranga, Poplet	<i>Pampus argenteus</i>
Eel	.. Wam	<i>Muraenosox spp.</i>
Ribbon fish	.. Wagti	<i>Trichiurus species</i>
Clupeid	.. Kati	<i>Thrissocles species</i>
Shark ray	.. Mush, Pakhat	<i>Carcharinus species</i>
Cat fish	.. Shingala	<i>Tachysurus species</i>
Silver bar	.. Datal	<i>Chirocentrus species</i>
Jow fish and croaker	.. Dhoma	<i>Sciaenidae family</i>
Threadfins	.. Dara, Rawas	<i>Eleutheronema</i>

Besides the above, Seer fish, H. mackerel, Red snappers, black pomfrets soles, Lobsters are caught in smaller quantities.

The important fishing centres along the coastline of Bombay are Sassoon Dock, Kasara Bundar, Khar Danda, Versova, Madh, Manori and Gewarai.

Fishing Craft and Gear : A brief description of the fishing crafts commonly used is given below:—

Machava : This is a carvel type built boat pointed at both ends, stern and stem. It is an open undecked boat with a single mast at the middle part. The name *Machava* is supposed to have originated from the Sanskrit words *Matsya Wahan*, a fish carrying or a fishing boat. The size of the boat varies according to the individual requirements, but normally it is 14 metres in overall length, 3 metres in width and 1½ metres in depth. It is usually made of teak wood. The cost of such a boat is about Rs. 20,000. These boats are being operated from Versova, Madh, Sassoon Dock and Kasara Bundar.

Ballyav : This type of boat is mainly used by fishermen of Versova and Madh. It is made of teak wood. It is also carvel type plant built boat with a length varying from 10 to 14 metres. It has a rounded broad stern and elongated high bow. The cost of the boat ranges between Rs. 12,000 and Rs. 20,000.

Of the existing boats more than 560 have been converted into mechanised boats. The total number of boats engaged in fishing is

2,034. The 560 mechanised boats in Bombay have advantages over sailing crafts.

Dol : This is one of the most important gears operated in the maritime of Bombay. It is a funnel shaped net used for fishing upto about 40 metres depth. It has a length of about 50 to 70 metres with a rectangular mouth of 30 metres width. The net was generally made of cotton twine in the past, but recently the fishermen have started replacing some of the parts of this net with a monofilament of synthetic fibre.

The nets used in the creeks are called as *Bokshi*. The net is set in the water against the current.

Operation of *Dol* net is interesting and includes fixing of *khunt*, a wooden pole of 40 metre length. This is carried to the fishing ground with two boats manned by 20 to 25 experienced fishermen. The technique involves the fixing of the pole vertically by pressing it as per the flowing current. As this method is very expensive, the fishermen have adopted a new method called barrel system, to operate *Dol* net. In this system, the net is used with the help of ropes and a barrel.

Gill Net : This net comprises webbing of varying meshes, to enable catching fishes of different size by gilling i.e., by getting their head portion entangled in meshes as the entanglement takes place near the gill portion of the head. There are three types of gill net, e.g., surface drift, bottom drift and bottom set.

Surface drift, locally called *Daldi* or *Wawari*, it is composed of 60 to 65 pieces, each piece having a length of about 40 to 45 metres and a height of 4 to 5 metres. *Daldi* nets are used for catching *Surmai* having a mesh of 10 mm.

The floats are either triangular in shape or elongated flat pieces of wood attached to the head rope. These nets are generally used upto 50 metres depth.

Bottom Drift and Bottom Set, locally called *Budichi Jali*, are composed of a number of pieces varying from 60 to 80, each measuring about 40 to 50 metres in length. The mesh size varies from 4 to 8 mm. These nets are mainly operated by fishermen from Madh and Versova.

Trawling : Introduction of trawl nets for exploitation of demersal or bottom fisheries has been under consideration as an important aspect of raising fish production for the last about five decades. The trawl nets were introduced by Bombay fishermen in 1966. They have now realised the beneficial results of this method for harvesting demersal fisheries.

Fisheries Co-operative Societies : There are 15 primary co-operative societies in Bombay which are mainly functioning at Worli, Khar Danda,

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Juhu, Versova, Madh, Manori and Trombay. Besides, there is an apex fisheries co-operative society in the city. These co-operative societies have played an important role in providing ice factories, fish transport trucks, grain shops, diesel pumps and many other fisheries requisites to the members. Efforts are being made to export frozen fish, fresh as well as dry fish, in collaboration with co-operative societies to other cities and abroad.

The frozen products are exported mainly to Japan and the U.S.A. while the Bombay duck is exported to Colombo and Malaysia. In 1974-75 dry fish exported through Bombay amounted to 10,643 tonnes at the average rate of Rs. 3,781 per tonne. The turnover of fisheries co-operatives amounted to Rs. 73 lakhs in 1975-76.

The following statement shows the export of fish from Bombay Port during 1975-76:—

Name of Product	Quantity (in M. T.)	Value (in thousand Rs.)
Frozen shrimps	5,869	1,54,901
Frozen frog legs	881	20,046
Frozen lobster tails	139	8,369
Shark fins	44	1,364
Fish maws	83	4,264
Cattle fish	39	463
Dried fish	359	2,442
Canned fish	3	91
Frozen sauria	27	74
Frozen fish	85	1,088
Cuttle fishlets	9	89
Others	1,418	9,793
Total ..	8,956	2,02,984

There is a fisheries training centre at Versova which was established in August 1955. It imparts training in scientific methods of pisciculture and the commercial aspects of the fishing industry. This training centre trained 671 students upto December 1976.

There were 29 ice plants in Greater Bombay with a daily production capacity of 93 metric tonnes. It is estimated that about 60 per cent of the total catch of fish is dried while 40 per cent is sold in fresh condition in Bombay Market. The average of the total catch of marine fish in Bombay during 1970-1975 was estimated to be 92,103 metric tonnes, which was worth about Rs. 1,498.81 crores.

The following statement gives the quantity and value of marine fish landings in Greater Bombay for a few years:—

	Quantity (in M. Tonnes)	Value (in lakhs of Rs.)		Quantity (in M. Tonnes)	Value (in lakhs of Rs.)
1970-71 ..	65,109	10,44.84	1973-74 ..	1,00,577	18,20.81
1971-72 ..	80,477	9,32.76	1974-75 ..	1,22,188	24,70.36
1972-73 ..	92,165	12,25.28	1975-76 ..	1,68,522	42,13.80

There are 7 freezing plants in Bombay. They have a freezing capacity of about 35 m. tonnes and have frozen storage capacity of about 825 m. tonnes. Shrimp, lobsters, frog legs are frozen. Efforts are being made to export frozen pomfrets to foreign countries. The dry fish trade is mostly handled by private merchants, although recently few societies are attempting to do this business.

Inland fisheries : There are 56 tanks in Bombay which are suitable for inland fishing. The potential for inland fishing in Greater Bombay extends over an area of 244 hectares. Of this, an area of 5.70 hectares is under departmental control, while the rest of the area is under private pisciculture. These tanks are stocked every year with Bengal carps. No tanks are leased out to co-operative societies. It is estimated that inland water resources yield 2.3 metric tonnes of fish per annum. The following fishes are available in fresh water:—

English Name	Local Name	Scientific Name
Major carps ..	Catla	Catla catla
Major carps ..	Rohu	Labeo rohita
Major carps ..	Mrigal	Cirrhina mrigala
Cat fish ..	Shingala	Mystus sp
Tilapia ..	Tilapia	Tilapia mossa

Fish Seed Unit : A fish seed unit has been established at Aarey where induced breeding work is undertaken every year for the production of fish seed of major carps. The production during 1971-72 to 1975-76 was as under:—

Year	Production (fry) (in lakhs)	Year	Production (fry) (in lakhs)
1971-72 ..	77.57	1974-75 ..	32.18
1972-73 ..	47.33	1975-76 ..	60.00
1973-74 ..	44.17		

SNAKES *

There are a few hills in Borivli-Goregaon area and hillocks at Malabar hill, Worli, Sion, Andheri and Malad. The total number of people bitten

* The account on Snakes is contributed by Dr. P. J. Deoras, Bombay.

by snakes and admitted to hospital is very small. There are a number of people exhibiting snakes on the road-side and trying to play with a flute. A number of beliefs have grown up in the area. An instance given below indicates as to how superstition has played its part in not understanding the problem of snakes in the Greater Bombay area. In 1957, a cobra snake came into the house of a Parsi family on Malabar Hill. They did not kill it and their efforts to get rid of it were fruitless. A snake charmer was called who pretended to have charmed the cobra and made it innocuous. It was fetched to the Haffkine Institute. On examination the scientists found that the mouth of the cobra had been stitched by a thread to prevent it from opening the mouth and biting. Picking out poison fangs, plugging the holes of fangs, removing the poison glands or stitching the mouth are usual methods adopted by the so-called snake charmers in Bombay to make a cobra innocuous.

The famous Haffkine Institute in Bombay has been conducting research on snakes for the last more than 30 years. This is the only institute in India which is producing a lyophilised polyvalent antivenin against the poisons of cobra, krait, Russel's viper and *Echis carinatus* snakes. Given in time, this is the only sure remedy available against snake bites in India. To produce this, they are keeping a large number of snakes, which numbered 5,000 sometimes. This is also the only institute which has a snake-farm established in 1952, and imparts education to the public about snakes and snake-bites by a public demonstration every Thursday. In the following is given a short description of non-poisonous and poisonous snakes.

Non-Poisonous :

Lycodon aulicus : Locally this snake is called *Kawdya* *sarp* or *Biwatya* *sarp*. It is found often in open gardens and grassy areas near residential areas. The dorsal surface is either camel yellow or brownish yellow with snuff coloured spots at the sides. The spots have whitish borders. The head has brown spots and the ventral scales are yellowish. It grows to a length of about 50 cm and can climb trees with ease. It feeds on small mammals, frogs and eggs. It is harmless but when disturbed it may bite viciously.

Oligodon Arnensis : Locally people call it *Gargar* *sarp* or *Shankh-kankan* *sarp*. It is about 60 cm long and 7 cm in thickness. It is greyish brown in colour with a brown tinge, and has a number of black spots at the sides that have a white border. Remaining part of the body is full of yellow spots and the head has piky white streaks. It feeds on small mammals, lizards, gekos and insects. It moves out in the evenings in gardens and green areas. This snake is often mistaken to be a krait; but it has no single row of dorsal hexagonal scales seen in krait.

Natrix Stolata : This is the common *Naneti* snake of Maharashtra. It is quite docile and is seen in large numbers during the rainy season. Body hue is faint yellow with an olive green tinge is the colour of the dorsal surface, which has a net of tiny dark spiky spots dispersed all over; apart from two longitudinal almond coloured streaks on the side of the snake. The ventral surface has white spots with black ones at the sides. It lays eggs in April, and the young ones emerge in the monsoon. It feeds on insects and small frogs. The snake though slightly agile could be handled safely and exhibited at places.

Natrix Piscator : This is a very common snake particularly in the suburbs of Bombay in the areas of the creek or open drains. Locally it is called *Diwad*. It grows to 90 cm in length and is 14 cm in circumference at the thickest. It is olive green with black checked square marks all over the body. No wonder it is called "checkered keel black". The head is brown with black rings round the eyes and black streaks at the sides. The ventral side is white with black borders. It swims vigorously in water, and can stay there with only its tip of head popping out. It feeds on fishes, frogs, and other small aquatic fauna. It does not normally bother a man, but when some one puts his foot on it the snake will bite very viciously. It lays eggs in April and the young ones are born in June.

Boiga Triangonate : This cat snake is called a *Vidal* *sarp* or *Manjrya* *sarp*. Local people mistake it to be a cobra, simply because it raises its head. The snake is deep brown with black chevron shaped marks all over the body. The ventral side is white with black spots at the sides. A bilobed brown spot with black border extends from the centre of the head to the neck. One brown stripe extends from behind the eyes on each side upto the nape. The length extends upto 85 cm. and the female is longer than the male. This snake is very irritable and on provocation raises its head with a part of the neck and opening its mouth hurls the body at the victim to bite very severely. It feeds upon frogs, small mammals, lizards and even birds.

Dryophis Nasutus : This whip shaped parrot green snake is commonly seen on trees and grass. The head is pointed and is often held aloft as if to hypnotise the victim. It is locally called *Harantol* or *Sarpatol*. The parrot green colour bears white and yellowish black diagonal streaks. At the sides are thin lines followed by faint blue dots. The tongue is yellow and neck is sky-blue. The head is pointed, with a distinct green snout beyond the mouth. When kept in cages it strikes with the snout which often gets broken. When disturbed, it jumps and is virtually seen to fly up in the air.

The snake feeds on eggs and small birds. Though non-poisonous its bite gives some swelling and causes mild pain at the site of the bite.

Coluber Diadema : This beautiful snake brown in colour and having dark blue marks on the dorsal side was very common in the Bandra area. Due to urbanisation it is disappearing from the area. The dorsal marks look as if some one has split ink over the body from a distance. Some of the dark spots may be rectangular. The ventral surface is yellow. It grows to 120 cm and its maximum thickness is 16 cm.

As age advances the marks on the body become faint, and get a good camouflage in between tree tops and bushes. It may be mistaken to be a Russel's Viper, but the head is not triangular. It feeds on frogs, lizards and small mice. It lays eggs in May and they hatch in June-July. During the monsoon this snake is commonly encountered in the grasses or tree trunks.

Elaphe Helana : Locally this trinket snake is called *Taskar sarp*. The male snake is 90 cm long. The snake has a faint chocolate colour with deep brown spots, a white dot being in the centre. A small black streak lies at the base of eyes. The ventral surface is yellowish. It is a very irritable snake which when disturbed is ready to strike. Small mammals, eggs and lizards are its staple diet.

Ptyas Mucosus : *Dhaman* is the common name for this brown yellow snake which has black spots on the scales in the tail region. It grows to 250 cm and can climb trees with great agility. It is in the habit of making bowline knot round an object by its tail and exude foul smelling liquid from the anal region. When held by the head, it emits a sound akin to that of kite. It feeds mainly on rats. In fact the presence of this snake in a locality reduces the number of rats there.

Cereberus Rhynchops : This water snake has a faint bluish brown colour with clear black flowery marks all over the body. The marks are clear in the anterior region. A black line passes over the eyes. The ventral side is faint yellow with black spots on the corners. Head and eyes are small. The skin is rough, and the rear end is blunt with the tail being flattened to be used as an oar in swimming.

It is found in creek region where it often buries the tail in the mud, keeping the head above to feed upon frogs, fishes and a number of aquatic fauna that comes with the tide. Unfortunately, it cannot run properly on dry surface especially when the tide is gone, and often becomes a prey to many predators.

Achrochordus Granulatus : In Marathi it is called *Chamkhilya sarp*. This ash coloured snake has faint white dots. The head is chocolate with grey spots. This snake is found on the western coast and the local fisherfolk call it *Gunjal sarp*. It looks furacious, because of the raised ridge over various scales, and a large number of scales with projections on the head. It is ash coloured with faint white small flowery marks all

over the body. Head is chocolate with yellowish spots, and tiny black small cross-bars all over the body. The skin is folded at the sides with thorny scales on the surface.

The snake is met with near creek waters where it feeds on fishes, frogs and other edible fauna. It does not lay eggs, but begets about a dozen young snakes, before the monsoon. It is non-poisonous snake whose bite may give some painful symptoms. It is about 100 cm long.

Eryx Johnii : This sand boa snake is called *Mandol* in Marathi. It is totally chocolate brown with a very large number of tiny scales all over the body. The head is very small and looks like a continuation of the neck. The tail is blunt. It is a very lethargic snake, living in areas with sand and soil and feeds on frogs and small mice, and can easily be handled. It is 50 cm long.

Eryx Conicus : The head and tail are both blunt. The colour is brown with patches of grey and white all over the body. It looks like a python. This snake grows to about 45 cm and always remains curved up or coiled in the soil. When badly disturbed, it would break the coil and dart out to strike.

Uropheltis Phippsoni : This snake is quite rare and is found in the hilly regions of Borivli. People call it *Khapar Khawalya*. It is a deep chocolate brown small snake with variegated yellow white and red spots on the body. The tail is not only blunt but on the upper side it has a rhomboid surface creating edges which give strength to cutting earth, while digging to burrow. The eyes of this snake are small, and it is as thick as a human thumb. It grows to maximum of 15 cm. It is negatively phototropic and moves in darkness to feed on insects. If disturbed it strikes with its edged tail. The snake is viviparous.

Typhlops Braminius : This blind snake is often mistaken to be an earthworm, but unlike the worm it has scales covering each other all over the body. There are only tiny vestiges of eyes and two vestiges of appendage bones near the vent. There is no distinction between head and neck. It is about 23 cm long, snuff coloured except for the head side, tail and lower surface that are grey. The tail is blunt with spine-like structure meant for digging to burrow. It cannot move properly on plain ground, but on soft soil it uses the spine for movement. This snake seems to feed on earthworms, soft insects and their larval. Apart from a few teeth in the upper jaw, the snake is devoid of teeth.

Poisonous :

Naja Naja (Nag) : This snake is commonly found all over Bombay, in old mill compounds, wells, crevices and even in the gardens of Malabar and Pali hills. It is distinguishable by the presence of a flattened

neck region called hood. A binocoellate mark is often seen on the dorsal surface of the hood. The ventral surface has three faint ash coloured cross thick stripes separated by white ventral scales. There are two deep black spots just above the first ash coloured stripe. Cobra scales found in the southern region have chevron shaped blackish bars all over the dorsal surface starting from the base of the hood. The most typical characteristic for recognising this snake is to see the scales on the head. There are three small scales behind the eyes, the third supralabial scale is big and touches the eye and the nasal, while there is a distinct triangular scale between the 5th and 6th infralabial scales.

This is supposed to be a very poisonous but graceful snake growing upto 150 cm and feeding on rats and frogs. It requires 12 mg. of the venom of this snake to kill an able-bodied man. The only sure remedy to get relief from this venom is an injection of antivenin. This is manufactured at the Haffkine Institute, Bombay. The snake lays eggs in April which hatch by the end of July. A young cobra snake is as poisonous as an adult except that it may not be able to give the adequate dose of venom.

Callophis Melanurus : People call this snake as *Kal sarp* or *Rat sarp*. It is a small snake growing upto 34 cm in length and has a brown colour with a deep brown mark at the centre of each scale. The head and neck are black with yellow spots and two black stripes on the tail. The ventral surface is pink. There is a belief that its bite kills a man in 12 hours, especially if it bites in the evening the patient would die by the morning. It is seen mainly in the hilly areas bordering Thane district. The only sure remedy is the administration of antivenin. This small snake feeds on mice, frogs and young lizards and lays eggs during the month of May.

Vipera Russellii : Russel's viper or *Ghonas* is common poisonous snake in the suburbs of Bombay, especially in the areas surrounded by vegetation. It grows to 160 cm and has a greenish brown body with three rows of oval deep brown spots, one on the dorsal and one each at the sides. The male snakes are pinkish hue. The head is triangular and is full of tiny scales, with deep brown patches behind the eyes. The fangs of this poisonous snake are nearly 1 cm long. It rests its head amidst the coil of its body. When disturbed it takes a liver like action from the coils and hurls the head at its victim. The fangs are capable of tearing the skin and penetrating in the flesh. The poison of this snake is vasotoxic. There is an intense burning at the site of bite accompanied by oozing of blood and swelling. The venom required to kill a normal bodied man is 15 mg. Polyvalent antivenin is the only sure cure against this snake-bite.

The snake feeds on rats and, during the monsoon, lays about 96 young ones. It hisses loudly and continuously.

Echis Carinatus : Locally it is called a *Phoorsa*, and is sometimes found near the hills adjoining Thane district. It is a small snake that grows upto 40 cm. The body is deep brown with faint white chain of spots and arrow bead mark on the head. This snake always remains coiled up and moves as side winder. It darts and attacks after taking a lever action from the coils of its body. It is a very hardy snake that remains in the open even on warm rocks during midday time, feeding on lizards, scorpions, and a variety of insects. It breeds during monsoon months by giving birth to a large number of young ones. The lethal dose of the venom of this snake is only 8 milligrams, but often it is not able to give this much amount of poison. The victim therefore does not die. He survives, but may succumb to secondary infections and complications. While moving it makes a noise by rubbing the serrated scales on the body.

Trimeresurus gramineus : This small green snake growing to about 75 cm is met within the forest areas of Borivli. The head is triangular with a pit near the nasal opening and there are three faint white lines on the body over a leaf green surface. The eye-balls are golden and there are faint lines near it.

Living camouflaged in the deep green forests, it makes a loud hissing noise and darts at the victim. The pit near the nasal opening is used to perceive heat. It feeds on mice, birds, eggs and lizards and lays young ones in monsoon months. The venom is painful and polyvalent antivenin is the only antidote.

Enhydrina Schistosa : This ash colour snake with cross black stripes round the body is often met lying on the sea shore of Versova after the high tide. Its head is very small with nasal opening at the tip and the neck seems to have fused with the head. The tail is flattened out as an oar. The ventral scales are nearly coalesced forming just a ventral ridge. The snake cannot thus move on land and can easily be killed by man. The skin is very rough, and due to that it gets dry in the sun very soon. This snake is trapped in the nets of fishermen in deep sea. The fangs are situated far behind, and the poison is neurotoxic like that of the cobra. Due to its prolonged stay in sea waters the venom may be getting diluted. As the fangs are far behind it cannot take a grip to inject the poison. The lethal dose for a normal man is 14 mg. It lays eggs and feeds on fishes and other sea life.

Hydrophis mamillaries : This marine snake is found mainly near seashore, and is buff coloured. The ventral scales have fused to form a ridge and the tail is flattened as an oar. Its fangs are situated far behind, and the head and eyes are small. The nasal opening too is at the exterior end. The poison of this snake is neurotoxic, and the only remedy is the injection of an antivenin.

ANNEXURE I

FLORISTIC WEALTH OF BORIVLI NATIONAL PARK

	Botanical name	Local name
<i>I. Trees</i>		
1.	<i>Adansonia digitata</i>	 Gorakh chinch
2.	<i>Bombax malabaricum</i>	 Sawar, Katesawar
3.	<i>Sterculia colorata</i> Roxb. <i>Eruthoropsis colorata</i>	 Khavas, Khanshi
4.	<i>Sterculia urens</i>	 Pandhari, Kada
5.	<i>Azadirachta indica</i>	 Kaduneem
6.	<i>Saccopetalum tomentosum</i> F. and Th.	 Hum
7.	<i>Garcinia Indica</i>	 Kokam
8.	<i>Ochrocarpus longifolius</i> syn. <i>Calysaccion longifolium</i>	 Surangi
9.	<i>Garuga pinnata</i>	 Kakad
10.	<i>Lannea grandis</i> syn. <i>odina wodier</i>	 Shimti, Shimbat
11.	<i>Mangifera indica</i>	 Amba
12.	<i>Tamarindus indica</i>	 Chinch
13.	<i>Dalbergia sisso</i>	 Shisham
14.	<i>Pterocarpus marsupium</i> var. <i>acuminata</i>	 Bibla
15.	<i>Terminalia belerica</i>	 Beheda
16.	<i>Terminalia tomentosa</i>	 Ain, Sadada
17.	<i>Syzygium cumini</i>	 Jambhul
18.	<i>Adina Cordifolia</i>	 Haldu
19.	<i>Ixora arborea</i>	 Kuda
20.	<i>Ixora brachiata</i>	.. .. ....
21.	<i>Madhuka indica</i>	 Mohwa
22.	<i>Manilkana hexandra</i>	 Ahmadabadi hewa
23.	<i>Mimusops elengi</i>	 Bakul
24.	<i>Alstonia scholaris</i>	 Satwin, Saptaparni
25.	<i>Heterophragma quadrangularis</i>	 Wurur, Panlag
26.	<i>Oroxylum indicum</i>	 Tetav
27.	<i>Sterospermum personatum</i>	.. .. ....
28.	<i>Tectona grandis</i>	 Sag, Sagwan
29.	<i>Trewia polycarpa</i>	 Petari
30.	<i>Holoptelea integrifolia</i>	 Wavali, Papra
31.	<i>Tremaorientalis</i>	 Ranambada, Kargol
32.	<i>Ficus asperrima</i>	 Kharwat
33.	<i>Ficus arnottina</i>	 Payar
34.	<i>Ficus bengalensis</i>	 Wad
35.	<i>Ficus mysorensis</i>	 Bhurwad
36.	<i>Ficus religiosa</i>	 Pipal
37.	<i>Borassus flabellifer</i>	 Tad
38.	<i>Cocos nucifera</i>	 Naral
39.	<i>Phoenix sylvestris</i>	 Shindi
40.	<i>Anona squamosa</i>	 Sitaphal
41.	<i>Anona reticulata</i>	 Ramphal
42.	<i>Flacourtia montana</i>	 Attak, Champer
43.	<i>Thespesia populnea</i>	 Ranbhendi
44.	<i>Pterospermum suberifolium</i>	 Muchkund, Kanak champa

	Botanical name	Local name
45.	<i>Grewia colimnaria</i>	 Kala dhaman
46.	<i>G. tiliaefolia</i>	 Dhaman
47.	<i>Zizyphus xylopyra</i>	 Ghout, Ghatbori
48.	<i>Sapindus trifoliatum</i>	 Ritha
49.	<i>Anacardium occidentale</i>	 Kaju
50.	<i>Semecarpus anacardium</i>	 Biba, Bibwa
51.	<i>Moringa oleifera</i> syn. <i>M. pterigosperma</i>	 Shevga
52.	<i>Bauhinia recemosa</i>	 Apta
53.	<i>Bauhinia variegata</i>	 Kanchan
54.	<i>Cassia fistula</i>	 Bahava
55.	<i>Delonix regia</i>	 Gulmohar
56.	<i>Parkinsonia aculeata</i>	 Vedi-babul
57.	<i>Erythrina suberosa</i>	 Pangara
58.	<i>Erythrina variegata</i> var. <i>orientalis</i>	 Pangara
59.	<i>Pongamia pinnata</i>	 Karanj
60.	<i>Sesbania gradiflora</i>	 Agasta
61.	<i>Acacia arabica</i>	 Babul
62.	<i>Acacia catechu</i>	 Khair
63.	<i>Lagerstroemia parviflora</i>	 Bonda, Bondara
64.	<i>Gardenia latifolia</i>	 Pandru, Ghogar, Dikemali
65.	<i>Morinda tinctoria</i>	 Bartondi
66.	<i>Randia dumetorum</i>	 Gelpal
67.	<i>Diospyros embryopteris</i>	 Temburni, Tendu
68.	<i>Nyctanthes arbot-tristis</i>	 Parijatak
69.	<i>Salvadora persica</i>	 Khakan
70.	<i>Cordia myxa</i>	 Bhokar
71.	<i>Ehretia laevis</i>	 Datrang
72.	<i>Callicarpa tomentosa</i>	.. .. ....
73.	<i>Gmelina arborea</i>	 Shivan
74.	<i>Bridelia retusa</i>	 Asana
75.	<i>Euphorbia tirucalli</i>	 Newali, Thor
76.	<i>Exaecaria agallocha</i>	 Phungali
77.	<i>Emblica officinalis</i>	 Avala
78.	<i>Jatropha curcas</i>	 Mogli Erandi
79.	<i>Macaranga peltata</i>	 Chandoda
80.	<i>Ricinus communis</i>	 Erand
81.	<i>Ficus elastica</i>	 Rabarache Zad
82.	<i>Ficus hispida</i>	 Kharoti, Kala umbar
83.	<i>Ficus gibbosa</i>	 Dateer
84.	<i>Ficus glomerata</i>	 Umbar
85.	<i>Strebelus asper</i>	 Karvati, Kharota
86.	<i>Cyperus</i> spp.	 Motha
87.	<i>Fimbristylis</i> spp.	.. .. ....
88.	<i>Scirpus</i> spp.	 Kachora
<i>II. Shrubs</i>		
1.	<i>Capparis spinosa</i>	 Kabar, Kalavari
2.	<i>Capparis zeylanica</i>	 Wagati
3.	<i>Helicteres isora</i>	 Kewan, murudi, Murudsheng
4.	<i>Microcos paniculata</i>	 Shetali
5.	<i>Zizyphus mauritiana</i> syn. <i>Z. jujuba</i>	 Bor

Botanical name	Local name
6. <i>Z. oenoplia</i>	.. ..
7. <i>Leea Microphylla</i>	.. Dinda
8. <i>Acacia pinnata</i>	.. Shembati, Shembi
9. <i>Calycopteris floribunda</i>	.. Ugshi, Ukshi
10. <i>Lawsonia inermis</i>	.. Mendi
11. <i>Woodfordia fruticosa</i> Kurz	.. Dhayti, Dhaiphal
<i>Woodfordia floribunda</i> .	
12. <i>Ixora coccinea</i>	.. Bakora
13. <i>Meyenia erecta</i>	.. Alu
14. <i>Jasminum pubescens</i>	.. Ranmogra, Ranjai
15. <i>Carissa carandas</i>	.. Karwand
16. <i>Holarrhena antidysenterica</i>	.. Kuda, Pandhrakuda
17. <i>Nerium odorum</i>	.. Kanher
18. <i>Wrightia tinctoria</i>	.. Kuda, Kalakuda
19. <i>Wrightia tomentosa</i>	.. Shurikudi, Tambdakuda
20. <i>Calotropis gigantea</i>	.. Rui
21. <i>Solanum indicum</i>	.. Bhui, Ringani
22. <i>Barleria priontes</i>	.. Koranti
23. <i>Dicliptera zeylanica</i>	.. ..
24. <i>Lepidagathis cuspidata</i>	.. Bhuigend
25. <i>Clerodendron inerme</i>	.. Keyanel
26. <i>Lantana Gamera</i>	.. Ghaneri
27. <i>Vitex negundo</i>	.. Nirgudi
28. <i>Pogostemon parviflorus</i>	.. Pangli
29. <i>Acrya sanguinolenta</i>	.. ..
30. <i>Bridelia Retusa</i>	.. Asana
31. <i>Euphorbia neriifolia</i>	.. Thor, Nivdung
32. <i>Sehima Nervosum</i>	.. Pavan
33. <i>Mallotus philippinensis</i>	.. Shendri, Kunkuphal, Rohini
34. <i>Melanthesa turbinata</i>	.. Kangli
35. <i>Pedilanthus tithymaloides</i>	.. Vilayati-sheer
36. <i>Boehmeria scabrella</i>	.. ..
37. <i>Asparagus racemosus</i>	.. Shatawari
38. <i>Bambusa arundinacea</i>	.. Bamboo

III. Herbs

1. <i>Argemone mexicana</i>	.. Pivla dhotra
2. <i>Portulaca oleracea</i>	.. Ghol
3. <i>Abutilon indicum</i> syn.	.. Mudra
<i>Abutilon graueolens</i>	
4. <i>Malachra capitata</i> syn.	.. Ranbhendi
<i>Malachra rotundifolia</i>	
5. <i>Sida Spinosa</i>	.. Jangli methi, bala
6. <i>Sida rhombifolia</i> var. <i>retusa</i>	.. Atibala
7. <i>Urena Lobata</i>	.. Vanbhendi
8. <i>Melochia umbellata</i>	.. Methuri
9. <i>Waltheria indica</i>	.. ..

Botanical name	Local name
10. <i>Corchorus capsularis</i>	.. Tag
11. <i>C. estuans</i>	.. ..
12. <i>C. olitorius</i>	.. ..
13. <i>Triumfetta Rhomboidea</i>	.. Nichardi
14. <i>T. pilosa</i>	.. ..
15. <i>Impatiens balsamina</i> var. <i>coccinea</i>	.. ..
16. <i>Biophytum sensitivum</i>	.. ..
17. <i>Oxalis martiana</i>	.. ..
18. <i>Cardiospermum halicacabum</i>	.. Kapalphodi
19. <i>Cassia tora</i>	.. Takla
20. <i>Aeschynomene Aspera</i>	.. ..
21. <i>Alysicarpus rugosus</i>	.. Baker
22. <i>Crotalaria Juncea</i>	.. Tag
23. <i>Desmodium triflorum</i>	.. Ranmethi
24. <i>Geissaspis oristata</i>	.. ..
25. <i>Indigofera Gandulosa</i>	.. Barbada
26. <i>Phaseolus radiatus</i>	.. Moong, Mug
27. <i>Phaseolus trilobus</i>	.. ..
28. <i>Smithea hirsuta</i>	.. ..
29. <i>Smithia sensitiva</i>	.. ..
30. <i>Tephrosia purpurea</i>	.. Unhalli
31. <i>Myriophyllum intermedium</i>	.. ..
32. <i>Ammania baccifera</i>	.. Bharanamhul
33. <i>Ammania peplodies</i>	.. ..
34. <i>Jussiaea repens</i>	.. ..
35. <i>Jussiaea suffruticosa</i>	.. Banlavang
36. <i>Begonia crenata</i>	.. ..
37. <i>Mollugo lotoides</i>	.. ..
38. <i>Centalla asiatica</i>	.. Brahmi
39. <i>Oldenlandia corymbosa</i>	.. Bitpapda
40. <i>Oldenlandia diffusa</i>	.. ..
41. <i>Ageratum conyzoides</i>	.. Osadi, Sahadevi
42. <i>Blumea eriantha</i>	.. Nimurdi
43. <i>Blumea lacera</i>	.. Burando
44. <i>Caesulia axillaris</i>	.. Maka
45. <i>Centrantherum phyllocaenum</i>	.. ..
46. <i>Eclipta Erecta</i>	.. Maka
47. <i>Elephantopus scaber</i>	.. Hastipta
48. <i>Granges madraspatana</i>	.. ..
49. <i>Helianthus spp.</i>	.. Suryaphul
50. <i>Sphaeranthus indicus</i> syn.	.. Gorkmundi, Mundi
<i>Sphaeranthus indicus.</i>	
51. <i>Tricholenis glaberrima</i>	.. ..
52. <i>Tridax procumbens</i>	.. Dagadipala
53. <i>Ageratum Conyzoides</i>	.. Sahadevi
54. <i>Xanthium strumarium</i>	.. Sankeshvar, Gadrian
55. <i>Lobelia alsinoider</i>	.. ..
56. <i>Plumbago zeylanica</i>	.. Chitrak
57. <i>Canscora diffusa</i>	.. Kagdi
58. <i>Centaurium roxburghii</i>	.. ..

Botanical name	Local name
59. <i>Hopea dichotoma</i>	.. ..
60. <i>Coldenia procumbens</i>	.. ..
61. <i>Holiotropium indicum</i>	.. Bhurundi
62. <i>Trichodesma indicum</i>	.. Ghotakalpa
63. <i>Cressa cretica</i>	.. Kardi, Lona
64. <i>Evolvulus alsionoides</i>	.. Shankaveli
65. <i>Datura arborea</i>	.. Dhotra
66. <i>Physalis minima</i>	.. Chirboti, Ranpopti
67. <i>Solanum xanthocarpum</i>	.. Bhoyaringni
68. <i>Dacyna monnicri</i>	.. ..
69. <i>Cantharthera hispida</i>	.. ..
70. <i>Limpophila sessiliflora</i>	.. ..
71. <i>Oindenbergia indica</i>	.. ..
72. <i>Lindermia ciliata</i>	.. ..
73. <i>Seoparia dulica</i>	.. ..
74. <i>Bhamnicarna largiflora</i>	.. ..
75. <i>Sesamum indicum</i>	.. Til
76. <i>Blepharis asperima</i>	.. ..
77. <i>Branthemum roseum</i>	.. ..
78. <i>Haplanthus tentaculatus</i>	.. ..
79. <i>Hemigraphis latebrosa</i>	.. ..
80. <i>Hygropnilla serphyllum</i>	.. ..
81. <i>Justicia simplex</i>	.. ..
82. <i>Justicia trinervia</i>	.. ..
83. <i>Neuracanthus sphaerostaphys</i>	.. ..
84. <i>Peristrophe bicalyculata</i>	.. ..
85. <i>Rungia elegans</i>	.. Ghati pitpapa
86. <i>Rungia parviflora</i>	.. ..
87. <i>Phyla nodifolia</i>	.. ..
88. <i>Anisomeles heyneana</i>	.. ..
89. <i>Anisomelesoyata</i>	.. ..
90. <i>Leucas aspera</i>	.. ..
91. <i>Ocimum sanctum</i>	.. Tulshi, Tulas
92. <i>Boerhaavia diffusa</i>	.. Ghetuli, Punarnava, Sant
93. <i>Achyranthes aspera</i>	.. Aghada
94. <i>Alternanthera sessilis</i>	.. Kanchari
95. <i>Celosia argentea</i>	.. Kurdu
96. <i>Amarantus spinosus</i>	.. Kantemath
97. <i>Digera muricata</i>	.. ..
98. <i>Polygonum glabrum</i>	.. Seral
99. <i>Polygonum plebejum</i>	.. ..
100. <i>Paperomia pellucida</i>	.. ..
101. <i>Poliospermum montanum</i>	.. ..
102. <i>Euphorbia hirta</i>	.. ..
103. <i>Phyllanthus niruri</i>	.. Bhuiawala
104. <i>Fleurya interrupta</i>	.. ..
105. <i>Pauzolzia indica</i>	.. ..
106. <i>Costna sunriusius</i>	.. ..
107. <i>Erimum spp.</i>	.. ..
108. <i>Dioscorea bulbifera</i>	.. ..
109. <i>Dioscorea dentaphylla</i>	.. ..

Botanical name	Local name
110. <i>Commelina benghalensis</i>	.. ..
111. <i>Commelina obliqua</i>	.. ..
112. <i>Cyanotis axillaris</i>	.. ..
113. <i>Cyanotis cristata</i>	.. ..
114. <i>Amorphophallus campanulatus</i>	.. Suran
115. <i>Colocasia Anti Quorum</i>	.. Alu

IV. Climbers

1. <i>Clematis triloba</i>	.. Ranjai
2. <i>Cocculas villosus</i>	.. Parvel
3. <i>Cyclea burmanni</i>	.. Pakav
4. <i>Tinospora cordifolia</i>	.. Gulvel
5. <i>Capparis horrida</i>	.. Tarati
6. <i>Cansiera rheedii</i>	.. ..
7. <i>Celastrus paniculata</i>	.. ..
8. <i>Zizyphus rugosa</i>	.. Toran
9. <i>Ampelocissus latifolia</i> syn.	.. Planch
<i>Vitis latifolia</i> syn.	
10. <i>Cissus latifolia</i>	.. ..
11. <i>Cissus carnosa</i>	.. Ambatvel
12. <i>Cissus auriculata</i>	.. Kalivel
13. <i>Cissus trilobata</i>	.. ..
14. <i>Wagatea spicata</i> Dalz	.. ..
15. <i>Abrus precatorium</i>	.. Gunj
16. <i>Cylidra scariosa</i>	.. Ranghewda
17. <i>Strychnos Nuxvomica</i>	.. Kajravel
<i>Derris trifolia</i>	
18. <i>Moghania strobilifera</i>	.. ..
19. <i>Teramus labialis</i>	.. Ranudid
20. <i>Entada phaseoloides</i>	.. ..
21. <i>Combretum ovalitolum</i>	.. Zellusi, Madbel
22. <i>Coccinia indica</i>	.. Tondli
23. <i>Luffa acutangula</i>	.. Shirali, Dodka
24. <i>Melothria maderaspatana</i>	.. Chirati
25. <i>Memordica dioica</i>	.. Kartoli
26. <i>Trichosanthes anguina</i>	.. Padval
27. <i>Jasminum malabaricum</i>	.. Jai, Kusar
28. <i>Sterculia Foetida</i>	.. Nagalkuda
29. <i>Cryptolepis buchmanii</i>	.. Setakavali
30. <i>Cymnema sylvestra</i>	.. ..
31. <i>Hemidesmus indicus</i>	.. Anantvel, Uparsali dudhasali
32. <i>Marsdenia volubilis</i>	.. ..
33. <i>Oxystelma esculentum</i>	.. Dudhani
34. <i>Argyria speciosa</i>	.. Samudrashok
35. <i>Argyria satosa</i>	.. Sambarveli
36. <i>Ipomea spp.</i>	.. ..
37. <i>Opeculina turpothum</i>	.. Dudhkalai, dudhkalmi
38. <i>Floriosa superba</i>	.. Bachnag
39. <i>Smilax zeylanica</i>	.. Ghotvel

Botanical name	Local name
<i>V. Epiphytes</i>	
1. <i>Tinospora cordifolia</i>	 Amarvel, Akashvel
2. <i>Striga aulatica</i>	.. .. ....
3. <i>Dand-rophthoa falcata</i> syn. <i>Loranthus parriflorus</i>	 Bandgul
4. <i>Viscum nepalense</i>	.. .. ....
5. <i>Acomoe wightiana</i>	.. .. ....
<i>VI. Aquatic plants</i>	
1. <i>Ceriops tagal</i>	 Chauri
2. <i>Rhizophora mucronata</i>	 Kamo, Dumbi, Kandal
3. <i>Limnathemum indicum</i>	 Kumud
4. <i>Hydrolea xelanica</i>	.. .. ....
5. <i>Ipomea aquatica</i>	.. .. ....
6. <i>Donatium indicum</i>	.. .. ....
7. <i>Utricularia flexuosa</i>	.. .. ....
8. <i>Asteracantha longifolia</i>	 Kolshinda, Talimkhan
9. <i>Caratophyllum demursum</i>	.. .. ....
10. <i>Morochoria hastefolia</i>	.. .. ....
11. <i>Nurdannia versicolor</i>	.. .. ....
12. <i>Pistia stratiotes</i>	 Gondal (waterlettuce)
13. <i>Lemna gibba</i>	.. .. ....
<i>VII. Halophytes</i>	
1. <i>Sonneratia apetala</i>	.. .. ....
2. <i>Aegiceras corniculatum</i>	 Kajla
3. <i>Acanthus ilicifolius</i>	 Marandi (seaholly)
4. <i>Avicennia officinalis</i>	 Tivar
5. <i>Pandanus odoratissimus</i>	 Kewda, Keura

ANNEXURE II

FAUNA

MAMMALS

Insectivora

Family Soricidae

1. *Suncus murinus* House Shrew (*Chichundri*)

Chiroptera

Family Pteropidae

2. *Rousettus leschenaulti* Fulvous fruit-bat
 3. *Pteropus giganteus* Indian flying fox (*Wat-Waghul*)
 4. *Cyanopterus shinx* Short-nosed fruit-bat

Family Emballonuridae

5. *Taphozous melanopogon* Black-bearded tomb bat
 6. *Taphozous saccolaimus* Pouch-bearing bat

Botanical name	Local name
Family Megadermatidae	
7. <i>Megaderma spasma</i>	 Malay false vampire
8. <i>M. lyra</i>	 Indian false vampire
9. <i>Rhinolophus rouxi</i>	 Roux's horseshoe bat
10. <i>Hipposideros speoris</i>	 Schneider's leaf-nosed bat
11. <i>H. bicolor</i>	 Bi-coloured leaf-nosed bat
12. <i>H. galeritus</i>	 Cantor's leaf-nosed bat
Family Vespertilionidae	
13. <i>Pipistrellus coromandra</i>	 Indian pipistrelle
14. <i>P. mimus</i>	 Indian pygmy pipistrelle
15. <i>P. dormeri</i>	 Dormer's bat
16. <i>Hesperoptenus tickelli</i>	 Indian Tickell's bat
17. <i>Scotophilus heathi</i>	 Greater Yellow bat
18. <i>Kerivoula picta</i>	 Painted bat
<i>Primates</i>	
Family Cercopithecidae	
19. <i>Macaca radiata</i>	 Bonnet Monkey (<i>Makad</i>)
20. <i>M. mulatta</i>	 Rhesus monkey
21. <i>Presbytis entellus</i>	 Common Langur (<i>Wanar</i>)
<i>Carnivora</i>	
Family Canidae	
22. <i>Canis aureus</i>	 Jackal (<i>Kolha</i>)
Family Viverridae	
23. <i>Viverricula indica</i>	 Small Indian civet (<i>Jowadi manjar</i>)
24. <i>Paradoxurus hermaphroditus</i>	 Common palm civet (<i>Ud manjar</i>)
25. <i>Herpestes edwardsi</i>	 Indian grey Mongoose (<i>Mungoos</i>)
Family Hyaenidae	
26. <i>Hyaena hyaena</i>	 Striped Hyaena (<i>Taras</i>)
Family Felidae	
27. <i>Felis Chaus</i>	 Jungle cat (<i>Baul, Bagoda</i>)
28. <i>Panthera pardus</i>	 Panther (<i>Bibalya</i>)
29. <i>Panthera tigris</i>	 Tiger (<i>Wagh</i>)
<i>Artiodactyla</i>	
Family Suidae	
30. <i>Sus scrofa</i>	 Wild boar (<i>Ran dukkar</i>)
Family Tragulidae	
31. <i>Tragulid meminna</i>	 Indian spotted chevrotain or mouse deer (<i>Pisorisheda</i>)
Family Cervidae	
32. <i>Axis axis</i>	 Spotted deer (<i>Chital</i>)
33. <i>Cervus unicolor</i>	 Sambar
Family Bovidae	
34. <i>Tetracerus quadricornis</i>	 Four-horned Antelope (<i>Bhekarl</i>)

Botanical name		Local name
<i>Lagomorpha</i>		
Family Leporidae		
35. <i>Lepus nigricollis</i>	..	Indian Hare (<i>Sasa</i>)
<i>Rodentia</i>		
Family Sciuridae		
36. <i>Funambulus palmarum</i>	..	Three striped palm squirrel
37. <i>F. Pennanti</i>	..	Five striped palm squirrel
38. <i>Hystrix indica</i>	..	Indian crested porcupine (<i>Saloo</i>)
Family Muridae		
39. <i>Rattus blanfordi</i>	..	Blanford's rat
40. <i>Rattus rattus</i>	..	House rat (<i>Undeer</i>)
41. <i>Mus musculus</i>	..	House mouse
42. <i>Bandicota bengalensis</i>	..	Lesser bandicoot Rat
BIRDS		
<i>Podicipediformes</i>		
Family podicipedidae		
1. <i>Podiceps ruficollis</i>	..	Little grebe
<i>Pelecaniformes</i>		
Family Phalacrocoracidae		
2. <i>Phalacrocorax niger</i>	..	Little or Pigmy cormorant
3. <i>Anhinga rufa</i>	..	Dartar
<i>Ciconiiformes</i>		
Family Ardeidae		
4. <i>Ardeola graeyii</i>	..	Pond heron
5. <i>Bubulcus ibis</i>	..	Cattle egret
6. <i>Egretta alba</i>	..	Large egret
7. <i>E. intermedia</i>	..	Median egret
8. <i>E. garzetta</i>	..	Little egret
9. <i>Nycticorax</i>	..	Night heron
10. <i>Ixobrychus cinnamomeus</i>	..	Chestnut bittern
Family Ciconidae		
11. <i>Anastomus Oscitans</i>	..	Openbill stork
12. <i>Ciconia episcopus</i>	..	Whitenecked stork
<i>Anseriformes</i>		
13. <i>Dendrocygna javanica</i>	..	Lesser whistling teal
14. <i>Anas acuta</i>	..	Pintail
15. <i>A. crecca</i>	..	Common teal
16. <i>A. poecilorhyncha</i>	..	Spotbill duck
17. <i>A. querquedula</i>	..	Garganey or Bluewinged teal
18. <i>Aythya ferina</i>	..	Redheaded pochard
19. <i>A. nyroca</i>	..	White-eyed pochard
20. <i>A. fuligula</i>	..	Tufted duck
21. <i>Nettapus coromandelianus</i>	..	Cotton teal

Botanical name		Local name
<i>Falconiformes</i>		
Family Accipitridae		
22. <i>Elanus caeruleus</i>	..	Blackwinged kite
23. <i>Pernis ptilorhyncus</i>	..	Honey buzzard
24. <i>Milvus mi grans</i>	..	Pariah kite
25. <i>Haliastur indus</i>	..	Brahminy kite
26. <i>Accipiter badius</i>	..	Shikra
27. <i>A. trivirgatus</i>	..	Crested goshawk
28. <i>A. nisus</i>	..	Sparrow hawk
29. <i>Butastur teesa</i>	..	White eyed buzzard eagle
30. <i>Aquila rapax</i>	..	Tawny Eagle
31. <i>Ictinaetus malayensis</i>	..	Black eagle
32. <i>Haliaeetus leucogaster</i>	..	White bellied sea-eagle
33. <i>Gyps indicus</i>	..	Indian longbilled vulture
34. <i>G. bengalensis</i>	..	Indian white backed vulture
35. <i>Neophron percnopterus</i>	..	Egyptian or scavenger vulture
36. <i>Circus macrourus</i>	..	Pale harrier
37. <i>C. pygargus</i>	..	Montagu's harrier
38. <i>Spilornis cheela</i>	..	Crested serpent eagle
39. <i>Pandion haliaetus</i>	..	Ospery
Family Falconidae		
40. <i>Falco tinnunculus</i>	..	Kestrel
<i>Galliformes</i>		
Family phasianidae		
41. <i>Francolinus pictus</i>	..	Painted partridge
42. <i>Coturnix coturnix</i>	..	Common quail
43. <i>C. coromandelica</i>	..	Blackbreasted quail
44. <i>Perdica asiatica</i>	..	Jungle bush quail
45. <i>Galloperdix spadicea</i>	..	Red spurfowl
46. <i>Gallus gallus</i>	..	Red junglefowl
47. <i>G. sonneratii</i>	..	Grey junglefowl
48. <i>Pavo cristatus</i>	..	Common peafowl
<i>Gruiformes</i>		
Family Turnicidae		
49. <i>Turnix sylvatica</i>	..	Little bustard quail
50. <i>T. suscitator</i>	..	Common bustard quail
Family Rallidae		
51. <i>Rallus striatus</i>	..	Bluebreasted banded rail
52. <i>Porzana pusilla</i>	..	Baillon's crake
53. <i>P. porzana</i>	..	Spotted crake
54. <i>Amauornis phoenicurus</i>	..	Whitebreasted waterhen
55. <i>A. fuscus</i>	..	Ruddy crake
56. <i>Gallix rex cinerea</i>	..	Water cock
57. <i>Gallinula chlorophus</i>	..	Moorhen
58. <i>Porphyrio porphyrio</i>	..	Purple moorhen
59. <i>Fulica atra</i>	..	Coot

Botanical name		Local name
<i>Charadriiformes</i>		
Family Jacanidae		
60. <i>Hudrophasianus chirurgus</i>	.. ..	Pheasant tailed jacana
61. <i>Metopidius indicus</i>	.. ..	Bronzewinged jacana
Family Cacanidae		
62. <i>Haemantopus ostralegus</i>	.. ..	Oystercatcher
63. <i>Vanellus indicus</i>	.. ..	Redwattled lapwing
64. <i>V. Malabaricus</i>	.. ..	Yellowwattled lapwing
65. <i>Numenius phaeopus</i>	.. ..	Whimbrel
66. <i>N. arquata</i>	.. ..	Curlew
67. <i>Tringa totanus</i>	.. ..	Common redshank
68. <i>T. stagnatilis</i>	.. ..	Marsh sandpiper
69. <i>T. nebularia</i>	.. ..	Green shank
70. <i>T. ochropus</i>	.. ..	Green sandpiper
71. <i>T. hypoleucos</i>	.. ..	Common sandpiper
72. <i>Capella stenura</i>	.. ..	Pintail snipe
73. <i>C. gallinago</i>	.. ..	Fantail snipe
74. <i>C. minima</i>	.. ..	Jack snipe
75. <i>Calidris minutus</i>	.. ..	Little stint
76. <i>C. temminckii</i>	.. ..	Temminck's stint
77. <i>Philomachus pugnax</i>	.. ..	Ruff and reeve
Family Rostratulidae		
78. <i>Rostratula benghalensis</i>	.. ..	Painted snipe
Family Recurvirostridae		
79. <i>Himantopus himantopus</i>	.. ..	Blackwinged stilt
80. <i>Recurvirostra avosetta</i>	.. ..	Avocet
Family Burhinidae		
81. <i>Burhinus oedinemus</i>	.. ..	Stone curlew
Family Glareolidae		
82. <i>Cursorius coromandelicus</i>	.. ..	Indian courser
Family Laridae		
83. <i>Larus brunnicephalus</i>	.. ..	Brownheaded gull
84. <i>L. ridibundus</i>	.. ..	Blackheaded gull
85. <i>Chlidonias hybrida</i>	.. ..	Whiskered tern
86. <i>Sterna aurantia</i>	.. ..	Indian river tern
87. <i>S. acuticauda</i>	.. ..	Blackbellied tern
88. <i>S. albifrons</i>	.. ..	Little tern
<i>Columbiformes</i>		
Family Pteroclididae		
89. <i>Pterocles exustus</i>	.. ..	Indian sandgrouse
Family Columbidae		
90. <i>Treron pompadora</i>	.. ..	Greyfronted green pigeon
91. <i>T. phoenicoptera</i>	.. ..	Green pigeon
92. <i>Columba livia</i>	.. ..	Blue rock pigeon
93. <i>Streptopelia decaocto</i>	.. ..	Indian ring dove
94. <i>Streptopelia tranquebarica</i>	.. ..	Red turtle dove
95. <i>S. chineasis</i>	.. ..	Spotted dove
96. <i>S. senegalensis</i>	.. ..	Little brown dove
97. <i>Chalcophaps indica</i>	.. ..	Emerald dove

Botanical name		Local name
<i>Psittaciformes</i>		
Family Psittacidae		
98. <i>Psittacula eupatria</i>	.. ..	Alexandrine parakeet
99. <i>P. krameri</i>	.. ..	Roseringed parakeet
100. <i>P. cyanocephala</i>	.. ..	Blossomheaded parakeet
101. <i>Loriculus vernalis</i>	.. ..	Indian lorikeet
<i>Cuculiformes</i>		
Family Cuculidae		
102. <i>Clamator coromandus</i>	.. ..	Redwinged crested cuckoo
103. <i>C. jacobinus</i>	.. ..	Pide crested cuckoo
104. <i>Cuculus varius</i>	.. ..	Common hawk cuckoo
105. <i>C. micropterus</i>	.. ..	Indian cuckoo
106. <i>C. canorus</i>	.. ..	Cuckoo
107. <i>Coccyzus sonneratii</i>	.. ..	Indian banded bay cuckoo
108. <i>C. merulinus</i>	.. ..	Indian plaintive cuckoo
109. <i>Surniculus lugubris</i>	.. ..	Drongo cuckoo
110. <i>Eudynamis scolopacea</i>	.. ..	Koal
111. <i>Taccocua leschenaultii</i>	.. ..	Sirkeer cuckoo
112. <i>Centropus sinensis</i>	.. ..	Crow pheasant
<i>Strigiformes</i>		
Family Strigidae		
113. <i>Tyto alba</i>	.. ..	Barn owl
114. <i>Otus scops</i>	.. ..	Scops owl
115. <i>Bubo bubo</i>	.. ..	Great horned owl
<i>Caprimulgiformes</i>		
Family Caprimulgidae		
116. <i>Caprimulgus indicus</i>	.. ..	Indian Jungle night jar
117. <i>C. asiaticus</i>	.. ..	Common Indian night jar
<i>Apodiformes</i>		
Family Apodidae		
118. <i>Apus affinis</i>	.. ..	House swift
119. <i>Cypsiurus parvus</i>	.. ..	Palm swift
<i>Trogoniformes</i>		
Family Trogonidae		
120. <i>Harpactes fasciatus</i>	.. ..	Malabar trogon
<i>Coraciiformes</i>		
Family Alcedinidae		
121. <i>Ceryle rudis</i>	.. ..	Lesser pied kingfisher
122. <i>Alcedo atthis</i>	.. ..	Common kingfisher
123. <i>Ceryx erithacus</i>	.. ..	Three-toed kingfisher
124. <i>Halcyon smyrnensis</i>	.. ..	Whitebreasted kingfisher
125. <i>H. pileata</i>	.. ..	Blackcapped kingfisher

Botanical name	Local name
Family Meropidae	
126. <i>Merops philippinus</i>	 Bluetailed bee-eater
127. <i>M. orientalis</i>	 Green bee eater
Family Coraciidae	
128. <i>Coracias benghalensis</i>	 Indian roller
Family Upupidae	
129. <i>Upupa epops</i>	 Hoopoe
Family Bucerotidae	
130. <i>Tockus griseus</i>	 Malabar Indian grey hornbill
<i>Piciformes</i>	
Family Capitonidae	
131. <i>Megalaima zeylanica</i>	 Green barbet
132. <i>M. haemacephala</i>	 Crimson breasted barbet
Family Picidae	
133. <i>Jynx torquilla</i>	 Wryneck
134. <i>Micropternus brachyurus</i>	 Rufous woodpecker
135. <i>Dinopium benghalense</i>	 Lesser goldenbacked woodpecker
136. <i>D. Javanense</i>	 Indian goldenbacked three-toed woodpecker
137. <i>Dryocorus javansis</i>	 Indian great black woodpecker
138. <i>Picoides maharattensis</i>	 Yellow fronted pied woodpecker
139. <i>P. nanus</i>	 Pigmy woodpecker
140. <i>Hemicircus cenente</i>	 Heartspotted woodpecker
141. <i>Chrysocolaptes festivus</i>	 Black backed woodpecker
142. <i>C. lucidus</i>	 Larger goldenbacked woodpecker
<i>Passeriformes</i>	
Family Pittidae	
143. <i>Pitta brachyura</i>	 Indian pitta
144. <i>Mirafra erythroptera</i>	 Redwinged bush lark
145. <i>Eremopterix grises</i>	 Ashy crowned finch lark
146. <i>Ammomanes phoenicurus</i>	 Rufoustailed finch lark
147. <i>Galerida malabarica</i>	 Malabar crested lark
148. <i>Alauda gulgula</i>	 Eastern skylark
Family Hirundinidae	
149. <i>Hirundo concolor</i>	 Dusky crag martin
150. <i>H. rustica</i>	 Swallow
151. <i>H. amithii</i>	 Wiretailed swallow
152. <i>H. daurica</i>	 Striated swallow
Family Laniidae	
153. <i>Lanius schach</i>	 Rufousbacked shrike
Family Oriolidae	
154. <i>Oriolus oriolus</i>	 Golden oriole
155. <i>O. xanthornus</i>	 Blackheaded oriole

Botanical name	Local name
Family Dicruridae	
156. <i>Dicrurus adsimilis</i>	 Black drongo
157. <i>D. leucophaeus</i>	 Grey or ashy drongo
158. <i>D. aeneus</i>	 Bronze drongo
159. <i>D. paradiseus</i>	 Greater Racket-tailed drongo
160. <i>D. hottentottus</i>	 Haircrested drongo
Family Artamidae	
161. <i>Artamus fuscus</i>	 Ashy swallow shrike
Family Sturnidae	
162. <i>Sturnus malabaricus</i>	 Greyheaded myna
163. <i>S. pagodarum</i>	 Blackheaded myna
164. <i>S. roseus</i>	 Rosy pastor
165. <i>S. contra</i>	 Pied myna
166. <i>Acridotheres tristis</i>	 Common myna
167. <i>A. fuscus</i>	 Jungle myna
168. <i>Gracula religiosa</i>	 Grackle or hill myna
Family Corvidae	
169. <i>Depdrocitta vagabunda</i>	 Indian tree pie
170. <i>Corvus splendens</i>	 House crow
171. <i>C. macrorhynchos</i>	 Jungle crow
Family campephagidae	
172. <i>Tephrodornis pondicerianus</i>	 Common wood shrike
173. <i>Coracina novaehollandiae</i>	 Large cuckoo-shrike
174. <i>C. melanoptera</i>	 Blackheaded cuckoo shrike
175. <i>Percrocotus flammeus</i>	 Scarlet minivet
176. <i>P. cinnamomeus</i>	 Small minivet
Family Irenidae	
177. <i>Aegithina tiphia</i>	 Common iora
178. <i>Chloropsis aurifrons</i>	 Goldfronted chloropsis
179. <i>C. cochinchinensis</i>	 Goldmantled chloropsis
Family Pycnonotidae	
180. <i>Pyconotus jocosus</i>	 Redwhiskered bulbul
181. <i>P. leucogenys</i>	 Whitechecked bulbul
182. <i>P. cafer</i>	 Redvented bulbul
183. <i>P. luteolus</i>	 Whitebrowed bulbul
Family Muscapiade	
184. <i>Pellorneum ruficeps</i>	 Spotted babbler
185. <i>Pomatorhinus schisticeps</i>	 Deccan scimitar babbler
186. <i>Dumetia hyperythra</i>	 Rufousbellied babbler
187. <i>Chrysomma sinensis</i>	 Yelloweyed babbler
188. <i>Turdoides caudatus</i>	 Common babbler
189. <i>T. malcolmi</i>	 Large grey babbler
190. <i>T. striatus</i>	 Jungle babbler
191. <i>Alcippe poioicephala</i>	 Quaker babbler

Botanical name	Local name
Family Muscipapinae	
192. <i>Muscicapa parva</i>	Redbreasted flycatcher
193. <i>M. tickelliae</i>	Tickells blue flycatcher
194. <i>M. thalassina</i>	Verditer flycatcher
195. <i>M. latirostris</i>	Brown flycatcher
196. <i>Culicicapa caylonensis</i>	Greyheaded flycatcher
197. <i>Rhipidura albogularis</i>	Whitespotted fantail flycatcher
198. <i>Terpsiphone paradisi</i>	Paradise flycatcher
199. <i>Monarcha azurea</i>	Blacknaped flycatcher
200. <i>Cisticola juncidis</i>	Streaked fantail warbler
201. <i>Prinia hodgsonii</i>	Franklins longtail warbler
202. <i>P. subflava</i>	Plain longtail warbler
203. <i>P. socialis</i>	Ashy longtail warbler
204. <i>P. sylvatica</i>	Jungle longtail warbler
205. <i>Orthotomus sutorius</i>	Tailor bird
206. <i>Acrocephalus stentoreus</i>	Indian great reed warbler
207. <i>A. dumetorum</i>	Blyth's reed warbler
208. <i>A. agricola</i>	Paddyfield warbler
209. <i>Hippolais caligata</i>	Booted warbler
210. <i>Phylloscopus collybita</i>	Chiffchaff
211. <i>Sylvia curruca</i>	Lesser whitethroat
212. <i>Phylloscopus tytleri</i>	Tytler's leaf-warbler
213. <i>P. inornatus</i>	Yellowbrowed leaf-warbler
214. <i>P. trochiloides</i>	Dull green leaf warbler
215. <i>Erithacus svecicus</i>	Bluethroat
216. <i>Copsychus saularis</i>	Magpie robin
217. <i>C. malabaricus</i>	Shama
218. <i>Saxicola torquata</i>	Stone chat
219. <i>Oenanthe deserti</i>	Desert chat
220. <i>Saxicoloides fulicata</i>	Indian robin
221. <i>Monticola cinchlorhynchus</i>	Blueheaded rock-thrush
222. <i>M. solitarius</i>	Blue rock-thrush
223. <i>Myiophonus horsfieldii</i>	Malabar whistling thrush
224. <i>Zosterops citrina</i>	White throated ground thrush
225. <i>Turdus merula</i>	Blackbird
Family Motacillidae	
226. <i>Anthus trivialis</i>	Tree pipit
227. <i>A. godlewskii</i>	Blyth's pipit
228. <i>Motacilla flava</i>	Yellow wagtail
229. <i>M. alba</i>	White wagtail
Family Dicaeidae	
230. <i>Dicaeum erythrorhynchus</i>	Tickell's flowerpecker
231. <i>D. agile</i>	Thickbilled flowerpecker
Family Nectariniidae	
232. <i>Nectarinia zeylonica</i>	Purplerumped sunbird
233. <i>N. lotenia</i>	Loten's sunbird
234. <i>N. asiatica</i>	Purple sunbird
235. <i>Aethopyga siparaja</i>	Yellowbacked sunbird

Botanical name	Local name
Family Ploceidae	
236. <i>Passer domesticus</i>	House sparrow
237. <i>Petronia zanthocollis</i>	Yellowthroated sparrow
238. <i>Ploceus philippinus</i>	Baya
239. <i>Estrilda amandava</i>	Red munia
240. <i>Lonchura malabarica</i>	Whitethroated munia
241. <i>L. striata</i>	Whitebacked munia
242. <i>L. punctulata</i>	Spotted munia
243. <i>L. malacca</i>	Blackheaded munia
Family Fringillidae	
244. <i>Carpodacus erythrinus</i>	Common rosefinch
Family Emberizidae	
245. <i>Emberiza melanocephala</i>	Blackheaded bunting
REPTILES	
Family Crocodilidae	
1. <i>Crocodylus palustris</i>	Indian Marsh crocodile
Testudines	
Family Emydidae	
2. <i>Geomyda trijuga trijuga</i>	Pond tortoise
Family Testudinidae	
3. <i>Testudo elegans</i>	Star red tortoise
Family Trionychidae	
4. <i>Trionyx leithi</i>	.....
Squamata	
(I. SAURIA)	
Family Geckonidae	
5. <i>Hemidactylus maculatus</i>	Rock gecko
6. <i>H. brooki</i>	House gecko
7. <i>H. leschensulti</i>	.....
8. <i>H. giganteus</i>	.....
9. <i>Eublepharis macularius</i>	.....
Family Agamidae	
10. <i>Calotes versicolor</i>	Bloodsucker, common calotes
11. <i>Calotes rouxi</i>	Forest calotes
12. <i>Pseudomorphus blanfordianus</i>	Rock lizard
Family Chamaeleonidae	
13. <i>Chamaeleon zeylanicus</i>	.....
Family Scinidae	
14. <i>Mabuya carinata</i>	Common skink
Family Varanidae	
15. <i>Varanus monitor</i>	Common monitor

Botanical name		Local name
(II. SERPENTS)		
Family Typhlopidae		
16. Typhlops braminus	..	.. Common blind snake
Family Boidae		
17. Python molurus	..	.. Indian python
18. Eryx conicus	..	.. Russel's sand boa
19. E. johni	..	.. John's sand boa
Family Colubridae		
20. Acrochrodus granulatus	..	.. Wart snakes
21. Elaphe helena	..	.. Trinket snake
22. Ptyas mucosus	..	.. Dhaman or rat snake
23. Coluber fasciolatus	..	.. Banded racer
24. Liopeltis calamaria	..	.. Bridal snake
25. Coronella brachyura	..	.. Kukri snake
26. Ahaetulla trists	..	.. Common Indian bronze back
27. Lycodon travancoricus	..	.. Travancore wolf snake
28. L. aulicus	..	.. Common wolf snake
29. Natrix piscator	..	.. Checkered keelback
30. N. stolata	..	.. Striped keelback
31. N. beddomei	..	.. Beddome's keelback
32. Boiga triagonate	..	.. Indian gamma
33. Dryophis nasutus	..	.. Common green whip snake
Family Elapidae		
34. Bungarus caeruleus	..	.. Common Indian krait
35. Callnphis melanurus	..	.. Slender coral snake
36. Naja naja	..	.. Indian Cobra
Family Viperidae		
37. Vipera Russellii	..	.. Russell's viper
38. Trimeresurus malabaricus	..	.. Malabar pit-viper

* * *

CHAPTER 2—HISTORY *

ANCIENT PERIOD

FROM VERY EARLY TIMES THE MODERN DISTRICT OF BOMBAY had been included in the *Vishaya* (territorial division) of Shatshashti (modern Sashti) comprised in the modern Thane district. Its ancient history is almost identical with the history of the Thane district. The latter formed a part of Konkan. This country was divided into two parts (1) North Konkan also called Aparanta (the western end), later known as Puri-Konkan after its capital Puri, and (2) South Konkan also called *Sapta-Konkan* (or the country of seven Konkans). The former comprised the districts of Thane and Raigad and the latter, that of Ratnagiri and Sindhudurg. This country must have originally been inhabited by the same races as the other parts of Maharashtra, though in the absence of archaeological excavations we have no definite evidence on this point. On account of its numerous ports and creeks this country must have played an important part in the formation of Maharashtra culture by letting in foreign influences in the course of trade and commerce. It is also surmised that the chalcolithic culture of Maharashtra was greatly transformed by the foreign immigrants who entered South India through the ports and creeks of Konkan. They introduced the megalithic culture of Maharashtra. According to Haimendorf these megalithic builders were a people of the Mediterranean stock, who probably came to the western coast by sea, entered South India in about 500 B.C. and spread northward, subduing the earlier neolithic and microlithic people who were in a semi-nomadic, food-gathering stage of culture. Further, since the distribution of South Indian megalithics was almost conterminous with that of the Dravidian languages, it is this people who should have introduced the Dravidian language (or languages) in the region. And it is their kings the Cholas, the Cheras and the Pandyas, to whom the Ashokan edicts were addressed. Thus the ancient Tamil should go back to about 500 B.C.¹

* This Chapter is contributed by the Scholar Collaborators as under:—

(i) Ancient Period — Dr. V. V. Mirashi, formerly in Nagpur University.

(ii) Mediaeval Period to British Period (pp. 150-275)—Dr. B. G. Kunte, former Executive Editor and Secretary, Gazetteers Department.

(iii) Modern Period (1840-1947)—Shri K. K. Chaudhari, Executive Editor and Secretary, Gazetteers Department.

¹ H. D. Sankalia, *Indian Archaeology Today*, p. 96.

These speculations, though interesting, have not yet been accepted by scholars. Though the Konkan country must have come into contact with the near and far West and had commercial dealings with several western countries such as Iran, Iraq, Africa and Egypt, the chalcolithic culture of Konkan, like that of Maharashtra, may have been affected by the advent of the Aryans of North India rather than by the immigrants from the west.

Indian mythological legends also support this view. It is said that the country of Konkan was rescued from the western sea by Parashurama, who is regarded as an incarnation of the Aryan god Vishnu. After killing Kartavirya, who had murdered his father Jamadagni, Parashurama exterminated the Kshatriyas twenty-one times and conquered the whole earth. He then made a gift of the whole country to the Brahmana Kashyapa. Then for his own residence he made the western ocean recede from the Sahyadri range and formed the country of Shurparaka (modern Sopara in the Thane district), extending 400 *yojanas* in length. He made a settlement of Brahmanas there and then went to the Mahendra mountain on the eastern coast for practising penance. The hill from which Parashurama is said to have discharged his arrow to make the western ocean retreat is situated near Chiplun on the western coast. The region, known as Parashurama-kshetra, contains a holy temple of Parashurama, which is famous in Konkan and is constantly visited by pilgrims. The inscriptions of the Shilaharas of North Konkan have made an addition to this legend. They say that Shilara, the progenitor of the Shilaharas rescued the ocean from the hardships caused by the arrow of Parashurama. He then founded a family which later became famous as the Shilaharas.

The earliest historical reference to Aparanta occurs in the Edicts of Ashoka, which says that Buddhism was introduced into Konkan during the reign of Ashoka. This is also indicated by a large number of Buddhist caves which were soon excavated for the residence and worship of the Buddhist monks at a number of places along the western coast. There are five groups of caves in the small island of Sashti *viz.*, at Kanheri, Kondivte, Jogeshvari, Kondane and Chandansar of which the caves at Kanheri are specially noteworthy. The excavations include arrangements such as were required for a resident community. There are here in close proximity several *viharas* or monasteries for associations of devotees, a great number of solitary cells for hermits with halls for lectures and meetings and *chaityas* or temples with relic shrines not out of proportion in number or size to the dwelling places. Outside the caves are reservoirs for water, a separate one for each cell, and couches or benches for the monks to recline on, carved out of the rock like everything else.

From the way in which Aparanta is mentioned in Ashoka's edicts it is inferred that the rulers of that country, who were the Mahabhojas and

Maharathis, enjoyed a sort of semi-independence, though, like several other provinces, they acknowledged his suzerainty. After the death of Ashoka, they seem to have declared their independence. In course of time one of these rulers, Satavahana by name, rose to power and established his supremacy over other local chiefs. He might have received support from some of the Maharathis with whom he formed matrimonial alliances. The family descended from him is called Satavahana. Satavahana is not mentioned in the *Puranas*, probably because his kingdom was small. He had his capital at Pratishthana, modern Paithan in the Aurangabad district. The *Puranas* mention several later members of this family whom they call Andhra; but that it originally belonged to Western Maharashtra is proved by its earliest inscriptions which have been discovered at Naneghat near Junnar and near Nasik. The *Puranas* call it Andhra because they were ruling in Andhra when the *Puranic* account of the dynasty was compiled in the third century A.D.

The first king of this dynasty who is mentioned in the *Puranas* is Simuka (Shrimukha). His kingdom comprised at least the Pune, Nasik, Ahmadnagar and Aurangabad districts. When he ended his rule, his son, Satakarni was a minor and so his brother Krishna ascended the throne. Krishna in his Nasik inscription is described as belonging to the Satavahana family. This indicates that he was not a son of Satavahana, but a grandson or some lower descendant.

The next ruler of the family was Satakarni I. He seems to have extended his rule over the whole of the Deccan and even carried his arms north of the Narmada. Satakarni performed the *Rajasuya* and *Ashvamedha* sacrifices (the latter twice), which probably commemorated his important victories or supremacy in the Deccan and had political significance. Satakarni left behind two sons: Vedishri and Shaktishri. The Naneghat inscription describes Vedishri as a very brave king who was a unique warrior on earth and was the lord of Dakshinapatha.

Vedishri was followed by a number of princes who are named in the *Puranas*, but about whom they furnish little information except their reign-periods, which also vary in different *Puranas* and even in the manuscripts of the same *Puranas*. But one name among them is noteworthy. It is that of king Hala, the reputed author of the *Gathasaptashati*, a unique collection of seven hundred *Prakrit* verses, descriptive of the social, religious and economic life of the period. Hala flourished in the first century A.D.¹

Some years after Hala's reign Maharashtra and Konkan were conquered by the Shaka Kshatrapa Nahapana, who was probably appointed by the contemporary Kushana Emperor to rule over Konkan, Pune, Nasik and some other districts of Maharashtra as well as some portion of Centra

¹ Mirashi, *Studies in Indology*, Vol. I (Second Edition), p. 88 f.

India as far north as Ajmer. Several inscriptions of his son-in-law Ushavadatta (Sanskrit, Rishabhadata) have been incised in the Pandulena caves near Nasik. These records in the Nasik caves described the conquests and charities of Ushavadatta, who was evidently governing North Maharashtra on behalf of his father-in-law. These inscriptions range in dates from the year 41 to 46, which are usually referred to the Shaka era. Nahapana, therefore, flourished in the first quarter of the second century A.D.

The Satavahanas had thus to leave Western Maharashtra and Vidarbha in this period. They seem to have withdrawn to their capital Pratishthana, where they continued to abide, waiting for a suitable opportunity to oust the Shaka invaders.

Later, Gautamiputra Satakarni retrieved the fortune of the family. He made a daring dash into Vidarbha and occupied Benakata or the Wainganga district. Thereafter, he invaded Western Maharashtra and defeated Nahapana somewhere in the Nasik district. The following provinces are specifically mentioned as situated in his dominion: Rishika (Khandesh), Ashmaka (Ahmadnagar and Bid districts), Akara and Avanti (eastern and western Malwa), Suratha (Kathiawad) and Aparanta (Konkan).

Gautamiputra Satakarni seems to have defeated Nahapana soon after Shaka 46 (A.D. 124), the last known year of the latter. Thereafter he called back Nahapana's silver coins and restruck them.

Gautamiputra Satakarni was succeeded by his son Vashishthiputra Pulumavi, who also ruled over a large kingdom, but seems to have lost some northern provinces such as Akaravanti (Malwa) and Saurashtra (Kathiawad) and also Aparanta (North Konkan) to Rudradaman of the house of Chashtana. He was succeeded by his brother Vashishthiputra Satakarni. An inscription of a minister of his queen recording the gift of a cistern near a cave at Kanheri has been discovered, which shows that he had regained possession of North Konkan. Among his successors the most noteworthy was Yajñashri Satakarni, whose inscriptions and coins have been found over a large area. They show that he ruled over a large kingdom extending from Konkan in the west to Andhradesha in the east. He issued some ship-type lead coins indicative of his rule over the maritime province of the Coromandel coast.¹

An inscription of Yajña Satakarni dated in the sixteenth regnal year incised in the Chaitya cave at Kanheri records the king's gift of a sum of money to the monks at Krishnagiri (Kanheri) to be put out at interest and also of a field in the village of Mangalasthana (modern Magathan in the Thane district).

¹ Mirashi, *Studies in Indology*, Vol. III, p. 17 f.

Some of the successors of Yajñashri mentioned in the *Puranas* are known only from coins discovered at Tarhala in the Akola district of Vidarbha. Thus, the coins of Vijaya Satakarni and Pulumavi IV have been found in the Tarhala hoard. Shivaskandha mentioned in the *Puranas* as the predecessor of Yajñashri is probably identical with Khada (Skanda) Satakarni, Shiva being only his epithet, which is also noticed in the case of some other kings of this dynasty. The Tarhala hoard contained the coins of some other kings such as Kumbha Satakarni and Karna Satakarni, who are not mentioned in the *Puranas*. On the other hand, Shaka Satakarni, whose coins were found in the Tarhala hoard, may be identical with Mathariputra Svami-Shakasena, who has left an inscription dated in the regnal year 8 in a cave at Kanheri.¹ Another Satavahana king, not mentioned in the *Puranas* but ruling in Western Maharashtra and Konkan was Vashishthiputra Chatrapana mentioned in a record at Naneghat dated in the thirteenth regnal year. R. G. Bhandarkar took Chatrapana to be a corrupt form of Sanskrit Chatusparna or of Chaturapana. In either case it would be a queer name.

Within fifty years after Yajñashri Satakarni the rule of the Satavahanas came to an end. About A.D. 250 the Satavahanas were supplanted by the Abhiras in Western Maharashtra and by the Vakatakas in Vidarbha. The founder of the Abhira dynasty was Rajan Ishvarasena, the son of Shivadatta.

Ishvarasena started an era commencing in A.D. 250 which later became known as the Kalachuri-Chedi era. The earlier dates of this era come from Western Maharashtra, Gujarat, Central India and Vidarbha. Judging by the expansion of this era, Ishvarasena and his descendants seem to have ruled over a large territory comprising Gujarat, Konkan and Western Maharashtra. He was followed by nine other kings, whose names, unfortunately, do not occur in the *Puranas*.

According to the *Puranas*, the Abhiras ruled for 167 years. They seem, therefore, to have been supplanted in circa A.D. 415 by the Traikutakas, who were previously their feudatories. This royal family took its name from Trikuta or a three-peaked mountain.

From inscriptions and coins we get the following genealogy of the Traikutakas:—

Maharaja Indradatta
(son)

Maharaja Dahrasena
(son)

Maharaja Vyaghrasena

¹ J.B.B.R.A.S., Vol. VI, p. 6 f.
VF 4361—9a

That the Thane district was included in the dominion of the Traikutakas is indicated by a copper-plate inscription discovered in a *stupa* at Kanheri. Dr. Bird, who made the discovery, has described it as follows:— "Immediately in front of the large arched cave and on a ledge of the mountain, some thirty or forty feet below, there are several small *topas* or monumental receptacles for the bones of a Buddha or Rahat, built of cut stones at the base. The largest of the *topas* selected for examination appeared to have been one time between twelve and sixteen feet in height. It was much dilapidated, and was penetrated from above to the base, which was built of cut stones. After digging to the level of the ground and clearing away the material, the workmen came to a circular stone, hollow in the centre, and covered at the top by a piece of gypsum. This contained two small urns, in one of which were small ashes mixed with a ruby, a pearl, small pieces of gold and a small gold box containing a piece of cloth; in the other a silver box and some ashes were found. Two copper plates containing legible inscriptions in the *Lath* or cave characters accompanied the urn and these, as far as I have yet been able to decipher them, inform us that the persons buried here were of the Buddhist faith. The smaller of the copper plates bears an inscription in two lines, the last part of which contains the Buddhist creed."

The inscription on the larger copper plates mentions that in the year 245 in the reign of the Traikutakas one Buddharuchi, hailing from the village Kanaka in the Sindhu *vishaya*, erected at Krishnagiri (modern Kanheri) the *stupa* in which the plate was found and which he dedicated to the venerable Sharadvatiputra, the foremost disciple of the Buddha. The last line mentions *dadha* or the canine tooth, probably of Sharadvatiputra (Sariputta), a sacred relic, on which the *stupa* was erected.

The Kanheri plate mentions no king of the Traikutaka family by name, but it probably belongs to the reign of the successor of Vyaghrasena. During his reign the Trikota country was invaded by Harishena, the last known Vakataka king, who flourished in *circa* A.D. 475-500. Harishena may not have supplanted the ruling dynasty. As in other cases, he may have been satisfied with exacting tribute from it.¹

After the Traikutakas the Kalachuris became supreme in Gujarat, North Konkan and Maharashtra. The coins of Krishnaraja, the earliest known Kalachuri king, have been found in the islands of Bombay and Sashti as well as in the districts of Nasik and Satara. In Bombay they were discovered in the former village of Cavel, which once covered the land now divided by the Kalbadevi road into Cavel proper and old Hanuman lane.² These are small coins of silver, which have on the

¹ C.I.I. Vol. V, p. 103 f.

² J.B.B.R.A.S., Vol. XX, p. 7.

obverse the figure of the king and on the reverse the figure of the *Nandi* with the following legend along the circular edge : *Parama Maheshvara matapitripadanudhyata-shri-Krishnaraja* (meaning that the coin is of the illustrious Krishnaraja, a fervent devotee of Maheshvara, who meditates on the feet of his father and mother). These coins weighing about 33 grains are imitated from the western issues of the Gupta King Skandagupta.

In the copper-plate grants of the Kalachuris, Shankaragana, the son of Krishnaraja, is described as the lord of the countries between the eastern and western seas. Konkan must, therefore, have been included in the Kalachuri empire, but no grants of land by the Kalachuris have yet been found as they have been in Gujarat and northern Maharashtra. Konkan was probably given by them to a feudatory family. As we shall see later, it was ruled by the Mauryas, who probably acknowledged the suzerainty of the Kalachuris.

Krishnaraja, the first known Kalachuri king, rose to power in *circa* A.D. 550 and ruled from Mahishmati. His coins, have been found over a wide territory extending from Rajputana in the north to Maharashtra in the south and from Konkan in the west to Vidarbha in the east. Krishnaraja was succeeded by his son Shankaragana, who like his father, was ruling over an extensive kingdom extending from Malwa in the north to at least the Nasik and Aurangabad districts in the south.

Shankaragana was succeeded by his son Buddharaja, who was involved in a struggle with the Early Chalukya king Mangalesha on the southern frontier of his kingdom soon after his accession. He received a crushing defeat, but his adversary could not follow up his victory owing to internal dissensions. Buddharaja, therefore, continued to hold his kingdom in tact.

As stated before, north Konkan was ruled by the Mauryas, who were probably feudatories of the Kalachuris. Their capital was Puri, which has not yet been satisfactorily identified. Various places have been mentioned as possible sites of this capital, viz. Thane, Kalyan, Sopara, Chaul, Mangalapuri (Magathan), Elephanta and Rajapuri in the former Janjira State. But Thane, Sopara and Chaul were known by other names in ancient times and have besides, been mentioned together with Puri in some inscriptions. Gharapuri or Elephanta is too small an island to have served as a capital and as pointed out by Cousens, during the greater part of the monsoon it is cut off to a great extent by rough seas. Cousens proposed to locate the place at a site about a mile north of Marol village in the island of Sashti¹. This site is not far from Sthanaka (Thane), which is mentioned in many grants as the place of royal residence. This

¹ Cousens, *Mediaeval Temples in the Deccan*, p. 79 f.

site is not, however, known by the name of Puri at present and has not many ancient remains such as one would expect at the site of a royal capital. Another identification suggested is with Rajapuri in the former Janjira State, but this place would be too far south for a capital of the Northern Shilaharas. The question cannot be definitely settled in the absence of conclusive evidence, but the fact that the only known stone inscription of the Mauryas was found at Vada in the Thane district may lend colour to the location of Puri as suggested by Cousens.

As stated before, the Mauryas were ruling in North Konkan in the sixth and the early part of the seventh century A.D. The Kalachuris, who were fervent devotees of Maheshvara, must have erected splendid temples in honour of their *ishta-devata*, but none have been discovered so far. But some cave-temples dedicated to Shiva in this period may have been carved under the patronage of the Kalachuris. Walter Spink, who has minutely studied the architecture and sculpture of these cave temples, thus describes them:—"It is not surprising that the three most important Hindu cave temples in the Konkan, all created between about 520 and 550 A.D. when the Kalachuris were ruling in this region, are dedications of the Pashupata cult. The first of these was at Jogeshvari, near the present centre of Bombay; it contains no less than four separate images of the meditating lord. This little known monument is usually assigned incorrectly to a late period. Actually, it is a crucial missing link between the late fifth century Vakataka excavations in Vidarbha and the other early sixth century Kalachuri excavations in the Konkan. Indeed Jogeshvari is the earliest major Hindu cave temple in India and (in terms of total length) 'the largest'. Jogeshvari contains no inscriptions which fix its date, but it was conceived on such a scale and appears upon the stage of history so dramatically and so suddenly that one must assume it to be the product of a strong and rich patronage."¹ Spink refers the cave temples at Mandapeshvar and Elephanta to the same age. The temple at the former place, about two Km. from Borivali, which was converted into a church by the Portuguese during their occupation of the island, has a large *mandapa* measuring 51 ft. by 21 inside, with four pillars richly ornamented in front. In the middle of the back wall there is a *garbhagriha*, now empty, with two pillars in front. The temple was evidently dedicated to Shiva; for in a room to the left of the Mandapa there is still a large sculpture of dancing Shiva with accompanying figures.

The excavation of the Elephanta caves is attributed by some to the Maurya kings who were ruling in North Konkan in the sixth and early

part of the seventh century A.D. But they were only a feudatory family which could hardly have financed such a great and magnificent work of art. The Early Kalachuris who had an extensive empire in that age were probably responsible for it. There is another circumstance which supports this conjecture. The cave temple was caused to be carved by the Pashupatas. This is indicated by the figure of Lakulisha, the founder of the Pashupata sect, in the recess at the north end of the shrine in the western court of the caves. It is noteworthy that the Kalachuri emperors were followers of the Pashupata sect. From a Kalachuri grant we know that the queen Anantamahayai was a *Pashupata-rajni*. It seems plausible therefore that the Elephanta caves were caused to be excavated by the Kalachuris in the second half of the sixth century A.D.

The Chalukyas of Badami rose to power in the first half of the sixth century A.D. The Badami stone inscription of Pulakeshin I, who is the first independent king of the family, is dated in the year A.D. 543.¹ He performed an *ashvamedha* and several other *shruta* sacrifices. He was succeeded by his son Kirtivarman I, who made some conquests in South India and is described as 'the Night of Destruction' to the Nalas (of the Bastar district in Madhya Pradesh), the Mauryas of North Konkan and the Kadambas of Vanavasi in North Konkan. Like the Nalas, who are known to have flourished thereafter also, the Mauryas were not completely exterminated, but continued to reign in North Konkan till the time of Pulakeshin II as we shall see hereafter.

When Kirtivarman died, his son Pulakeshin II was a minor. So his younger brother Mangalesha succeeded him. He defeated Buddhara, the Kalachuri king who was ruling over North Maharashtra, Gujarat and Malwa, and also Svamiraja of the Chalukya family, who was governing the Revati-dvipa (modern Rediti in the Sindhudurg district).

Mangalesha's reign ended in disaster and he lost his life in a civil war with his nephew Pulakeshin II. Just about this time the Chalukya kingdom was invaded by one Govinda, who probably belonged to the Rashtrakuta family ruling from Manapura in the Satara district. Pulakeshin adopted a conciliatory policy in dealing with him as he was a powerful foe. His descendants do not, however, seem to have held southern Maharashtra for a long time; for Pulakeshin soon annexed both southern and northern Maharashtra and extended the northern limit of his kingdom to the Narmada. That he ousted the Rashtrakutas from southern Maharashtra is shown by the Satara plates of his brother Vishnuvardhana, which

¹ *E.I.*, Vol. XVII, p. 4 f.

¹ Walter Spink, *Ajanta to Ellora*, p. 9.

record the grant of a village on the southern bank of the Bhima. Pulakeshin also defeated the Kalachuri king Buddharaja and annexed his kingdom. He is said to have thereby become the lord of three Maharashtras containing ninety-nine thousand villages. The three Maharashtras were evidently northern Maharashtra, Kuntala or southern Maharashtra and Vidarbha. We know that the Rashtrakutas of Vidarbha, who were previously feudatories of the Kalachuris, transferred their allegiance to the Chalukyas and began to date their records in the *Shaka* era like them. Two grants of this feudatory Rashtrakuta family have been found in Vidarbha—one dated *Shaka* 615 being discovered near Akola and the other dated *Shaka* 631, at Multai in the Betul district now in Madhya Pradesh. Their capital was Padmanagara, which is probably identical with Padmapura near Amgaon in the Bhandara district, once a capital of the Vakatakas.¹

Pulakeshin next invaded Puri, the capital of the Mauryas, which is described in the Aihole inscription as the goddess of fortune of the Western Ocean. He attacked it with hundreds of ships as large as rutting elephants. The Maurya ruler was probably killed in the encounter and his kingdom was annexed. Thereafter North Konkan was probably under the direct rule of Pulakeshin like the adjoining Nasik district, where a copper-plate grant of his, has been discovered.

The capital of Pulakeshin in the beginning of his reign was Badami in the Bijapur district. The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang calls him the Lord of Maharashtra. This shows that he must have visited him somewhere in Maharashtra.

After the overthrow of the Kalachuris, Pulakeshin II divided their extensive empire among his relatives and trusted chiefs. South Gujarat, extending from the Kim in the north to the Damanganga in the south, was placed in charge of a Sendraka chief. The Sendrakas ruled over this territory and also in Konkan for three generations. The founder of the family was Bhanushakti *alias* Nikumbha. His son was Adityashakti and the latter's son was Allashakti.

Pulakeshin II was killed in battle at Badami in *circa* A.D. 642 by the Pallava king Narasimhavarman, who conquered his capital Vatapi and assumed the title of Vatapikonda (the Conqueror of Vatapi). Pulakeshin II was succeeded by his son Vikramaditya I after a long continued struggle. He appointed his younger brother Dharashraya-Jayasimha to govern South Gujarat, North Konkan and the Nasik district. Jayasimha appointed his elder son Shryashraya-Shiladitya to govern South Gujarat and his younger son Jayashraya Mangalarasa to rule in North Konkan.

¹ *E.I.*, Vol. XI, p. 27 f.; Vol. XXXII, p. 157 f.; *I.A.*, Vol. XVIII p. 230 f.

From the Manor plates of Mangalarasa discovered recently this event seems to have taken place in A.D. 669-70.

Jayasimha's younger son Mangalarasa, who assumed the *biruda* Jayashraya, is known to have made three land grants. Of these the second grant of Mangalarasa was found at Balsad in the Surat district. It has not yet been published, but it also was probably made in North Konkan as it is dated in the *Shaka* year 653 (A.D. 731-32). Had it been made in Gujarat, it would have been dated in the Abhira era, which was then current there. Mangalarasa ruled from Mangalapuri, which was probably founded by him. It is identified by some with Magathan (Mangalashthana), about half a mile east of the Borivli station, which contains several ancient remains of *stupas* and *chaityas*.

From two copper-plate inscriptions recently discovered at Anjaneri, a village near Trimbak in the Nasik district, we have come to know of another feudatory family which ruled over Northern Konkan and the Nasik district in the seventh and eighth century A.D.¹ This family claimed descent from Harishchandra the famous legendary king of the solar race. Svamichandra, who rose to power in the reign of Vikramaditya I, was the founder of this family. He is said to have ruled over the entire Puri-Konkan country comprising fourteen thousand villages. In some later inscriptions the number of villages in North Konkan is stated to be fourteen hundred only. Svamichandra was treated by Vikramaditya I as his own son and was placed in charge of North Konkan. This was perhaps before the appointment of Dharashraya-Jayasimha to the same post.

Three generations of this family are known from the two sets of Anjaneri plates. Svamichandra, his son Simhavarman and the latter's son Bhogashakti *alias* Prithivichandra, who made the grants. Bhogashakti is said to have brought by his valour the whole territory of his dominion under his sway. This was probably at the time of the Chalukya Emperor Vinayaditya's death (A.D. 696), when owing to the captivity of his son Vijayaditya in his northern campaign, there was anarchy in the kingdom. The second set of Anjaneri plates tells us that Bhogashakti granted certain rights, privileges and exemptions to the merchants of Samagiripattana when he resettled the town and the neighbouring villages sometime after their devastation. Bhogashakti's successor was probably overthrown by the Rashtrakuta king Dantidurga, who, from his Ellora plates, is known to have occupied the Nasik district some time before A.D. 715.

Kirtivarman II, the last of the Early Chalukyas, was defeated by Dantidurga sometime before A.D. 754, when he issued the Samangad

¹ *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV.

plates. Kirtivarman continued to rule for a few years more, but he had lost the paramount position in the Deccan.

The Early Chalukyas were devotees of Vishnu, but during their time Buddhism continued to flourish as before in Maharashtra and Konkan.

The Rashtrakutas, who succeeded the Early Chalukyas in the Deccan, originally hailed from Lattalura (modern Latur) when they rose to power, they were probably in the Aurangabad district, where their earlier records have been found. His Ellora Cave inscription records his victories over the rulers of Kanchi, Kalinga, Shrishaila, Malva, Tanha and Lata, but they do not all seem to have resulted in the acquisition of new territory. Though there is much exaggeration in the description of his conquests, there is no doubt that he ruled over Karnataka, Konkan, Maharashtra, Vidarbha and Gujarat.

Dantidurga soon extended his rule to North Konkan. This is shown by his Manor plates dated in the *Shaka* year 671 (A.D. 749-50). Dantidurga appointed a governor named Aniruddha to govern the territory. Konkan was so ruled until establishment of the feudatory family of Shilaharas in North Konkan during the reign of Rashtrakuta Govinda III. Dantidurga was succeeded by his uncle Krishna I, who completed the conquests commenced by Dantidurga and shattered the power of the Chalukyas completely.

Krishna I was not only a great conqueror but also a great builder and caused the great Shiva temple at Ellora to be carved out of solid rock. Krishna I was succeeded by his son Govinda II in *circa* A.D. 773. Soon after his accession Govinda II abandoned himself to a life of pleasure. He left the administration to his younger brother Dhruva. The latter took advantage of the opportunity and began to secure all power for himself. He also made land-grants in his own name though Govinda II was then the *de jure* king. Govinda was subsequently deposed by Dhruva in *circa* A.D. 780.

Dhruva died soon after this grant was made and was succeeded by his son Govinda III. Govinda III proved to be a great conqueror. Several copper plate grants of Govinda III have been found in all the divisions of Maharashtra. Most of these were issued from Mayurakhandi, which was evidently his capital. It has not yet been identified.

Govinda III was succeeded by his son Amoghavarsha I, who was a man of peaceful disposition, but whose reign was full of troubles. He had first to fight with the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi, then the Gangas of Gangavadi and also his relatives in Gujarat. He placed Pullashakti I

in charge of North Konkan. The latter states in his Kanheri cave inscription that he was ruling over the entire Puri-Konkan country by the favour of Amoghavarsha I. Indra III, the great-grandson of Amoghavarsha I led a victorious campaign in North India. Indra III was succeeded by his son Amoghavarsha II, but he died within a year. His younger brother Govinda IV came to the throne thereafter. He was known for his liberality and rightly had the *biruda* Suvarnavarsha (the gold-rainer). The Rashtrakutas of Manyakheta and the Kalachuris of Tripuri were matrimonially connected and their relations were generally cordial. But in the reign of Govinda IV, they became strained. The Kalachuri king Yuvarajadeva I espoused the cause of his son-in-law Baddiga-Amoghavarsha III, the uncle of Govinda IV, and sent a large army to invade the Rashtrakuta dominion. When it reached Payoshni (modern Purna), it was opposed by Karkara, the ruler of Achalapura, who was a feudatory of Govinda IV. He probably belonged to the feudatory Rashtrakuta family ruling in Vidarbha. A sanguinary battle was fought on the bank of the Payoshni near Achalapur between the Rashtrakuta and Kalachuri forces, in which the latter became victorious.

The Rashtrakuta feudatories who had risen in revolt against Govinda IV deposed him and placed his uncle Baddiga-Amoghavarsha III on the throne. The latter was a man of quiet nature and spiritual temperament, who left the administration of the kingdom to his ambitious and able son Krishna III. Like some of his ancestors, Krishna also led an expedition in North India and captured the forts of Kalanjara and Chitrakuta. He succeeded his father in A.D. 939.

The Rashtrakuta power became weak after the death of Krishna III. Within six years his large empire crumbled like a house of cards. Taila II, who was a *Mahasamanta* of the Rashtrakutas, suddenly came into prominence. He defeated and killed in battle Karka II, the last Rashtrakuta king and captured his capital Manyakheta. He had to fight against the Cholas, the Pandyas and the Paramaras.

Among the successors of Taila II, the most famous is Vikramaditya VI, the founder of the Chalukya-Vikramaditya *samvat*. He ascended the throne in A.D. 1075. He had to fight against the Cholas, the Chalukyas of Gujarat and the Hoysalas and signally defeated them. He married a Shilahara princess at a *svayamvara* held at Karhad. His reign is renowned on account of some learned men who flourished at his court. Bilhana, who was patronised by him, wrote the *Vikramankadevacharita*, which is the poetical biography of Vikramaditya. Another great writer who flourished at his court was Vijnaneshvara, the author of the well-known *Mitakshara*, a commentary on the *Yajnavalkya Smriti*.

Vikramaditya VI was succeeded by his son Someshvara III, who became known as Sarvajna-Chakravarti on account of his extensive knowledge. Taila III, the last known Chalukya king, was overthrown by the Kalachuri Bijjala, who was his commander-in-chief, in A.D. 1156. The Kalachuri usurpation lasted for more than two decades. During the reign of Bijjala a religious revolution took place at Kalyani, the capital of the Later Chalukyas. Basava, who was the prime minister of Bijjala propounded a new doctrine called Lingayata, in which *Shivalinga* and *Nandig* were prominent. In a palace revolution Bijjala was killed by a follower of Basava and Kalyani was devastated. This event took place in A.D. 1167.

In about A.D. 1162 the Chalukya prince Someshvara IV wrested some of the provinces of his ancestral kingdom from the Kalachuris. The Chalukyas were, however, soon overthrown by the Yadava prince Bhillama, who rose to power in this period.

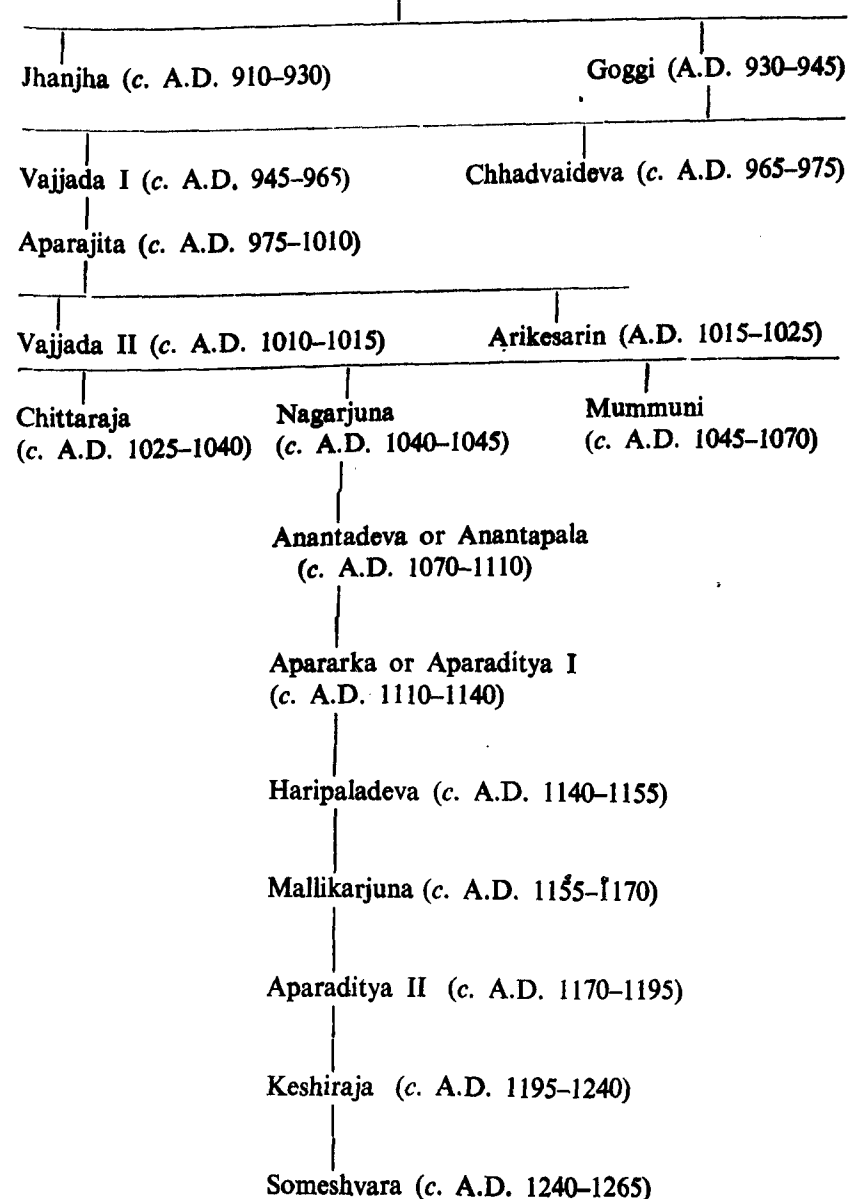
During the Rashtrakuta period a feudatory family established itself in the northern and southern Konkan and also in the southern Maratha country comprising the districts of Kolhapur, Miraj, Satara and Belgaum. They bore the title of *Tagarapura-var-adhishvara*, which indicates that they originally hailed from Tagara (modern Ter in the Osmanabad district). All the branches of this family traced their descent from the mythical Vidyadhara prince Jimutavahana, who offered to sacrifice himself to rescue a *Naga* from the clutches of *Garuda*. The family name Shilahara (meaning 'food on a rock') is supposed to have been derived from this incident. The Shilaharas of South Konkan rose to power as feudatories of the Rashtrakutas. Sanaphulla, the founder of this family, is said to have had the favour of Krishnaraja, who is evidently the first Rashtrakuta king of that name.

Rattaraja is the last known king of this branch. He declared his independence during the reign of the Later Chalukya king Vikramaditya V, when the imperial power became weak. But Jayasimha, the younger brother of Vikramaditya, invaded South Konkan, overthrew the reigning king and appropriated his possessions as stated in his Miraj plates dated in A.D. 1024.

North Konkan was conquered by the Rashtrakuta king Dantidurga sometime in the second quarter of the eighth century A.D. Kapardin I, the first known Shilahara king of North Konkan, was placed in charge of the country by the Rashtrakuta king Govinda III. Since then North Konkan came to be known as Kapardika-dvipa or Kavadi-dvipa. The capital of this branch was Puri, after which the country was called Puri-Konkan.

The genealogy of this branch of the Shilaharas ruling over North Konkan may be stated as follows :—

Kapardin I (c. A.D. 800–825)
 Pullashakti I (c. A.D. 825–850)
 Kapardin II (c. A.D. 850–880)
 Vappuvanna (c. A.D. 880–910)



Kapardin I was succeeded by his son Pullashakti, who has left a much abraded inscription in one of the Kanheri caves. It bore a date at the end, which has now been almost completely effaced. Kielhorn doubtfully read it as *shaka* 765. The date appears quite plausible; for Pullashakti's son and successor Kapardin II is known from two inscriptions at Kanheri dated *shaka* 795 and 799.

In the Kanheri cave inscription Pullashakti is called *Mahasamanta* and is described as the lord of Puri-Konkan, which he had obtained by the favour of the Rashtrakuta king Amoghavarsha I. The inscription records the endowment of 124 *drammas* made by one Vishnugupta for the repairs of the cave as well as for the raiment and books of the monks residing in the Krishnagiri-Mahavihara. Krishnagiri is Kanheri.¹

Pullashakti II was succeeded by his son Kapardin II, who is called Laghu-Kapardin in the record of his successors to distinguish him from his grandfather, who also bore the same name. He seems to have come to the throne when quite young; for the Thane plates of Arikesarin tell us that though he was an infant, his enemies paid homage to him. Two inscriptions of his reign, dated in the *shaka* years 775 (A.D. 853) and 799 (A.D. 877-78) in the Kanheri caves, record permanent endowments of some *drammas* for the, raiment etc., of the monks dwelling in the caves.²

Kapardin II was followed by his son Vappuvanna, about whom his successors' records give only conventional praise. In his time a part of North Konkan comprising the Samyana Mandala (the territory round Sanjan in the north of Thane district) was given by the Rashtrakuta Emperor Krishna II to the Arab feudatory Madhumati (Muhhammad). His family ruled in this region for at least three generations. A set of plates found at Chinchani in the Dahanu taluka of the Thane district mentions Madhumati's son of Sahiyarahara, and Sugatipa, who was then ruling.³ Madhumati, Sahiyarahara and Sugatipa are evidently Sanskritised names of Mahammad, Shahariar and Subakta. This feudatory family often came into conflict with the Shilaharas. Madhumati is said to have conquered all ports on the western coast and established his outposts in them. He did some charitable works. He established some ferries for the crossing of rivers and also a charitable feeding house at Samyana for the use of travellers. He also made some grants of land in favour of a temple of Bhagavati after obtaining the consent of his suzerain, the Rashtrakuta Emperor Indra III. These Arab feudatories seem to have continued to rule over the Samyana-mandala till the downfall of the Rashtrakutas in A.D. 974. Thereafter the Shilahara king Aparajita overthrew them and annexed their territory to his own kingdom.⁴

¹ I.A., Vol. XIII, p. 136 f.

² Ibid., Vol. XIII, p. 136 f.

³ E.I., Vol. XXXII, p. 45 f.

⁴ Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State, Vol. I, p. 35 f.

Vappuvanna was followed by Jhanjha. He is mentioned by Al-Masudi as ruling over Samar (i.e., Chaul in the Raigad district) in A.D. 916. He was a very devout Shiva. He is said to have built twelve temples of Shiva and named them after himself. None of them is now existing.

Jhanjha was succeeded by his younger brother Goggiraja, but about him and his successor Vajjada I Shilahara inscriptions give only conventional praise. Vajjada was followed by his brother Chhadvaideva, who is omitted in all later records, probably because he was a usurper. He is known from his Prince of Wales Museum plates, which record the grant of some land in the village Salanka in the *vishaya* of Panada. These places may be identified with Salinde and Poinad not far from Alibag in the Raigad district. The grant was promised by Vajjada, but remained unexecuted during his life time. Chhadvaideva, on coming to know of it, issued these plates recording the gift.¹

Chhadvaideva was followed by his nephew Aparajita, the son of Vajjada. He has left three copper-plate grants. Two of them found at Janjira, both dated in the same *shaka* year 915 (A.D. 993) were issued by him after the overthrow of the Rashtrakutas by the Later Chalukya king Tailapa.² But Aparajita, true to his erstwhile suzerain, gives the genealogy of the Rashtrakutas from Govinda I to Kakkala and regretfully records that the light of the last Rashtrakuta king was extinguished by the hurricane in the form of Tailapa. He did not himself submit to the Chalukyas, but began to assume high-sounding titles like *Pashchima-samudradhipati* (the Lord of the Western Ocean) and *Mandalika-trinetra* (the three-eyed god Shiva to the feudatory princes). He made several conquests. First he seems to have proceeded against the Arab feudatory family ruling at Samyana and overthrowing it, annexed its territory to his own kingdom. Thereafter, we do not hear of this Arab kingdom on the western coast. He next conquered Punaka (Pune), Sangameshvara and Chiplun and extended his rule to Southern Konkan and the Desha.

Aparajita was an ambitious king. He sought to extend his sphere of influence by alliance with mighty kings of other countries. Aparajita's extensive conquests, his alliance with the Paramaras, his assumption of grandiloquent titles and his refusal to recognise the suzerainty of the Later Chalukyas exasperated Satyashraya, the son of Tailapa. He invaded the kingdom of Aparajita and pressed as far as the capital Puri. Ranna, the Kanarese poet, says that hemmed in by the ocean on one side and the sea of Satyashraya's army on the other, Aparajita trembled like an insect on a stick, both the ends of which are on fire.³ Satyashraya burnt Amshunagara in Konkan and levied a tribute of eleven elephants on

¹ E.I., Vol. XXVI, p. 282 f.

² Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State, Vol. I, p. 35 f.

³ I.A., Vol. XL, p. 41 f.

Aparajita. This invasion seems to have occurred in *circa* A.D. 1005. Aparajita did not live long after this humiliation. He probably closed his reign in A.D. 1010.

Aparajita was succeeded by his son Vajjada II, about whom only conventional praise is given in the records of his successors. An inscription from Hangal, however, tells us that Kundaladevi, the queen of the Kadamba king Chattadeva (Shashthadeva II *c.* A.D. 1005-1055) was the daughter of the king Vachavya of Thani *i.e.*, Thane.¹ As Altekar has conjectured, this king of Thane was probably the Shilahara king Vajjada II.

Vajjada was succeeded by his younger brother Arikesarin. While yet a prince, he had taken part in the Paramara Sindhuraja's campaign in Chhattisgad and had also marched with an army to the temple of Someshvara (Somanath) and offered his conquests to the god.

It was during the reign of Arikesarin that Konkan was invaded by the Paramara king Bhoja. Two of his grants made in A.D. 1020, one in June and the other in September of the year have been found.² The causes of this invasion are not known. D. R. Bhandarkar thought that the invasion was undertaken by Bhoja to avenge the death of his uncle Munja by the Later Chalukya king Tailapa. This reason does not appear convincing; for there is an interval of thirty-four years between the murder of Munja (A.D. 975) and Bhoja's invasion of Konkan (A.D. 1019). Perhaps, as Altekar has suggested, Arikesarin acknowledged the suzerainty of the Later Chalukyas, which Bhoja did not like. Bhoja seems to have occupied North Konkan for some time as is shown by his *Betma* plates. However, the Chalukya king Jayasimha, after overthrowing the Southern Shilaharas and annexing their kingdom, planned to invade North Konkan.³ The Miraj plates dated in A.D. 1024 tell us that he was encamped at Kolhapur in the course of his campaign of North Konkan. It is not known if he conquered the country, but it is noteworthy that Chittaraja, in his grant issued soon after this date in A.D. 1026 does not mention the suzerainty of the Chalukyas⁴.

Chittaraja succeeded his uncle Arikesarin sometime before A.D. 1026, when he issued his Bhandup plates. These plates record the king's donation of a field in the village Noura situated in the *vishaya* (district) of Shatshashti. The villages Gomvani and Gorapavali are mentioned in connection with the boundaries of the field. Shatshashti is, of course, the island of Sashti. Noura is now called Nowohar and Gomvani goes by the name of Gowhan. Gorapavali probably occupied the same site

¹ *E.I.*, Vol. XV, p. 333.

² *E.I.*, Vol. XI, p. 182, *f.*; XVIII, p. 322 *f.*

³ *I.A.*, Vol. VIII, p. 18.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 277 *f.*

as modern Bhandup. Two other records of the reign of Chittaraja have been discovered, *viz.* the Berlin Museum plates¹ issued by him in A.D. 1034 and the Chinchani plates² granted by his feudatory Chamundaraja in the same year. Chittaraja may have reigned from A.D. 1025 to A.D. 1040.

The Shilaharas seem to have suffered a defeat about this time at the hands of the Kadamba king Shashthadeva II. As stated before, Aparajita, the grandfather of Chittaraja, had raided Chandrapura, modern Chandor in Goa and defeated the ruler, who was probably Guhalladeva II, the father of Shashthadeva II. The latter took revenge in the beginning of the reign of Chittaraja, who was a mere boy at the time of his accession. From his capital Chandrapura, Shashthadeva marched to the north. He first annexed South Konkan (called Konkan Nine Hundred) and advancing further, he overran Kavadi-dvipa (North Konkan). The Narendra inscription describes this expedition in the following words :—"As he took Kavadi-dvipa and many other regions, he built a bridge with lines of ships reaching as far as Lanka (*i.e.*, the Goa territory) and claimed tribute from grim barbarians, exceedingly exalted was the dominion of the Kadamba sovereign which many called a religious estate for the establishment of the worship of Rama."³

Shashthadeva, however, restored North Konkan to Chittaraja on condition that he recognised his suzerainty. There was another attack on the Shilahara kingdom during the reign of Chittaraja. Gonka of the Kolhapur branch of the Shilaharas (*c.* A.D. 1020-1055) calls himself the lord of Konkan.⁴ He had evidently scored a victory over the Shilahara ruler of North Konkan; for he had already annexed South Konkan as a feudatory of the Later Chalukyas.

Chittaraja was succeeded by his younger brother Nagarjuna, who had probably a short reign. He may be referred to the period A.D. 1040-45. He was followed by his younger brother Mummuni or Mamvani in *c.* A.D. 1045.

The power of the Shilaharas weakened in the reign of Nagarjuna and Mummuni. The latter had to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Kadambas of Goa. When Shashthadeva II visited his court, he received him with great honour. The Narendra inscription describes this incident in the following words : "When the exalted valour Chhattayadeva in his sport upon the ocean reached him, Mummuni of the famous Thaneya, hearing of it, came into his presence, saw him and led him to his palace

¹ *Z.D.M.G.*, Vol. XC, p. 265 *f.*

² *E.I.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 63 *f.*

³ *E.I.*, Vol. XIII, p. 369.

⁴ *J.R.A.S.*, Vol. IV, p. 281.

and displayed intense affection; he bestowed on him his daughter with much pomp and gave his son-in-law five lakhs of gold."¹

As the power of the Shilaharas declined, the Modha feudatories of Samyana began to assert their independence and assumed the *birudas* of the Shilaharas themselves. The Modha prince Vijjala in his Chinchani plates dated *shaka* 975 (A.D. 1053) calls himself the lord of Tagarapura and bears the proud title of *Sharanagata-vajra-panjara*, which is usually met with in Shilahara records. Mummuni seems to have overthrown this recalcitrant feudatory sometime after *shaka* 975 (A.D. 1053), the last known date of the prince Vijjala.

There was a civil war (*dayada-vyasana*) towards the close of Mummuni's reign, but the contending parties are not known.² Taking advantage of it, some foreign king, perhaps Guhalla II, the Kadamba contemporary of Mummuni, invaded the territory. He is said to have devastated the country and harassed gods and Brahmanas. Anantapala, the son of Nagarjuna, rescued the country from this calamity, Guhalla had perhaps secured the aid of some Muslim chief in this invasion.

Only one inscription of Anantapala has been found *viz.*, the Kharepatan plates dated in *shaka* 1016 (A.D. 1094).³ It states that he assumed the title *pashchima-samudradhipati* and claimed to be the ruler of the entire Konkan, including Puri-Konkan. The inscription exempts the ships of certain ministers of his from the customs duty levied at the ports of Sthanaka, Shurparaka, Chemulya and others.

Hostilities with the Kadambas seem to have broken out again at the close of the reign of Anantapala. Jayakeshin II, the valiant king of Goa, invaded North Konkan and in the encounter that followed, killed the Shilahara king. The Degamve inscription describes him as 'Death to the king of Kavadi-dvipa'.⁴ After this Jayakeshin annexed North Konkan. The Narendra inscriptions dated in A.D. 1125 and 1126 described him as governing Kavadi-dvipa a lakh and quarter, in the time of the Chalukya Emperor Tribhuvanamalla (Vikramaditya VI). The Shilahara prince Aparaditya was reduced to great straits.

Aparaditya was followed by Harpaladeva, several of whose inscriptions ranging in dates from *shaka* 1070 to *shaka* 1076 have been discovered in the Thane district. He may therefore have reigned from *c. shaka* 1062 to *shaka* 1077 (A.D. 1140 to A.D. 1155). From his reign onward we get only stone inscriptions and they are mostly written in a mixed language of Sanskrit and Marathi. As the inscriptions of Harpaladeva do not give any genealogy, it is not possible to say how he was related to his

¹ *E.I.*, Vol. XIII, p. 310.

² *I.A.*, Vol. IX, p. 34.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 33 f.

⁴ *J.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. IX, p. 266.

predecessor, Aparaditya. These inscriptions record gifts made by ministers, private individuals or village communities. The mention of a Sahavasi Brahman in one of them is interesting. These Brahmanas later became known as Savase Brahmanas.

Mallikarjuna, who succeeded Harpaladeva, is known from two inscriptions—one found at Chiplun in the Ratnagiri district and the other at Vasai in the Thane district.¹

In his *Kumarapalacharita* Hemachandra gives a graphic description of Mallikarjuna's battle with the forces sent by the Chalukya king Kumarapala. According to Merutunga's account, Kumarapala is said to have felt offended by the title *Rayapitamaha* (Grand sire of Kings) assumed by Mallikarjuna and sent an army to invade his territory. His general Ambada was defeated by Mallikarjuna and feeling disconsolate, he repaired to Krishnagiri (Kanheri) where he spent some days in black clothing. Kumarapala then sent heavy reinforcements, which enabled Ambada to inflict a disastrous defeat on Mallikarjuna. He cut off his head, mounting daringly the elephant he was riding. He presented it to Kumarapala in the assembly attended by seventy-two feudatories. There is much exaggeration in this account, but Hemachandra also records that Mallikarjuna was killed in the fight. Kumarapala thereafter became the suzerain of the Shilaharas.

Mallikarjuna was followed by Aparaditya II, but his relation to his predecessor is not known. Three inscriptions of his reign, dated in *shaka* 1106, 1107 and 1109 have been discovered at Lonad, Thane and Parell respectively. In one of them Aparaditya is mentioned with the imperial titles *Maharajadhiraja* and *Konkanachakravarti* which show that he had thrown off the yoke of the Gujarat Chalukyas. He may be referred to the period A.D. 1170–1195.

Aparaditya's successor Keshideva is known from two stone inscriptions. The earlier of them is dated in *shaka* 1125 and was found at Mandavi in the Vasai taluka. It records some grant at the holy place of Mandavali in the presence of the god Lakshminarayana. The second inscription, found at Lonad, is dated *shaka* 1161 (A.D. 1230). It states that Keshideva was the son of Apararka and records the grant of a hamlet attached to the village Bapagama (modern Babgaon near Lonad) to four Brahmanas on the *Maha-Shivaratri* in *Magha*. As the two dates of Keshideva are separated by as many as 36 years, he may have had a long reign of 40 or 45 years. He may therefore, be referred to the period A.D. 1195–1240.

The successor of Keshideva was Someshvara, who, like Aparaditya, assumed the imperial titles *Maharajadhiraja* and *Konkanachakravarti*.² Only two inscriptions of his reign are known. The earlier of them, dated

¹ *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I (old ed.), Part II, p. 19.

² Ranvad Inscription (*Prachin Marathi Koriva Lekha*, p. 159).

VF 4361—10a

in *shaka* 1181 (A.D. 1259) was found at the village Ranvad near Uran and the later, dated *shaka* 1182 (A.D. 1160), at Chande. Both of them record royal grants, the former to some Brahmanas and the latter to the temple of Uttareshvara in the capital of Sthanaka.

Someshvara is the last known Shilahara of North Konkan. In his time the power of the Yadavas of Devagiri was increasing. The Yadava king Krishna (A.D. 1247-1261) sent an army under his general Malla to invade North Konkan.¹ Though Malla claims to have defeated the Shilahara king, the campaign did not result in any territorial gain for the Yadavas. Mahadeva, the brother and successor of Krishna, continued the hostilities and invaded Konkan with a large troop of war elephants. Someshvara was defeated on land; betook himself to the sea. He was pursued by Mahadeva. In the naval engagement that followed Someshvara was drowned. Referring to this incident Hemadri says, that Someshvara preferred to drown himself and face the sub-marine fire rather than the fire of Mahadeva's anger. The scene of this fight is sculptured on some Virgal stones found near Borivli station. Some of the stones show the land battle in which the elephants took part, while others depict the lines of vessels propelled by oars, both in advance upon the enemy and in the melee itself. Since Mahadeva's force was strong in elephants and the stone from the sculptures upon it appears to belong to the 12th or 13th century A.D., it is quite possible, as Cousens has suggested, that these stones may be commemorating the heroes who fell in the battle between Someshvara and Mahadeva.²

The battle may have taken place in c. A.D. 1265. Thereafter, the Yadavas appointed a governor named Achyuta Nayaka to rule over North Konkan. His Thane plates are dated in A.D. 1272. Thereafter, we get several inscriptions of the Yadavas from North Konkan.

Though the Yadavas conquered North Konkan, their authority may not immediately have been recognised through the whole country. Thus, we have a stone inscription of a king named Jaitugi, dated in *shaka* 1188 (A.D. 1266), now deposited in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.³ This king assumes therein the title *Maharajadhiraja*, *Raya-pitamaha* and *Konkana-chakravarti*, which were previously borne by the Shilaharas. Some identify this king with an unknown successor of Someshvara, but according to Hemadri, Someshvara was the last king of the Shilahara branch ruling in North Konkan. Jaitugi was probably a ruler of Mahim in the Palghar taluka. He seems to have been previously a feudatory of the Shilaharas, but after their overthrow, he declared his independence and assumed imperial titles like those assumed by Someshvara. That

¹ H.C.I.P., Vol. V, p. 192.

² Cousens, *Mediaeval Temples in the Deccan*, p. 21, plate XV.

³ Mirashi, *Studies in Indology*, Vol. IV, p. 203.

there was a ruler of Mahim exercising authority in North Konkan till the time of the Yadava king Ramachandra is known from the latter's Purushottampuri plates which mention the Yadava king's victory over him. He is described therein as the ruler of Mahim. He was probably the king Jaitugi.

The Shilaharas ruled over North Konkan for more than 450 years. They gave liberal patronage to art and literature. The temples at Ambarnath, and Walkeshvar, which are still extant, testify to the architectural and sculptural skill of the age. In the *Udayasundarikatha* Soddhala mentions several Jain and other poets such as Chandanacharya, Vijaya-simhacharya, Mahakirti, Indra and others, who, like himself, flourished at the Shilahara court. Apararka's commentary on the *Yajnavalkya Smriti* is a monumental work of that age on *Dharmashastra*.

In the last quarter of the twelfth century A.D. the Yadavas of Devagiri came into prominence. They had previously been ruling over Seunadesha (Khandesh) as feudatories of the Later Chalukyas of Kalyani. The founder of the family was Dridhaprahara, the son of Subahu. His capital is named as Shrinagara in the *Vratakhanda* of Hemadri, while, from an early inscription it appears to have been Chandradityapura, which has been identified with modern Chandor in the Nasik district. His son and successor was Seunachandra I, from whom the country ruled came to be known as Seunadesha. It corresponds to modern Khandesh. It comprised the country from Nasik to Devagiri.

Bhillama II, an early Yadava king, assisted Tailapa of the Later Chalukya family in his war with Munja. Seunachandra II, a later member of this family, is said to have saved Vikramaditya VI from a coalition of his enemies and placed him on the throne of Kalyani. Bhillama V of this family made a bid for paramount power in the Deccan. He led victorious expeditions against the Hoysalas, the Paramaras and the Chalukyas and made himself master of the whole country north of the Krishna. He then founded the city of Devagiri, modern Daulatabad, and made it his capital. Thereafter, the Yadavas ruled from that city.

Bhillama V's son Jaitugi or Jaitrapala killed Rudradeva of the Kakatiya family on the field of battle and released his nephew whom he had put into prison. Under Jaitugi's son Singhana the power of the family greatly increased. We get considerable information about his victories from the stone inscriptions of his General Kholesvara at Ambejogai in the Bid district.¹

Krishna was succeeded by his brother Mahadeva. From the recently discovered Kalegaon plates we know the exact date of his coronation as the 29th August A.D. 1261. The most noteworthy event of his reign was the annexation of North Konkan after the defeat of Someshvara of the Shilahara dynasty. Mahadeva left the throne to his son Amana

¹ Khare, *Sources of the Mediaeval History of the Deccan* (Marathi), Vol. I, p. 55 f.

but the latter was soon deposed by Krishna's son Ramchandra, who captured the impregnable fort by means of a *coup d'état*. Ramchandra won several victories as stated in the Purushottampuri plates dated in the *shaka* year 1232 (A.D. 1310).

In A.D. 1294 Ala-ud-din Khilji invaded the kingdom of Ramchandra and suddenly appeared before the gates of Devagiri. Ramchandra was taken unawares and could not hold out long. He had to pay a heavy ransom to the Muslim conqueror. He continued, however, to rule till A.D. 1310 at least; for the aforementioned Purushottampuri plates are dated in that year. He was succeeded by his son Shankaragana sometime in A.D. 1311. He discontinued sending the stipulated tribute to Delhi. He was then defeated and slain by Malik Kafur. Sometime thereafter Harapaladeva, the son-in-law of Ramchandra, raised an insurrection and drove out the Muhammedans, but his success was short-lived. The Hindu kingdom of Devagiri thus came to an end in A.D. 1318.

Like their illustrious predecessors, the Yadavas also extended liberal patronage to art and literature. During their rule a peculiar style of architecture called *Hemadpanti* after Hemadri or Hemadpant, a minister of Mahadeva and Ramchandra, came into vogue. Temples built in this style are found in Bombay also.

MEDIAEVAL PERIOD*

The history of Bombay for well over a century after the fall of the Yadavas of Devagiri is very dim by reason of the scantiness of historical materials. Marco Polo tells us that in his days Thane had a king of her own, who owed allegiance to none, but had a mutual understanding with the pirates who infested the neighbouring seas. Friar Odoric adds that by his time (A.D. 1322) Thane had fallen into the hands of the Muslims, while Ferishta records that by A.D. 1429 the seat of Government had been transferred from Thane to Bombay-Mahim. Now a glance at the map will show that this last change, which decided for all time the future of Bombay, must have been made for purposes of defence by a ruler who found Thane too exposed for his capital and who at the same time feared no attack from the western sea. He might well have been Marco Polo's king of Thane, but local tradition places him at the end of the 13th century and avers that his name was Bimb. Of his history there are at least three versions, differing in detail, while on particular points we have as many as six or more varying statements. None of the three versions is older in language than the 17th century; but the most coherent of them purports to have been drawn up at a great meeting held at

* The portion from Mediaeval Period upto British Period is contributed by Dr. B. G. Kunte, M.A., Ph.D. (Economics), Ph.D. (History), former Executive Editor and Secretary. The matter is however mostly borrowed from the *Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island, Vol. II, 1909*.

Mhalsapuri Jogeshwari in *Vikrama Samvat* 1505 in order to preserve the traditional lore of the Konkan castes. In all probability the date of the meeting is a *shaka* date equivalent to A.D. 1583; for in the first place the *shaka*, and not the *Vikrama* era was in use in the Konkan at this period; secondly such a meeting would be a natural incident of the Hindu revival of the 16th century, while it is much less likely to have taken place one hundred and thirty-five years earlier, before the days of Eknath; and thirdly it was laid down that Bimb lived just 300 years before the meeting and to date him back *Vikrama Samvat* 1205 would be to locate him within the Shilahara period.

The precise identity of Bimb has been lost behind the curtains of time. He is said to have been a Suryavanshi Kshatriya like his followers, the Pathare Prabhus, a fact which forbids our connecting him, as previous writers have done, with either the Solankis of Anahilvada or the Yadavas of Devagiri. Then again he may be said to rival Homer in the variety of places which claim to have been his father-land. Kanoj, Gorakhpur, Udaipur, Anahilvada, Champaner and Paithan are each mentioned as his place of origin; and by their very number lead one to infer that the traditionary tale of his coming has been much embroidered. A reasonably probable supposition seems to be that he was simply a leading member of the Pathare Prabhu caste, which, as has been mentioned above, had already held high office during the Shilahara period and which had ample opportunity of setting up a kingdom of its own in the confusion that followed the Muhammedan invasion of the Deccan. The *Bimbakhyana* certainly includes matter drawn from Shilahara history and legends from other sources, but to decide how much of it represents genuine fourteenth century history is now practically impossible. The chief actors in the drama are more or less definitely fixed, but the role they sustain in the different versions varies enormously. On the Hindu side we have Bimb of Mahim with his sire and his son and Nagarshah of Chaul with his son; while on the Muhammedan side the spectres of Ala-ud-din, Nika Malik and Bahadur Shah stalk across the proscenium and vanish behind the coulisses in most bewildering fashion. Yet with all this conflict of testimony one must in the end accept the fact that a king named Bimb ruled in Salsette about A.D. 1300, that he made Mahim in Bombay his capital and granted various offices and rent free lands to his followers. On the other hand we have good cause for holding that the settlement in the Konkan of Pathare Prabhus, Yajurvedi Brahmans, and other classes who now claim to have journeyed thither in the wake of Bimb was a gradual process which lasted throughout the Shilahara period and that Bimb's rise to prominence occurred at the end rather than at the commencement of that protracted immigration.

Whoever Bimb may have been, he left an ineradicable seal upon Bombay. He found Mahim a desert island, washed by the waters of the

western sea and sparsely-peopled by families of Koli fishermen and other low-castes and there he built a city which he called Mahikavati, whence the name Mahi or Mahim has been derived. There too he built his palace and a great temple to his family goddess Prabhadevi, nor forbore to set up a court of justice or hall of audience in the area now known to us as Naigaum. The palaces have vanished utterly.

It is also very difficult to locate the site where Bimb once listened to the petitions of his people, though about a 100 years back it was the country house of a Bhatia Maharaj the one visible legacy of his rule was a rude black stone, to which, as representing his spirit, the descendants of the people, over whom he once ruled, made occasional offerings of milk, butter and fruits. Yet these scattered traditions, these magical devotions of the residents of our modern city serve together to establish the salient fact, which no criticism can shake, that Bimb the misty king was the indisputable founder of Bombay.

Edwardes in his book *The Rise of Bombay* has given the following account of Bimba :—

“Now the story of events subsequent to the victory of Alla-ud-din forms a most important portion of the history of our island. It is universally acknowledged that, after the defeat of Ramdev, a certain Bimba or Bhima Raja established himself as ruler of the North Konkan, and colonised the islands of Bombay : and our first duty is to try and discover the identity of a man who was the pioneer in the task of raising Bombay above the level of a mere fishing hamlet.

“An old poem, the *Bimbakhyan*, relates that king Bimbadev came to the Konkan by way of Anahilvada in the *shaka* year 1216, that is 1294 A.D., and halted upon the island of Mahim, which he found almost uninhabited. So charmed was he with the scenery of the island, that he caused a royal palace to be built there, and also houses for the accommodation of the royal guests and others, who had accompanied him to the Konkan through fear of the Muslim invaders of Devagiri and Anahilwada : with him there came from Paithan, Champaner and other places, 9 families of Yajurvedi Brahmins of the Madhyandin Shakha and 66 other families, that is to say, 27 *Kulas* or families of the Somavanshis, 12 of Suryavanshis, 9 of Sheshavanshis, 5 of Panchal, 7 of Kunbis or Agris, 1 family of Dasa Lad, 1 of Visa Lad, 1 of Moda, 1 of Dasa Moda and 1 of Visa Moda. Such is, in brief, the teaching of the old Marathi account of the advent of Bimbashah, in which the dates given are inaccurate, and the statements are occasionally so very conflicting that unless corroborated by independent evidence, they can scarcely be accepted for the purposes of history.

“Now some authorities, notably the late Dr. Gerson da Cunha, believe that the Bimbadev or Bimb Raja here mentioned was identical with

one of the Bhima Rajas of the Chalukya (Solanki) dynasty, which reigned at Anahilvada in Gujarat; and Dr. da Cunha further observes in his *Origin of Bombay* that Bhim Raja of Gujarat after his defeat by Mahomed of Gazni at Somnath in the year A.D. 1024, “fled from his country, and, to make up for the loss in the north, marched with his colony from Patan into the south and settled at Mahim.

“But it is a well-known historical fact that, immediately after Mahomed of Gazni had departed with his army, Bhima Raja returned to his country of Anahilvada, and in virtue of his devotion to Somnath of Prabhasa, caused the temple of Somnath to be built of stones in lieu of the former wooden temple which Mahomed had destroyed, that he later sent an army against and subdued the chief of Abu, and that he reigned at Anahilvada till his death in the year A.D. 1064.

“Again, the authors of *Prabandha Chintamani* and *Dvyashraya* Jain chronicles of Gujarat, have recorded the most minute details of the reigns of the Chalukya kings of Anahilvada and had the conquest and colonisation of Mahim or the Konkan by this Bhima Raja and his Gujarat followers actually taken place, they would scarcely have omitted to chronicle so important an event. At the hour of Mahomed's invasion, the Konkan province was under the sway of the Shilaharas; and a copper-plate grant, dated *shaka* 948; which is A.D. 1025, shows that Chitaraj was then lord of the 1,400 Konkan villages, that Puri and Hamjaman were his chief cities, and that the taluka of Shashashti or Salsette formed part of his possessions. On the other hand, there is no record whatever that any king of the Solanki house of Gujarat ruled over the North Konkan; and this is natural, considering that Kumarpal, who defeated Mallikarjun through his general Ambada, was the only monarch of that dynasty who ever successfully invaded this country. It is indisputable that the Shilahara monarchs ruled these lands until A.D. 1260, and then yielded place, to the Yadavas of Devagiri.

“Thirdly, Bhima Raja II, who reigned in Anahilvada from 1179 to 1242 A.D., was so weak a man that he earned the sobriquet of ‘Bholo’, the simpleton; and the only reference made to him by the Gujarat chronicles shows that ‘his kingdom was gradually divided among his powerful ministers and provincial chiefs’. Was this the man to colonise Mahim, to wrest the sovereignty of the North Konkan from powerful Shilahara rulers like Aparaditya and his successor Keshidev? We think not.

“But who then was Bhimdev, who, according to old Marathi and Persian records, now in the possession of the family of the late Sirdesai of Malad, seized the North Konkan, made Mahi or Mahim (Bombay) the capital of his kingdom, and divided the country into 15 *mahals* or districts, comprising 1,624 villages?”*

* S. M. Edwardes, *Rise of Bombay : A Retrospect* (Bombay, 1902), pp. 22-25.

"Bimbashah, hearing of the defeat of his father Ramadev of Devagiri by Alla-ud-din, fled with the Rajguru Purushottam Pant Kavle and eleven *umraos* by the shore of the sea, and took possession of the fort of Parner, and of Bardi, Sanjan, Daman, Shirgaon and other places. He thus obtained all the territory from Parner to Astagar. He came unto Mahi (Mahim in Bombay), and divided the country into 12 parts, giving the province of Malad and some villages from the province of Pahad unto the Rajguru Kavle. The *Bimbakhyan* also records that the king gave the village of Pahad to the Raj-purohit Kavle, and the village of Paspavli to the *Senadhipati* and *Kulguru* Gangadhar Pant Nayak.

"Now, as Mr. Fleet's *Kanarese Dynasties* proves, the Nayak family was in high favour with the Devagiri monarchy, for in A.D. 1272 *Mahapradhan* Achyut Nayak was Ramdev's viceroy in the province of Salsette.

"Secondly, there is in existence a Persian patent, bearing the seal of Mahomed Dalil, *Diwan* of Sultan Ala-ud-din of Bedar and dated the first year of the accession to the throne, that is about the year 1436, A.D., which shows that 'in the *Shalivahan era* 1212 (1290 A.D.) Raja Bimbashah, having taken the ownership and possession of the country from the hands of 'Karson', kept it for himself. The country contains fourteen *parganas* from the jurisdiction of Saratbhata to the limits of Daman. At the same time, the office of *Sirdesai* and *Sirdeshpande* was under the control of Govind Mitkari. The said Mitkari lived for 3 years in the reign of Raja Bimbashah'.

"From the early history of the Deccan, we already know that in the *Shalivahan Shaka* 1212, a Brahmin named Krishna of the *Bharadvaja Gotra* was the viceroy of king Ramdev in the North Konkan; and we cannot help being convinced that the 'Karson' of the patent from whom Raja Bimb took possession, was identical with that Krishna.

"Lastly, a *Danapatra*, or grant of the rights of *Sirdesai* and *Sirdeshpande*, made by king Bimbdev to his Rajguru Purushottam Kavle in the *Shaka* year 1221 (A.D. 1299), shows that the province of the Konkan contained 14 *parganas* or districts, and 2 *kasbas* or sub-districts, and that the island of Mahim (Bombay) was called a *pargana* containing 7 hamlets. It further states that 'In the month of *Magh Shaka* 1220 (A.D. 1298) *Maharajadhiraja* Bimbshah purchased from Changuanabai, widow of Govind Mitkari, the *watan* of *Sirdesai* and *Sirdeshpande* in the provinces of Malad, etc., for 24,000 *rayats*, and after keeping it in his possession for one year and three months, presented it as a religious offering to his spiritual guide Purushottam Kavle of the *Bharadvaja Gotra*, on the occasion of a Solar Eclipse in the dark half of the month *Vaishakh* in the *Shaka* year 1221 (A.D. 1299), and in the presence of an assembly consisting of the

prime minister Madhavrao Shrinivas, Chitnavis Chandrabhan Prabhu, Patangrao Nyayadhish and others, merchants, mahajans and jamindars."¹

"The above evidence leads us to the conclusion that King Bhimdev, who died in the *Shaka* year 1225 (A.D. 1303), was succeeded by his son Pratapbimba or Pratapshah, was none other than Bhima Raja, the second son of king Ramdev of Devagiri. It was a common custom among Hindu princes whenever they found their lives or Kingdom in danger, to send to a place of safety a scion of the royal house, in order that the *vansha* or royal line might not become extinct; and it seems to us probable that Ramdev, seeing his other son Shankar overpowered, and being surrounded by the advancing army of Ala-ud-din, took the precaution of despatching his second son Bhimdev to the Konkan, which had upto that date been free from Muslim attack, and was indeed in the guardianship of Krishna, a viceroy of his own choosing.

"With the advent of Bhimdev and his followers begins the history of the growth and colonisation of Bombay. The island of Mahim upon which he settled, had, previous to his arrival, been known as 'Mewale' or 'Baradbet' (the desert island); one of a group of isles, sparsely peopled by families of Koli fishermen and other low castes, overgrown with *babul* trees, and dowered with a fine temple of Walkeshwar and a shrine of the ancient goddess Mumbadevi. Here Bhimdev stayed and built a fair city of temples and palaces, for himself and his followers, which he called 'Mahikavati' (Mahim). Those that accompanied him upon his journey belonged, according to legend, to four main classes who spread themselves over the face of the Heptanesia, thrived, multiplied, traded and withal led so peaceful an existence, that men from other countries, both Brahmins and traders, came thither also, seeking the shelter of Bhima's rule."²

"The traditions of the Prabhus, Panchkalshis, and their priests, the Palshikar Brahmins, distinctly favour the theory that they came from Palthan with King Bhimdev, the son of Ramdev, Raja of Devagiri, at a time when the city of Devagiri was besieged by Ala-ud-din Khilji, emperor of Delhi; and their view finds support in the old Marathi and Persian records which some of them possess.

"It remains to notice any impressions left upon our island to this day by Bhimdev's Hegira. The aboriginal settlers had formed hut-settlements within her limits and raised rude shrines to Khadakadev; the Shilaharas had built new temples and taught the Koli and Agri customs of a higher order; the immigrants from Devagiri built a capital city, introduced cultivation, built more temples, and made our islands the headquarters of a kingdom. Previously, Bombay had been merely an appendage of

¹ S. M. Edwardes, *Rise of Bombay: A Retrospect* (Bombay, 1902), pp. 25-27.

² *Ibid.* pp. 25-28.

'Puri'; Bhimdev deserted Puri and raised Bombay to the position of a capital under the title of Mahikavati or Mahim.

"Among the most noteworthy legacies of his rule were the special privileges or rights, which many of the castes that came with him enjoyed till quite a recent date.

"Again, there is to this day in the village of Naigaon, which lies between Vadala and Parel, a spot known to the villagers as 'Bhima Raja's Wadi'. At present the place is occupied by the *Arshe Mahal* or Mirror Palace of Jivanlal Maharaj; but local tradition, prevalent among the descendants of Bhim Raja's followers, declares that here stood of old one of the two palaces, built by that king, the principal seat of *nyaya* or justice. The second palace was at Kheda, Lower Mahim. Now hard by the halls of justice were quarters reserved for the use of the *Raj-guru* or royal preceptor, and other *Brahmin* followers, which earned the title of *Brahman Ali* or *Baman-Ali* the street of the *Brahmins*. This is the origin of the name Bamnoli, which clings to the spot unto this day.

"Those well-known names 'Thakurvadi' and 'Bhoivadi' also date from this epoch; for the Thakurs, Bhoirs, and Gawands were three recognised divisions among the lower classes of Bhimdev's retinue. The Thakurs were the petty officers of his army; the Bhoirs or Bhois were his palanquin bearers; and both have left the legacy of their name of the locality in which they made their home.

"The memory of Bhima Raja the Good, the benefactor of Bombay, has not entirely departed from among the children of men. The villagers have defied, and still worship him; for in that Oart, called by them *Bhima Raja's wadi* and by others the *Arshe Mahal*, the descendants of old Bhois and Thakurs have set up a black stone, representative of the king, besmeared with red ochre and adorned with flowers, to which they offer, at certain seasons, milk, butter, fruits, and even goats and fowls. Till quite a recent date, an annual *jatra* or fair, at which animals were sacrificed, was held in his honour; but the new *Maharaja*, owner of the Oart, a strict *Vaishnav*, forbade the custom, advising the people that the feeding of Brahmins was a surer method of pacifying Bhima Raja's spirit than the slaughter of dumb creatures. We like the idea, prevalent among the uncultured denizens of Parel, that the spirit of the old monarch still haunts, still watches over, the lands for which he did so much and upon which he set an ineradicable seal.

"In the *Shaka* year 1225 (A.D. 1303) King Bhimdev died, and was succeeded by his son Pratapbimba, as he is sometimes called. Nothing of importance is known or recorded of him, save that he built another capital city at Marol in Salsette, which he named Pratappur. The name of the city still lives as Pardapur or Parjapur, a deserted village near the centre of Salsette.

"In the year 1318 A.D., after the reduction of Devagiri and the defeat and death of Harpaldev, son-in-law of the Yadava monarch Ramdev, Mubarak, the emperor of Delhi, ordered his garrisons to be extended to the sea, and occupied Mahim and Salsette. But Muhammedan supremacy was probably not firmly established till later; for old Marathi records show that Pratapshah reigned for 28 years, that is, till A.D. 1331, when he was slain, and his kingdom usurped, by his brother-in-law Nagardev, the chief of Cheul.

"Nagardev reigned for 17 years, that is, till the year 1348, when his dominions passed into the hands of the Muslim rulers of Gujarat; and thus came to an end the sovereignty of old Hindu kings over the island of Bombay and its dependencies."*

MUHAMMEDAN PERIOD

The so-called Muhammedan period of Bombay's history is greatly lacking in historical material, in consequence chiefly of the fact that Mahim was merely one of the military out-posts of a mainland monarchy and possessed no political independence. As stated earlier local tradition affirms that Bimb died about the beginning of the 14th century, and yielded the throne to his son Pratapdev, who was ousted and slain about thirty years later by Nagardev, the chief of Cheul, and it was apparently during the rule of Bimb or his immediate successor that the Muslims first set covetous eyes upon Bombay. For in A.D. 1318 Mubarak Shah I of Gujarat, who ruled from 1317 to 1320 A.D. ordered his out-posts to be extended to the sea and occupied Mahim (Bombay) and Salsette. The considerable Muhammedan population resident in the coast towns of the Konkan might have helped towards the success of that policy of empire which for a short season guided the actions of the Sultan; but general acceptance of Muslim domination was largely imperilled by their wrong policies and actions, which resulted in Bombay in the destruction of the old temples of Mumbadevi and Mahalakshmi. Apparently however by A.D. 1322 the Muhammedans had conquered Thane and the surrounding country, including Mahim; for Friars Jordanus and Odoric, who sojourned in Thane from A.D. 1321 to 1324, remarked that the Saracens hold the whole country, having lately usurped the dominion. They have destroyed an infinite number of idol temples, likewise many churches of which they have annexed the endowments. According to their account, the headquarters of the kingdom was at Thane which was governed by a *malik* or commandant and by a *kazi* or civil official. The country was well stocked with big game, notably black lions (probably the black Javan panther) and the rhinoceros.

* S. M. Edwardes, *Rise of Bombay: A Retrospect* (Bombay, 1902), pp. 33-36.

So far as can be gathered from local legend and external history, Mubarak Shah's possession of Bombay was never firmly established; and during the reign of Muhammad Tughalak (A.D. 1325-50), when the risings in Gujarat and the Deccan left the emperor no leisure to defend small outlying dependencies, Bombay seems to have again reverted to a Hindu overlord. The *Bimbakhyān* relates that in A.D. 1347 Nāgardev, who had slain Pratapdev, was ruling over Salsette and Mahim, and that in consequence of the evil practices of his favourite Jaichuri and the degradation of one of his *sardars*, Natharao Sindha Bhongle, a revolution took place which ended in that year in the final overthrow of Hindu dominion. For the discontented *sardar* fled to Vadnagar in Gujarat and besought the Musalman ruler of that place, who was probably one of the *amiran-i-Sadah* or centurions of the Delhi *sultan*, to turn his arms against the Northern Konkan. An army accordingly set forth under Nika Malik, one wing of which attacked Pratappur in Salsette, a second marched against Thane, and a third laid siege to Mahikavati (Mahim) which in the absence of Nāgardev was courageously defended for a time by his queen and a small body of retainers. The struggle was however hopeless; the queen was slain, the city looted; and finally a pitched battle was fought at Byculla between the Muslim host and the forces of Nāgardev, in which the former proved victorious. Bombay thus became for the second time subject to the Muhammedans; garrisons were set up in different places; while Nika Malik and another Musalman officer fixed upon Pratappur and Vasai as their respective headquarters.

Upto the close of the 14th century, little is heard of Bombay except the fact that Mahim witnessed the birth of Sheikh Ali Paru or as he was afterwards styled Makhdum Fakir Ali (the worshipful jurisconsult Ali). But shortly after the establishment of the Gujarat Sultanate, Jafar Khan (afterwards Muzaffar Shah I) was appointed viceroy of the north Konkan by Firoz Shah. On his first arrival Jafar Khan found two governors, one of Mahim and the other of Navasari, who had been appointed by the Khilji generals; and these officials of the Delhi monarchy were very shortly removed in favour of men more directly subordinate to the newly founded dynasty of Gujarat. Thus during the reign of Sultan Ahmad, one Malik-us-Sharq, a Gujarat noble of renown, was posted for some years at Mahim, and in addition to instituting a proper survey of the land, did much to improve the existing revenue system. About the same period also occurred, according to traditional accounts, the rebellion of the Bhongles, who are supposed to have been Bhandari *sardars* and who, by exciting disaffection among the subjects of the Ahmedabad *sultan*, are alleged to have ousted the Muhammedan garrison from Mahim. Beyond the statements in the *Bimbakhyān* to the effect that the Bhongles were masters of Mahim and its dependencies for at least eight years and that their corrupt administration eventually

brought about their downfall, we have absolutely no evidence of this event. It is however unquestionable that the Bhandari population of Mahim and Bombay at this date was considerable, that many of them followed the profession of arms, that to this day Bhongle is in use as a surname among the Bhandaris, and that at the outset of British dominion the Bhandaris, under the name of Bhongles, possessed the right to blow the bugle as a signal of the opening of the quarter sessions and were vested with certain privileges at public pageants. It may therefore be inferred that some revolt against Muhammedan rule, in which the Bhandaris played a leading part, took place about the close of the 14th century and resulted in the temporary eclipse of the overlordship of the Ahmedabad *sultans*.

Mahim however did not long remain independent. Mahim at that time was held by Rai Qutb. It is related that the daughter of the Rai of Mahim was given in marriage to Prince Fateh Khan, the son of Ahmad Shah of Gujarat. This Rai Qutb was probably one of the petty local princes, formerly rulers of Mahim who had embraced Islam and had been allowed by Gujarat rulers to retain a modified independence under them. On the death of Rai Qutb Sultan Ahmad Bahamani of the Deccan despatched an army under Khalaf Hasan Basri to subjugate the north Konkan and oust all contumacious local chieftains, which succeeded in capturing Salsette and Mahim. Hearing of this event the Gujarat *sultan* at once sent his son Jafar Khan with a well appointed force to recapture the lost territory. An obstinate battle was fought on the shores of one of the island creeks between the forces of Jafar Khan and the army of the Deccan monarch, which had been reinforced by the arrival of a fresh army under Prince Ala-ud-din Bahamani. The Gujarat army won a complete victory, routing their opponents with the loss of 2,000 men and 2 nobles and capturing Husain, the brother of the Deccan general. Notwithstanding this defeat, the Bahamani *sultan* determined not to relinquish any chance of adding the north Konkan to his possessions; and when a few years later Kutb Khan, the Gujarat commandant of Mahim, died, he again despatched a large army under Malik-ul-Tujjar against Thane and Bombay. Thereupon the Gujarat king sent down a strong force under his son and one Iftikhar-ul-mulk, to stem the tide of Deccani invasion and also bade Mukhlis-ul-mulk, head of the Gujarat naval depot at Diu, aid them with a maritime armament. Collecting seventeen war-ships from Diu, Gogha and Cambay, Mukhlis-ul-mulk hastily joined the Gujarat leaders at Mahim and arranged them with them for a simultaneous attack upon Thane by land and sea. Operations commenced with an attack by Malik Sohrab upon the town which was garrisoned by a large Deccani force under a *kotwal*. The latter held out bravely for three days; and then, seeing the Gujarat forces daily reinforced and little chance of further aid to himself, he evacuated Thane and fled.

This action and the consequent occupation of the town by the Gujarat army forced Malik-ul-Tujjar to retreat to Mahim, pursued by the Gujarat prince, Jafar Khan. Malik-ul-Tujjar threw up on all sides of the island a stockade of thorn trees and martialled his forces for the enemy's onslaught. The struggle which ensued was fiercely waged and lasted till evening fell, when Malik-ul-Tujjar, considering further opposition useless, retired from the field. He subsequently made two fresh attempts to regain possession of Mahim, but discovered that the power of the Gujarat Sultan was too firmly grounded to offer any chance of success and that the latter had considerably strengthened his position by arranging in A.D. 1432 for his son to marry the daughter of the tributary Rai of Mahim.

Some years ago this struggle between the Ahmedabad and Bahamani monarchies on the shores of Bombay received somewhat curious corroboration. The sea, which has ever been encroaching upon the Mahim shore, washed away a considerable piece of land near the shrine of Sheik Ali Paru and thereby disclosed amid the strata of the beach numbers of bodies interred layer upon layer and in varying stages of preservation. These are supposed to have been the corpses of the men who fell in the battle above-mentioned, and have been responsible for the name Ganj-i-Shahidan or Catacomb by which the spot is known in common parlance to this day.

During the greater portion of the 15th century, from the reign of Ahmad Shah (1411-41) to that of Bahadur Shah (1527-36) Bombay remained in the hands of the Gujarat monarchy. However, the first signal of opposition was raised by Bahadur Khan Gilani. During the years 1491 to 1494 the Sultan's attention was drawn by the piracies on the Gujarat coast of Bahadur Gilani, a nobleman of the Bahamani kingdom in revolt against his master. The greatness of this monarchy came to an end with the unjust and cruel murder of the celebrated minister Mahmud Gavan, and Bahadur, who had been a protege of that minister, broke out in rebellion at the port of Dabhol and soon became master of the whole of the Konkan. He extended his depredations on the coast further to the north so that ships from the port-towns of Gujarat were at his mercy and some of the Sultan's own vessels were captured. One of Bahadur's officers, an Abyssinian named Yaqut, is said by Ferishta to have attacked Mahim, near Bombay, with a fleet of twelve ships, and to have sacked and burnt the place. These insults to his authority were not likely to be tolerated by a ruler so powerful as Mahmud and he decided to take strong action.

Mahmud's expedition to the Konkan : It appears that one expedition sent under Safdar Khan failed disastrously, and the Sultan sent another by land against Dabhol under Malik Sarang, Kiwam-ul-Mulk, while he also despatched a well equipped fleet of three hundred vessels

by sea to co-operate with the land army. When Kiwam-ul-Mulk reached the borders of Gujarat at Agashi and Vasai he halted and sent word to the king that he could not attack Gilani without trespassing into the territory of the Deccan ruler. Meanwhile, the ships sent under Safdar-ul-Mulk had met with a severe gale off the coast of Mahim, and being stranded, were taken by the enemy, the admiral himself being made a prisoner. Sultan Mahmud now sent an envoy to the court of the Deccan sovereign requesting him to suppress the marauder. This formal complaint roused the feeble Bahamani government to action, and Qasim Barid, its minister, led a campaign against the rebellious nobleman with the result that, after some protracted operations, Gilani was defeated and slain. Safdar-ul-Mulk was released from prison and the ships which had been captured on the Gujarat coast were restored to their owners. The admiral sailed from Mahim for the north carrying valuable gifts for the Gujarat Sultan from the feeble Bahamani ruler. It may be stated here that in 1490 Malik Ahmad, established the Nizamshahi dynasty of Ahmadnagar, and Yusuf Adil Khan, another Bahamani noble, founded the Adilshahi house of Bijapur. It was not long before these young and vigorous powers began to assail the outlying possessions of the Gujarat Sultanate. The Nizamshahi ruler obtained peaceful possession of Danda-Rajapur and other portions of the north Konkan in A.D. 1490. Subsequent to this event the power of the Bahamani dynasty gradually waned, and their possessions in the Konkan were divided between the rulers of Ahmadnagar and Bijapur.

The reign of Sultan Mahmud Begada witnessed certain events which were destined to exercise a powerful influence over Bombay. The *Mirat-i-Sikandari* mentions an attack by the Sultan upon certain *firangis* who had created great disturbances in Mahim. These were undoubtedly the Portuguese who were just commencing to consolidate their power in Bombay, Salsette and Vasai. Mahmud's expedition was of little use for by the time his forces reached Dahanu news was brought that Malik Ayaz, his slave-admiral, had defeated the Portuguese near Bombay, sinking one of their largest vessels and killing nearly 20,000 men. In this war with the Portuguese the Egyptians had cooperated with the Gujarat Navy.

Muslim naval victory at Cheul, 1508 : The Portuguese forces in India were at this time under the command of their first viceroy Francisco D'Almedia, and he was ably assisted by his gallant and popular son Lorenzo, whose exploits resembled those of the heroes of mediaeval romance. When Lorenzo was lying in shelter with a small squadron in the harbour of Cheul, south of Bombay, news reached him that the Egyptian fleet had reached Diu and had been joined by Malik Ayaz. The combined flotilla soon arrived off the bar at Cheul, where took place,

in January, 1508, the first great naval battle in the heroic struggle between Portugal and Islam. After a running fight extending over three days, Dom Lorenzo's ship became entangled in a line of fishermen's stakes and was surrounded by a number of the light Gujarat *fustas*. The young captain refused to escape and fought on till a shot broke both his legs, and he died shortly after, telling his men to surrender to Malik Ayaz and not to the Egyptian admiral. The effect of this victory upon the Portuguese was but temporary; for from A.D. 1537, when Sultan Bahadur of Gujarat died, they gradually consolidated their predominance in all the ports of the western coast from Diu to Goa, being assisted to no little extent by the internecine dissensions which broke out among the nobles of Gujarat. By A.D. 1572 the old Sultanate of Gujarat disappeared, yielding place to the Mughal dynasty of Delhi under whose greatest representative Akbar, the Portuguese were finally enabled to establish their power in Bombay and the north Konkan.

It will be apparent that the history of the island of Bombay during the era of Muslim supremacy is somewhat indefinite. The salient fact of the period is that Mahim served purely as a military out-post, for the possession of which the forces of the great mainland monarchies on several occasions bared their swords; and in all probability the internal administration of Bombay and the surrounding country was vested in tributary Hindu *rais* or chieftains, such as the Rai of Mahim whose daughter was betrothed to a prince of the Gujarat Musalman dynasty in A.D. 1432, or the Rai of Bhiwandi who, according to an inscription of A.D. 1464, was in the habit of making grants of land to the people in his charge. The sole legacies of Musalman dominion and immigration are firstly the shrine of Saint Makhdum Fakih Ali at Mahim and secondly the community of half-Arab half-Hindu Muhammedans who, formerly known as Naitias, are now styled Konkanis. It was not till after the establishment of British supremacy that the bulk of the Muhammedan population, Khojas, Bohras, Pathans, Siddis, Julhais, Mughals and others, immigrated into Bombay and the mosques of the city were established, and it was not until A.D. 1818 that any Muhammedan writer appeared to point proudly to the island, lying midway between the islands of Salsette and Colaba, and say 'the best of all things are the middlemost'.

The one architectural legacy of early Muhammedan rule is the shrine of the Saint Makhdum Fakih Ali Paru, built upon the eastern side of the town of Mahim. The inner side of the dome, which rises above the shrine, is ornamented with an Arabic inscription in gilt, giving the name and dates of the birth and death of the saint. Southward thereof lies the grave of his mother and other kindred. During the rule of the Mughals (H. 1085, A.D. 1674), and shortly after Bombay had become a British

possession, the shrine was wholly repaired. To the north of the domed enclosure is a wooden mosque, near which stands a very ancient step-well, doubtless intended for the ablutions of the faithful. From the position of certain old graves and other mural structures, which are only revealed to view at low tide, it appears that the sea was originally at a far greater distance from the shrine than it is at present; and in all probability, at the hour when the Hindu Rai ruled the land under the eye of a military official of Gujarat, the island of Mahim covered a considerably wider area than in 1843, when Mr. Murphy prepared his chart of the seven islands of Bombay.

PORTUGUESE PERIOD

The third period of the history of Bombay rightly commences in 1534 with the cession of the island to the Portuguese by Sultan Bahadur of Gujarat. But for several years prior to this date, the Portuguese had been consolidating their power in the north Konkan and on more than one occasion had visited Bombay. In the latter half of December 1508, for example, Don Francisco D'Almeida, the first viceroy of Goa, set sail from Cannanore to Diu with a fleet of nineteen vessels and an army of 1,600 soldiers, of whom four hundred hailed from the Malabar coast, with the express object of punishing Mir Hosain (Amir Hussein), who had been despatched by the Sultan of Cairo with an Egyptian fleet to expel the Portuguese from India. Leaving Angediv, the Portuguese reached Dabhol, then a city of considerable wealth, on the 30th December, there disembarked, and dividing their forces into three parties, made a simultaneous attack upon the three gates of the city. Its defenders sustained the attack for sometime with great courage, but were eventually put to flight by Nuno Vaz Pereira, who under the viceroy's orders executed a flank movement and attacked the city in the rear. This action put an end to the engagement, which had lasted for five hours and resulted in a loss of sixteen men only on the Portuguese side and fifteen hundred on the side of the defenders. The booty seized by the Portuguese amounted to 1,50,000 ducats; but all looting on a large scale was prevented by the firing and speedy destruction of the city. Leaving Dabhol on the 5th January, 1509, the Portuguese paid their first visit to Bombay on the 21st January with the object of provisioning the fleet. They seized a Gujarat vessel, manned by twenty-four Moors (Muhammedans), in 'the river of Bombay' (i.e., the Bandora creek) and finding the cargo insufficient for their requirements they despatched some of the Muhammedans to the headman of the island, asking him to supply them with provisions for cash. Behind them the viceroy despatched some of his own men with instructions not to cause any unnecessary damage to the island; and they landing without molestation near Mahim fort captured twenty-four sheep and drove them down to the shore of the creek. In the meanwhile the

headman who had fled inland probably to Bombay proper, with most of the inhabitants of Mahim, despatched twelve bags of rice and a dozen goats to the viceroy, excusing himself from supplying anything else on the grounds that locusts had destroyed everything on the island. An alternative account is supplied by Gaspar Correa who remarks that "the viceroy departed from Dabhol, passed by Cheul, which, to avoid delay, he did not enter and cast anchor at Bombay, where the people terrified fled away. Our men captured many cows and some 'blacks', who were hiding among the bushes, and of whom the good were kept and the rest were killed. The viceroy happening to see a well-disposed black being carried away, ordered him to be set free, on condition of his taking an oath, according to his law, that he would convey a letter to Diu and deliver it to Malik Ayaz. The poor black, delighted at the prospect of freedom, consented; and the letter was delivered to Malik Ayaz twenty days before the arrival of the fleet".

The expedition then set sail for Diu and arrived on the 2nd February, 1509. Between 9 and 10 o'clock on the following morning a sharp engagement took place between the Portuguese and Malik Ayaz, who with Amir Hussein had prepared to resist the attack with a fleet of two hundred vessels. The Portuguese gained a complete victory; the ships of the Musalman were plundered; Amir Hussein was seriously wounded; and the colours of the 'Soldan' (Sultan) were despatched as trophy to Portugal. This success served but to intensify the desire of the Portuguese to build a fortress at Diu, and indirectly led to the despatch of two embassies, in 1513 and 1514, to Sultan Bahadur for the purpose of negotiating for a site. Owing to the action of Malik Ayaz, the embassies met with little success; but when the second, consisting of Diogo Fernandez, Diogo Teixeira and Ganapotam (Ganpatrao), a Hindu interpreter, conferred with the Sultan at Madoval (Ahmadabad), the island of Mahim (Bombay) was offered as an alternative site. This, however, the ambassadors refused on the ground that they were not authorized to accept any site but Diu. In 1517, during the viceroyalty of Dom Soares de Albergaria, Dom Joao de Monroyo entered the Bandora creek with seven pinnaces and defeated the commandant of Mahim. "Monroyo", writes Barras, "arrived at the river of Mahim, where he found a ship coming from the Red Sea with merchandise. The crew, to save themselves, entered the river and ran aground. They saved themselves with the best they had, and the rest was taken by our men, who carried all to Cheul. At this capture the commandant of Mahim, Xequi-ji (i.e. Sheikh-ji) was greatly affronted, not only by reason of the vessel having been captured before his eyes, but also because his fortress had been bombarded. On the departure of our men, he hastily despatched three pinnaces after them, to stop the passage at Cheul point. Having attacked our men, the latter behaved in such a manner that his pinnaces fled. Between 1522

and 1524, when Dom Duarte de Menezes was viceroy of Goa, the Portuguese were constantly prowling about Bombay for the ships of the Muhammedans and on one occasion drove Malik Ayaz and his fleet to take shelter in Bombay harbour; while in 1528-29 Lopo Vaz, with 40 ships, 1,000 Portuguese, and some native levies, overtook the Gujarat fleet near Bombay, destroyed half the enemy's ships, and captured many prisoners and much cannon and ammunition. He then seized Mahim fort belonging to the King of Cambay (Sultan of Gujarat) who was at war with Nizamuluko (Nizam-ul-mulk), the lord of Cheul, and handed it over to the latter. "The fleet of the king of Cambay", writes Gaspar Correa, "consisted of 68 pinnaces under the command of a son of Camalmaluko (Kamal Malik), governor and captain of Diu, and of Ali Shah. Lopo Vaz de Sampayo anchored off a small island, where the pinnaces of Ali Shah lay; and the latter then retreated with his rowing boats to the mouth of the Thana river and there cast anchor. During the night the governor sent Vincent Correa to spy upon the enemy. He saw all their boats drawn up at the landing-place, with the exception of two which kept watch at the mouth of the river. Ali Shah under cover of night sailed for the Nagothana river with twenty well-equipped galleons, having galleries at the stern adorned with pictures (i.e., texts from the *Koran*). Thither followed Lopo Vaz and ordered Heitor da Silveira to attack the enemy, which the latter successfully accomplished returning to the fleet with a prize of twenty-seven *fustas* (pinnaces). He then pursued the fugitive Ali Shah to a neighbouring fortress, pillaged the surrounding country and captured much artillery. To escape further annoyance, the *thanedar* of Thane made himself tributary to the Portuguese, and promised to pay them annually a sum of 2,000 *pardaos* (Rs. 750)." Heitor da Silveira then returned to Bombay harbour, where, according to Barros, he was received with great ovations; and when on the 20th March, 1529, the viceroy returned to Goa, Heitor was left behind with twenty *baigantins*, two galliots and three hundred men to harass the coast as far as Cambay. During the three months preceding the monsoon of 1529 Heitor da Silveira and his men made repeated incursions into Bombay and the neighbouring islands, and gave to Bombay the title of a *ilha da boa vida* (the island of the good life) in token of the abundant food and enjoyment which it supplied.

Bombay again came into prominence in connection with the attempt of the Portuguese to capture Diu in 1530-31. The commandant of the fort, having been deprived of his position by Sultan Bahadur, approached Nuno da Cunha, the viceroy of Goa, and suggested a joint attack upon the citadel. Nuno da Cunha agreed, furnished the commandant with a pass and with a fleet under the command of Gaspar Paes, and then set about preparations for an attack upon his own account. He collected

the largest fleet ever seen in India, consisting of four hundred sail, including many large ships, but mostly small vessels fitted out by natives, and held a grand naval review in the harbour of Bombay, and a general parade of all his forces upon the plain now known as the Esplanade, taking a roll from each captain of the Portuguese soldiers and sailors, and of the captive slaves who could fight and assist, and the number of musketeers and of the people such as servants. The muster showed the forces to consist of 3,600 soldiers and 1,460 seamen, all Portuguese; 2,000 men from Malabar and Kanara, 8,000 slaves, 5,000 native seamen and 3,000 musketeers. Including the women and children, the whole floating population amounted to more than 30,000 souls. The review ended, the fleet sailed to Daman, which was speedily captured, and thence to the island of Bete (Shial *Bet*) which surrendered after a stern struggle. Diu was also bombarded, but managed to withstand the siege; whereupon Nuno da Cunha retired to Goa, leaving Antonio Saldanha with sixty vessels to cruise in the Gulf of Cambay and harass the foe. In the months of March and April, 1531, Saldanha rapidly seized and burnt Mohuva, Gogha, Tarapur, Mahim, Agashi and Surat, while Diogo da Silveira plundered Thane, the *thanedar* of which had attempted to rid himself of the obligation to pay tribute to the Portuguese. In consequence of this success, and later of Nuno da Cunha's capture of Vasai in January, 1533, the islands of Bombay and Mahim together with Bandra became tributary to the foreigner.

Meanwhile Sultan Bahadur Shah of Gujarat had grown apprehensive of the power of the Mughal emperors, and observing the successes obtained by Portuguese arms, determined to enlist their aid. Accordingly in 1534 he despatched Xacoes (Shah Khawjeh) to Nuno da Cunha with an offer to hand over Vasai and all its dependencies and revenues by sea and land and on the 23rd December of that year the treaty of Vasai was signed on board the galleon *San Mateos*, under the terms of which Bahadur Shah gave and bequeathed to the King of Portugal from that day forth and for over the city of Vasai, its territories, islands and seas, with all its revenues, in the same way as he, Sultan Bahadur, King of Gujarat, held them before, provided that all vessels from the kingdom of Gujarat bound for the Red Sea should first call at Vasai for passes, and on return voyage call there again, in order to pay duties under penalty and risk of seizure.

The surrender of Vasai and Bombay was confirmed later by a treaty of peace and commerce between Bahadur Shah and Nuno da Cunha, dated the 25th October, 1535, whereby also the Portuguese were permitted to carry out the long desired work of building a fort at Diu. During the following ten years the Portuguese were constantly at war with Adil Khan, the Sultans of Gujarat, and the Zamorin of Calicut, while troubles also arose at Malacca and Diu was besieged by the Turks under Soleyman

Badshaw (Suleiman Pasha), governor of Cairo. The main result was the impoverishment of the Portuguese treasury and consequent inability on the part of Portugal to reward suitably the services of her distinguished servants. This lack of money was doubtless partly responsible for the granting of lands by the crown as rewards for meritorious actions, and for the rise of the feudal system of tenure, which characterized Bombay during the era of Portuguese dominion; although it should be noted at the same time that under the Sultans of Gujarat a system approximating the same time had been in force in Vasai, Salsette, Bombay and to the feudal had been in force in Vasai, Salsette, Bombay and neighbouring tracts. It appears in any case that from 1534 onwards Bombay was, for the purposes both of executive and judicial administration, subordinate to Vasai, and that all the territory of the Portuguese in the north Konkan was divided into manors or fiefs, the land being granted to deserving persons at a nominal rental of 4 to 10 per cent, and the leases being renewable either yearly, triennially, or in some cases for a period of one to three lives. For every distinguished services, and in cases where the grantees were religious confraternities, the lands were handed over in perpetuity. In return, the king of Portugal claimed military service from the tenant which might be commuted into a tax at the discretion of the authorities and the comptroller of the treasury. This system of tenure, which also laid upon the tenant an obligation to cultivate and improve the land, was known as *aforamento* (i.e., holding subject to the payment of *foro* or quit-rent); and side by side with it existed a minor tenure known as *arrendamento*, signifying the annual letting or renting of land for a fixed sum in cash or kind.

In the general distribution of estates which occurred after 1534, the island of Monbaym (Bombay proper) was let to one Mestre Diogo, as tenant or *foreiro*, for an annual quit-rent of 1,432½ pardaos (about Rs. 537-3-0), payable at the royal treasury in Vasai. The island or *kasba* of Mahim was similarly rented for 36,057 foedeas (Rs. 751-3-0), the Mando-vin, i.e., the *mandvi* or custom house of Mahim for 39,975 foedeas (Rs. 791-2-9), and the island of Mazagon for 8,500 foedeas (Rs. 178), while between 1545 and 1548, during the viceroyalty of D. Joao de Castro, the four villages of Parel, Vadala, Sion and Worli were granted to Manuel Serrao for an annual payment of 412 pardaos (Rs. 154-8-0), the villages of Trombay and Chembur to Dom Roque Tello de Menezes, Elephanta island to Joao Pirez for 105 pardaos (Rs. 39-6-0), and the revenue of the custom house at Walkeshwar to one Posagy for 60 foedeas (Rs. 1-4-0). It cannot be definitely stated for what period Mestre Diogo enjoyed the manorial rights of Bombay; but collateral evidence proves that in or about the year 1554 during the viceroyalty of Dom Pedro Mascarenhas, the island was granted to Garcia da Orta, the celebrated physician and botanist, for a yearly quit-rent equivalent to about £85 sterling. In his *colloquios dos Simplese Drogas da India* (conversations on the drugs

and simples of India) he himself speaks of Bombay as '*Mombaim*' terra eilha de que El Rei nosso senhor me fes merce, aforada em fatiota' (the island which the King has granted to me on payment of a quit-rent). Bombay apparently remained in his possession until his death in Goa in 1570, after which it appears to have been granted on the same tenure to several parties in succession, the last of whom was Donna Ignez de Miranda, widow of Dom Rodrigo de Moncanto.

Garcia da Orta was in all probability responsible for the building of the quinta or manor-house, which Fryer described in later years as a pretty well-seated but ill-fortified house and which Simao Botelhi recorded as being situated in a park with pleasure grounds, at the cacabe (*kasba*) of Bombaim, the principal seat of the island near the little fort. It was built sometime between 1528 and 1626; for in the latter year David Davies, the English navigator, who participated in the joint attack by the English and Dutch upon Bombay, referred to it in the following terms in the log-book of his ship *the Discovery*: "The 13th October we went into the Bay of Bombay and rode without the stakes. The 14th the Morris and the Dutch ships went in near the Great House to batter against it, in which battery three of the Morris ordnance split. The same day we landed 300 men, English and Dutch, and burnt all their *cadjan* houses and took the Great House with two basses (small cannon) of brass and one saker (heavy cannon) of iron. The 15th, all our men embarked aboard the ships, being Sunday in the evening, and left the Great House which was both a warehouse, a priory and a fort, all afire, burning with other good houses, together with two new frigates not yet from the stocks nor fully ended; but they had carried away all their treasure and all things of any value, for all were run away before our men landed. The chief products of the island during the sixteenth century were the cocoanut palm, brab, jack-tree, *jambul*, the *jangoma*, of which few specimens now exist, and mango-trees, one of which supplied the Lord of the Manor with fruit twice a year, once about Christmas, and again at the end of May. Cocoanuts and rice were the staple products of the island of Mahim; Mazagon and Sion were noted for their salt pans, while the numerous settlements of Kolis were responsible for a large supply of fish, which was dried upon the island and then forwarded to Vasai for sale to the Moors (Muhammedans). As regards the population of the island, Bombay appears to have been composed of seven villages subordinate to two *cacabas* (*kasbas*) or chief stations, at which customs-duty was levied. These villages were Mahim, Parel, Varella (Vadala) and Syva (Sion) under the *kasba* of Mahim, and Mazagon, Bombaim (Bombay), and Varel (Worli) under the *kasba* of Bombay.

In addition to these there were probably smaller hamlets, like Cavel, Colaba, Naigaon and Dongri, which had existed from the epoch of

Hindu colonization. Bombay itself was not very populous, for it contained some years later (1634) only eleven Portuguese families or married men (*cazados*) and some native blacks (*pretos naturaes*), making altogether seventy musketeers able to serve in war. The latter were probably of Koli or Bhandari caste. The Kolis formed perhaps the most numerous class at this date and dwelt in most parts of the island from Colaba in the south to Sion and Mahim in the north. Wearing then, as they still do, their distinctive emblem, a knife suspended round the neck, these aboriginal colonists subsisted mostly by fishing and agriculture, though a few may have been forced to relinquish these duties for that of palanquin-bearing, which formed the subject of many a petition and appeal during the earlier years of the British occupation. A smaller community was that of the Moors (Musalmans) who, according to Garcia da Orta, were solely engaged in maritime trade. "They possessed the land first" he writes, "and are called Naitias, which means mixed or made up first of the Moors who came from abroad and mixed themselves with the Gentiles (Hindus) of this land." A few Musalmans of less mixed descent may conceivably have been living in Mahim or Bombay; but the bulk of the followers of Islam clearly belonged to the Konkani Muhammedan community, whose Arab and Persian ancestors had taken unto themselves wives from among the Hindu inhabitants of the western coast. Then there were Kunbis and Agris (Curumbins), who cultivated the fields and sowed them with rice and all sorts of pulse; there were Malis, who tended the orchards and were styled *Hortelaos* by the Portuguese, and thirdly Piaes (*i.e.* peons) or men-at-arms, who were in all likelihood Bhandaris. In Mahim, Bombay and Parel dwelt Parus (*i.e.* Prabhus) who collect the rents of the King and of the inhabitants and their estates, and are also merchants; while of the three other communities mentioned by Garcia da Orta as resident in Vasai and its subordinate tracts, *viz.*, Baneanes (Baniyas), Coaris or Esparcis (Parsis) and Deres (*i.e.*, Dheds or Mahars) or Farazes, the last named must from the nature of their duties have been dwelling both in Bombay and Mahim. "They are a people despised and hated by all," wrote da Orta, "they do not touch others, they eat everything, even dead things. Each village gives them its leavings to eat. Their task is to cleanse the dirt from houses and streets." The Baniyas and Parsis on the other hand did not actually settle upon the island until after its cession to England by the Portuguese.

The history of the dominion of the Portuguese in Western India is to a large extent the tale of the foundation and growth of their religious orders; and it was not long before Bombay became acquainted with the latter. Shortly after 1534, during the episcopate of Dom Fr. Joao de Alphonso de Albuquerque, one Fr. Antonio de Porto, a Franciscan friar, set sail for Vasai and Bombay. One of the conditions of the Treaty of Vasai was that a sum of 5,000 *larins* (a Persian coin equal to about six

pence), which had hitherto been allocated to the mosques from the revenues of Vasai, should continue to be so applied; but so vigorously did Fr. Antonio and others set about the dissemination of their creed, that the king of Portugal eventually passed an order to utilize all funds of this nature for the benefit of missions in Bombay and Vasai. Besides converting about ten thousand natives in Vasai, Thane, Mandapeshwar and neighbouring places, the Franciscans built the church of St. Michael, which still exists in Mahim at the north end of Lady Jamshedji Road, and ranks as the oldest Franciscan building in Bombay. The keynote of Portuguese policy, indeed, is embodied in Vasco da Gama's famous remark "*Vimos buscar Christaos-e-especiaria*" (Welcome to seek Christians and spices) and they were slow to realize that the advancement of trade depended on the widest religious toleration as one of its principal factors. Had the Portuguese Government been able to restrain the troublesome and wanton acts of oppression which the religious orders practised under the cloak of proselytism the population and trade of Bombay and surrounding tracts would almost certainly have largely increased. But Bombay was early placed under the spiritual jurisdiction of the Vigario da Vara at Vasai and under his auspices the Franciscan mission was followed in 1542 by a Jesuit mission, the most notable member of which was St. Francis Xavier, and in 1548 by the Dominion order established in Goa in 1545 by one Diogo Bermudes, who constantly visited Bombay to confer with his friends Garcia da Orta. St. Francis Xavier lost no time in obtaining for the Jesuit order a share of the money which was formerly reserved for the benefit of the mosques, and by the year 1570 the Paulistines, as the Jesuits were styled, were resident in every town and village of Portuguese territory and had commenced building the church of St. Andrew at Bandra. Franciscan and Jesuit vied with one another in the erection of churches and the conversion of the inhabitants of Bombay. A chapel of Nossa Senhora de Bom Concelho was erected at Sion and affiliated to the church of St. Michael in 1596, and in the same year a church of Nossa Senhora de Salvacao was built at Dadar, both of which were built by the Franciscans and are still in existence. To the latter Fryer referred in 1673 in the words "at Salvason the Franciscans enjoy another church and convent" and the same order also owned the Romish chapel at Parel, which was confiscated from the Jesuits in 1719, and after serving as Government House and the residence of H.M. the King Emperor during his visit to Bombay in 1875, has finally been transformed into the Haffkine Institute.

By 1585 the Franciscans had obtained practical control of Salsette, Mahim, Bombay and Karanja islands in each of which places was a state-paid official styled '*O Pai dos Christaos*' and in addition to the churches mentioned above they had built one on the Esplanade to Nossa Senhora de Esperanza, the earliest parishioners of which were the Koli

converts of Cavel. These Roman Catholic ecclesiastics earned larger revenues than even the king of Portugal himself; they founded a college at Bandra, which conferred degrees upon all manner of persons and according to a writer of the seventeenth century "was not inferior as the building nor much unlike those of our universities"; they lived sumptuously and were generally so influential that even the General of the North at Vasai felt his position to be precarious. These facts obtruded themselves upon the Reverend John Ovington, who visited Bombay in 1689 and remarked that "Few men can enjoy very peaceable lives who have any fair possessions near the convents of the Jesuits; a pleasant seat and a fruitful plantation can hardly escape their gaining."

Similarly at Naigaon the Prabhu and Brahman must still have been resident, though the latter found it harder than the former to maintain a livelihood and reputation amongst those who, once his disciples, had been largely persuaded or forcibly driven to become Christians. The Prabhu, on the contrary, being a man of business, could still comfortably subsist by petty trading or by acting as a rent collector and agent of Portuguese landlords. The defences of the island consisted of "several strong castles, such as that of Bombay, that at Dunderrey (Dongri), that at Leyam and that at Mahim". The trade of the islands was not great, being confined for the most part to the sale of dried fish, and the revenues of the Portuguese landlords were drawn mostly from taxes upon rice-lands, payable in kind, upon oil and *ghi*, and upon the coconut palms, date palms and arecanut palms, with which the island abounded.

Notwithstanding the poverty, however, the immense natural advantages of Bombay aroused the cupidity of the English who recognized its value as a naval base. It was for this reason that they fought the battle of Swally in 1612; that they landed in Bombay and burnt the manor-house in 1626; that in 1652 the Surat Council urged the purchase of Bombay from the Portuguese; and that in 1654 the Directors of the East India Company drew the attention of Cromwell to this suggestion, laying great stress upon its excellent harbour and its natural isolation from land-attacks. By the middle of the seventeenth century the growing power of the Dutch and the disturbances to which Shah Jahan's death gave rise, absolutely forced upon the English Company, both in Surat and London, the need of a station of their own in Western India; and under orders from the Directors the Council at Surat made enquiries, and finally reported in 1659 that every effort should be made to obtain from the king of Portugal the cession of either Danda Rajapur or Versova or Bombay. Thus the train was laid, which culminated in the marriage treaty of Charles II and the Infanta Donna Catherine of Portugal, and placed Bombay island in the possession of the English Crown.

BRITISH PERIOD

The various attempts of the English to obtain possession of Bombay, were the outcome of the general policy of the East India Company which justly foresaw that British trade interests in India could not flourish unless it secured fortified stations yielding a revenue equal to the charges of them and also maintained at such stations a naval and military force sufficient to render the Company wholly independent of the intrigues and quarrels carried on between the native powers of the continent. In regard to Western India in particular the growing power of the Dutch and the disturbances consequent upon the death of Shah Jahan impressed upon the Company the imperative need of obtaining a fresh station auxiliary to their chief settlement in Surat and it must therefore have been with no little sense of relief that they received the news of the signing of the marriage treaty between Charles II and the Infanta Catherine of Portugal at Whitehall on the 23rd June 1661, whereby the post and island of Bombay with all the rights, profits, territories and appurtenances whatsoever thereunto belonging were handed over to the King of Great Britain, his heirs and successors forever. In pursuance of the terms of the treaty the Earl of Marlborough was despatched from England in March 1662 with five ships, five hundred soldiers under Sir Abraham Shipman, and with Antonio de Mello de Castro, Viceroy of the King of Portugal on board, to take delivery of the island. The fleet arrived at Bombay in September 1662, and the Earl at once sent a formal demand for possession to the Portuguese viceroy and it was then for the first time that the representatives of the English Crown discovered firstly that the island was by no means the considerable possession that the authorities in England believed it to be, and secondly that in spite of its manifest poverty the agents and subjects in India of the Portuguese King had determined not to hand it over to the English without a struggle.

In regard to the first point one may recall Lord Clarendon's misty notion of "the Island of Bombay with the towns and castles therein which are within a very little distance from Brazil"; the statement of Captain Browne of the *Dunkirk* that the island had been "most strangely represented to His Majesty"; and the words of Gerald Aungier to the effect that "the place does not answer our King's expectations by four-fifths of what was represented to him. For by the draught which was delivered to His Majesty, Bombay, Salsette and Thane were included all in one island and all under the Name and royalty of Bombay; but Captain Browne and myself having sailed round this island do find it for otherwise, being in extent scarcely one-fifth part of the other two islands and this is all the Portugals intend to surrender to us" Pepys' description of "the poor little island" and his reference to the "inconsiderableness of the place of Bombaim" were fully justified by the evidence of the

English authorities in Western India and corroborate Baldeus' statement that by virtue of the marriage-treaty "the English thought to have got a great booty from the Portuguese, whereas they (Tangier and Bombay) are in effect places of no considerable traffic". As regards the second point it is clear that the Portuguese in India were fully alive to the potentialities of Bombay and of its harbour and were very zealous of any infringement of the rights which they as tenants-in-chief of the King of Portugal had enjoyed for more than a century. For as late as January, 1665, when the final orders to cede the island were received from Portugal, Antonio de Mello de Castro, Viceroy of Goa, wrote to the King: "I confess at the feet of your Majesty that only the obedience I owe your Majesty as a vassal could have forced me to this deed (*i.e.*, the cession of Bombay), because I foresee the great troubles that from this neighbourhood will result to the Portuguese and that India will be lost on the same day on which the English nation is settled in Bombay."

Under these circumstances the Viceroy of Goa decided upon a policy of procrastination. On receipt of the Earl of Marlborough's formal demand, he spent five days in consultation and then replied that he was not authorized to hand over Bombay without His Majesty of England's immediate letter confirmed by his own hand and seal, adding that further instructions forbade him to give possession before the end of the monsoon. The King of England's letter was in possession of Sir Abraham Shipman, who did not arrive in Bombay till a month later; and in the meanwhile the Earl, finding that he could make no impression upon the pride of the perfidious Portugal contented himself with asking permission to land the English troops. This however was only permitted on condition that the men came ashore unarmed; and matters remained in an impasse until Sir A. Shipman cast anchor in the harbour. Thereupon the astute Portuguese discovered fresh reasons for delay, objecting that the form of the letters or patents did not coincide with the usual form observed in Portugal and that he must have a fresh authorization from Lisbon and England. And in October 1662, the Earl of Marlborough, seeing that no step towards delivery could be taken pending receipt of final orders from Europe, decided to return to England with the fleet. "All the art of contest I could use," he wrote, "could not persuade the surrender of this paltry island, most basely deserted to the Arabians the last year. I am more sorry for the King's dishonour and loss than for mine own trouble and care, which yet is like to fall heavy upon me, though not I hope by any default of mine." The Earl eventually set sail with the fleet on the 14th January, 1663; while Sir A. Shipman and the soldiery were forced to land on the unoccupied island of Angediv, twelve leagues to the south of Goa, where lack of proper food and an evil climate caused the death of nearly all of them, including Sir A. Shipman himself.

Just prior to Sir A. Shipman's death in April, 1664 he received a fresh commission from King Charles, dated 23rd November, 1663, which authorised him to receive possession of Bombay from the Portuguese Viceroy; but as he died before any definite step could be taken, the Supreme Court at Goa decided, after some correspondence with Antonio de Mello de Castro, that the island should be handed over to Humphrey Cooke, who had been Sir A. Shipman's secretary and had been nominated by the latter in his will as his successor. Further desultory correspondence ensued in consequence of the fact that Humphrey Cooke was not a *persona grata* with either the Portuguese or the English at Surat, but eventually the instrument of cession was despatched from Goa on the 17th January, 1665, and on the 18th February of that year Humphrey Cooke took himself personally possession and delivery of the said island of Bombay after signing the instrument of possession in the manor-house of D. Ignez de Miranda, the Lady of the island.

Humphrey Cooke's first action after obtaining possession of the island was to take a muster, at Sir G. Oxenden's request, of the remnant of Sir A. Shipman's forces which had accompanied him to Bombay; and his second was to endeavour to cancel the restrictions which the Portuguese had imposed upon him by the articles of cession. In pursuance of their original policy the Portuguese not only declined to hand over Salsette, but they also declined to deliver up Mazagaon, Parel, Worli, Sion, Dharavi and Vadala, which had clearly been considered a part of Bombay in the original treaty between the monarchies of Portugal and England, alleging that these islands were dependencies of the more important island of Mahim and not of Bombay; and further they inserted clauses, to which Cooke also agreed, whereby Portuguese boats were allowed to pass and repass the island without paying any duty. Cooke fell into great disfavour both with the Government in England and with the Council of Surat for agreeing to these restrictions and generally for signing so derogatory and unjust a convention; but it probably occurred to him that he was likely, by insistence upon the full terms of the marriage treaty, to prolong the negotiations indefinitely and might even be forced to return to an island the climate of which had already caused the death of a considerable number of his compatriots, and that under these circumstances it was better policy to take Bombay with all the restrictions the Portuguese might impose and trust to cancelling them after he had the island in his grasp. Be this as it may, Cooke at once set himself to counteract what King Charles II styled "the manifest injustice of the capitulation" by seizing on the flimsiest pretexts the lands contiguous to the island of Bombay proper, by imposing a duty upon all Portuguese goods, by inviting native merchants to settle in Bombay, and by endeavouring to strengthen the garrison. Antonio de Mello de Castro in a letter to the King of Portugal, 5th January, 1666, remarked: "During the

last monsoon I informed your Majesty that I had handed over Bombay. Now I will relate to your Majesty what the English have done and are doing every day in the way of excesses. The first act of Mr. Humphrey, who is the Governor of that island and whom I knew in Lisbon as a grocer, was to take possession of the island of Mahim in spite of my protests, the island being some distance from the island of Bombay, as your Majesty will see from the map I send herewith. He argues that at low tide one can walk from one to the other, and if this is conceded your Majesty will be unable to defend the right to the other northern islands, as at low tide it is possible to go from Bombay to Salsette, from Salsette to Varagao (Baragaon), so that in order not to lose the north, it will be necessary to defend Mahim. He has done more. He has obliged the Roman Catholics to take an oath, by which they openly deny the jurisdiction of the Supreme Pontiff and Head of the Church. The inhabitants of the north would have taken up arms and driven out the English from thence, if I had not had my suspicions and prevented them, by assuring them that your Majesty was actually in treaty about the purchase of Bombay. And although the name of Humphrey Cooke appears in all these matters, an awful heretic named Henry Gary, a great enemy of the Portuguese nation, is the author of all these things. I believe, however, that before your Majesty remedies this, the Dutch will drive those people thence, as I am told they are preparing a large armada to besiege Bombay." While he thus irritated the Portuguese, Cooke also fell foul of the Mughal Government and the factors at Surat. The former strongly objected to his overtures to native merchants, were afraid of his manifest attempts to strengthen Bombay, and found a ready cause of offence in Cooke's unauthorized seizure of one of their ships; while the latter could not brook his rough and ready style of correspondence and were alarmed at the accounts of his personal behaviour which reached them from Bombay. "Humphrey Cooke", they wrote to the Court of Directors on the 1st January, 1666, "gives us continual troubles in his daily importunities for money, to raise soldiers, forts and we know not what other bold designs, that we have been very weary with answering his letters, and upon our just denial of his unreasonable demands we have received such indignities and opprobrious terms to the great prejudice and dishonour of the Honourable Company and ourselves that we want both words and leisure at present to express them and him in his right colours".

Under these circumstances the Crown decided to relieve Humphrey Cooke of his duties and supersede him by Sir Gervase Lucas, who accordingly arrived in Bombay as Governor and Commander-in-Chief on the 5th November, 1666. Though instructed, if he thought fit, to offer the post of Deputy Governor to Cooke, Sir Gervase Lucas found matters in Bombay in so serious a condition that he not only could not offer him the post in question but was obliged to incarcerate him on a charge

of extorting Rs. 12,000 from the inhabitants and of criminal mismanagement of Sir A. Shipman's estate. "Bombay island", wrote Sir Gervase to Lord Arlington on the 21st March, 1667, "is for its magnitude one of the most pleasurable and profitable islands in India. The whole island is an *orto* or place planted with trees which yield great profit. And if Mr. Cooke had not sullied His Majesty's Government by taking bribes and as well indiscreetly as unjustly obstructed His Majesty's title to most of the best estates in the island, most of the inhabitants had by this time paid His Majesty's rent." So for a brief space Humphrey Cooke disappears from history. In spite of the verdict which must be passed upon his internal administration of Bombay, he surely deserves credit for inaugurating a policy of aggrandisement primarily designed to benefit English interests in Western India. Notwithstanding the protests of Antonio de Mello de Castro and Ignacio Sarmiento de Sampaio, Cooke managed to acquire the villages of Mahim, Sion, Dharavi and Vadala, and had his action upheld by a commission which was locally appointed to decide between the claims of the Portuguese and the English Crown in the matter of these areas; so that by the time Sir Gervase Lucas arrived, Bombay included all the islands except Colaba and Old Woman's Island, which have been united into the modern island of Bombay.

Sir Gervase Lucas did not live long enough to initiate any sweeping alterations, but his policy even during the short period of his governorship was in consonance with that of his predecessor and was designed to satisfy Charles II's hope that Bombay would become "the flourishingest port in India". Before sailing from England he pointed out the ruinous state of the Bombay fortifications and the need of a strong garrison and was permitted by the Crown to take with him "a reinforcement of 60 men under a lieutenant, together with a supply of clothes, ammunition and stores, and a small vessel to be attached to the garrison"; while, after arrival he was responsible for confiscating on a charge of treason a large tract of land in Bombay to which the Jesuit's College at Bandra laid claim and which they had threatened to defend by force. On Sir G. Lucas' death on the 21st May, 1667 the reins of Government were handed over to Captain Henry Gary who was serving at that time as Deputy Governor. No sooner had the news become public than Humphrey Cooke, who had escaped from durance vile and was living at Goa under Jesuit protection, sent in a claim to Gary to succeed to the governorship. A good deal of correspondence ensued, which ended on the 24th June, 1667 in the following letter from Gary and his council to Cooke: "We thought that the answer we sent you to your last by the same messenger had been so civil and satisfactory that you would not put yourself and us to the trouble of any more scribbling. But finding our expectations deceived and again alarmed with

another nonsensical paper from you (for we cannot term it either letter or epistle) we do by these return our sense unto you of your unwarrantable and foolish proceedings. We do every one of us particularly as well as generally protest against you, Humphrey Cooke (according to our bounden duty which we do understand better than you do yours) as a Rebel and Traitor." Smarting under a sense of defeat and urged on by the Portuguese who saw in him a suitable agent for annoying the English in Bombay, Humphrey Cooke voyaged upto Bandra, where with the help of the Jesuits he endeavoured to attack Bombay. For a time matters looked serious, as the Jesuit emissaries had worked upon the mind of the native population. But the Bombay Council managed to hold their own; and at length Cooke, fearing to be arrested as a traitor and finding the Portuguese ill-prepared for a struggle departed to Vasai and died soon afterwards in a monastery belonging to the Order of Jesus in Salsette.

Meanwhile Gary had not been idle. He raised the general revenues of the island from 5,214½ Xeraphins to £ 6,490-17-9 sterling, the tavern dues (excise) from Xs. 400 to Xs. 2,400, the tobacco farm receipts from Xs. 6,000 to Xs. 9,560, and customs receipts from Xs. 4,100 to Xs. 18,000; he enlarged the land-forces by enrolling 150 new Deccanis in consequence of Dutch alarms and mounting the artillery on substantial carriages; he improved the fortifications; and he kept so watchful an eye upon the machinations of the Portuguese that the triumvirate of gentlemen who were carrying out the duties of the viceroy at Goa in January 1670, described him as very astute and an enemy of the Portuguese nation. The chief source of friction with the Portuguese concerned the port-dues which the Portuguese levied on Bombay boats at their own ports and which they declined to pay for their own boats at Bombay. These dues were generally excessive. Humphrey Cooke had been forced to put soldiers on board to resist the levy of a 12 per cent duty imposed upon merchandize and provisions brought by Bombay boats from mainland ports; Sir G. Lucas had great trouble with the Portuguese at Mahim *bandar*; and Henry Gary likewise fought for recognition of the right of Bombay vessels to exemption from dues at Portuguese ports. But he was unable to effect any amelioration of existing trade-conditions; and he also alienated the council at Surat by granting passes in the king's name to native vessels, which the Company's agents considered an infringement of their prerogatives.

The system of independent granting of navigating passes, the private trading in which the Crown representatives in Bombay indulged, and the hostilities which the latter provoked with Native powers (chiefly the Mughal government) and for which the East India Company were held responsible by those powers, caused endless friction between the Surat factors and the King's agents in the island and eventually led to

the transfer of Bombay from the Crown to the Company under a Royal Charter, dated March 27, 1668, which specified that the port and island of Bombay were to be held "in free and common soccage, as of the manor of East Greenwich," at a farm rent of £ 10, payable on the 30th September in each year. The copy of the charter and a warrant from the King to Sir George Oxenden arrived on 1st September 1668, and two days later the Surat Council held a meeting and decided to depute Mr. John Goodier, Captain Young and Mr. Streynsham Masters as Commissioners to take delivery of the island from Captain Gary. The Commissioners reached Bombay on the 21st September 1668, and handed the King's warrant to Captain Gary; and after a day spent in preparation for the ceremony, landed with military honours on Wednesday the 23rd. Thus Sir George Oxenden, as President of Surat, became the first Governor of Bombay under the regime of the East India Company, and upto the date of his death at Surat (14th July 1669) endeavoured through his delegates to carry out the policy of the Court of Directors, which aimed at encouraging trade in all possible directions, encouraging people of all classes to settle on the island, and rendering Bombay proof against all attacks. In pursuance of these objects the Court of Directors despatched several soldiers and artificers to Bombay in 1668, ordered the construction of a custom house, warehouse and quay and appointed a chaplain with an assistant who was also to be master of a free school on the island; while the local authorities indented upon England for a judge-advocate to decide causes of *meum* and *tuum* among the litigious inhabitants of the island, commenced building the fortifications, began purchasing land in the vicinity of the Fort, and placed the defences of the island on a better footing. In spite however of orders both from the Court of Directors and the Surat Council, the progress of the island was to some extent jeopardized by the behaviour of the Deputy Governor, Captain Young, who had eventually to be removed from his post for gross misconduct; while the climate had already begun to acquire the terrible notoriety which justified Ovington in describing Bombay at the close of the seventeenth century as "nought but a charnel-house".

The progress of Bombay did not indeed assume very definite proportions until Mr. Gerald Aungier, "that chivalric intrepid man who dared a not less potent spirit in the Dutch Commodore Van Goen", became President of Surat and Governor of Bombay in July 1669. In January of the following year he arrived in Bombay from Surat and, after investigating the accusations against Captain Young, he promulgated the Company's regulations for the civil and military administration of the island, "giving the people a taste of the Company's justice by the trial of several cases to their great satisfaction.". In February Mr. Aungier returned to Surat leaving behind him as Deputy Governor of Bombay Mr. Mathew Gray, who was shortly afterwards succeeded by Mr. Gyfford. Aungier did not return to Bombay until June 7, 1672, in consequence probably of the general political outlook. The Marathas were at this date making

constant petty attacks upon Surat, which rendered trading somewhat precarious, while the Mughal Governor did his best to hinder the president leaving Surat, ostensibly on the grounds that enemies might take advantage of his absence in Bombay to undermine the Company's trade interest, but really because he feared that removal to Bombay would cause an immediate decline in the general prosperity of the Gujarat port. By the middle of 1672, however, internal troubles and the covetous exactions of the Mughal had convinced Aungier of the need of moving the Company's headquarters from Surat to Bombay, while continual disorders in Bombay arising from the unruliness of the troops and a considerable influx of weavers and other immigrants impressed upon him the need of personally residing in the island and laying down the lines of its future progress. Accordingly setting sail from Surat, he arrived in Bombay on the 7th June, after nearly losing his life in violent storm, and at once proceeded to deal with the more urgent requirements of the island. The disorders among the military forces were quashed; the English law was publicly introduced in supersession of Portuguese custom; a Court of Judicature was established, Mr. George Wilcox being appointed judge in August 1672; a town was lined out on that parcel of ground which lieth over against the present Fort; a mole was staked out capable of berthing 20 ships of three or four hundred tons; and finally the famous Convention was promulgated which put an end to the long-standing disputes between the Company and the Portuguese landholders in regard to the ownership of land in the island and enabled the Company to pursue unhindered their policy of colonization. Other innovations of more or less importance were the establishment of a mint, the improvement of the fortifications, the building of a small hospital, the institution of trading privileges for certain corporations, the creation of panchayats or caste councils for the various native communities, the opening of a printing press, the building of houses, and the importation of English women who might be married to the traders and settlers of their own race.

Meanwhile the political outlook was far from promising. Fear of attack by the Dutch and French was rife in 1672; the Portuguese prevented the free access of Bombay ships to Thane and Karanja; and by the close of 1673 the Siddi Admiral of the Moghal was committing great insolence on the Island Patekas (Butcher's Island) and the town (Bombay), stealing cattle and vexing and robbing the poor people. The Court of Directors writing in July, 1672, informed their representatives in India of a great English victory over the Dutch, which temporarily calmed Aungier's fears and was made the occasion of a public thanksgiving in Bombay on St. Stephen's day, 1672. "The thanksgiving", wrote the Bombay Council, "was not only held by ourselves but in all the Portuguese churches with much alacrity and expressions of joy, and for that the hearts of the Portuguese, Banians and others of this island were much

dejected by reason of the war and affrighted with the noise of 22 sail of Dutch ships coming against us, we thought good to rouse and cheer up their spirits with a public show. Your Governor and Council marching in the evening of the thanksgiving day with the two companies of the militia with colours flying, drums and trumpets (for by good fortune we have met with two German trumpeters which ran away from the Portuguese and are now entertained in your service). In this posture we marched quite through the town, about 600 men in arms, the Portuguese, Moors, Banians and Gentus and others crying out as we passed "God save the King and the Honourable Company". The day ended with the distribution to the poor of thirty rupees in pice and bujruks and of two butts of arrack to the militia and soldiers, and with the firing of salvoes and the lighting of a large bonfire. But the tranquillity engendered by this victory was but temporary; for on the 20th February 1673 a Dutch fleet under Rickloff van Goen arrived in the hope of taking Bombay by surprise. According to Orme, Aungier exerted himself on this occasion "with the calmness of a philosopher and the courage of a centurion." The Dutch Commodore, discovering to his annoyance that heavy ordnance had already been mounted on the fortifications and that three war-vessels were lying in the harbour, moved up the western side of the island and prepared for a descent upon the Mahim creek. Aungier at once marched up to Mahim and made a hostile demonstration; whereupon the Dutch with 6,000 men on board sheered off, and after hovering for some time between Bombay and Surat disappeared altogether. Shortly afterwards (17th February 1674) the treaty of Westminster was concluded between England and Holland, which relieved the British settlements in Western India of further apprehension.

It is necessary here to note briefly the relations that existed between Shivaji and the English. The initial intent of the English was not aimed at making territorial gains in India and hence there was no reason for any direct confrontation between Shivaji and the English on that score. As stated earlier the English had acquired the island of Bombay from their Portuguese neighbours and as Surat was constantly under the threat of an attack from Shivaji, the English were planning to shift their headquarters from Surat to Bombay. After his escape from Agra Shivaji's power rapidly increased and the English became anxious to secure his goodwill and friendship so that their trading operations might not suffer. The English therefore sent their envoys from time to time to Shivaji, Ustick in 1672, and Henry Oxenden in 1674 at the time of Shivaji's coronation at Raigad with presents from the company along with their congratulations. These exchanges led to a signing of a treaty of mutual trade and friendship between the English and Shivaji and their relations remained cordial during Shivaji's lifetime.

In September, 1675, Aungier returned to Surat, leaving Bombay far more prosperous than at the time of his first visit. His task had proved by no means easy; for in 1674 the English troops mutinied on the question of pay and provisions; Sambal the Sidi anchored at Mazagaon during the monsoon of the same year and caused much annoyance to the people; and the Portuguese continued to harass British trade. "During my stay here (Bombay)", wrote Aungier to the Deputy Governor, "I have found odd neighbours to deal with; the jealous and envious Portuguese have endeavoured all that lay in their power to obstruct our settlement; the Governor of Surat hath not been wanting also to use his policy to undermine us; and Sidi Sambal with his fleet hath been no small impediment. The Dutch with their powerful fleet designed to have swallowed us up; but blessed be God who hath hitherto preserved us and rendered all their evil designs advantageous. Sevajee only hath proved and that for his own interest sake our fairest friend and noblest enemy. You must expect to encounter many ill offences from the Portuguese, especially in the pass of Karanja, as I have done; but you must not yield in the least to them." In spite of political troubles, in spite of the fact that he had drawn no salary whatever for four years, Aungier held firmly and conscientiously upon his road, and at the hour of his death in Surat on the 30th June 1677 was able to bequeath to his successor an island far more populous, more strongly fortified, better governed than it had been in 1668 and bearing within it the seeds of administrative, commercial and social expansion. The history of this earliest period of British dominion may fitly conclude with the following extracts from a letter written by Aungier and his Council to the Court of Directors on the 15th December 1673, which gives a full description of Bombay at that date and forms a complement to Dr. John Fryer's graphic account of the island.

"Bombay is made by the inroads of the sea into four small islands, passable at low water, (1) Colleo or Old Woman's island, (2) the Palmero grove of Bombay, the town of Mazagon, Parel, Matunga, Sion and Daravee (Dharavi), (3) the Cassabem (Kasba) or Palmero wood of Mahim, (4) the hilly island of Veroly (Varli). The sea hath eaten up about one-third of the island.

"After the first intermission of the rains in May or June and after their total ceasing in October the air and water are unwholesome by reason of the crude pestiferous vapours exhaled by the violent heat of the sun into the air and vermin created in the wells and tanks which renders these months most sickly to the inhabitants and especially to Europeans.

"All the land is employed in rice and cocoanuts; but it produceth all sorts of trees for timber and fruit, all sorts of plants, roots and vegetables necessary for the use of man for sustenance, health, pleasure or profit. We have experimented by a garden raised this year near the Castle,

the produce whereof doth sufficiently evidence the fruitfulness of the soil.

"The town is divided into the two small shires of Bombay and Mahim. The former contains the island Colleo, the towns of Bombay, Mazagon and Parel, with the several parishes of Pallo (Apollo), Deirao (?). The shire of Mahim contains Mahim, Sion, Daravee and Verlee with the several parishes of Salvacaon, St. Michael, etc., precincts.

"The English are employed in trade and in the militia; the Roman Catholic Christians chiefly in planting the ground, some few in trade, and too many of them as soldiers in your garrison for pure want of English protestants to keep watch and defend the island.

"The Moors have several sects and castes. They are not very numerous as yet, but sensibly increased. Some few old inhabitants are employed in the lands and others do buy possessions. Most are employed in trade, supplying the island with provisions, going to sea in ships and other vessels as lascars or marines, haberdashers of small wares, weavers, tailors, bakers, smiths and other handicrafts very useful and indispensably necessary to the island. The Moors have two places of worship, one at Bombay, the other at Mahim. The latter is the tomb of one of their famous saints there buried, much frequented in the month of October by pilgrimages made thereunto.

"The Jentues (*i.e.* Gentus, Gentiles or Hindus) comprise Banyans (all traders and brokers), Brahman (priests and traders), purvoos (Prabhus) (farmers of land and rent-receivers), Sinays (Shenvis) (cultivators and traders), Bandareens (Bhandaris) (Toddy distilling and making of Arrack called Phoole Rack) (Mhowra spirit), yielding a considerable revenue. They are also good soldiers, stout, faithful and lovers of the English; Corambeens (Kunbis) (tillers and mowers of lands, as well the rice as the cocoanuts); and Coolys (Kolis) general fisherman of the island, yielding a good revenue to the Company and other useful and indispensable services; these are as it were the Company's slaves, hardy, unwearied labourers and lovers of the English; the better sort engage in trade and grow rich.

"Also Percees (Parsis), an industrious people and ingenious in trade, wherein they totally employ themselves. There are at present few of them, but we expect a greater number having gratified them in their desire to build a burying place for their dead on the island.

"All provisions and sustenance are procurable at Bombay, all sorts of corn and grain, beef, mutton, veal, lamb, pork, hens, ducks, geese, fish, etc. Most of these are brought from the mainland. Owing to increase of population the price of provisions has doubled.

"The three chief breaches are at Mahalakshmi, between Worli and Mahim, and between Mahim and Dharavee.

"Before the English came the trade was only in cocoanuts and cairo (coir). Now the country merchants drive a great trade with Surat, Broach, Cambay and Gogo, and also to Dabull, Kelsey, Rajapore and Goa, to Mocha, Persia, Scinda, Bussora, in salt, cocoanuts, cairo, betel-nut, rice, elephants teeth (from Mozambique), broad-cloth, lead, sword-blades and some other Europe goods. Last year we disposed in Bombay of 600 pieces of broad cloth, 3,000 maunds of lead, all the perpetuanes and serges, and all the sword-blades. The trade by sea and land is interrupted by the Mughal and Sevajee's fleets and armies. We are trying to open trade with Tuncer (Junnar?) Orungabad, Raybag, Hubily, Vizapore; with Mocha, Persia, Bussora, Scinda and Patan, the Maldives and Malabar coast; whence we shall get myrrh, aloes, olibanum, cohoseed, tinkall, sena, red earth, carminia wool, pertchock, skins, corryes, pepper and cardamoms and other goods proper for Europe and the South Seas.

"Small lines or parapets and guard-houses have been raised at Mahim and Sion. We intend also to sink in the fords of Mahim and Sion quantities of sharp craged stones, some pieces of old timber stuck with spikes and nailes and to have a good number of crows' feet and spike-balls in readiness to gall either horse or foot that shall endeavour to pass those fords.

"The Castle of Bombay lies upon a neck of land between two bays; a quadrangular Fort whereof three points command the port and the two small bays, the fourth with two of the others commands the town and the plain before the castle. It is of small circumference and irregularly built, owing to the ignorance of the engineers. The landward wall is 27 feet high and 25 feet broad, consisting of an outer and inner wall of stone and terraphene of earth; the two seaward platforms are 20 feet high and 42 feet broad, to carry 36 ordnance besides those on the bastions. Three bastions are finished, mounted with 50 pieces of ordnance; the seaward bastion is incomplete. The powder rooms inside will contain two thousand barrels of powder.

"In the middle of the fort is the Governor's house built formerly by the Portugals, but was burned by the Arabs of Muscat when they surprized and took the island from the Portuguese in 1661, so that when the English took possession of the island there was little more than the walls left. But since it came into the Company's hands it hath been much repaired; the front is fair and beautiful enough, but the rooms within are not so well contrived as we could wish either for lodging or other accommodation. Yet by degrees we are endeavouring to render it more and more capacious. Under the walls are raised lodgings for the soldiers with the corps on guard.

"A large spring or tank lies 100 paces outside the wall which the Engineers ought to have included. Instead they were obliged to build

a new tank. There is no ditch or moat; but a *fausse-bray* has been raised twenty feet from the wall outside the castle and two *horne-works*.

"The great bay or port is certainly the fairest, largest and securest in all these parts of India, where a hundred sail of tall ships may ride all the year safe with good moorage. In the small bay to the north of the castle ships of 400 tons have been haled ashore to repair, there being 15 foot of water at the springs; but this bay hath been spoiled by those who built the fort, who broke off the rocks which kept off the violence of the sea and carried away the stones to the fort. We are casting more stones to keep off the sea and secure the ships. In the lesser bay to northward of the fort ships of 300 tons may be haled ashore. At Mazagon ships of 200 tons may be haled ashore; also at a place called Drumgo(?) there is an excellent bay where 50 sail of 200 tons each may winter and repair safely. For small frigates, goralas and other vessels there are very many places.

"The President supervises all foreign and domestic matters and all trade. The Deputy Governor has charge of treasury, militia, garrison and public works. The accountant keeps accounts under garrison, fortifications, shipping, building, house-keeping, and supervises military stores. The attorney-at-law, James Adams, looks after the Company's revenues and lands and defends the action and rights of Government before the law; he acts as a preventive-officer and as storekeeper to the garrison. The warehouse keeper takes charge of all goods received and sold, and has to take steps for increasing the indigenous trade. The Judge hears all suits and has charge of the register for probate of wills, etc. All these are in Council which meets Monday, Wednesday and Friday every week from 8 a.m. to 12 at the toll of the Castle dell. Francis Day acts as Secretary to the Council.

"The Court of Judicature is held in a room near the Fort, and two justices of the peace sit with the Judge. There are two days a week for civil suits and one day a month for criminal matters.

"There are two garrison companies of 200 men apiece. Of these one hundred are employed in the Company's frigates; the rest in bands of 75 each garrison the castle in turn. The guard is relieved every morning and trained. There are also three companies of militia, one at Bombay, one at Mahim and one at Mazagon, consisting of Portuguese black Christians. More confidence can be placed in the Moors, Bandareens and Gentus than in them, because the latter are more courageous and show affection and goodwill to the English Government. These companies are exercised once a month at least and serve as night-watches against surprise and robbery.

"The revenue of the island is 70,000 xeraphins. The Portuguese still claim the Colliarys (Koliwadas?) or right of fishing in the open bays of

Bombay, Mazagon, Veroly (Varli) and Parel. The people of Mazagon who fled at the approach of the Dutch fleet have returned to the number of 10,000. Their houses and lands have been restored to them; but Alvaro Pires (de Tavora) refused to return and intrigued with the French, Bassein and Goa. He has, therefore, been declared unfit to serve again on the island, and his estate has been temporarily granted to his mother in trust."¹

1677-1722 : On the 30th June 1677 the Council at Surat wrote as follows to Bombay : "It hath pleased God to our great sorrow after a tedious sickness to take out of this life our worthy President, Gerald Aungier, who died this morning between four and five of the clock of which we thought good to give you this timely notice that you might prevent all innovations or disturbances upon the island," to which the Bombay Council, acknowledging the receipt of the letters, replied : "We cannot rightly express the reality of the grief we conceived at the perusal of the deplorable news, of the death of our late noble President. Multiplicity of words may multiply the sense of our loss, but cannot depaint its greatness and the knowledge we have of the true worth and integrity of his successor, and it shall be our continual prayer for a blessing on your great affairs." For a brief space after Aungier's death Henry Oxenden was at the head of the Government of Bombay, but was succeeded soon afterwards by Mr. Thomas Rolt, who assumed the pompous title of Governor of Bombay, President of India, Persia, Arabia, etc. and in turn yielded place at the close of the year 1681 to Sir John Child, who under the title of Captain General and Admiral of India administered the affairs of the island until his death in 1690. During the following four years Mr. Bartholemew Harris held the reins of Government and was succeeded by Sir John Gayer, who ruled at Bombay with the revised title of General until 1704.

The governorship of each of these four gentlemen was marked by internal and external troubles of no mean magnitude, which for the time being resulted in the almost total eclipse of the island's prosperity. "The last quarter of the 17th century was not only devoid of any great achievement or of any appreciable progress in manners and morals," wrote Dr. Da Cunha, "but was on the contrary a witness to sedition, strife, immorality, unhealthiness and anarchy at home, and invasion, piracy and arrogance abroad." The dangerous climatic condition of the island had already been reported by Aungier to the Court of Directors in connection with serious mortality among the English troops; and by 1689, when the Reverend John Ovington arrived in Bombay, one of the pleasantest spots in India seemed no more than a parish graveyard. Of the twenty-four passengers who sailed with him twenty died before the

¹ c.f. *Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island*, Vol. II, 1909, pp. 65-70.

rains ended, and fifteen of the ship's crew also. Overcome with horror of the island the Chaplain wrote :—" As the ancients gave the epithet of fortunate to some islands in the West, because of their delightfulness and health, so the moderns may in opposition to them denominate Bombay the unfortunate one in the East, because of the antipathy it bears to those two qualities "; and added that the island was " nought but a charnel-house, in which two musoons were the age of a man ". The chief diseases were, according to Fryer, " fluxes, dropsy, scurvy, barbers or loss of the use of hands and feet, gout, stone, malignant and putrid fevers " and a disease named " mordisheen " by the Portuguese, which was extremely prevalent. Between 1686 and 1696 there was a severe outbreak of plague in Western India, which wrought great havoc in Vasai, Thane and Chaul, and helped to deplete the population of Bombay. At the close of 1691 there were only eighty Englishmen left upon the island, of whom many were ill; there were only five civil servants and they had dwindled to three in January 1692; while by October 1696 only twenty-seven Englishmen, exclusive of moribund military officers, were alive. Matters were unchanged as late as 1706, for Sir Nicholas Waite wrote in January of that year : " We are only eight covenant servants including the council and but two that write, besides two raw youths taken ashore out of ships, and most of us sick in this unhealthful, depopulated and ruined island, " and later wrote again : " We are six including your Council and some of us often sick. It is morally impossible without an overruling providence to continue longer from going underground if we have not a large assistance." A year later he made his final appeal for help in the words: " My continued indisposition and want of assistance in this unveryhealthful (*sic*) island has been laid before the managers and your Court. Yet I esteem myself bound in gratitude and I will briefly inform what material occurs till I leave this place or the world."

The Court of Directors did what lay in their power to ameliorate the circumstances of their agents in Bombay by despatching surgeons on the munificent salary of 45 shillings a month and consignments of medicines from England which not infrequently were found to have deteriorated on the voyage and the Council at Surat also helped with the provision of a medical man at a time when the only physician on the island had died. But such aid was of little avail against the deadly character of the climate. " Of what use," wrote Anderson " was it to send trusty factors and hardy soldiers thither? They breathed the poisonous air but a few short months, after which their services and lives were lost to their employers for ever. ". The chief causes of the general mortality seem to have been the gradual silting-up of the creeks, which at high tide divided Bombay into several islands, the system followed by the native oart-owners of buckshawing *i.e.*, manuring the toddy-palms

with putrid fish, and, in the case of the European residents, the extraordinarily loose living in which they indulged. In 1684 the Council at Surat remarked in a letter to the Directors that " Although the island may have the name in Europe of being unwholesome, it is no such thing really; but it is a pleasant sweet place and sober people may enjoy their healths there as well as in many other places in India. But when men come new out, drink punch toddy and country beer, besides that are disordered and tumble on damp ground it cannot be expected but disease must be contracted. ". The soldiers of this period were described two years later as debauched broken tradesmen and renegade seamen; and the immorality of the civil population, to which Anderson referred, is well described by Ovington, the chaplain, in the following words: " I cannot without horror mention to what a pitch all vicious enormities were grown in this place. Their principles of action, and the onsequent evil practices of the English forwarded their miseries and contributed to fill the air with those pestilential vapours that seized their vitals and speeded their hasty passage to the other world. Luxury, immodesty and a prostitute dissolution of manners found still new matter to work upon. ". The native population also suffered severely from fever and plague during the closing years of the seventeenth century, and lost much property in a severe storm which raged over Bombay from the 20th April to the 8th May 1697.

Meanwhile the trade of Bombay suffered not a little from the internal feuds and domestic troubles of the Company. About 1680 private traders or interlopers, as they were styled, commenced to fit out ships, to form illicit trade-connections with the Company's servants in India, and to trade direct between English and Indian ports with the object of diverting the Company's trade into their own hands. Among the best-known of the interlopers on the Western Coast were John Petit and George Bowcher, who had once been in the service of the Company and who undoubtedly encouraged Keigwin's rebellion. These and others in increasing numbers, set themselves to harass the Company as much as possible, and in addition to being able to undersell the Company in every article imported into England from India, led native merchants, particularly Muhammedans, to offer all manner of indignities to the Company's agents on the grounds that the Company was rent by internal feuds and was quite powerless on that account to retaliate. The Court of Directors thereupon appealed for help to the King, who ordered a man-of-war to intercept all interloping vessels; but the annoyance continued more or less unchecked until the end of 1693, when in the words of the Court " after a multitude of conflicts with the interlopers and their adherents and all others that have envied or emulated the Company's former prosperity, we have obtained of their present Majesties King William and Queen Marp a charter of confirmation of our present

and all our former charters, and are in possession of it, under the Great Seal of England, bearing date the 7th instant. Of this charter we shall send you copies by our shipping, and think it fit before that comes to your hands, upon receipt of this letter, you should make such solemn public intimation of it to the natives as is usual upon such occasions."

A brief review of the relations between the English of Bombay and the Marathas after the death of Shivaji would not be out of place here. Sambhaji after assuming the royalty had first to face the challenge of the Portuguese whom he harassed and then of the Siddi of Janjira who at the instance of Emperor Aurangzeb raided Maratha territory right up to the fort of Raigad towards the end of 1681. A great war ensued but Sambhaji had to retire due to the march of the Emperor in the Deccan. Aurangzeb cowed down the English trading establishment at Surat and Bombay, as also the Dutch and Portuguese possessions on the Western coast into abject submission and calling upon them to attack Sambhaji. Sambhaji also made similar demands upon the English. But the English clearly avoided taking sides and managed not to come into scrape with either by sending their envoys to both in order to present their neutrality.

The year 1683 witnessed also a very serious rebellion upon the island, which may conceivably have accelerated the transfer of the Company's Government from Surat to Bombay in 1685. In March 1681 Captain Richard Keigwin had been appointed by the Court of Directors, Commandant of all the forces on the island and third member of Council. The exiguous salary of the Commandant was the result of a general desire on the part of the Company to retrench their military expenditure and in 1683 Sir John Child, in pursuance of the Company's object, ordered a further reduction by 30 per cent of all military salaries. "The military gentlemen" writes Hamilton, "had made contracts in England for their salaries, though paid at 20 per cent loss—yet to show himself a good economist for his master's interest he (Sir John Child) sent his Deputy (Charles Ward) orders to reduce their pay to 30 per cent less than it was before, though it was so small that they could hardly bring both ends to bear at the month's end. That hard pill the sons of Mars could not swallow and so bent their minds on a revolution; and having come to some knowledge of Mr. Ward's tampering with the Sevajee to land on the island they detected some letters of his to that purpose, which gave them ground for a revolt". There is little doubt that Keigwin was actuated not only by discontent at the niggardly action of the Company but also by a conviction that Sir John Child and his Deputy were grossly mismanaging the affairs of Bombay, and he complained bitterly of the oppression of the Company's government in a memorial, dated January 1684, addressed to Prince James, Duke of York and Albany,

"whom we (the mutineers) look upon as the North Star of our firmament by which we are resolved to steer our course". Accordingly on the 27th December 1683, Keigwin, aided by Henry Fletcher, Thomas Wiekens, Stephen Adderton and a fourth described by the Chaplain, John Church, as "that little false Scot Thorburne" raised the standard of revolt, seized and confined the Deputy-Governor Ward and others who adhered to him, took possession of the Company's ship *Return* and the frigate *Hunter*, and made a public proclamation before the assembled troops and militia that Bombay was henceforth to be under the Government of the King. Ward, who according to his own account was closely watched and was supplied neither pen, ink nor paper, managed to have the news conveyed by stealth to Surat, whereupon the Council decided to appoint Charles Zinzan, Francis Day, and George Gosfright as Commissioners to enquire into the naughtiness and wicked actions of some on Bombay and to suppress the revolt. The trio accordingly voyaged to Vasai, and thence sent letters promising pardon to several of the mutineers, if the island was at once restored to the Company. To their expressions of cajolery Sir John Child added his in a letter dated February the 1st 1684, and couched in the following quaint terms: "For the expressions that I am told fell from Captain Adderton and Ensign Thorburne my particular obligations to them might have persuaded them to use me with more respect, two that I have tenderly loved and taken some care of—Oh! Johnny Thorburne, thy ingratitude is of a deeper dye, but the God of Heaven and Earth forgive thee and pardon you all and put into your hearts to return to your obedience. Come one, two or three of you and look on your Governor. I am the same that lived among you not long since and then had wars with Sambaji Raja and great disturbances from the Portuguese, yet preserved you all with God's blessing and plentifully supplied you with all provisions. Nay you well know my care, and how I kept batty at 22 xeraphins a more (*muda*) when all about us was at 28 and 30 xeraphins."

The mutineers, who had meanwhile memorialised the King, saying that they would hold the island till his wishes should be known, replied firmly to the Commissioners and Sir John Child that they would not retreat from their position; whereupon the latter after some further correspondence, in which he styled Keigwin's replies as "a parcel of stuff that sufficiently discovers your ignorance and naughtiness", issued a proclamation on the 29th February 1684, declaring them all traitors. As soon as the news of the revolt reached England, Charles II issued a royal command, dated August 23rd, 1684, to Keigwin to deliver the island to Child, and a free pardon was offered to all except the four grand incendiaries, for whose apprehension rewards were publicly offered: and eventually on the 19th November 1684 Keigwin, on receipt of a promise of free pardon, handed over Bombay to Admiral Sir Thomas

Grantham, who had been despatched with a force from England to quash the rebellion. Keigwin was placed for the time being under arrest, in which plight he shewed himself as impudent as Hell, the notorious naughty rascal, and was eventually taken back by the Admiral to England in July 1685. During the eleven months that he held possession of Bombay, he proved himself to be possessed of great determination and considerable administrative capacity. One of his first actions was to send envoys to Sambhaji and conclude a treaty, under the terms of which he was permitted to trade in any part of the Maratha dominions and also received payment of an old debt of 12,000 pagodas due to the Company. He also built small fortifications at Mahim and Sion; collected much of the money due to the company from native debtors, and administered the affairs of the island in such a way that Gladman, one of the Commissioners accompanying Sir Thomas Grantham, was forced to admit that the Rebels had managed very well. The rebellion being thus brought to a close, Sir John Child became Governor once again, with Sir John Wyborne as Deputy Governor in Bombay: and in imitation of the Dutch at Batavia the Court of Directors decided that Bombay should be constituted a regency, and that the Governor should, for the sake of dignity, be furnished with a life-guard of twenty grenadiers, commanded by a captain. In spite, however, of this assumption of independent power, some years were to elapse ere Bombay resumed the tranquillity which she had enjoyed during Aungier's regime.

At the close of the century, when Sir John Gayer held the reins of Government in Bombay, the Company's progress was again obstructed by the machinations of the new English Company, to which king William III had granted a charter in 1698, and which owed its incorporation to the discontent felt by English merchants at monopoly enjoyed by the London East India Company. In January 1700 Sir Nicholas Waite, the English Company's President for Surat, arrived off Bombay and notified to Sir John Gayer his appointment as the King's Minister and Consul-General for the English nation. On these grounds he demanded compliance with his orders. Sir John Gayer however refused to acknowledge that he had any authority over the servants of the London Company. Sir Nicholas Waite, finding he could make no impression on Sir John Gayer and his Council, sailed for Surat. On reaching that port he notified his Royal Commission of appointment to the President and Council and required them to strike the St. George's or Company's flag, as he bore the commission of Vice-Admiral and would allow no other flag than his own. The President and Council refused to comply with his request. The Governor of Surat also informed Sir N. Waite that the Commission or Phirmaund of the King of England was of no authority at Surat unless the Emperor chose to regard it as valid. He also added that the flag of the London Company flew by the permission of the

Mughal. Sir N. Waite now tried force and landed two of the commanders of the ships with fifty men and ordered them to strike the flag. The Governor on hearing that the flag had been struck, issued orders that it should be re-hoisted. Sir Nicholas Waite, finding that force did not answer, used baser arts to gain his end. By bribery, by suggesting that the old Company were in league with pirates and by hinting that they might any day leave Surat with debts unpaid, he undermined its power. Sir John Gayer also committed the blunder of leaving the fortifications of Bombay and going to Surat to counteract the influence of his rival; for while he was there orders arrived from the Imperial Court to seize him. "The Governor's son" as an old record runs, "secured Sir John and his Granaders and then entered the lodge, obliged the Lady Gayer out of the bed, carried her, Mr. Somaster and others to accompany the General to Surat, before the Tavistock's people had notice or could come ashore to their rescue, and being brought over the river in an open boat the Lady was put into a hackery covered with a cloth and carried to the Governor's room, where with Sir John and others were confined to one room; and some hours after the Governor sent for President Colt who going with two of his Council accompanied Sir John in the said prison; which triumphant act, as it is esteemed of the Meer, was wrote that night to the Emperor to the no small dishonour of the old Company's General in India." The chief and the factors were confined for twelve months within the walls of the factory; but neither threats nor starvation would force them to yield to the unjust demand of the Imperial Court. At length, however, on the 20th February, 1701, the Bombay Council were able to congratulate Sir John Gayer upon his release in the following terms:—

"We heartily rejoice for the good news and we render all due praise and thanks to the Almighty God for your release from so close a confinement, and that it hath pleased him to make our innocence appear and the wicked designs of our malicious adversaries in their true colours before the face of the heathens. Now Sir Nicholas may have time to look into his actions, strictly examining himself, and at last say:— "O what have I done! May the shame and infamy to which he most maliciously exposed his fellow-subjects together with all other his undigested politics fall heavy on his head, being but the just reward for such evil ministers. We hope with your Excellency that the general certificate sent to Court, attested by all the eminent merchants, may meet with the desired effect to the confusion of our enemies." Sir John Gayer's release synchronized with a decline in the mutual rivalry and hostility of the two companies. Both were alike inimical to anything approaching freedom of trade, and they discovered that their common interests could be effectually secured only by amalgamation. Accordingly hostilities were abandoned, and in 1702 the two companies were united under the designation of the United

Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies. The Directors of the two companies then advised their servants in India to bury the hatchet; but owing partly to the obstinacy of Sir N. Waite and partly to the mutual rancour existing in India, the union of 1702 was reduced to a mere formality, and the resolve of the two companies to obliterate all past heats was carried to no practical issue until the Earl of Godolphin, after patient enquiry into all matters of dispute, published his famous award of the 29th September, 1708.

During a considerable portion of the period under review, the peace of Bombay was jeopardized by the presence of the Sidi Admiral of the Mughal and his fleet. During Aungier's regime, in October 1672, the fleet under the Sidi Yakut entered Bombay harbour with the object of ravaging Shivaji's *kurlahs*, that is the land and villages of Panvel, Pen and Alibag. As Aungier refused to let them land in Bombay they withdrew to Janjira, but returned on the 24th December and were grudgingly allotted houses in the town of Mazagon, several of which they subsequently burned. In May 1673 the Mughal and Sidi fleets anchored off Bombay and required permission to winter (May-October) on the island. This permission Aungier, who was afraid of enraging the Mughal Emperor, accorded, and further allowed the four principal Mughal frigates to be hauled ashore under shelter of Bombay Castle. On September of the same year the Sidis, after launching the frigates and pillaging the Ratnagiri coast, returned without warning and laid waste Pen and Nagothana, in spite of Aungier's protests to both the Sidi and the Governor of Surat. On the 24th April, 1674, they were driven in by a gale and again anchored in the harbour. They were at once ordered to leave, but refused; and then despatched several boats up the Mahim creek, landed at Sion and drove the people out of their houses. All attempts by the Bombay garrison to dislodge them failed. In 1675 Aurangzeb strengthened the Sidi fleet with two large ships, two frigates and two thousand men; and this fleet arrived in Bombay harbour under the command of Sidi Kasim and Sidi Sambal in April 1677. The former was accommodated near the fort, apparently in the original custom-house near the present mint, while the latter took up his residence in Mazagaon. In October of that year Sidi Sambal and Sidi Kasim quarrelled about the command of the fleet; and Sidi Kasim with 300 men marched from his quarters and attacked Sambal and his 300 followers in Mazagaon. The sound of the firing reached the castle which detached the best of the garrison and a troop of horse to quell the riot; and Sambal thereupon retired leaving Kasim in possession of the fleet, which eventually sailed away in November. Between 1678 and 1682 the Sidi made continual use of Bombay as a military base, and thence fortified Underi, pillaged Pen, sold Maratha captives in the Mazagaon market, attacked Kenery and endeavoured to signalise his victories by adorning the Mazagaon shore with a forest of Maratha heads stuck

upon poles; and the Company felt powerless to oppose his enormities for fear that the Mughal might hinder their trade at Surat if they did so.

After the cold weather cruise in March 1683, the Sidi and Mughal fleets returned to Bombay, and the former remained at Mazagaon more insolent than ever. The presence of both fleets raised food to famine-prices, and in May of the same year two unarmed English soldiers were brutally cut down in the Mazagaon market by two of the Sidi's Pathans. By way of expressing their annoyance the Bombay Council in July despatched a crazy councillor and an intoxicated sea-captain to board Sidi Kasim's ship. They were at once overpowered and sent back, whereupon the captain fired a broadside into the Sidi vessel which did little injury, except in Surat where the mob, on learning the news, crowded the streets demanding vengeance on the English. Under Keigwin's regime the Sidi received no encouragement and was forced to give the island a wide berth; but in 1689, after the rupture with the Mughals which formed part of Sir John Child's ambitious scheme for increasing the power of the English; Sidi Yakut landed at Sewri with 20,000 men, made himself master of the small fort there, plundered Mahim, and hoisted his flag on Mazagaon fort, which had been abandoned on the news of his arrival at Sewri. A fruitless attempt was made to dislodge him; and by the 15th February 1689 he was master of the whole island except the castle and a certain area of land to the south of it. He then proceeded to raise batteries on Dongri hill, which disturbed the garrison very much, he put four great guns in the custom house, commonly called the India House, and raised a battery at the Moody's house within 200 paces of the fort, and another in the Lady's house that the General had been so unkind to, so that it was dangerous to go out or in at the Castle gate. "We passed the months from April to September very ill," adds Hamilton, "for provisions grew scarce by the addition of 3,000 Shivajis that were employed as auxiliaries in the service of the Company." The impossibility of making any headway against the invaders by force made Sir John Child sick, and accordingly in December 1689 he despatched two envoys to Aurangzeb's court to sue for peace. Their object was aided by certain external factors, namely the jealousy of the Mughal General Mukhtyar Khan, the representations of the native merchants in Bombay who realized that they would lose all if the Sidi remained master of the island, and lastly the secret influence of the Portuguese, who knew that they would probably lose Salsette if the Sidi held Bombay. Accordingly in February 1690 Aurangzeb issued a new *firman* to the Company, which consented the withdrawal of the Sidi on condition that moneys owing to his subjects should be paid, that recompense (Rs. 1,50,000) should be made for the Mughal losses, and that Mr. Child who did the disgrace, be turned out and expelled. Sidi Yakut eventually evacuated Bombay on the 8th June 1690; but to quote Hamilton's words, "he left behind him a pestilence

which in four month's time destroyed more men than the war had done, and for joy made a malicious bonfire of his headquarters, Mazagaon fort". From that date Bombay suffered no further annoyance from this opponent.

Meanwhile the prevalence of piracy in Indian waters added further checks to the growth of Bombay. The Bombay Council writing to London in 1691 remarked that trade was greatly hampered by the large numbers of pirates along the coast, who were alleged to be Danes but probably were of different nationalities. Guillam, an Englishman, for example was caught red-handed off Junagad; the Arabs at Muscat were perpetually marauding; the Cota or Malabar pirates swarmed about the southern coasts; and John Avery and Captain Kidd between them terrorised the merchants of both the East and West Indies. It was Avery who seized the Mughal pilgrimship Gunsway (*Ganja Savai*) in 1695, which so enraged the Musalman populace of Surat that the Governor was obliged to put the President and all the other English residents in irons, to prevent their being torn to pieces by the mob. In July 1696 a proclamation was issued by the Lords Justices of England in the King's name against all pirates; but apparently had little effect, for between March the 22nd and October the 30th of that year at least seven serious outrages upon the high-seas were reported by the Surat Council to the Court of Directors as exemplifying the causes of the hostile attitude of the Mughal government. But the most powerful of all the sea-rovers of this period was Angre, who in 1698 was appointed Admiral of the Maratha fleet and proved himself a brave and daring commander. He became the warden of the West Coast. As a head of the Maratha navy his career is well known in the Anglo-Maratha history. His ships crept along the coast plundering every vessel and sailing up every creek to sack the undefended towns. Shivaji had guarded every creek with a fort, and these fell into the hands of Angre who became the founder of a coastal empire extending from Goa to Bombay. The fleets of Angre consisted of fast sailing-vessels of small burden and rowing boats of forty or fifty oars, manned with desperate men. From the *wik* or creek in which their fleet lay these *wikings* or creekmen of the Konkan pounced upon their prey. They would gather astern of their victim and fire into her rigging until they succeeded in disabling her, whereupon the rowing-boats closed in and the crew sword in hand boarded her from all sides.

Kanhoji had vastly extended his power during the regime of Tarabai and when in 1707 Shahu was released from Mughal confinement he readily joined him in the latter's struggle with Tarabai, the wife of Rajaram for political supremacy. However subsequently he went over to Tarabai's party and started war upon Shahu capturing several forts above the *ghats* belonging to Shahu. It was however Balaji Vishwanath, Shahu's

Peshwa, who ultimately won over Kanhoji Angre to Shahu's cause. The complete understanding between Shahu's Peshwa on the one hand and Kanhoji Angre, the supreme commander of the Maratha navy, had its natural effect upon the policy of the Sidi of Janjira and the English of Bombay, two constant enemies of Kanhoji, who had all along shown determined oppression to any Maratha ambition. The Sidi readily concluded a peace with Angre on 30 January, 1715 but the English of Bombay, would not so easily give up the game and needed a lesson. Angre's first attack was levelled against Mr. Chown, the Company's Governor at Karwar, and his wife, and ended in Chown's death and in his wife being held to ransom on Kenery island. This was followed by a two years' peace between Angre and the Bombay Council, after which Angre again attacked Captain Peacocke in the *Somers* and Captain Collet in the *Grantham* and thereafter continued at intervals to harass the trade of Bombay. By the 26th December 1715, when Mr. Charles Boone assumed the Governorship of Bombay, he had become extremely powerful, and was the subject of a petition to the Governor from the inhabitants of Bombay who complained of the heavy oppressions and injuries they had received from Angre who was then at Golabey (Kolaba) and had also the island of Kenery with the strong castle of Gercy (Gheria), the channel of whose harbour is very difficult to find out. The continual attacks committed both by Angre and European buccaneers at length caused so much alarm to the Court of Directors that they besought the King to despatch an expedition against them; and accordingly in February 1721 Commodore Matthews sailed with a squadron from Spithead, and arrived in Bombay in September of that year.

Downing who had accompanied Charles Boone to Bombay gives an account of this expedition, and tells us that "the Commodore much resented the President's not saluting him on his arrival in the harbour. The President of Bombay knew the length of his own commission, and as he was President for the King and a Governor for the Company he imagined, as all other great men in such stations would, that he was something superior to a Commodore of a squadron, though the Directors of the Company had sent orders by the *Grantham* for him to salute the Commodore on his arrival. After many messages to and fro, disputing who should fire first, the President in Council complied to salute him and then the Commodore thought fit to go on shore. The island of Bombay was now thronged with the Navy officers who looked as much superior to us as the greatness of their ambition could possibly lead them. There were daily duels fought by one or other of them and challenges perpetually sent round the island by the gentlemen of the navy. Having such a great number of gallant heroes we were in great hopes of totally demolishing Angria". In consultation with the Bombay Council the Commodore decided to attack Angre in Alibag, making Chaul his base of operations,

and the Viceroy of Goa and the Portuguese General of the North at Vasai were both invited to assist in the attack. "The Viceroy with much pretended zeal came in person, designing to head such forces as he had raised. The General of the North also came down to Bombay and was most magnificently entertained by the President." Unfortunately the attack, though well-planned, entirely failed, owing chiefly to the timidity and duplicity of the Portuguese. On the day of the attack, for example, "the Viceroy of Goa went aboard his ship, pretending that he was very ill. The Commodore sent his own doctor to him to offer his services and supply him with such medicines as should be convenient for him, if he was really taken ill. But the doctor returned and reported to the Commodore that he did not perceive anything to be the matter with him." The behaviour of the Viceroy was reflected in the conduct of the Portuguese troops, who failed to advance, as arranged, at the critical moment, and the final scene depicts the choleric Commodore "coming ashore in a violent rage, flying at the General of the North and thrusting his cane in his mouth, and treating the Viceroy not much better". Up to the date of Governor Boone's departure, with which the period under review closes, no further action was taken against Angre.

The ill-behaviour of the Portuguese on the occasion of this attack was in keeping with the line of policy adopted by them throughout the period. Aungier had endeavoured prior to his death to arrange a treaty with them, under which Portuguese boats were to be free of all port-dues at Bombay in return for a similar concession to Bombay boats at Thane and Karanja, but on the strength of advice given to the Prince Regent of Portugal by the Viceroy of Goa the proposals were rejected. In 1679 serious friction arose over a demand made by the Governor of Bombay for payment of duty amounting to Rs. 100 on a Portuguese vessel which had loaded at Karanja; in 1684 Dr. St. John, Judge of Bombay, informed the King that the Portuguese were secretly aiding the interlopers and had given help to Keigwin; in 1685 the Portuguese seized a riceboat and ship; belonging to President Gifford and imprisoned the crew and passengers; and in 1691 the Bombay Council were obliged to seize all the land belonging to the Jesuits in Bombay in revenge for the help accorded by the latter to the Sidi. These and other events such as the imprisonment of Fra John de Gloria by Vauxe for having converted Nathaniel Thorpe to Roman Catholicism, originated in the antagonism which first sprang into existence with the marriage-treaty between Charles II and the Infanta Catherine, and continued until Chimnaji Appa strode victorious over the battlements of Vasai. "They (the Portuguese) have stopped all provisions from coming to the island," wrote Sir John Gayer in 1700. "All this puts the poor inhabitants into such a consternation that they think of nothing but flying off the island to save their little, for fear they should lose all as they did when the Sidi landed." About twenty years

later similar attacks and reprisals were still taking place; for according to Downing, a Portuguese boat in his time ran past Bombay without paying duty whereupon "Mr. Home, the English Chief at Mayham (Mahim) sent out a gallivat to bring the Portuguese boat to. Accordingly the gallivat fired a gun, which was soon returned by the Portuguese fort at Bombay, opposite to Mayham, the river not being above musket shot over. The English soon answered their shot and they kept cannonading each other almost four days. Then we sent up some mortars, which soon beat their church and town about their ears. However, Governor Boone sent Mr. Bendall to the General of the North to adjust this affair. The President and Council also sent Mr. Cowing to the Viceroy of Goa, with complaints of the behaviour of the General of the North."

Up to the date of Charles Boone's arrival the island was continually menaced by European and Native enemies, and the progress of trade was hampered by an impoverished treasury and by internal schism. The letters and documents of the last quarter of the seventeenth and the opening years of the eighteenth centuries portray the anxiety felt both by the Court of Directors and the Bombay Council at the power of the Sidi, the Pirates, the Marathas, the Mughal Government and the Portuguese. By 1681 Sambhaji and his rival were in possession of Henery and Kenery whereby "the administration of the island of Bombay has been the most difficult as well as the most embarrassing part of our duty"; Sambhaji's twelve armed gallivats interrupted trade; the presence of the Mughal fleet exposed the island to sudden attack. The Bombay Council had no alternative but to try and keep peace with both Maratha and Musalman, and determined not to precipitate a struggle with the Marathas as long as they were powerful enough to seize Bombay boats as in 1701, and insist upon making Bombay the arena of their conflicts with the Sidi Admiral of the Great Mughal. There were French alarms also; reports of three French ships that lay at anchor off Old Woman's island, weighed and betook themselves to a clean pair of heels, and portents in the shape of a Danish fleet which, cruising too near the island, "hindered our trade and made our merchants fearful of going to sea." In consequence of these circumstances the population of Bombay decreased, the Company's coffers were gradually depleted, the defences of the island were neglected and trade languished.

But with the arrival of Charles Boone on the 26th December, 1715, a brighter day dawned. His first achievement was to render Bombay secure from attack. With that object in view he carried out the plan which Aungier had formulated forty years earlier and in the words of Downing, "built a wall round the town of Bombay and fortified the same with a strong guard, kept at Mendon's (Mendham's) point on the south part of the island, with strong gates and a large bastion, on which

they could mount twelve fine cannon, and in the lower part were four large cannon that commanded all the harbour, each carrying shot of 48 pounds. The west and north gates were as strongly fortified. He also extended the old dock-yard in the Fort, established the Marine, and encouraged the erection of several buildings, in particular the Church, now St. Thomas' Cathedral, which was opened with considerable pomp on Christmas Day, 1718. He also settled quarrels about custom dues in a treaty with the Portuguese (dated December 1716); but the Portuguese would not observe the treaty, and continued to intrigue with Angre against the English. Under his auspices the depredations of Angre were to some extent checked; a secret war committee was appointed; and an expedition against Angre's chief stronghold was despatched under the command of Mr. Walter Brown. On the 17th October 1720 "the *Defiance*, the *Elizabeth* and a gallivat from our fleet before Gheria" brought news that Mr. Brown had landed a detachment, slain a large number of the enemy and destroyed some of Angre's shipping. With the Portuguese also Boone dealt summarily. In May 1720 he ordered all Portuguese priests and bishops to quit the island within twenty-four hours, on the grounds that they were implicated in Rama Kamati's supposed treasonable dealing with Angre, to which the Portuguese responded by stopping several Bombay ships, beating Bombay workmen, and seizing Bombay letters addressed to Madras. Thereupon, in July 1720, Boone issued a proclamation "requiring all persons who live in other parts to repair hither with their arms in the term of twenty-one days, on pain of having their estates confiscated to the Right Honourable Company"—a proceeding which so greatly annoyed the Portuguese, many of whom owned property in Bombay, that they erected a gibbet at Bandora and "hoisted up and let down again three times De Chaves and another man, both inhabitants of the island, who were sent hence to give Fernando de Silvera notice of the proclamation". Boone thereupon confiscated all the Portuguese estates and had a rule passed that no one, who was not a regular inhabitant of Bombay, would for the future be allowed to purchase any land in the island.

The one blot upon Boone's governorship was his treatment of Rama Kamati in the matter alluded to above. This man had been an old ally of the Company and apparently had given the Bombay Council much assistance in times of stress; for in a letter to Bombay of June 30th, 1690, the Surat Council wrote: "On the island is Ramagee Comajee (Rama Kamat-ji) an old trusty servant of the Right Honourable Company and one that has stood by them on the island all the wars and has been very assisting on all occasions not only in procuring men but in encouraging them to fight the enemy. He is one the general had a great kindness for, for his good services, and knowing him to be a great sufferer by the war promised him encouragement. Those that know him give him a very good character." In spite of this, however, Rama Kamati was arraigned

for high treason in 1718, the chief evidence against him being a letter dated October 12th, 1718 purporting to have been written by him to Kanhoji Angre, which commenced as follows: "To the opulent, magnificent as the sun, valorous and victorious, always courageous, the liberal, prudent and pillar of fortitude, the essence of understanding, the protector of Brahmins, defender of the faith, prosperous in all things, honoured of kings above all councillors, Senhor Kanhoji Angre Sarqueel,—Ramaji Kamati your servant writes with all veneration and readiness for your service, and with your favour I remain as always. Our General here has resolved in Council to attack and take the fort of Cundry (Khanderi or Kenery), and thus it is agreed to environ the said fort on the 17th October, and the armada, powder and ball and all other necessities for war are ready. I therefore write your honour that you may have the said fort well furnished." It is possible that the trial, which caused considerable excitement throughout Bombay and Western India, might have ended in the acquittal of the accused, but for the action taken by Boone. "On his own responsibility", writes Philip Anderson, "the Governor examined the clerk (i.e., Rama Kamati's clerk) respecting the contents of the letter, but could not induce him to make any disclosures." So availing himself of his antiquarian knowledge and remembering, we presume, that the treason, His Honour resolved to try whether the secret could be wrenched out, and to use his own words, the man "did not confess till irons were screwed on his thumbs, the smart whereof brought him to confession." Govindji himself was then examined and although he denied all knowledge of the letter, his equivocation betrayed him, so that it became necessary to squeeze the truth out of him also. His Honour, as chief inquisitor, had the terrible irons applied and Govindji confessed all that was required. These confessions turned the scale against the unfortunate Shenvi who was at once found guilty and sentenced to perpetual imprisonment in the trunk (i.e., Portuguese *tronco*-jail) and to have his property worth Rs. 40,000, confiscated. His fate was shortly afterwards shared by Dalba, a Bhandari, who was likewise convicted of treason. The justice of the sentence has been severely commented upon by posterity and there is some ground for holding that the documentary evidence against Rama Kamati may have been forged. "We have no reasonable doubt", writes Philip Anderson, "that Government was the tool of a base conspiracy and as such committed a cruel act of oppression. It is probable that the prisoner, with the native love of intrigue, had so far played a double game as to hold secret communication with Angre, but the evidence adduced to prove that those were treasonable was damnably false. Never even in Indian Courts of Law were perjury and forgery used with less scruple and more subtlety. Many years afterwards when the condemned man had pined in prison his family were sunk in the depths of poverty, and his judges reposing comfortably in the belief that they had administered

impartial justice, it oozed out that vile caitiffs had forged the letters which were produced against Rama and attached to them fictitious seals!"

Excluding this business of Rama Kamati's trial Charles Boone's services to Bombay were of the highest value; and the results of his governorship are suitably portrayed by Downing in his account of Boone's departure from the island in January 1722. "The time limited for the Government of the Honourable Charles Boone Esquire was expired", he remarks, "and the Court of Directors appointed the Honourable John Pitts (Phipps ?) Esquire to succeed him. Governor Boone had behaved in so honourable a manner that it was with the utmost reluctance that all ranks of people at Bombay parted with him. And it may be truly said that none of his predecessors in that post ever deserved so much on all accounts or had such real respect paid them. He left the island of Bombay in January 1722, and embarked on board the *London* (Captain Upton) and had with him the *Greenwich* in company (Captain Barnes). Though this honourable gentleman was defeated in most of his undertakings against Angre with no small trouble and concern to himself, he left the island in a good posture of defence both by sea and land. He found the same unguarded and very poor, but left it flourishing in trade, and many merchants were come from Madras and Bengal to settle there. After His Honour was attended to the waterside by most of the inhabitants, he took his leave and returned them his hearty thanks for the sincerity of their friendship and subjection during his Government. When the *London* was under sail and the other Governor taking his leave, he delivered up the keys and the charge of the island, with all the proper writings in a large box. At His Honour's embarking the guns fired all round the Fort, as did the shipping and naval forces of the island, except the men-of-war."

1722-1764: Upto the middle of the eighteenth century the policy of the Company in Bombay was to temporise with the various Native powers in Western India and to utilise the comparative tranquillity thus engendered in gradually strengthening their political and commercial position. Complete isolation was impossible; but having decided which of their natural enemies was likely to prove the most troublesome, the Bombay Council endeavoured to keep on good terms with that party; and whenever it became necessary to side with one power or the other, they sought to afford such assistance to the weaker as would prevent its being too speedily overwhelmed. In the matter of Angre and the Sidi, as also in the case of the Portuguese and Marathas their policy was based on these considerations. They fully comprehended that the power of the Sidi was waning, that Angre was an extremely dangerous neighbour, and that any successful attempt; to subjugate the latter required a long period of preparation; and in consequence they determined by supporting the former to use him as a foil to Angre until such time as they should themselves be

ready to stand alone. This settled policy towards external forces, as also a settled domestic administration, were rendered possible by the fact that the dual control of affairs by the Presidents at Bombay and Surat and internal schism, which had marred all progress at the close of the seventeenth century, had disappeared and yielded place to unity of interest and purpose.

In regard to the Sidi, the President reported in 1724 that "Sidi Saut of Anjanvel or Dabhol has at sundry times sent off to our vessels provision and refreshment, while cruising off that port, and has been otherwise very courteous in his advices in relation to Angre. In order to keep him in the like good disposition it is resolved to make him a present of three yards of scarlet cloth, a pair of pistols, and a gilt sword." Eleven years later (1735) the Bombay Council advanced a loan of Rs. 30,000 to the Sidi, in order to prevent his making peace with the Marathas and possibly plundering the country round Pen, although by that date his entire fleet had fallen into the hands of the Marathas and Angre, and he himself was incapable of acting on the offensive. This was probably the last occasion on which the Bombay Council found it necessary to treat the Sidi as a possible enemy; for in 1737 they actually enlisted Sidi troops for the defence of Sion fortress and in 1746 after England had declared war with France and Spain Captain James Sterling was sent to Janjira to treat with the Sidi chief for the enlistment of 200 men, who were to form an emergency camp in the centre of Bombay. The compliment was returned a year later when Sidi Masud, who had caused much trouble at Surat by his conflict with the Muhamadan governor, was permitted to enlist troops in Bombay and was furnished by the marine storekeeper with two 4 pounder and six 6-pounder iron guns for the use of his grab, at the rate of Rs. 18 per cwt. Subsequent to this date his once troublesome opponent sinks into complete insignificance, and confines his diminished activity to consolidating his own position in Jafarabad and Janjira.

The tale of Bombay's dealings with Angre is somewhat more stirring. At the outset of the period (1722) we find Bombay in attacking some of Angre's grabs at Worli and carrying one of them back to Bombay the pirate retorts by capturing a Bombay ship in 1728 and attacking another in 1730.

After the death of Kanhoji Angre his son Manaji with the assistance of Portuguese resisted his brother Sambhaji's efforts to displace him. Forming an alliance with Marathas he tried to capture fort of Anjanvel under the guns of which lay the fleet of Sidi.

After the monsoon of 1755, the naval and military strength of Bombay was increased by the arrival of Admiral Watson with the Royal Squadron and of Colonel Robert Clive with a large detachment of the King's troops from England. The troops had been sent to attack the French and their

allies in the Deccan, but the Bombay Government thought they might first be employed with advantage in destroying the power of Angre. Admiral Watson consented on certain conditions to employing the King's ships in reducing the fastness, and Colonel Robert Clive tendered his services. Commodore James was sent with three ships to reconnoitre the fortress which was believed to be as strong as Gibraltar and, like that, situated on a mountain inaccessible from the sea. He however reported that the place was not high nor nearly so strong as it had been represented. On the 7th February 1756, the fleet sailed from Bombay. It consisted of 12 men-of-war (six of the royal fleet and six of the Company's), five bomb-vessels, 4 Maratha grabs and 50 gallivats. Aboard the ships, to co-operate with them on the land side, was a force of 800 Europeans, a company of King's Artillery, and 600 Native troops. Before the fleet sailed the chief officers met to determine how the prize money should be divided. According to the King's proclamation Clive was only entitled to the same share as the captain of a ship, but Watson generously consented "to give the Colonel such a part of his share as will make it equal the Rear-Admiral Pocock's".

On the 11th the squadron arrived off Gheria and found the Maratha force camped against it. Tulaji Angre terrified at the strength of the British fleet, left the fortress in charge of his brother and took refuge in the camp of his own countrymen. The Maratha general then endeavoured to persuade the admiral to postpone the commencement of hostilities, promising to bring Tulaji in person the next morning to arrange a peaceful surrender of the fortress. But as he failed to keep his word, the admiral gave the signal for attack. On the 13th February at 6-23 p.m. the flag in Gheria was struck, and an officer with sixty men marched into the fort and took possession; at 6-36 p.m. the English flag was hoisted. The following day Clive marched in with all the land forces, and then despatched a boat to Bombay with letters recording the capture of the Fort and the destruction of Angre's entire fleet. Thus the power of the Angre disappeared for ever from the political arena and in due course he settled down to the life of a country-landholder, subject to the laws of the British Government.

The whole episode shows that the English behaved contrary to the terms of the treaty agreed upon with the Peshwa in regard to the forts in the possession of Angre as also in appropriating his valuables. However the fact cannot be denied that it was the Peshwa who sought the naval co-operation of the English for putting Tulaji and therefore a part of the responsibility for the destruction of the Maratha navy has to be squarely placed on the Peshwa's shoulders. Manaji Angre died on 23rd September 1758 and his death materially damaged the ambition of the Peshwa to subjugate the Siddi of Janjira. After Manaji's death his eldest son Raghuji

was entrusted with the hereditary titles of *Sarkhel* and *wazart mali*. Raghuji maintained a steadfast friendship for the Peshwa's house but could no longer recapture the glory of the House of Angre's which was lost with the defeat of Tulaji and the destruction of the Maratha navy.

Meanwhile the forward march of the Marathas had introduced a new political element into the consultations of the Bombay Council. "The power," remarks a writer in the *Bombay Quarterly Review*, "which of all others, was every day becoming more formidable, not only on account of its great resources, but also of a certain mystery which in the opinion of the English hung about it, was that of the Raja of Satara, or rather of his ambitious minister. The active and marauding Shivajees, as the Marathas had been called, now mustered regular armies, with well-equipped trains of artillery, and not content with levying blackmail in the open country, were prepared to batter down walls, and capture their neighbours' fortresses. Their propensities were indeed feline rather than canine, and preferring weak to strong enemies they set their covetous eyes on the Portuguese possessions which lay at intervals between Goa and Surat, all of which they had sanguine expectations of acquiring. In the vicinity of Bombay their progress was more alarming than elsewhere. As they advanced, the Portuguese resisted, sometimes with desperate courage, like some wild beast at bay, which may for a while stagger the hunters by the ferocity of its aspect, but unable to save its own life, can at worst only inflict mortal injury upon one or two of its numerous assailants. Year by year the power which since the days of Albuquerque, had added romantic pages to Indian history; which instead of being content like the British with the monotonous details of commerce, had been distinguished alike by the brilliancy of its heroism and the magnitude of its vices, by the sack of cities, the plunder of helpless ryots, the establishment of the inquisition and other such tender appliances for the conversion of the heathen, by the multitude of its slaves and the capaciousness of its *Hidalgos'* harems—year after year that power was being curtailed by the encroachment of its enemies, and ever and anon tidings reached Bombay that the Marathas had seized another Portuguese fort or appropriated to themselves the revenues of another Portuguese district. In 1731 Thana was threatened, and the Government of Bombay, disposed at the time to assist the weaker side sent three hundred men to garrison it, but soon afterwards withdrew their aid and rather countenanced the aggressors. 'The Portuguese territories adjacent to Bombay', they wrote, 'have been suddenly invaded by the Marathas, a people subject to the Sow (Sahu) Raja, who have prosecuted their attempts so successfully as to render even our Honourable Master's island in danger.' In 1737 the Maratha army sat down before Thana, and although the Portuguese repelled two assaults with bravery, the third struck them with panic, and the place was taken."

Hence on the 27th April 1737 the President recommended his Council "to take into consideration what part it will be proper for us to act in the present juncture, though it will not be prudent to come to a final resolution till we know for certain what force the Portuguese can raise. An idle proposal has been made for permitting the Marathas to conquer Salsette and privately treat with them for delivering it to us. Besides the perfidy of such an action in regard to the Portuguese and the mischief it might bring upon our Honourable Masters from that nation, so many objections and difficulties occur against so treacherous a scheme that we can by no means think of undertaking it, were we even secure of the event". It was finally decided to hold aloof from the struggle for the present and to despatch Ramji Prabhu, a person of capacity and experience, to discover what were the exact intentions of Chimaji Appa, the Maratha general. Closer and closer pressed the invaders round the Portuguese, who repeatedly taunted the English with not making common cause against the idolators and the common enemies to all European nations. and finally sent Padre Manuel Rodrigo d'Eastrado from Vasai to Bombay to plead for assistance. In spite of the specious arguments of the priest, the Bombay Council adhered to their position of neutrality and desired the President to write to that effect to the General of the North. The end came in 1738. Once again the Portuguese raised a despairing cry for help, to which the Governor replied in the words "I dare not hazard to increase our charges by a rash and abrupt declaration of war against these people not only without the orders of my superiors, but without a force to support it and carry it through with dignity and reputation. From Goa also came a final appeal to which the Council responded by venturing a loan even at the hazard of our own private fortunes, in case of the same being disavowed by our employers;" and then—the curtain fell upon Portuguese dominion in the North Konkan. Bassein yielded to Chimnaji Appa's hordes, her inhabitants fled to safety in boats provided by the Bombay Council, and Salsette with its churches, monasteries and its Christian population became the property of the imperial banditti."

The Bombay Council were thus called upon to decide what policy to adopt towards the Marathas, and they wisely resolved to court their friendship for the time being. No sooner had Vasai fallen, therefore, than they despatched an emissary to Chinaji Appa with a letter of congratulation and a present of several yards of cloth, and in 1739 concluded through Captain Inchbird a treaty with the Peshwa, whereby they were permitted to trade freely throughout his dominions. The same officer was appointed to act as mediator between the Portuguese and Marathas in the matter of the transfer of Chaul in 1740; and throughout the ensuing twenty years the Bombay Council never lost an opportunity of strengthening the bonds of friendship between themselves and the government in Pune, being encouraged in their policy by the Directors of the Company

in England who to their advices on the subject of alliance with the Marathas ever added a note of warning against possible acts of treachery or hostility. In 1757 when the prospect of a French invasion was imminent, the Marathas offered to accommodate all European ladies and children at Thane; in 1759 a new embassy was sent to the Peshwa who was reported to be annoyed at the Bombay Council not having assisted him to capture Janjira; while in 1760 one Govind Shivram Pant delivered at the Company's new house an elephant presented by Nana (i.e. the Peshwa) to Honourable Masters. In this manner, by the constant exchange of presents and expressions of good-will, Bombay contrived to avoid open rupture with a power which, while thoroughly distrusting, she knew she was not yet strong enough to meet on equal terms. One by one the Sidi, the Angre and the Portuguese had succumbed; but their capacity for opposition was very small compared with that of the Marathas; and the Bombay Government very wisely set themselves to the cultivation of an open friendship until they had improved the military and marine forces of the island.

The proximity of the Marathas, coupled with the declaration of war by England against France and Spain in 1744 which lasted with intervals of comparative peace till 1762, and coupled also with the possibility of commercial rivalry with the Dutch between 1756 and the close of the period under review, was responsible for a marked strengthening of the Bombay fortifications. All trees within 120 yards of the outer Fort wall were cut down, and in 1739, after the fall of Vasai, the principal Native merchants subscribed Rs. 30,000 towards the construction of a ditch all round the Fort, which was finally completed in 1743 at cost of Rs. 2½ lakhs. Between 1746 and 1760 continual additions in the shape of bastions and batteries were made to the Fort, while the old fortress on Dongri hill was partially dismantled as being dangerously close to the town. The military forces were increased by the enrolment of larger numbers of native troops; the dockyard was extended; a marine was established; and in 1735 Lavji Nasarwanji the Wadia, Shipbuilder, was brought down to Bombay from Surat and was actively engaged throughout the whole period in building new vessels for the Company. The growth of the Company's political status went hand in hand with the social and economic development of Bombay. In 1728 a Mayor's Court was established; reclamation of a temporary nature was carried out at the Great Breach at Mahalakshmi; communications with Salsette and the mainland were improved; sanitary administration was introduced by the appointment of a member of the council as town scavenger in 1757, by the promulgation of building rules in 1748, and by the allotment of new areas for building outside the Fort in 1746; land was taken up for public thoroughfares; the old burial-ground at Mendham's Point was demolished and replaced by Sonapur in

1760; and every encouragement was given to both Europeans and Natives to build outside the walls.

By the end of 1764 Bombay had been rendered almost impregnable and far more compact than at the close of the first quarter of the eighteenth century. Colaba was still separated from Bombay by the tide, but the dam at Varli, which Captain Bates had constructed by 1727, had operated to check the inroads of the sea and had rendered the central portions of the island partly available for cultivation and habitation. The Fort, crowded with European and Native dwellings, the former white-washed and with covered piazzas, with warehouses, shops, and workyards was still the centre of business and urban life in virtue of its docks, its Green, charity schools, Courts of Justice, Mint and Church, but north of the outer wall a new town was springing into existence between Dongri hill and the oarts, and house-dotted gardens along the shore of Back Bay. Portions of Malabar Hill were let to the native inhabitants of this new town, and practically the entire area between the modern Grant Road and the Bandra creek was under cultivation, the inhabitants of the extra-mural area being strongly protected from attack by small forts at Mazagaon, Sewri and Varli and by the larger fortifications at Mahim and Sion. In a word Bombay, with her population of roughly 1,00,000 and her largely increased commercial relations, was practically ready by 1764 to appear in the arena and give proof of her political power, and only awaited the psychical moment to fight for the mastery of the whole of Western India.

It may be noted here that Peshwa Balaji Bajirao *alias* Nanasaheb had died on June 23, 1761 after the tragic Maratha defeat at Panipat and his son Madhavrao had succeeded him to Peshwaship on July 20 of the same year. He immediately came to grips with the difficult situation that cooperated him and by chastising Janoji Bhosle who had partnered the Nizam in the sack of Pune and by defeating Haider Ali restored the lost Maratha prestige to some extent. Madhavrao was alert to the menace the English posed and the relations between the two in spite of their recent co-operation in the defeat of Tulaji Angre was neither cordial nor inimical. The Marathas it may be recalled sought the help of the English at Bombay when Nizam Ali in 1761 threatened an attack upon Pune by sending their agent Govind Shivram and the English agreed to lend a military contingent with certain stipulations. However when Raghunathrao sent counter proposals with Gangadhar, the English demanded in return for such help the cession of Vasai and the whole of the island of Salsette. Raghunathrao wrote a biting reply that Vasai could never be parted with. Again when the Peshwa undertook operations against Haider Ali, the English at Bombay tried to take advantage of the discontent and captured the fort of Malwan belonging to the Chhatrapati of Kolhapur on 25th January 1765.

1764-1819 : The political history of Bombay during the latter portion of the eighteenth century is concerned almost wholly with the relations subsisting between the Company and the Maratha Government. Between 1763 and 1770 the Dutch made a final attempt to secure a factory in the neighbourhood of the island by secret negotiation with the Peshwa Madhva Rao; while danger of war with France was not wholly absent. Letters from Madras in 1771, for example, observed that an outbreak of hostilities was probable, and in 1777 Mr. Mostyn, the British agent in Pune, despatched such alarming accounts of French intrigues at the Peshwa's court, that the Bombay Council applied to Sir Edward Hughes or his successor to bring the Royal Squadron to Bombay as early as possible. A year later the French factory at Surat was seized by the Company, and all the Frenchmen in the city, with the exception of the Consul and his family, were deported to Bombay. But as Mr. Horsley pointed out to the Governor-General in a letter of the 2nd August 1779, there was little fear of direct attack upon Bombay; there was only the possibility that Nana Phadnavis, who was at the head of the military party in the Peshwa's government, might encourage the French by grants of territory to settle between English and Maratha territory and thus place the power and trade of Bombay in jeopardy. But the steady pursuance of a peaceful policy in earlier years had placed the island in a very strong position; and the intrigues of the French merely resulted in the adoption of measures for greater security. The confidence which now characterized the Bombay Council is shown in the despatch of an expedition to Persia in 1768. Since the destruction of Angre at Gheria they had been largely engaged in prosecuting the Company's commercial affairs at Gombroon and in the Persian Gulf and in fostering trade through Basra with the interior of Persia. In 1767 one of their ships, the *Defiance*, which was cruising in the Gulf, was blown up; and almost immediately afterwards the Bombay Council entered into an offensive alliance with Karim Khan, one of the local chiefs, against Carrack and Ormuz, and despatched ships, men and military stores to co-operate with him at the opening of the following year.¹

The close of the preceding period, it will be remembered, was marked by the existence of friendly relations between Bombay and the Marathas, albeit the English were keenly alive to the possibilities of hostility on the part of the Maratha power. "All the States in India" writes Grant Duff "were inimical to Europeans of every nation, and even when bound down by treaties, they were at best but faithless friends, whose jealousy no less than their prejudice would have prompted them to extirpate the foreigners." Clive himself, at the time of the expedition against Angre, had clearly proved to Bombay that no reliance could be

¹ *Bombay Gazetteer Materials, Part I; Edwardes' Rise of Bombay.*

placed upon the *bona fides* of the Peshwa's representatives, and by 1764 the Council had decided once for all that exceptional prudence was necessary to prevent the undermining of the Company's position in Western India and the precipitation of hostilities. For the first few years of the period under review therefore the old policy of friendship was pursued, combined with orders, such as that of March 22, 1765, prohibiting the supply of arms, cannon and marine stores to any country power. In 1766 the Court of Directors, learning that Tulaji Angre's two sons had escaped from confinement in a Maratha fort and had fled to Bombay for protection, urged upon the Council the possibility of the Marathas taking umbrage at this event and the consequent advisability of dismissing the fugitives as early as possible; while in 1767 the dread of the influence of Hyder Ali led to the despatch of a fresh embassy to the Peshwa. In their letter of instructions to their envoy, the Bombay Government declared that the growing power of the Marathas was a subject much to be lamented, "and has not failed to attract our attention as well as that of the Presidencies of Madras and Bengal, inasmuch that nothing either in their power or ours would be omitted to check the same as much as possible". The envoy was to attempt to negotiate an alliance against Hyder. On the 29th November 1767 Mr. Mostyn reached "a pagoda called Ganeshkhind within one *kos* of Poona". He resided at the capital for three months and had many interviews with the Peshwa. "He was always treated with great courtesy by the Sovereign and Ministers, and many intricate negotiations were begun, but none were brought to any definite conclusion, because both parties were watching the tide of events."¹

The mission however obtained no material results as its intentions had become too obvious to the Maratha Government to be ignored. The party returned to Bombay in great disappointment on 27th February 1768. The only gain they made was the valuable information they gathered about the acute dissension then raging between the Peshwa and his uncle Raghunathrao. The prohibition of the export of iron which Bohras and others sent across the harbour for the service of the Marathas was a further measure of precaution, taken by the English dictated by the knowledge that before long they should have to meet the army of the Marathas; while in 1771 the Board recorded their strong objection to the sale or export from Bombay of "Europe naval stores, on the grounds that they led to an increase of the Marathas' naval force, very much against the interest of the Company."

But from the year 1771 when Mr. William Hornby assumed the office of Governor of Bombay, the Company's policy suffered a radical alteration. The hour had arrived for Bombay to emerge as a military power;

¹ *Selections from State papers* (1885), *Maratha Series*, xi-xii.

and dissensions among the Marathas themselves afforded the President and Council the opportunity of casting aside the role of a purely mercantile body and putting to the test the military and political capacity which for many years they had been steadily perfecting.¹

In April 1772 when Madhavrao was on his deathbed, the President of the Bombay Council received orders from the Home authorities to try to acquire from the Marathas some pieces on the mainland of India like Salsette, Vasai, Elephanta, Karanja and other islands in the vicinity of Bombay and to station an English agent at Pune to join that object. Accordingly Mostyn was deputed for second time being already acquainted with the Pune Court. He arrived on 13th October, 1772. On November 18, 1772, Peshwa Madhavrao died. The English seized this opportunity to attack the Maratha ports of Thane, Vasai, Vijayadurg and Ratnagiri on the west coast but these moves of the English were counteracted by Dhulap, the Maratha naval officer of Vijayadurg and Trimbak Vinayak, the *sar-subha* of Vasai and the Konkan and the English attack was repelled. After the death of Madhavrao, his younger brother Narayanrao had assumed the *Peshwaship*. It was not however destined to last long for his scheming uncle Raghunathrao encompassed his murder and assumed the *Peshwaship* himself. It is not necessary here to discuss the details of the controversy that raged in the Maratha court but suffice it to say that prominent Maratha diplomats headed by Nana Phadnis came together and formed a group which came to be called the *Barbhais* with the specific intent of ousting Raghunathrao. They had pinned all their hopes on the pregnant wife of the murdered Peshwa, Gangabai, and rallied round her. When Gangabai gave birth to a son, the plot against Raghunathrao succeeded beyond measure who now became a fugitive hunted down by the forces of the Pune court. It was at this juncture that the English agent residing at Pune created fresh trouble. He suddenly left Pune and visited Bombay on 8th December, 1773. Hornby was then the president of the Bombay Council. He offered to assist Raghunathrao to regain the *gadi* on condition that he would cede to them Broach, Jambusar and Oplad, Vasai and its dependencies, the island of Salsette and Karanja, Kenery, Elephanta and Hog islands in Bombay harbour. The Company had for some time coveted Salsette, Vasai and Karanja, knowing fully well that possession of them would preclude other nations from access to the most commodious port in India and would secure the principal inlet to the Maratha country for woollens and other staples of England, the annual imports of which amounted at that date to some

¹ Bengal was declared to be the seat of the Governor-General in Council in 1773 by Act 13th Geo. III Cap. 63, and Bombay and Madras were created Presidencies subject to Bengal. Eleven years later (1784) the administration of Bombay was vested in a Governor and three Councillors (*Auber's Analysis*, p. 380).

fourteen lakhs of rupees. They had, previous to their proposals to Raghunathrao, endeavoured to obtain these islands by diplomatic measures and had despatched a Resident to negotiate with the Peshwa at Pune; but the negotiations proved fruitless. The acquisition of the islands was eventually accelerated by a sudden movement on the part of the Portuguese. At the very moment when negotiations with Raghunathrao were in progress news reached the Council that the Portuguese intended to take advantage of the discord which prevailed at Pune to seize Salsette and other places. "Had this event taken place," the Bombay Government wrote to the Governor-General and Council, "it would not only effectually have prevented us from ever acquiring Salsette for the Honourable Company, but the Portuguese would then again have had it in their power to obstruct our trade by being in possession of the principal passes to the inland country and to lay whatever imposition they pleased upon it, which in former times on every occasion they were so prone to do, which of course would have been of infinite prejudice to the trade, revenue and interests of the Company in these parts, in so much that we should in great measure have been subject to the caprice of the Portuguese."¹

Under these circumstances the Bombay Council hastily signed a treaty of alliance with Raghunathrao and commenced (1774) the 1st Maratha war by invading Salsette and laying siege to Thane. On the day the forces set out against Thane, the Portuguese fleet appeared off Bombay, and "the commander, so soon as he gained intelligence of our proceedings, delivered a formal protest by direction, as he said, of the Captain-General of Goa, which shows the necessity of the measure we have pursued;" to which the Council replied in the following terms: "As to the claims of your nation to the countries situated between Chaul and Daman, we are perfectly unacquainted with them. Though part of those countries did formerly belong to your nation, yet they were taken from you by the Marathas about seven and thirty years ago. During all the intervening time we have never understood that you ever made any attempt to recover them." After a long and wearisome march, "the distance from Sion to this place having been much misrepresented", our troops took possession of the town of Thana. The siege of the fortress was a more difficult task than was anticipated. Mr. John Watson, Superintendent of the Bombay Marine, and General Gordon, who were sent to co-operate with each other for the good of the service, differed as to the method of reducing the fort; but the views of the latter eventually prevailed and the siege was commenced with the utmost vigour. During the operations a cannon ball came through an old wall near which Mr. Watson was standing,

¹ For further particulars see Danvers' *Report on Portuguese Records*, pp. 108-10, and Edwards' *Rise of Bombay*.

driving the dust into his eyes, while a stone struck him on the arm. The wound at first did not seem to be dangerous; but a few days later he had to leave Thane, and in the diary of the 26th December, 1774, we read: "The body of the late John Watson, Esquire, was interred this morning in the burying ground without the town (Sonapur), being attended by the principal inhabitants. Every public honour his memory." It was also unanimously resolved that a handsome monument be ordered to his memory in the church with a suitable inscription on it at the Honourable Company's expense. On the 27th December an attempt was made to fill up the ditch; but, wrote the General, "the loss in killed and wounded was so great that I was obliged to order them to retreat before the passage across the ditch could be completed." Next day the fort was taken by assault, and the slaughter was very great from the resentment of the soldiers from their former sufferings.

Thane having fallen, the whole of Salsette and the smaller islands were occupied by Bombay troops. As has been stated already, Raghunathrao had become a fugitive. The Pune ministers followed the capture of Thane by the English by blocking the coastal trade of the latter and stopped supplies reaching Bombay from outside but it did not help the recovery of Thane. It was at this juncture that Raghunathrao took the most suicidal step by asking the English for armed help by sending his agents to Mostyn at Pune in October 1774 and to Robert Gambier at Surat. Raghunathrao evading the Maratha forces that were pursuing him reached Cambay where he was received by Mr. Malet, agent of the English factory, when he implored for shelter and safe transport to Surat. Mostyn had already prepared the ground and instructed various British workers for extending hospitality to Raghunathrao who was enabled by Malet to travel by land to the harbour of Bhavnagar whence the English ship conveyed him to Surat on 23rd February. On the 7th March 1775 the long-deferred treaty between Raghunathrao and the Bombay Government was signed at Surat. Under the terms of this treaty (1) a military contingent of 2,500 men including 700 Europeans with sufficient artillery was to be placed at the disposal of Raghunathrao, the expenses whereof viz., one and a half lakhs were to be paid every month in advance; (2) Rs. 6 lakhs or an equivalence in jewellery was to be deposited with the English and (3) in addition Raghunathrao was to cede to the English in perpetuity all the Bombay islands including Thane, Vasai and Salsette and the talukas of Jambusar and Oplad near Surat.

In pursuance of this agreement an English force under the command of Colonel Keatinge left Bombay and reached Surat. This naturally brought about war between the Marathas and the English, in which the latter were worst sufferers. When these events were taking place, changes were implemented in the administration of the company

with the Governor-General assuming supreme powers under the Regulating Act.

It may be noted that Colonel Keatinge found his task most irksome and invidious. The war with the Marathas in Gujarat was also to the disadvantage of the English. There also arose unforeseen complications owing to a change at this time in the character of the Company's administration. Under the Regulating Act Warren Hastings was appointed the Governor-General of the three Presidencies of Bengal, Bombay and Madras of which new position he assumed charge on 26th October, 1774. Hornby, the President of the Bombay Council, preferred to acknowledge Hastings' authority who had addressed a strong remonstrance to Bombay reminding the President that he had acted without authority by contracting the treaty of Surat in violation of the existing relations with the Maratha government. He also called upon the Bombay authorities to withdraw their forces and stop the war which they had started. However the Bombay authorities took no notice of these orders of the Supreme Government and in open defiance of them continued the war on their own account. On this the Calcutta Council wrote another strong protest to Bombay which said "Our duty imposes upon us the painful necessity of declaring that we wholly condemn the measures which you have adopted, that we hold the treaty which you have entered into with Raghoba invalid and the war which you have undertaken against the Maratha State, impolitic, dangerous, unauthorized and unjust; both are expressly contrary to the late Act of Parliament. You have imposed on yourselves the charge of conquering the whole Maratha Empire for a man who appears incapable of affording you any effectual assistance in it; the plan which you have formed instead of aiming at a decisive conquest, portends an indefinite scene of troubles, without an adequate force, without navy or certain resources to extricate you from him. We solemnly protest against you for all the consequences and peremptorily require you to withdraw the Company's forces to your own garrison in whatever state your affairs may be, unless their safety may be endangered by their retreat. We expect your punctual compliance with our commands. It is our intention to open a negotiation with the ruling party of the Maratha State at Pune as soon as possible."¹

Warren Hastings also wrote to the Pune Court concerning this dispatch to Bombay informing the Pune Court of his intention to send a trusted and competent agent to stop the war and negotiate a friendly understanding with the Marathas. Upon this Sakharam Bapu wrote a letter to Hastings outlining the position of the Bombay Council vis-a-vis Raghunathrao. This interference from Calcutta was highly resented by

¹ Forrest, *Maratha Series*, p. 238; *Mahadji Sindia* by Natu, p. 280; *Secret Committee's Vth Report*, p. 80.

the Bombay Council who dispatched a special agent to Calcutta to explain matters personally and at the same time referred their complaints for decision to the home authorities in England. Warren Hastings sent Colonel Upton to Pune in spite of the protests from Raghunathrao and assured the Pune Court that full powers had been granted to Colonel Upton for negotiating the terms of peace and that whatever he would settle would be faithfully carried out by both Calcutta and Bombay. Colonel Upton was requested by the Bombay authorities to visit them first before proceeding to Pune which he refused. Upton reached Purandar on 31st December, 1775. The Pune Court annoyed by the duplicity of the English authorities at Bombay and Calcutta tried to conciliate Raghunathrao but he was not amenable to such a move. The discussions between the Maratha Court and Colonel were long and vexatious. Upton demanded permanent cession of Vasai, Salsette and Broach and the long stretch of the Bombay Court to which the Maratha Court would not agree. Upton wrote to Hastings about this situation and the latter concluded that the only cause lay in war for the resumption of which he issued fresh orders. However an unforeseen emergency viz., the escape and rebellion of the pretender of Sadashivrao Bhau from Ratnagiri on 18th February, 1776 forced the hands of the Maratha Court which relaxed in its old demands. Accordingly a fresh treaty was signed on 1st March, 1776 which annulled all engagements with Raghunathrao on conditions that the English were not disturbed in the possession of Broach (captured by assault in 1772), Salsette, Karanja, Elephanta and Hog islands. Vasai remained in the hands of the Marathas. This arrangement was communicated by Upton to Bombay and Calcutta calling upon the former to stop their hostilities towards the Marathas. Raghunathrao was of course least expected to agree to an arrangement in which he was deprived of all powers but the Bombay Council equally disliked the treaty and appealed to the Home Government over the heads of the Governor-General and his Council. The Bombay Council though it was disgusted with the antics and vain boasts of Raghunathrao did not agree to the demand of the Pune Court for the surrender of his person and instead informed the Pune Court that they had already withdrawn their support to Raghunathrao and the ministers could secure his person in any way they liked. He now tried to seek the protection of the Portuguese of Goa and was on his way there but found his way blocked by a Maratha force near Tarapur. Mahadaji Shinde was also in the vicinity in pursuit of the pretender of Sadashivrao Bhau and tried to seize Raghunathrao, who made his way to Bombay on 11th November in an English ship sailing from Tarapur with his son Amritrao, where he remained as the guest of the English. Colonel Upton was in Pune for a full year after the treaty and after he left the Bombay Council again sent Mostyn to Pune in March 1777. The Bombay authorities were however determined

with the original treaty of Surat even by recourse to open hostilities. Incidentally they won in their battle against the Governor-General, the home government on the representations made by the Bombay Council deciding to overrule the objections of the Calcutta Council and to seize this opportunity of acquiring some Maratha territories on the mainland opposite the Bombay island. The Maratha Court was well aware of these developments and decided to counter these moves of the English by making friends with the French. The English who had suffered a reverse in the war with the American colonies naturally took an alarming view of this situation. Even Hastings who was at loggerheads with the Bombay Council authorised it to conduct Raghunathrao to Pune, place him as their own nominee as Peshwa and seize the Maratha possessions on the west coast and ordered, against the advice of his Councillor Francis and the Bombay Council to renew the war with the Marathas. The state of Mr. Hornby's mind becomes clear from what he wrote in one of his minutes dated the 10th October, 1777: "Maratha affairs are fast verging to a period which must compel the English nation either to take some active and decisive part in them or relinquish forever all hopes of bettering their own situation in the west of India." Even Hastings wrote to Bombay on 26th February, 1778 that "for the purpose of granting you the most effectual support in our power, we have assembled a force near Kalpi with orders to march by the most practicable route to Bombay. We are exceedingly alarmed at the steps taken by the French to obtain a settlement on the coast of Mulbar, to establish a political influence in the Maratha State, the object of which must be the overthrow of our Bombay settlement. As we have no property in the fort of Chaul, we cannot authorise you to prevent the French from forming an establishment at that place. You must not on any pretence become the aggressor by commencing direct hostilities." Hastings took this step after overruling the jealous impatience of the independent action of Bombay evinced by Mr. Francis and Sir Eyze Cooté. The affairs at the Maratha Court were in a disarray and a party headed by Morobadada and Tulaji Holkar favoured the return of Raghunathrao to Pune as envisaged and planned by the English. Moroba sent hurried and repeated calls to Raghunathrao at Bombay to come at once and occupy the Peshwa's seat. But the Bombay authorities had not sufficient forces then at hand to escort Raghunathrao to Pune. There was another difficulty, viz., the President of Bombay under orders both from the home authorities and the Governor-General, was strictly prohibited from making any engagement with Raghunathrao unless a formal written invitation to that effect had been received from the first Minister Sakharām Bapu alone or jointly with the others. Sakharām Bapu flatly refused to sign such an invitation to Bombay, which would have been a clear evidence to prove his treason; and Moroba's single invitation was not considered sufficient by the Bombay

authorities. The force of Colonel Leslie travelling from Bundelkhand had not yet arrived, and as the season had advanced, Raghunathrao could not leave Bombay in time to support Moroba's plan at Pune. This was an unforeseen hitch which ruined Moroba. In the meanwhile Mahadaji Shinde had arrived in the Deccan and seeing the futile danger of allowing the English to have an upper hand took Tukoji Holkar in his confidence and practically revived the defunct *Barbhai* Council by forcing its members to affirm their loyalty to the young Peshwa. Moroba in the face of this solidarity ran away from Pune, but was captured and imprisoned. Mr. Hornby as stated earlier had disapproved of the initial policy of Hastings and his subsequent treaty with Raghunathrao and prior to the change in Hastings' policy had made a fresh treaty with Raghunathrao stipulating for the cession of Vasai and Kenery as well as the other islands and promising to assist him with a force of 4,000 men.¹ Now Warren Hastings sanctioned the new treaty with Raghunathrao and dispatched a force of six battalions of Bengal sepoys under Colonel Goddard across India to take part in the war with the Marathas, ordered the Madras authorities to join in the war and allowed full power of action to Hornby at Bombay.² But the Bombay government without waiting for the arrival of this force concluded a fresh agreement with Raghunathrao, formed a separate expedition under Colonel Egerton, an officer infirm in health and totally unacquainted with India to place Raghunathrao in power at Pune. Two civilians viz., John Carnac and Thomas Mostyn were attached to the party which consisted of 3,900 men with Raghunathrao with an army of his own numbering seven thousand. The expedition left Bombay harbour on 24th November, reached Panvel and from thence marched with many delays to Khopoli at the foot of the *Bhor ghat*. Ascending the *ghat* the force reached Khandala on the 23rd December, and was formed into three divisions, which advanced alternately at the rate of about three-quarters of a mile daily. The Marathas, encouraged by this appearance of timidity, drew near and cut off communication with Bombay at Talegaon. Colonel Egerton and Mr. Carnac (a member of the Bombay Council, who had accompanied the force) then determined to retreat, and led the troops back to Wadgaon, where the Marathas attacked and inflicted a serious defeat upon them. This defeat led to the disgraceful convention of Wadgaon, whereby, in return for getting a free passage for their troops to Bombay,

¹ In all these treaties the exclusion of the French from the Maratha territories was one of the stipulations, the Peshwa as well as the English Government being alarmed at Bussy's successes in the Deccan.

² Warren Hastings was totally unscrupulous in the devious means he utilised to overcome the Marathas to which his voluminous correspondence with the authorities in England, Bombay, Madras, the ministers of Pune, Raghunathrao and the individual members of the Maratha State, the Nizam and other potentates of India bears testimony.

the English agreed to abandon the cause of Raghunathrao and cede Broach and the islands about Bombay.

Mr. Farmer who negotiated the treaty of Wadgaon has left a few pertinent remarks on this regrettable affair, which deserve to be quoted:--

"The Government of Bombay should have waited the arrival of Goddard's detachment and acted in conjunction with it against the Maratha Government on our own footing, disconnected with the pretensions of Raghunathrao. Instead of this, the Government of Bombay misled by the assurances of poor Mostyn, resumed the romantic projects of blindly asserting the rights of Raghunathrao and declaring to all the world that the English meant to re-establish him in the possession of those rights. Such an attempt and such a line of policy naturally united against us, all the leading chiefs of the Maratha Empire and all the powers who had cause to be alarmed at our ambition: as they (the Bombay Government) wanted also to engross the whole honour of this project and would not wait for the aid of Goddard, their attempt was attended with ill-success that might have been expected. Mr. Hastings surely is not answerable for their measures nor for the horrid disgraces which were the consequences of them and which by effacing that sacred opinion of our arms, conduced to the confederacy that subsequently came to be formed against us."¹

The essence of the whole matter as Lyall put it is that the Marathas were at this period far too strong and too well united to be shaken or overawed by such forces as the English could then afford or bring against them. It may be pointed out that this relative position remained practically unchanged right upto the battle of Kharda and the death of the young Peshwa Madhavrao II.

The decade ending 1780 thus witnessed the debut of Bombay as a military power. The garrison was greatly strengthened on the advice of Lord Clive and General Lawrence, Cailland and Carnac and in view also of the fact that Salsette and its outposts required the services of a considerable military force. The Fort and Castle were again surveyed and the fortifications improved under Colonel Keatinge's supervision. The outposts at Sion and Reva were rendered more impregnable, and Dongri fort, after some delay and doubt, was finally blown up in 1769, a new fortress called Fort St. George being commenced in the following year. Parsons, describing the island in 1775, remarked that "Between the two marine gates is the castle properly called Bombay Castle, a very large and strong fortification which commands the bay. The works round the town are so many and the bastions so very strong and judiciously situated, and the whole so defended with a broad and deep ditch, as to make

¹ Dodwell, *Warren Hastings' Letters*, p. 176.

a strong fortress, which while it has a sufficient garrison and provisions, may bid defiance to any force which may be brought against it." The construction of ships and the repair of the fleet were likewise actively prosecuted. In 1769 it was decided to build a new dock at Mazagaon for the use of ships not exceeding 300 tons burden, and in 1781 a letter was received from Rear-Admiral Sir Edward Hughes, warmly acknowledging the assistance which the marine department had given in docking, repairing and refitting His Majesty's squadron.¹ Progress also characterized the Council's domestic administration. A regular ferry boat between Bombay and Thane was established in 1776; markets were built; estimates were prepared for town-drainage; the police force was reorganized; and in 1772 an accurate survey of the whole island was agreed upon, in order that "the situation of the farmed-out villages, namely, Malabar, Sion, Parel, Matunga, Dharavi, Naigaon, Vadala, Mahim and Bamanacally and of all the Honourable Company's barts and grounds may be exactly laid down, as well as those of all persons whatever". In other directions also the spirit of progress was manifested. The year 1773 witnessed Mr. Holford's successful journey up the Arabian Gulf, and the earliest voyage of English ships direct from Bombay to Suez; while three years earlier, during the governorship of William Hodges, Bombay commenced to trade in cotton with China, owing to "a considerable famine in that country and an edict of the Chinese government that a greater proportion of the lands should be thrown into the cultivation of grains". The demand for cotton continued to increase until the scanty supply during the Maratha war, the inattention to the quality, and the many frauds that had been practised, prompted, the Chinese again to grow cotton for their own consumption.²

Meanwhile the aspect of the town was undergoing a gradual alteration. In 1770 the Kolis' houses on the summit of Dongri hill were removed; the dwellings of *hamals* and other indigent people between Church Gate and Bazar Gate were demolished; and in 1772 an order issued prohibiting any but Europeans to build south of Church street, which obliged the Moormen, oartowners and others to build new houses to the north of Bazar Gate outside the walls. The Esplanade underwent considerable alteration, being levelled in 1772, extended to the distance of 800 yards and cleared of all buildings and rising grounds in 1779, and subsequently further extended to a distance of 1,000 yards. Barracks, officers' quarters and a *kanji*, i.e., gruel or correction-house were erected on Old Woman's

¹ Sir Edward Hughes' fleet was at anchor in Bombay harbour in February, 1775, among the vessels of the fleet being the *Seahorse*, which carried Nelson, then a youth of 18 years. Nelson left England in this ship in 1773 and remained in the East Indies for 18 months. He first saw "The light of Old Woman's Island near Bombay" at 2 a.m. on August 17, 1774 (Douglas' *Bombay and W. India*).

² Edwardes' *Rise of Bombay*.

island, while the old powder-magazine between Church Gate and Apollo Gate, which had gradually spread to within 210 yards of the Stanhope Bastion, was relinquished in favour of new powderworks at Mazagaon. Malabar Hill, which was at this date partly waste and partly utilized for grazing, was chiefly remarkable for a lofty tower near Walkeshwar, in which Raghunathrao spent the period of his exile from Pune and whence he occasionally sallied forth to pass through the Holy Cleft (Shrigundi) at Malabar Point. Parel and Sion were being quarried for lime-stone; in Byculla an English officer of artillery had rented a certain area of waste land for building purposes; while in 1768 the old Mazagaon estate was divided up into plots which were leased to various individuals for a term of fourteen years. Perhaps the most remarkable alteration in the outward aspect of the island arose from the construction of the Hornby Vellard (*i.e.*, Portuguese *vallado*, a fence) between 1771 and 1784.¹ An attempt had been made in earlier years to check the inroad of the sea; but the dam then constructed was hardly strong enough. Accordingly during William Hornby's governorship the Vellard was built, which rendered available for cultivation and settlement the wide area of the flats and resulted in welding the eastern and western shores of the island into one united area.

A general description of Bombay at this date (1775) is given both by Parsons, the traveller, and by Forbes, the author of the *Oriental Memoirs*. The former remarks that "The town of Bombay is near a mile in length from Apollo Gate to that of the Bazar, and about a quarter of a mile broad in the broadest part from the Bunda (Bandar) across the Green to Church Gate, which is nearly in the centre as you walk round the walls between Apollo and Bazar Gates. There are likewise two marine gates, with a commodious wharf and cranes built out from each gate, beside a landing-place for passengers only. Between the two marine gates is the castle, properly called Bombay Castle, a very large and strong fortification which commands the bay Here is a spacious Green, capable of

¹ Maclean (Guide to Bombay) records an amusing anecdote about the Vellard Hornby (who appears to have possessed unusual energy and determination), perceiving that the first step towards improving the sanitary condition of Bombay was to shut out the sea at Breach Candy, fought hard throughout his term of office to obtain from the Court of Directors permission to execute this work at the cost of about a lakh of rupees. The Directors steadily refused to sanction such extravagance. At last Hornby, having only 18 months more to serve, commenced the work without sanction, knowing full well that he could finish it before the Directors could possibly interfere. Accordingly about the time the Vellard was finished, Hornby, opening with his own hand the despatches found an order for his suspension, which, his term of office being nearly expired, he put in his pocket, until he had finally handed over charge to his successor. The Court of Directors were excessively irate and sent out an order that the Governor should never open the despatches in future, but that they should be first perused by one of the Secretaries to Government.

containing several regiments exercising at the same time. The streets are well laid out and the buildings so numerous and handsome as to make it an elegant town. The soil is a sand, mixed with small gravel, which makes it always so clean, even in the rainy season, that a man may walk all over the town within half an hour after a heavy shower without dirtying his shoes. The Esplanade is very extensive and as smooth and even as a bowling-green, which makes either walking or riding round the Town very pleasant." Forbes was of opinion that the generality of the public buildings at this epoch were more useful than elegant. "The Government House", he writes, "custom-house, marine house, barracks, mint, treasury, theatre and prison included the chief of these structures. There were also three large hospitals, one within the gates for Europeans, another on the Esplanade for the sepoys, and third on an adjacent island for convalescents. The only Protestant Church on the island stood near the centre of the town, a large and commodious building with a neat tower. There was also a charity-school for boys and a fund for the poor belonging to the Church of England. There were seldom more than two chaplains belonging to the Bombay establishment. When I was in India (1766-84) the one resided at the Presidency, the other alternately at Surat and Broach, where were considerable European garrisons. The Roman Catholics had several churches and chapels in different parts of the Island and enjoyed every indulgence from the English government. The English houses at Bombay, though neither so large nor elegant as those at Calcutta and Madras, were comfortable and well furnished. They were built in the European style of architecture as much as the climate would admit of, but lost something of that appearance by the addition of verandahs or covered piazzas to shade those apartments most exposed to the sun. When illuminated and filled with social parties in the evening, these verandahs gave the town a very cheerful appearance. The houses of the rich Hindus and Muhammedans are generally built within an enclosure surrounded by galleries or verandahs not only for privacy but to exclude the sun from the apartments. This court is frequently adorned with shrubs and flowers and a fountain playing before the principal room where the master receives his guests, which is open in front to the garden and furnished with carpets and cushions. The large bazar or the street in the black town within the fortress contained many good Asiatic houses and shops stored with merchandise from all parts of the world for the Europeans and Natives. These shops were generally kept by the Indians, especially the Parsis who after paying the established import customs were exempted from other duties."

However all was not well so far as the relations between the English and the Marathas were concerned. After the defeat of the former at Wadgaon, General Goddard sent by Hastings arrived from Bengal with fresh troops and the Bombay authorities in consultation with him decided

to repudiate the treaty and urged the Governor-General to support this policy. Hastings thereupon informed the Maratha court that the treaty of Wadgaon could not be ratified and he had therefore authorised Goddard to bring about a fresh treaty. The Maratha court of course could not agree to such a proposal and demanded the surrender of Raghunathrao. The refusal of the English involved the Bombay government in a costly war and led to anti-English confederacy of the Indian powers including Bhosles of Nagpur, Haider Ali of Mysore and the Nizam of Hyderabad besides the Maratha State. If the confederacy had succeeded, it would have considerably affected the history of the sub-continent but the English succeeded in seducing the Bhosles of Nagpur and thus making a dent in the confederacy. Though it is not necessary to detail here the progress of the war between the Marathas and the English fought on the continent elsewhere, confrontation did take place between the two in the environs of Bombay. In 1780 large parties of Maratha troops descended through the *ghats* and so completely devastated the environs of Bombay that the English at Bombay became very nervous. Their plan to capture all important islands of Bombay along with Vasai and Kalyan initially did not make any headway against the manoeuvre of Visaji Pant Lele, the Maratha Governor of Konkan, which forced the Bombay Government to seek immediate relief from Goddard who was operating in Gujarat. Goddard sent Colonel Hartley from Baroda but he was defeated near Panvel with heavy loss. However the English garrison at Thane made a sudden dash on the weakly defended port of Kalyan and captured it and plundering it with vengeance carried the booty to Bombay. The Bombay authorities now decided to make a strong effort against Vasai, the most coveted Maratha possession on the mainland north of Bombay and accordingly General Goddard was ordered to besiege Vasai. "The European part of his army was sent down to Salsette by sea, the battering train was prepared in Bombay, and the sepoys were to march by land. Early in October the whole of the disposable force at Bombay and in the neighbourhoods, consisting of five battalions, was placed under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Hartley, who was instructed to drive out the enemy's posts and cover as much of the Konkan as possible, so as to enable the agents of the Bombay Government to collect a part of the revenues and secure the rice harvest, which is gathered at the close of the rains. There is perhaps no part of Mr. Hornby's minute more expressive of the distress under which the Government laboured than that where, alluding to the field forces they were preparing, he observes 'our troops will better bear running in arrears when employed on active service and subsisting in the enemy's country'; for it is a principle with the British Government and its officers in India than which nothing has more tended to the national success, always to consider the peasantry under their strictest protection. After a spirited action, Hartley was enabled to

cover so successfully the siege of Vasai that the city capitulated on the 11th December, 1781."¹ It was a severe blow to Maratha pride as Vasai formed a living memorial of their former exploits. This victory encouraged the English to march once more on Pune through the *Bor ghat* but the campaign proved disastrous in spite of the hurried reinforcements sent from Bombay. General Goddard went back to Bombay suffering severe losses and privations in his retreat. A newsletter from Bombay records on 5th May: "Such a set back was never experienced by the British before. All Bombay disparages this performance with open ridicule. Prices have gone terribly high and famine prevails throughout. Most of the bankers and merchants have become bankrupt and the country depopulated. What population remains has no food to eat; the plight of Bombay is extremely grave and the authorities there are begging for such terms as the Marathas would impose on them."²

Meanwhile Hyder Ali of Mysore had been endeavouring to form a confederacy of all the Native Powers of India against the English, and the Governor-General therefore decided to make peace with the Marathas and utilize against Hyder the forces which were engaged against the former. General Goddard was accordingly directed to offer terms to the Court at Pune, while Shinde was vigorously attacked in his own dominions by another division under Colonel Carnac. Of Goddard's advance to the foot of the *Bor ghat* and his disastrous retreat to Panvel, with a heavy loss of 466 in killed and wounded, of whom eighteen were European officers, it is needless to speak at length; for hostilities were eventually closed by the Treaty of Salbai in 1782, whereby Bombay at last gained permanent possession of Salsette, Elephanta, Karanja and Hog islands, but gave back Vasai and all conquests in Gujarat to the Peshwa and made Broach over to Shinde. The Marathas on their side agreed to ally themselves with the English against Mysore, and the Peshwa pledged himself to hold no intercourse with Europeans of any other nation. The cause of Raghunathrao was definitely abandoned by the English and he became a prisoner of the Peshwa. "The treaty was a good stroke of imperial policy" writes Maclean, "for it set the English free to deal separately with Hyder Ali; but in spite of some brilliant feats of arms in Gujarat, the Konkan and Central India, it cannot be said that the reputation of the British arms had been raised by a war in which they had suffered two such reverses as the capitulation of Wadgaon and the retreat of General Goddard."

The treaty was ratified by Hastings at Fort William on 6th June, 1782 but signed by Nana Phadnis much later on 24th February, 1783 when Hyder Ali was dead. The man behind this Anglo-Maratha reconciliation

¹ Macleans' *Guide to Bombay*.

² Dodwell, *Hastings' Letters*, p. 142.

was Mahadji Shinde and one regrets that both Nana Phadnis and Mahadji Shinde could not be on the spot in negotiating this important instrument because Nana Phadnis had played no insignificant part in containing the aggression of the English at Bombay and elsewhere. It may also be noted that the singular exploits of the Maratha Navy off the coast of Ratnagiri doubtless imparted a wholesome lesson to the Bombay authorities since they realised what they would have to look for from the Maratha navy if the war had continued and peace had not been concluded.

Even though the hostilities between the English and the Marathas came to a close, the English continued their war with Mysore where Tipu had succeeded his father Hyder Ali. The treaty of Salbai was in contravention of the terms of the anti-English confederacy and was clearly a betrayal by the Marathas and Hyder Ali before his death and his son Tipu regarded it as such. The English now demanded Maratha help in their war against Tipu as on their own they found totally incapable of countering the tactics of Tipu. The theatre of war had now shifted to Madras and when the Governor of Madras, Lord Macartay, opened negotiations with Tipu, the move was bitterly resented by the Governments of Bombay and Bengal. Because earlier in 1781 the Bombay Government had dispatched an expedition under Colonel Humberstone which took Calicut and Ponani and now to relieve the pressure on Madras Government, the Bombay authorities sent a strong force by sea to the Malabar coast under General Mathews. This force gained some initial successes but it was totally defeated by Tipu who recaptured all the places taken by the English forcing the garrison to surrender. The English had to conclude a most humiliating treaty with Tipu. Tipu also showed scant respect towards the Maratha-Nizam alliance against him whose territory he devastated with vengeance. This seemed to bring the Marathas and the English together, the consequences of which Tipu was shrewd to understand and he came to a compromise with the Marathas in March 1787. It may be noted that in 1785 Hastings had retired and his place was taken by Lord Cornwallis who was bent upon destroying the power of Tipu and securing the mood of the Marathas and the Nizam concluded the tripartite treaty of alliance, after protracted negotiations. In this context, the Maratha envoy in Bombay wrote to Nana on October 12, 1788 that "Malet has been here these ten days, holding long discussions with the Governor. The subject of their talk is the projected war with Tipu and the possibility of French help coming to him." Malet again stayed in Bombay from 29th March to 11th April next year. The treaty of alliance was the result of Malet's and Kenneway's persistent labour. Cornwallis under whose directions the operations were organised placed the Company's Bombay contingent under Maratha command during the period of war to disarm Maratha suspicion. It is not necessary here to detail the progress of war with Tipu. Tipu ultimately submitted and

a treaty was concluded on 25th February, 1792. The Marathas by helping the English to destroy Tipu exposed their state to aggression by English and Tipu's ultimate warning to Haripant Phadke that "you must realise that I am not your enemy. Your real enemy is the Englishman of whom you must beware" came to be true.

It may here be noted that the system of posting an English Resident at the Court of Pune was proposed to the Government of Bombay by Nana Phadnis himself and which the former readily accepted, for the simple reason that it would minimise the importance of Mahadji Shinde who was now proving to be a source of danger to the English. This was a strategic move on the part of the English and dangerous step on the part of Nana who misunderstood and misconstrued the notices of Shinde. Malet was the first Resident at the Maratha Court and he remained there for full 11 years leaving Pune finally after Bajirao II had been initiated as Peshwa. Tipu's prophecy, Nana's vacillating attitude and the English interest in driving a wedge between Nana and Mahadji Shinde have to be understood in the broader perspective of the Indian political scene in which the English ultimately succeeded. Of course, reconciliation was brought about between Nana and Shinde when the former was convinced of Shinde's power but valuable time was lost which was taken maximum advantage of by the English. Mahadji Shinde died on February 12, 1794 and trouble started bearing between the Marathas and the Nizam on the question of the payment of arrears of the *chauth* of the six *subhas* of the Deccan resulting in the battle of Kharda in which the Nizam was defeated. The English maintained a perfectly neutral attitude and refused to be drawn in the conflict. The battle of Kharda fought on March 11, 1795 was followed by the death of Peshwa Madhavrao II on October 27, 1795. His death let loose all the evil forces in the Maratha regime, destroying the unity and cohesion and hastening the final ruin of the state in less than a quarter of a century. The English played no mean role in this and the conflicting policies of Nana, Bajirao II, Shinde and Holkar contributed in no lesser degree resulting in the Treaty of Vasai and the campaign of Assaye. In 1798, Sir John Shore retired and Lord Wellesley succeeded him.

The main object of the policy of Lord Wellesley, who succeeded Sir John Shore as Governor-General in 1798, was to drive the French out of India. To attain this end, he compelled the Nizam to accept a British subsidiary force in lieu of a French contingent, crushed Tipu Sultan, and used all his means of persuasion to induce the Peshwa and Shinde to become subsidized allies of the British Government. Nana Phadnis, the Maratha Machiavel who for the last quarter of the eighteenth century was the principal political personage at the court of Pune, always steadfastly opposed the admission of the English into the Deccan, and;

even when Mahadji Shinde marched to Pune with the design of upsetting the authority of the Brahmans and becoming master of the Deccan, Nana did not ask for the fatal aid of English troops to secure himself in power. Mahadji died at Pune at the moment when his ambition seemed on the point of being fully gratified; and Daulatrao who succeeded him in 1794 had not the capacity to carry out his plans. The influence of Shinde's military power remained however supreme in the Deccan. The young Peshwa Madhavrao, in a fit of despondency at being kept in a state of tutelage by Nana Phadnis and forbidden to recognize his cousin Bajirao, son of Raghoba, threw himself from his palace window and died from the effects of the fall and Bajirao, obtaining the support of Shinde was proclaimed Peshwa to the temporary discomfiture of Nana Phadnis, who however subsequently had the address to reconcile himself with Bajirao and Shinde, and to regain the office of minister, which he held till his death in 1800. The Governor-General tried to persuade Shinde to return from Pune in order to defend his dominions in the north-west against the Afghans, but instead of listening to this advice, Shinde and the Peshwa meditated joining Tipu against the English, and were only disconcerted by the rapidity and completeness of the English success. The weakness of the Peshwa's Government and the natural disinclination of the predatory Marathas to abandon the pleasant habit of plundering their neighbours caused the greatest disorders throughout the Maratha country, and every petty chief with a band of armed followers made war and raised revenue on his own account. In Pune itself lawless excesses of all kinds were committed, and the Peshwa and Shinde were both at the mercy of a turbulent and rapacious soldiery. In 1801 a new power appeared on the scene. The Holkar family had for many years been kept in check by Shinde; but Yashwantrao Holkar, one of the celebrated Maratha Sardars, succeeded in getting together an army strong both in cavalry and in disciplined infantry and artillery. Marching on Pune in 1802 he won a complete victory over Shinde in a desperately contested battle; and the pusillanimous Peshwa, who had not appeared on the field, fled first to the fort of Sinhgad and thence to Revadanda on the coast, where he found an English ship to take him to Vasai.

The entreaties of Yashwantrao Holkar failed to convince Bajirao and before he went over to the English he wrote on 30th October, 1802 the following letter to Jonathan Duncan, the Governor of Bombay. "My servants Holkar and his party are carrying on intrigues and wrongs against me. Much alarmed at their base conduct, I have resolved to seek an alliance with your Honour on condition that should any of these rebels demand my person, it should be positively denied. Nor must your Honour tell me to go. Should these propositions meet your approbation, you must make provision for my expenses. Also be pleased to furnish me large armed vessels in the harbour of Mahad. For further

particulars on this head I refer your Honour to the bearer Naro Govind Auty." The Governor discussed this letter with John Malcolm who was then in Bombay and on the advice given by him acted on it on all his future negotiations with Bajirao. Bajirao fearing capture from Yashwantrao proceeded to Harnai and from then boarded an English ship where he was welcomed and supplied with two lacs of rupees by Capt. Kennedy the English agent at Bankot under instructions from the Governor of Bombay. He reached Vasai on 16th December, 1802.

This situation appeared to Lord Wellesley to afford a most favourable opportunity for the complete establishment of the interest of the English power in the Maratha Empire. Hence negotiations were set afoot. As a matter of fact Bajirao and his brother Chimnaji on his way to Vasai had called upon the Governor of Bombay and was received with great hospitality and entertained with dinners and presents. Chimnaji tried to persuade Bajirao to desist from following the suicidal policy of completely surrendering to the English but to no avail and the result was the Treaty of Vasai signed by Bajirao on 31st December, 1802 after much vacillations on his part and threats from the English. Under the terms of the treaty Bajirao bound himself to accept a subsidiary force of 6000 men and to assign territory worth 26,00,000 rupees for their pay, to give up his claims on Surat, to accept the company as arbiter in the disputes of the Peshwa with the Gaikwad, to admit no Europeans in his service, and not to negotiate with any other power whatever without giving notice and consulting with the Company's Government. In return the company undertook to restore him to the office of the Peshwa and did so on the 13th May 1803 by a concerted action fielding well over 60,000 troops, the Bombay army being organised under Colonel Murray. This action of the English brought on the campaigns of Assaye, Adgaon and Laswadi against Shinde and the Bhosle. The Bombay forces were employed during the campaign in successfully reducing the fort and district of Broach and the possessions of Shinde in Gujarat and to the southward of Narmada. The war of 1803 was followed by war with Holkar in 1804, which was finally concluded by the peace of 1805. During the eleven years which followed, the Bombay Government preserved a hollow peace with the Maratha power headed by the weak kneed Peshwa Bajirao.

Before proceeding to record the final scene in the struggle with the Peshwa, it would be well to record briefly the success attained by the Bombay government in other parts of India. The success of the Bombay contingent in the wars with Mysore in 1781 and 1799 have already been noted. However the role of Bombay Government in the 1799 war was so outstanding and to such good purpose that the Marquis Wellesley, then Governor-General, expressed in the warmest terms to Mr. Jonathan Duncan, Governor of Bombay, his appreciation of the work of the Bombay

contingent, declaring that "the merits of Generals Stuart and Hartley, as well as of Colonel Montresor and other officers, have seldom been equalled and never surpassed in India." In reply to an address from the inhabitants of Bombay on the termination of the war Lord Wellesley wrote :—"The distinguished part which the settlement of Bombay has borne during the late crisis in the labours and honours of the common cause, has repeatedly claimed my warm approbation, and will ever be remembered by me with gratitude and respect. In your liberal and voluntary contribution towards the exigencies of your native country, and towards the defence of the Presidency under whose Government you reside, and in the alacrity with which you have given your personal services for the military protection of Bombay, I have contemplated with pleasure the same character of public spirit, resolution and activity which has marked the splendid successes of the army of Bombay from the commencement to the close of the late glorious campaign." Other noteworthy events which marked Bombay's increasing military importance were the despatch of an expedition in 1799 to occupy the island of Perim and initiate political relations with the Arab Chief of Aden, the equipment of an expedition to Egypt under Sir David Baird in 1801, when the troops embarked in five days after the requisition was made for them and the whole business was conducted with regularity and rapidity, and thirdly the operations against the pirates of the western coast. In spite of Angre's disappearance raids were still carried on by Maratha cruisers which issued from Malwan and Savantwadi, while to the north of Bombay no serious attempt had yet been made to harry the nests of raiders who had sheltered from time immemorial in the creeks and islands along the coasts of Gujarat, Cutch and Kathiawad. During this period Bombay bestirred herself to rid the western seas for ever of the sea-rovers, who had plundered the shipping ever since the days of Ptolemy and Marco Polo and had given the name of "Pirates' Isle" to sacred Bet. In 1807 the Kathiawad States were taken under British protection; in 1809 Colonel Walker, the Political Agent, induced the Rao of Cutch to sign a treaty binding himself to co-operate with the British Government in the suppression of piracy, while in 1812 treaties were made with Kolhapur and Savantvadi, whereby the sovereignty of Malwan and Vengurla was ceded to the English and all vessels found equipped for war were given up.

By 1805, therefore, Bombay had attained a very strong political position. The marine had established its supremacy along the Malabar coast; the Bankot district had become British territory; and in Gujarat the authority of the Gaikwad was practically wielded by servants of the English Government. The year 1800 witnessed the transfer to the Company of the whole administration and revenue of Surat, whose ruler received in exchange a pension. Finally the peace of 1805 left Bombay in possession

of political authority almost co-extensive, if we exclude the province of Sind, with that which she now enjoys. She supplied subsidiary forces to the Gaikwad of Baroda and the Peshwa and garrisoned the Portuguese city of Goa, occupied by English troops during the continuance of the French war. She could despatch expeditions to foreign lands and successfully guard her own territory against attack, for English policy and arms had successively subdued all the native powers and reduced to mere ciphers those of them that still retained a nominal independence.

This expansion of Bombay's sphere of influence was reflected in the strengthening of the administration. In 1785 a marine board was created and a comptroller of marine was appointed in the following year; a marine survey was established; and in 1785 the business of government was divided among a board of council, a military board, a board of revenue and a board of trade. "Our president and Council", wrote the Directors, "will still continue to act in their double capacity of public and Secret," and then proceeded to lay down the constitution of the military board and the board of trade, adding that all subsequent despatches will be addressed to the Bombay Government in its public, secret, military, revenue and commercial departments. Four years later the political department was instituted as also the post of Private Secretary to the Governor's Office, carrying a salary of Rs. 500 a month. In 1798 the recorder's court was founded in supersession of the old Mayor's court, and in the same year the first justices of the peace were appointed. In 1793 the Governor and Members of Council were the only justices of the peace and in 1796 sat in a Court of Quarter Sessions, inviting two of the inhabitants to sit with them. This system continued until 1798 when the sessions of Oyer and Terminer were transferred to the Recorder's Court. In 1807 the Governor and Council were empowered by Act 47, George III, to issue commissions appointing as many of the Company's servants or other British inhabitants as they should consider qualified to act as justices of the peace, under the seal of the recorder's court. The first commission was issued in 1808, and a bench of twelve justices was appointed whose principal duties were to attend to the proper cleaning and repairing and watching of the town, to raise money for this purpose by assessment and to grant licenses for spirituous liquors. Among other noteworthy events was the establishment of regular postal communication with Madras in 1787.

Meanwhile the town had been expanding with great rapidity. In 1787 encroachments within the walls had become so numerous that a special committee, composed of the Land Paymaster, the Collector and the Chief Engineer, was appointed to examine the private buildings which natives were erecting and decide how far they might prove prejudicial to public works and the general health of the inhabitants. The committee

made various suggestions for improvement, which might have taken years to carry out had not the great fire of the 17th February 1803 indirectly aided their plans. How the fire originated was never definitely known ; but, to quote the words of the Honourable Jonathan Duncan in a letter to the Court of Directors, "so great and violent was the conflagration that at sunset the destruction of every house in the Fort was apprehended. The flames directed their course in a south-easterly direction from that part of the Bazar opposite to the Cumberland Ravelin quite down to the King's Barracks. During the whole of the day every effort was used to oppose its progress, but the fierceness of the fire driven rapidly on by the wind baffled all attempts ; nor did it visibly abate till nearly a third part of the town within the walls had been consumed." Altogether 471 houses, 6 places of worship and 5 barracks (the tank barracks) were destroyed. The last embers were hardly extinguished before the Bombay Government was initiating improvements, and endeavouring to persuade the people to rebuild their houses outside the walls of the Fort. In writing to the town committee they expressed a hope that, that body would be able "to convince the natives in question of the unadvisableness of their residing in a garrison crowded with lofty structures, filled with goods and merchandise and intersected by such narrow streets as existed before the late fire ; and that from the conviction forced on their minds by the late sad calamity they will willingly concur in the expediency of their dwelling houses and families being without the Fort, where they ought to be sensible that under the advantage of our insular situation both will be in perfect security." To further this object the Bombay Government chose a new site outside the walls for the import and traffic in oil, dammer, *ghi* and other inflammable substances, and authorized the committee to grant compensation to those persons who were willing to relinquish their sites in the Fort and rebuild their houses on less valuable plots outside the walls. The permanent advantages arising out of the conflagration were remarked by Milburn who gave the following description of the town between 1803 and 1808 :—

"Between the two marine gates is the castle called Bombay Castle, a regular quadrangle, well built of strong hard stones. In one of the bastions is a large tank or reservoir for water. The fortifications are numerous, particularly towards the sea, and are so well constructed, the whole being encompassed by a broad and deep ditch, which can be flooded at pleasure, that it is now one of the strongest places the Company have in India. Besides the castle are several forts and redoubts, the principal of which is Mahim situated at the opposite extremity of the Island, so that properly garrisoned Bombay may bid defiance to any force that can be brought against it. In the centre of the town is a large open space called the Green which in the fine weather season is covered with bales of cotton and other merchandize, entirely unprotected ; around the Green are many large

well-built and handsome houses; the Government House and the Church, which is an extremely neat, commodious and airy building are close to each other on the left of the Church Gate. On the right of the Church Gate is the Bazar, which is very crowded and populous and where the native merchants principally reside. At its commencement stands the theatre, a neat handsome structure. This part of the town suffered much by a destructive fire, which broke out in February 1803 and destroyed nearly three-fourths of the Bazar, together with the barracks, custom-house and many other public buildings, and property of immense value belonging to the Native merchants. Many houses in the neighbourhood of the castle were battered down by the Artillery to stop the progress of the flames and preserve the magazine, or in all probability the whole town would have been destroyed. Since the fire of 1803 this part of the town has been rebuilt and the whole much improved, at a considerable expense to the Company." The two most important works carried out by the Company outside the town walls were the Sion Causeway which was commenced in 1798 and completed in 1803 and the Common Goal at Umarkhadi, built in 1804.

The opening of the nineteenth century was marked by the presence in Bombay of several distinguished men. Major-General Wellesley, afterwards Lord Wellington, was resident here during March and April 1801 in connection with Sir D. Baird's expedition to Egypt and again from March to May 1804, after the battle of Assaye. The Honourable Jonathan Duncan was resident in the old Government House in the Fort 1795 till his death in 1811, and took a leading part in the public thanksgiving of Bombay citizens in November 1800 for His Majesty George III's escape from assassination, the celebration of His Majesty's birthday on the 4th June 1801 and the jubilee celebration in 1810. Viscount Valentia was banquetted by Ardeshir Dady, one of the principal Parsi inhabitants in November 1804; and in May of the same year Sir James Mackintosh, who succeeded Sir W. Syer, the first Recorder, arrived in Bombay.

Sir James Mackintosh's arrival synchronized approximately with a very severe famine in the Konkan, occasioned by the failure of the rains of 1803. The part played by the Bombay Government during the crisis alluded to by Forbes in the following words :—"What infinite advantage, what incalculable benefits must accrue from a wise and liberal administration over those extensive realms which now form part of the British Empire, is not for me to discuss. What immense good was done by the wise policy of the Bombay Government alone during a late famine we learn from the address of Sir James Mackintosh to the Grand Jury of that island in 1804. No other language than his own can be adopted on this interesting subject The upright and able magistrate, after descanting upon famine in general, enters into particulars of that in the

Konkan, occasioned by a partial failure of the periodical rains in 1802 and from a complete failure in 1803, from whence, he says a famine has arisen in the adjoining provinces of India, especially in the Maratha territories which I shall not attempt to describe and which I believe no man can truly represent to the European public without the hazard of being charged with extravagant and incredible fiction. Some of you have seen its ravages. All of you have heard accounts of them from accurate observers. I have only seen the fugitives who have fled before it and have found an asylum in this island. But even I have seen enough to be convinced that it is difficult to overcharge a picture of Indian desolation. I shall now state from authentic documents what has been done to save these territories from the miserable condition of the neighbouring country. From the 1st September 1803 to the present time (October, 1804) there have been imported or purchased by Government 414,000 bags of rice and there remain 180,000 bags contracted for, which are yet to arrive. The effects of this importation on the population of our territories, it is not very difficult to estimate. The population of Bombay, Salsette, Karanja and the city of Surat I designedly underestimate at 400,000. I am entitled to presume that if they had continued subject to Native Governments, they would have shared the fate of the neighbouring provinces which still are so subject. I shall not be suspected of any tendency towards exaggeration by any man who is acquainted with the state of the opposite continent, when I say that in such a case an eighth of that population must have perished. Fifty thousand human beings have therefore been saved from death in its most miserable form by the existence of a British Government in this island The next particular which I have to state relates to those unhappy refugees, who have found their way into our territory. From the month of March to the present month of October, such of them as could labour have been employed in useful public works and have been fed by Government. The monthly average of these persons since March is 9,125 in Bombay, 3,162 in Salsette, and in Surat a considerable number Upon the whole I am sure that I considerably understate the fact in saying that the British government in this island has saved the lives of 1,00,000 persons, and what is more important that it has prevented the greater part of the misery through which they must have passed before they found refuge in death, besides the misery of all those who loved them or who depended on their care. "

It is now time to revert to the course of affairs in the Deccan. Upto 1817 Baji Rao remained ostensibly an ally of the English, who had restored him to his throne in 1803. But as, Maclean has pointed out, a prince who is called independent, but who knows that his authority depends on the good-will of a Political Resident and a body of foreign troops must be endowed with rare magnanimity if he does not both oppress his own subjects and chafe under the limitations placed on his

sovereign power to make war and conclude treaties with other States. The consciousness that he is protected by a force strong enough to keep him on his throne in spite of all the efforts of discontented subjects removes the only curb the dread of rebellion which restrains an unprincipled despot from gratifying to the utmost the evil passions of cruelty, lust and covetousness; while at the same time a restored tyrant in nine cases out of ten resents his obligations to the foreigners who have given him back his kingdom, feeling that he is but a puppet in their hands when they keep him from indulging his ambition in warlike enterprises and bid him be content to stay at home and be absolute master of the lives and fortunes of his own people. The thirteen years which elapsed from the date of Baji Rao's restoration to his open declaration of hostilities are replete with instances of the grossest tyranny against his own people, and at the same time of treacherous intrigue against his European defenders. Neglect of the civil administration, accumulation of personal gain by sequestration and extortion led to considerable unrest and rendered his sway abhorrent to the inhabitants of his kingdom. His rooted hostility to the English provoked him to stultify a guarantee of safety which the latter had granted to the Gaikwad's agent, Gangadhar Shastri, who visited Pune in 1815 for the purpose of settling certain claims preferred against his master by the Peshwa. The agent was treacherously murdered by Trimbakji Dengle, the Peshwa's infamous minister, who was subsequently handed over to the British Resident, Mountstuart Elphinstone, and imprisoned at Thane. Thence he escaped in 1816, and finding his way back to Pune persuaded the Peshwa to ally himself with the Pendharies and with Shinde, Holkar and the Bhosle in a confederacy to overthrow the British power. The hesitation which formed a considerable element in the Peshwa's character, prevented his joining issue with the English for some days; and the latter profited by the respite to obtain reinforcements from Bombay, which covered the whole distance from Panvel to Pune with only one halt and arrived in the Deccan capital on the 30th October, 1817. On the 5th November was fought the battle of Kirkee, which sealed the doom of Maratha regime. An army of 18,000 horse and 8,000 foot was powerless to save his kingdom for Bajirao, who from the hills overlooking the plain of Kirkee watched his ranks shiver and break. Accompanied by a small band of personal attendants the Peshwa escaped and passed the next few months in concealment, to avoid arrest by the English, who overran the Deccan and Southern Maratha Country. Eventually on discovering that his last chance of effecting anything against the English had passed away, he surrendered himself to Sir John Malcolm and renouncing for himself and his family all claims to sovereignty was permitted to retire on the enormous pension of Rs. 8,00,000 a year to Bithur on the Ganges, where he doubtless instilled into the mind of his adopted son, Nana Saheb, that hatred

of the British which bore such terrible fruit in 1857. With the exception of a tract reserved for the imprisoned Raja of Satara, Kolhapur, Savantvadi and Angre's possessions in Kolaba, the whole of the Peshwa's dominions were annexed to the Company's territory in 1818 and the Bombay Government settled down to the task of peaceful administration.

The year 1819 witnessed the final extinction of a piracy on the western coast of India. The arrangements made to undermine their power in 1807, 1809 and 1812 led naturally to disorder and insurrection among the turbulent classes of the population; and the final blow was not given to the pirates of Kathiawad till 1819 when a British force under Colonel Stanhope escalated Dwarka and put the whole garrison, who refused to ask for quarter, to the sword. This action sounded the knell of organised raids in Western India; the last of the rover galleys, a goodly and imposing looking vessel having a lofty poop and beaked rostrum was seen by Colonel Tod lying high and dry upon the shore, and Bet, the robber's isle, bade adieu to her chieftain, who preferred the prospect of peace and a pension from the Bombay Government to the chance of amassing more wealth by acts of violence on the high seas.

Before closing the history of these years, we may draw attention to the rule, ordinance and regulation for the good order and civil Government of Bombay, which was passed in Council on the 25th March, 1812. The regulation provided for the appointment of two magistrates of police, the senior of whom exercised authority over the Fort and harbour and the junior over the remainder of the island: it provided for the institution of a court of petty sessions, composed of the peace; and for the appointment of European constables; it provided for the removal of encroachments, the safeguarding of wells, the registration of hired vehicles (hackereys), the prevention of nuisances, the regulation of dangerous trades, the registration of drinking and gambling houses, the carrying of weapons, the sale of poisons, the prevention of false coining, the regulation of religious rites and processions, the registration of the population and the maintenance of annual mortality and birth registers, and the emancipation of imported slaves. This was followed by Regulation III of the 4th November, 1812 which laid down building rules and the lines of setbacks both within the Fort and upon the principal roads outside it, and dealt generally with matters now falling within the scope of the Municipal Act.

About the same date the trade of the island commenced to exhibit distinct signs of progress. Up to the year 1813, the East India Company retained exclusive possession of all trades, private individuals being allowed to indulge in commerce only with the Company's licence. "Private enterprise", writes Maclean, "had little or no chance in Bombay at a time when the Company and its servants had the pick of the trade, and

Milburn gives the names of only nine independent European firms. The commanders and officers of the Company's ships employed Parsi *dubashes* or agents to manage their investments. The tonnage of the merchant ships in 1811 was 17,593 tons, some of the ships carrying 1,000 tons, and the largest class could take a cargo of 4,000 bales of cotton. There was only one insurance office, the Bombay Insurance Society, with a capital of 20 lakhs, but much underwriting was done by private persons." These conditions were, however, radically altered in 1813 by the passing of Lord Melville's bill which abolished the exclusive trade of the Company with India, but secured to it for twenty years longer the monopoly of the trade with China, the latter exception being introduced because the Ministry were afraid of losing the revenue derived from duties on the tea. The removal of old privileges gave immense encouragement to the trade of Bombay; and this circumstance, combined with the Company's military successes in the Deccan, paved the way for the educational and economic progress which characterized the island during the nineteenth century.

The annexation of the Deccan, which followed upon the battle of Kirkee and the dethronement of the Peshwa, was one of the three great events which contributed to the making of the modern city of Bombay.¹ Free and uninterrupted trade between Bombay port and the mainland, which had suffered greatly in the past from the restrictions of the Maratha Government, was thereby assured; the milder sway of the English in the Deccan permitted more regular intercourse between the inhabitants of that area and the people of the coast. About the last days of the Peshwa rule in the Deccan Mr. J. M. Maclean gives a dismal picture, as quoted below, which Indian historians may not agree. "So extreme was the misrule—justice being denied to every one who could not use force to obtain it, while cultivators and citizens alike were ground down to the dust by ever increasing taxation—that only the court favourites and military chiefs and adventurers regretted the change of Government. Even the soldiers' pay was in arrears, and many of Bajirao's troops entered the service of the British Government within thirty-six hours after the proclamation of the Peshwa's dethronement. But while the rise of the English power must be ascribed in some degree to the radical incapacity of Hindus (?) to do any work, which they undertake thoroughly and completely, and to the more systematic and strenuous character of western civilization, it should never be forgotten that the conquest of India is really the fruit of the incomparable fighting qualities of the British soldier." The year 1817 thus witnessed the freedom of Bombay from all fear of attack by Native powers. For a century and a half she had followed a policy which enabled her

¹ The Editor does not agree with this view.

to gradually strengthen her own hand and deal one by one with surrounding rivals until the last and most powerful of all was defeated.

By good fortune the affairs of Bombay were entrusted to a man of the highest genius at the very moment when supreme prudence and statecraft were required to repair the damages arising from centuries of desultory warfare. The Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone who was appointed Governor in 1819 fostered so vigorously the expansion of trade, the moderate and uniform settlement of the revenues, and the education of the people that Bishop Heber was moved in 1827 to remark that "on this side of India there is really more zeal and liberality displayed in the improvement of the country, the construction of roads and public building, the conciliation of the native and their education than I have yet seen in Bengal." His policy, wrote the Bishop elsewhere, "so far as India is concerned appeared to me peculiarly wise and liberal; and he is evidently attached to and thinks well of the country and its inhabitants. His public measures in their general tendency evince a steady wish to improve their present condition. No Government in India pays so much attention to schools and public institutions for education. In none are the taxes lighter, and in the administration of justice to the natives in their own languages, in the establishment of panchayats, in the degree in which he employs the natives in official situations, and the countenance and familiarity he extends to all the natives of rank who approach him, he seems to have reduced to practice almost all the reforms which had struck me as most required in the system of Government pursued in those provinces of our Eastern Empire which I had previously visited."

One of Mountstuart Elphinstone's earliest orders was directed towards securing better communication between the Deccan and Bombay. As early as 1803 General Wellesley had constructed a road for his transport up the *Bor ghat*, which had been designedly destroyed by the Peshwa; and this road the Governor determined to reconstruct. By the time Bishop Heber arrived in Bombay a tolerably good road had been commenced. "From Campoolee" he wrote, "I walked up the Bhor Ghat four and a half miles to Khandala, the road still broad and good but in ascent very steep, so much so indeed that a loaded carriage or even a palanquin with anybody in it can with great difficulty be forced along it. In fact every one walks, or rides up the hills and all merchandise is conveyed on bullocks and horses. The ascent might, I think, have been rendered by an able engineer much more easy. But to have carried a road over these hills at all, considering how short a time they have been in our power, is highly creditable to the Bombay Government." The work begun by Elphinstone was completed by his successor Sir John Malcolm, who refers in the following words to the achievement. "On the 10th November, 1830, I opened the Bhor Ghat which though not quite completed was

sufficiently advanced to enable me to drive down with a party of gentlemen in several carriages. It is impossible for me to give a correct idea of this splendid work which may be said to break down the wall between the Konkan and Deccan. It will give facility to commerce, be the greatest of conveniences to troops and travellers, and lessen the expense of European and other articles to all who reside in the Deccan. This road will positively prove a creation of revenue."

Improved communication by sea was likewise sought, and by 1830 a project was afoot for regular communication with England by steamers navigating the Red Sea and Mediterranean. Eight years later regular monthly communication between Bombay and London by the overland route was established, the pioneer of the venture being Mr. Waghorn who left London in 1829 to explore the overland route. The mail was carried by the steamers of the Indian Navy between Bombay and Suez; but their further conveyance beyond Suez seems to have been often a matter of great uncertainty. In 1838 for example the Bombay Chamber of Commerce recorded an explanation by Waghorn of the delay in his transmission to Bombay of the portion of the June mail addressed to his care; and considerable anxiety was often left as to whether a steamer would be available for the despatch of the mails in any particular month. Nevertheless, in spite of the delay and difficulties of the journey across Egypt, the service was carried on with more or less regularity and contributed in no little degree to increasing the importance of Bombay during these years.

The settlement of the Deccan naturally resulted in an increase of the trade of Bombay. About 1825 Bombay exports became considerable, and from 1832 onwards a rise in the price of American cotton which was caused by the operations of the bankers of the United States resulted in increased exports of Indian cotton to England. Between 1835 and 1836 these exports expanded by the large total of a million bales: and this fact coupled with a very marked increase in the number of independent European mercantile firms led in 1836 to the foundation of the Chamber of Commerce which since that date, as Maclean has remarked, "has taken an important share in the formation of public opinion and the direction of affairs".

Under the head of administration, the chief event of note was a proclamation by Government on 23rd April, 1834 appointing the Earl of Clare to be the first Governor of Bombay under a new Act for the better government of Indian territories, with William Newnham and James Sutherland as members of Council; while on the 18th August, 1837 another proclamation was issued declaring "Queen Victoria Supreme Lady of the Castle, Town and Island of Bombay and its Dependencies". Meanwhile

the growth of trade and population was responsible for various improvements in the island, notably the construction of the Colaba Causeway in 1838. Colaba, which up to that date formed the only remaining vestige of the original seven islands constituting Bombay, had been gradually built over ever since the year 1743, when Mr. Broughton rented it of the Company for Rs. 200 per annum. About 1830 the island was held on a yearly tenure by the widow of General Waddington though the buildings erected by her husband were considered to be military quarters in the possession of Government. The junction of Bombay and Colaba was immediately followed by "commercial speculation in recovering a certain portion of ground for building factories, wharfs and the greater facility of mercantile operations". The scheme eventually proved a failure; but for the time being property in Colaba, hitherto considered of little worth, rose about five hundred per cent. in value, land was purchased by a large number of people and building operations were feverishly prosecuted. One of the chief improvements to the north of Colaba was the construction of the Wellington Pier (Apollo Bundar) which was opened for passenger traffic in 1819; while a new mint was commenced in 1825, orders for a new hospital in Hornby Road were issued in the same year, and the Elphinstone High School and Elphinstone College were founded respectively in 1822 and 1827. The erection of the Town Hall likewise dates from this period. Sir James Mackintosh had first proposed to build a Town Hall in 1811, "the object in view being to provide a suitable building for public meetings and entertainments, and also to make a home for the library and museum of the Literary Society, and for the reception of statues and public monuments of British art". Lotteries were set on foot in 1812 and 1823 in the hope of raising sufficient funds for the building, a site for which had been granted by the Company in 1817; but eventually it was found necessary to hand over the work, commenced in 1821, to Government who provided funds for its completion in 1833.

Outside the walls of the Fort also the face of the land was undergoing change. The town was gradually creeping over the reclaimed higher grounds, westward along Back Bay and northward to Byculla, so that by 1835 new communications became essential. One of the earliest of these was the great main road, named after Sir Robert Grant and constructed during his Governorship (1835-38). Douglas has recorded the existence of country-houses in Mazagaon, of four bungalows at Malabar Hill and of Market, Mandvi, Umarkhadi and Bhuleshwar providing homes for a constantly increasing population. Another writer, speaking of the fragile residences which the European population constructed on the Esplanade during the fair season, mentions "groups of pakka built and handsome houses to be found at Girgaum, Byculla, Chinchpugli and other places". Government House, Malabar Point, which Sir John Malcolm had constructed, was in common use as the hot weather retreat of the Governor

by 1835; while another well-known edifice was the *Panjrapol* or home for aged and diseased animals which was erected by a Prabhu in the office of Messrs. Forbes and Company who had amassed considerable wealth with the object of devoting it to charitable purposes. By the year 1838 there were two large bazars in the Fort, the China and Thieves' bazars, the latter crowded with warehouses where European articles were disposed off at a small profit, and three great bazars in the native town, from which branch innumerable cross roads, each swarming with its busy crowds. "During the last few years", wrote Mrs. Postans, "the leading roads of the native town have been watered and even tolerably lighted. This has proved very advantageous after all the inconveniences which attended the old system of dust and darkness. It is still however only for an hour or two after sunrise that horsemen or carriages can pass unimpeded by stoppages of varied character. The most profitable trade carried on in these bazars is the sale of toddy; to so considerable an extent has the general use of this intoxicating beverage increased that Government have been constrained to issue an order; forbidding the existence of toddy stores within a regulated distance of each other. On a moderate computation, however, every sixth shop advertises its sale." The native town comprised roughly a portion of the modern C ward, most of B ward, Byculla, Mazagaon and Kamathipura, and was just commencing to absorb the modern areas of Dhobi Talao, Girgaum, Chaupati and Khetwadi. Parel was fairly populated but had not yet been transformed into a teeming warren of industry. Sion, Sewri and Mahim contained much the same population as they did at the beginning of the century; but Matunga which had at that period served as an European artillery station, was totally deserted by 1835 except for a couple of small hamlets sheltering the descendants of those who once performed the office of menials to the military camp.

The rapid increase of the town and of its population is to some extent portrayed by two occurrences, namely the water famine of 1824 and the Parsi-Hindu riots of 1832. In the former year only 25 inches of rain had fallen by the end of August and the wells which by Mr. Elphinstone's orders had been sunk on the Esplanade at the commencement of the drought proved totally inadequate to supply the whole population. Government thereupon appointed a committee of tanks and wells composed of the Revenue Collector, the Chief Engineer and the Secretary to the Medical Board, and placed at their disposal the services of an Engineer to frame plans and estimates of such works as they might consider necessary for relieving the scarcity. Under their superintendence several wells were repaired and improved and new wells were sunk in localities in which an additional water supply was most wanted. At considerable expense to Government many of the large tanks in Bombay and Mahim were also deepened and widened. The riots referred to above broke out

in July 1832 among the Parsis and one or two Hindu sects in consequence of a Government order for the destruction of pariah dogs which at this date infested every nook and corner of the island. A couple of European constables, stimulated by the reward of eight annas a dog, were killing one in the compound of a native dwelling, when they were suddenly attacked and severely handled by a mixed mob composed of the sects above mentioned. On the following day all the shops on the island were closed and a party of about three hundred people commenced to terrorise anyone who attempted to prosecute his usual daily occupation. The bazar was deserted; and the mob forcibly destroyed the provisions intended for the Queen's Royals who were on duty in the Castle and prevented all supplies of food and water being conveyed to Colaba and the shipping in the harbour. As the mob continued to be reinforced, Mr. De Vitre, Senior Magistrate of Police, asked for the assistance of the garrison troops who speedily put an end to the disturbance.

Before describing the chief events of the latter portion of the period under review, it will not be out of place to quote the following description of Bombay in 1838 by an anonymous writer in the *Asiatic Journal* of that year:—

“In point of striking scenery, and its immediate contiguity to antiquities of the most interesting nature, Bombay possesses great advantages over the sister-presidencies; but these are counterbalanced by inconveniences of a very serious nature, to which, in consequence of the limited extent of the island, many of the inhabitants must submit. Bombay harbour presents one of the most splendid landscapes imaginable. The voyager visiting India for the first time, on nearing the superb amphitheatre, whose wood-crowned heights and rocky terraces, bright promontories and gem-like islands are reflected in the broad blue sea, experiences none of the disappointment which is felt by all lovers of the picturesque on approaching the low, flat coast of Bengal, with its stunted jungle. A heavy line of hills forms a beautiful outline upon the bright and sunny sky; foliage of the richest hues clothing the sides and summits of these towering eminences, while below, the fortress intermingled with fine trees, and the wharfs running out into the sea, present, altogether, an imposing spectacle, on which the eye delights to dwell.

“The island of Bombay does not exceed twenty miles in circumference, and communicates with that of Salsette by a causeway built across a channel of the sea which surrounds it. It is composed of two unequal ranges of whinstone rock, with an intervening valley about three miles in breadth, and in remoter times was entirely covered with a wood of cocos. The fort is built on the south-eastern extremity of the island, and occupies a very considerable portion of ground, the outworks comprehending a circuit of two miles, being, indeed, so widely extended,

as to require a very numerous garrison. The town or city of Bombay is built within the fortifications, and is nearly a mile long, extending from the Apollo gate to that of the bazar, its breadth in some places being a quarter of a mile; the houses are picturesque, in consequence of the quantity of handsomely carved woodwork employed in the pillars and the verandahs; but they are inconveniently crowded together, and the high, conical roofs of red tiles are very offensive to the eye, especially if accustomed to the flat-turreted and balustraded palaces of Calcutta. The Government house, which is only employed for the transaction of business, holding durbars—a large, convenient, but ugly looking building, somewhat in the Dutch taste—occupies one side of an open space in the centre of the town, called the Green. The best houses, and a very respectable church, are situated in this part of the town, and to the right extends a long and crowded bazar, amply stocked with every kind of merchandize. Many of the rich natives have their habitations in this bazar, residing in large mansions built after the Asiatic manner, but so huddled together as to be exceedingly hot and disagreeable to strangers unaccustomed to breathe so confined an atmosphere. One of the principal boasts of Bombay is its docks and dock-yards: they are capacious, built of fine hard stone, and are the work of Parsi artisans, many of whom, from their talents and industry, have risen from common labourers to be wealthy shipbuilders. Many splendid vessels, constructed of teak wood, the best material for building have been launched from these docks, which contain commodious warehouses for naval stores, and are furnished with a rope-walk, which is the admiration of those who have visited the finest yards in England, being second to none, excepting that at Portsmouth.

“The island of Bombay, from an unwholesome swamp, has been converted into a very salubrious residence; though enough of shade still remains, the superabundant trees have been cut down the marshes filled up, and the sea-breeze, which sets in every day, blows with refreshing coolness, tempering the solar heat. The native population, which is very large, has cumbered the ground in the neighbourhood of the fortifications with closely built suburbs, which must be passed before the visitor can reach the open country beyond, at the further extremity of the island. The black town, as it is called, spreads its innumerable habitations, amidst a wood of coconut trees—a curious, busy, busting, but dirty quarter, swarming with men and the inferior animals, and presenting every variety of character that the whole of Asia can produce. The coconut gardens, beyond this populous scene, are studded with villas of various descriptions, the buildings within the fortifications being too much crowded together to be desirable; those belonging to European residents are, for the most part, merely retained as offices, the families seeking a more agreeable situation in the outskirts. Comfort, rather than elegance, has

been consulted in the construction of the major portion of those villas but any defalcation in external splendour is amply compensated by the convenience of the interior. . . . Those persons who are compelled, by business or duty, to live in the immediate vicinity of Government house, only occupy the houses inside the fortifications during the rainy season; at other periods of the year they live in a sort of *al fresco* manner, peculiar to this part of the world. A wide Esplanade, stretching between the walls of the fort and the sea, and of considerable length, affords the place of retreat. At the extreme verge a fine, hard sand forms a delightful ride or drive, meeting a strip of grass or meadow-land, which with the exception of a portion marked off as the parade ground of the troops in garrison, is covered with temporary building: some of these are exceedingly fantastic. Bungalows constructed of poles and planks, and roofed with palm leaves, rise in every direction, many being surrounded by beautiful parterres of flowers, blooming from innumerable pots. Other persons pitch tents, which are often extensive and commodious, on this piece of ground, covering them over with a *chupper* or thatched roof, supported on slender pillars, and forming a verandah all round.

"Of the native community, as it has been already stated, a large majority are Parsis, who, at a very remote period—the eighth century of the Christian era—were driven by the persecution of the Mahomedan conquerors of Persia, to take refuge in Hindustan. The lower classes of Parsis are in great request as domestics at Bombay; they are far less intolerant in their principles than either Mussalmans or Hindus, and will, therefore, perform a greater variety of work, and are more agreeable to live with; but in personal appearance, they cannot compete with Bengal servants; whose dress and air are decidedly superior. The greater portion of the wealth of the place is in the hands of Parsi merchants, who are a hospitable race and, though not extravagant, liberal in their expenditure. The houses of these persons will be found filled with European furniture, and they have adopted many customs and habits which remain still unthought of by the Mussalmans and Hindus. The women, though not jealously excluded from all society, are rather closely kept; they have no objection to occasionally receive the husbands of the European ladies who may visit them, but they do not mingle promiscuously with male society. The Parsi females are not distinguished for their personal appearance being rather coarse and ill-favoured; but many employ themselves in a more profitable manner than is usual in native women. Work-tables fitted up after the European mode, are not unfrequently found in their possession; they know how to use English implements in their embroidery, and they have English dressing-cases for the toilet. Considerable pains, in some instances, are bestowed upon the education of the daughters, who learn to draw and to play upon the piano; and one Parsi gentleman, of great wealth, contemplated the introduction of

an English governess, for the purpose of affording instruction to the young ladies of his family.

"The Jews are more numerous, and of a higher degree of respectability in Bombay than in any other part of India; they make good soldiers, and are found in considerable numbers in the ranks of the native army. There are Armenians also but not nearly so many as are settled in Calcutta The Portuguese inhabitants rear large quantities of poultry; but game is not plentiful on the island, in consequence of its limited extent: red-legged partridges are however found, and on some occasions, snipe. The European inhabitants are usually supplied with their fruit and vegetables from the bazaar, as there are comparatively few gardens attached to their houses; great quantities of the productions sold in the markets are brought from the neighbouring island of Salsette, which is united to that of Bombay by a causeway—a work for which the inhabitants are indebted to Governor Duncan, who constructed it over a small arm of the sea. This communication, which has a draw-bridge in the centre, is a convenience both to the cultivators and to the residents of Bombay, who are thus enabled to extend and diversify their drives, by crossing over to Salsette. A great portion of Salsette is now under cultivation, the Parsis and other wealthy natives possessing large estates on the island.

"The favourite residence of the Governor (who has three residences upon the island) is usually a villa at Malabar Point, a particularly beautiful situation, being a woody promontory, rising so abruptly from the sea, that its spray dashes up against the terraces. The principal residence of the Governor is at Parell about six miles from the city, and here he gives his public entertainments. It is a large handsome house, well constructed and appointed, having spacious apartments for the reception of company.

"The large Portuguese village or town of Mazagong, which is dirty and swarming with pigs, is however, finely situated, occupying the shore between two hills, and is moreover celebrated as being the place at which the fine variety of mango, so much in request, was originally grown. The parent tree, whence all the grafts were taken which have supplied the neighbouring gardens, was said to be in existence a few years ago, a guard of sepoy being stationed round in the proper season to preserve its fruit from unhallowed hands. From these groves in the time of one of the most luxurious Moghal emperors, Shah Jehan, the royal tables of Delhi were furnished with their principal vegetable attraction, couriers being despatched to bring the far-famed mangoes to the imperial court. Moore has alluded to the circumstances in "Lalla Rookh", attributing the acerbity of the critical Fadladeen's temper to the failure in the supply of mangoes. Mazagong-house was the residence of Sterne's Eliza; but the interest which this heroine of the ultrasentimental school formerly existed,

has become very much faded, and there seems to be some doubt whether her existence will be remembered by the next generation.

“A great number of the poorer inhabitants of Salsette, Elephanta and the other islands of Bombay, subsist by fishing : cultivation is, however, extending in the interior; and in the course of a few years, the influx of visitors to Bombay, which must be materially increased by steam-navigation to India, will doubtless direct the attention of persons desirous to colonize, to the purchase of land in these fertile but somewhat neglected scenes. The various remains left by the Portuguese show that in their time agriculture flourished in places now reduced to jungle, from the usual consequences of Maratha conquest; and although the invaders subsequently ceded their territories to the British Government, they have never recovered from the ravages committed by a people, who may with justice be styled the most destructive upon earth.”

Among the chief military and political events, which occurred just prior to the middle of the nineteenth century, were the appointment of a British resident to Savantvadi in 1838, the inclusion of Angre's Kulaba in British territory in 1841, the bombardment of Aden in 1839, the assumption of the right to administer the affairs of Kolhapur in 1842, the conquest of Sind in 1843 and the annexation of Satara in 1848. These actions doubtless served to impress upon the public mind the fact that Bombay was now the paramount power in Western India, but had little effect upon the progress of the island as compared with the internal reforms initiated during the twenty years preceding 1860. Foremost among the latter was the introduction of railway communication. In 1844 the Great Indian Peninsula Railway, to which Sir B. Frere offered the motto *primus in Indis*, was projected; the first sod was turned by Mr. Willoughby at Bombay in 1850, and the first twenty miles to Thane were opened in 1853. Two years later (1855) the monthly mail service, which had reached a state of inefficiency and disorganisation calling loudly for reform, was reorganised; the employment of ships of the Indian Navy for this purpose was to the relief of travellers discontinued; and a contract was granted to the Peninsular and Oriental Steamship Company for the carriage of passengers and mails twice a month between Bombay and Aden in connection with their Calcutta and Mediterranean service. In 1857 even the bi-weekly voyage was decried, and an agitation was set on foot for an effective weekly mail service which bore fruit in 1868. It may be noted that an event of great political significance took place in 1852. The Company's charter was to be renewed in 1853. The political leaders of Bombay decided to start a political organization to vent public grievances and the first political organization of the Bombay Presidency was started in Bombay in this year under the name of Bombay Association, in a meeting of the citizens of Bombay on 26th August 1852. The report of the

meeting opens with the introductory remarks of Hon. Shri Jagannath Shankarshet, the Chairman of the meeting.

Hon. Shri Jagannath Shankarshet's speech.—“I wish on such an interesting occasion this chair was occupied by Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, who, I regret, owing to indisposition, has not been able to attend, or by my friend Bomanjee Hormusjee, Esq., or other individual better able than myself to do justice to the objects for which we are here assembled.

“We meet here today to consider a most important subject. In the newspapers a notice was printed convening a public meeting of the native inhabitants of Bombay, which I shall read. From this you will see that it is considered highly desirable to form an association in Bombay, to ascertain and note the wants and wishes of the people living under this Government; to consider what measures are calculated to improve their condition; and to submit the results of these inquiries to local Government and to the authorities in England. By these means it is hoped, under providence, that we may be able to suggest a great many things to our rulers which otherwise may pass unnoticed, and we trust, that the results will prove highly beneficial to the people of this country, particularly the poorer portion who know little or nothing of the feelings of their rulers regarding them. The anxiety of the British Government is to improve the condition of the ryots as well as of the other classes. The grand aim of this meeting at which I am called to preside, is to secure the happiness of millions of our countrymen, and as such I have no doubt that every one of you here do feel warmly interested, and that you will strain every nerve to forward the objects in view. Gentlemen, I know your good feelings and good sense are such, that no further exposition on my part is necessary. The objects of this meeting, I again repeat, are most noble, such as I believe we never proposed to ourselves before on this side of India. To every one to whom his country and its people are dear, the subject cannot fail to commend itself to their best attention and energies, and I shall conclude with the earnest hope, that success may crown our doings. Many, I have reason to believe, are of opinion, especially among those who have not moved in European society, that the British authorities are opposed to frame or concede measures simply for the benefit of our country; I mean such as do not at the same time involve their own pecuniary or other interests. But I assure such persons, in common with many here, that efforts on the part of natives to improve their own condition cannot but be looked on with pleasure by the paternal and enlightened Government that rules over this country, and meet with encouragement in proportion to their reasonableness and justice.”

The following propositions were then unanimously adopted :—

Proposed by Bomanjee Hormusjee, Esquire, and seconded by Maneckjee Limjee,

VF 4361—16a

"1. That an association be formed in Bombay with the object of ascertaining the wants of the natives of India living under the Government of this Presidency, and of representing from time to time, to the authorities, the measures calculated to advance the welfare and improvement of the country."

Proposed by Cowasjee Jehangeerjee, Esq., and seconded by Vurjeewandass, Madhawdass, Esquire.

"2. That the association be denominated the Bombay Association."

Proposed by Cursetjee Nusserwanjee, Esquire, and seconded by Maneckjee Nusserwanjee, Esquire.

"3. That the association shall take advantage of the opportunity afforded by the enquiries, now being made in England, into the nature and constitution of the India Government, to represent to the Imperial Parliament of Great Britain such reforms and improvements in the existing system of government as are calculated to procure the most efficient administration of public affairs, and to secure the general welfare and interests of the people of India, and that the association do, in connection with those latter objects, open communications with, and seek the co-operation of the societies formed for the same purposes at Calcutta and Madras."

Proposed by Framjee Nusserwanjee, Esquire, and seconded by Bapoo Jugunnath, Esquire.

"4. That the association shall from time to time, on occasions arising, memorialize the Government authorities in India, or in England, for the removal of existing evils, and for the prevention of proposed measures which may be deemed injurious, or for the introduction of enactments which may tend to promote the general interests of all connected with this country."

Proposed by Narayan Dinnanathjee, Esquire, and seconded by Bhawoo Dajee, Esquire.

"5. That a subscription list be opened for the purpose of raising funds necessary to carry into effect the objects of this association."

In moving the above proposition, Mr. Narayan Dinnanathjee said:—

"Gentlemen, I am very happy to see that this association has been formed; the advantages to be derived from it are so various and so numerous, that I am unable to describe them. The language (Gujarati) in which I now speak not being my mother-tongue, at present I labour under a disadvantage. 'Two heads are better than one'—thus runs an English proverb. What one cannot do, many can; union is power. If one person alone were to state the grievances of his country, no one would listen to him; but in an assembly formed from the community at large, such as the present one, the members can, as a body, represent

to the proper authorities their grievances. In societies, if any one has any doubt on any subject, it can be removed by another member. There are innumerable advantages arising from our meeting in a body, but I am not going to enumerate them here at present."

Proposed by Nowrojee Furdoonjee, Esquire, and seconded by Dadabhoy Nowrojee, Esquire.

"6. That the following be adopted as the rules of the Bombay Association."

Mr. Nowrojee Furdoonjee observed:—

"Gentlemen, before reading the rules I propose for adoption, I beg to say a few words. It is usual in all civilised countries, especially in those of Europe, for the principal inhabitants to hold public meetings to deliberate on the existing and proposed measures and policy of the Governments under which they live, and to form associations like that which has this day been inaugurated, for the purpose of respectfully representing their grievances, and suggesting measures calculated to promote the welfare and prosperity of their country; and to such representations the rulers always attach due weight and importance. The want of well-regulated and well-constituted associations of this description has long been felt in this part of the country; and I am delighted to find that the want has this day been supplied at this meeting. An association like this—for the regulation and conduct of whose proceedings clear and well-defined rules are laid down, composed as it is of the heads and representatives of the native community of this Presidency, gentlemen of influence, respectability, rank and intelligence, whom I rejoice to see here—cannot fail to command attention. The British Government, which is an enlightened and liberal Government, and professes to govern Indian for its own sake, will, I feel confident, be always ready and willing to hear the respectful appeals, the reasonable remonstrances, and the earnest representations which its native subjects may consider it proper to make for the amelioration of the conditions of this country and the welfare of its people. It will be the paramount duty of this association carefully to ascertain and represent the wants of the natives living under the Government of this Presidency, and such reforms and measures as are calculated to procure the most efficient administration of public affairs, as well as to memorialize the Government authorities from time to time for the removal of existing evils and the prevention of proposed injurious measures or enactments. Thus this association will be permanent one, and will be of great use and advantage not only at the present juncture, but also at all times in future whenever occasions arise." He then placed the draft of the rules of the association for the approval of the meeting.

In seconding Mr. Nowrojee Furdoonjee's motion to adopt the rules of the Association, Dadabhoy Nowrojee observed :—

"Many ask what this association means to do, when it is well known that under our present Government we enjoy an amount of liberty and prosperity rarely known to the inhabitants of India under any Native sovereign. In reply to this it is said, we ought to demand redress for our grievances. But what are those grievances? There may be many or none, yet nobody here is at this moment prepared to give a decided reply; and when we see that our Government is often ready to assist us in everything calculated to benefit us, we had better, than merely complain and grumble, point out in a becoming manner what our real wants are.

"We are subject to the English Government, whose, principal offers being drawn from England, do not, except after a long residence and experience, become fully acquainted with our wants and customs.

"Though they may always be anxious to do good to us, they are often led, by their imperfect acquaintance with the country, to adopt measures calculated to do more harm than good, while we, on the other hand, have no means of preventing such occurrences. The most we can do is to complain through the medium of a paper. In time all is hushed up, and the people carry with them the impression that Government has been unkind to them in not attending their complaint.

"We have, therefore, to consider what we ought to do, so as to secure our own good, and at the same time keep up a good understanding between us and Government.

"If an association like this, formed by the great Seths of our community, be always in readiness to ascertain by strict inquiries the probable good or bad effects of any proposed measure, and whenever necessary to memorialize Government on behalf of the people, with respect to them, our kind Government will not refuse to listen to such memorials. This, therefore, gentlemen, is one of the principal objects of the association. There are various departments of Government, such as revenue, judicial, political etc., conducted according to certain regulations. Of these some may be beneficial, some injurious. Take with it the case of the Cumbis. Much is being said about their poverty and destitution. But it is necessary to inquire into the true causes of this wretchedness. It may be owing, for aught we know, either to bad administration, wholly or partially, or to some other causes. The committees of this association shall have therefore to institute inquiries into the natures of the various acts to which we are already subject, as well as of those which might be proposed for future administration, and to report to Government in a proper manner the results of their inquiries. I see no better means of preventing the adoption of injurious measures than

by a combination of the people, in the manner in which this association is proposed to be formed, and I therefore second, with great pleasure, my friend Mr. Nowrojee in his motion to adopt the rules he read over to you."

The Chairman then placed the following proposition before the meeting:—

"9. That a copy of the proceedings of this meeting be submitted to Government, with an expression of the earnest hope of this meeting, that the objects of this association will receive the support and co-operation of Government, as the association seeks only to advance the welfare of the people of this country, which cannot but likewise be the aim and object of government."

In moving this proposition, the Chairman said—

"I have already explained that the object of this association is to ascertain what measures will promote the interests of the Natives. Now as the British Government acknowledge their duty to be to effect whatever good they can for the benefit of this country, it is clear that their object and our object are one and the same. We are not in opposition to Government, nor can Government be opposed to our objects, if it be shown that the good of the country is what we seek. The Government have the power to do much good, and we have many proofs that they have the will also. I need not go far for these proofs. Witness this noble institution which they so generously support, in which so many who are now present have received a most excellent education. Witness also the Grant Medical College, where so many have been gratuitously taught the science of medicine, and have been prepared to gain a respectable livelihood, and to occupy an honourable position. I might refer also to the recent appointment of many Natives to the highly responsible situations of deputy collectors and magistrates. The Government are willing, I am sure, to do what good they can, and when they are correctly informed they will always be ready to act for the advantage of the people over whom they rule. But they are not in possession of full and correct information of all subjects connected with the welfare of the people. Besides their official sources of information, Government will be glad to have other channels of information on which they can rely. An association like the one now established will doubtless be listened to with attention in respect to all matters which concern the wants and wishes of the people, which of course Natives have better means of knowing than gentlemen whose time is engaged with the duties of their official situations. I feel confident that the Government will be glad to receive suggestions from an association of respectable Natives, who intend to enquire carefully what the interest of the people may require, and seek to promote these interests

in a temperate manner through the co-operation of the authorities themselves."

Subsequently in 1853 the Bombay Association submitted a petition to the British Parliament.

The progress of trade during the years 1840-60 was evidenced in various directions. The old system of houses of agency gradually disappeared in favour of joint-stock banks, of which the earliest, the Bank of Bombay, was opened in 1840. The *Bombay Times* of April 15th 1840, remarked that "the Bank of Bombay opens for business this day, three years and nearly four months having elapsed since the first subscription to it, and after surmounting a series of such difficulties and obstacles, as we believe no similar institution ever encountered before and such as we may safely predict no institution for the public good will encounter again." The difficulties attending the opening of this bank, however, appear to have exercised no check upon the formation of similar institutions; for in 1842 the Bank of Western India was established and by 1860 the Commercial, the Chartered Mercantile, the Agra and United Service, the Chartered and the Central Bank of Western India had all gained an assured position. The commencement of the cotton spinning and weaving industry also dates from this period. In 1850 even the model of a cotton mill could not have been found in Bombay; but shortly afterwards the enormous imports of piece goods and yarns from Lancashire set the merchant community wondering whether it might not be feasible to fight Manchester with her own weapons and themselves supply the demands of the island and the Presidency. In 1854 the first mill, the Bombay Spinning and Weaving Company's Mill, commenced working, and by 1860 six more had been opened and had attracted to the island a considerable industrial population.

Meanwhile the influx of population engendered by the above causes impressed upon all minds the need of improved communications, more space for building and a better system of conservancy. The Fort this date (1850) was described as looking like "a large basket stuffed so full of goods that they threatened to tumble out of it." "The dreary, treeless, sunburnt wilderness of the Esplanade during the hot season with its few dusty narrow roads leading to the native town was appalling. Almost universal darkness prevailed as soon as night set in: all traffic ceased, and people traversing the *maidan* after 9 p.m. were in mortal fear of thieves and robbers. The Fort was like a city of the dead; neither foot-passengers nor carriages could be seen, and if a man passed he walked as it were by stealth and flitted away like a spectre. Had anyone the misfortune to arrive with baggage after dark at any of the three gates through which entrance could be obtained, his vehicle was gruffly stopped by the sentinel on duty and he was told that nothing could come

in." In 1841, a year after reclamation on a small-scale had been initiated by Messrs. Skinner, Brownrigg and Richmond, the public press had condemned the Fort as an obsolete and troublesome burden upon the community and under the auspices of Lord Elphinstone (1853-60), the pioneer of Bombay urban improvement, some attempt was made before 1860 to clear away the oldest portion of the defences. The delay which occurred in demolishing the whole of the ramparts and the decision of the Fort Improvement Committee in 1848 to remove merely the ravelins and art works was partly due to the opposition of the native community who in an appeal to Government in that year pointed out that fresh space for the extension of the town was readily available in Colaba, Girgaum, Dhobi Talao and Breach Candy.

The conservancy of the town was likewise a subject of constant discussion at this period. Public health and the conduct of civic affairs were originally in the hands of the Justices of the Peace, who had been succeeded by Courts of Petty Sessions, Magistrates of Police, and finally by a Conservancy Board in which "obtuseness, indifference and party spirit appeared to have completely overcome whatever medium of public spirit was still conserved among its members". Consequently in 1858 an Act was passed abolishing the conservancy board and substituting for it a triumvirate of Municipal Commissioners, which existed till 1865. It was during their regime that the Vihar waterworks, for the opening of which the city was indebted to the determination and liberality of Lord Elphinstone, were taken in hand, whereby a population annually liable to decimation by water-famine was for the first time supplied with a sufficiency of good water. They also prepared a rough scheme of drainage which was published in 1861. These projects were rendered imperative by the rapid expansion of the town. Prior to the date of the Mutiny the most important improvements were the Bellasis Road with its two gaping black ditches on either side and the construction of the Mahim causeway, which was opened in 1845 and was described as "a stupendous mound which cuts off an arm of the sea and promises to give to the husbandman what has hitherto been an unproductive estuary, a bridge which enables the traveller to pass a dangerous ferry in safety". But subsequent to 1857 the town expanded to such an extent that apathy in the matter of public improvements was no longer possible. Malabar Hill, Breach Candy and Mahalakshmi were eagerly seized upon by the European and upper class native residents; the ancient oarts and gardens were peopled by the poorer classes, whom the prospect of lucrative employment enticed from the districts of the mainland. "On the whole of the district," wrote a correspondent of the *Times of India* in 1860, "lying between the sea and Girgaum Back Road, building operations have been in active progress for some years past but have within the last two years been pushed on with unprecedented rapidity. Houses are rising in all directions and what was some few years ago

merely a cocoanut plantation will within the next half century be as thoroughly urban as Mandvi or Khara Talao. Cavel and Sonapur are utterly destitute of cross-thoroughfares and illustrate what will be the future condition of the whole oart district if systematic proceedings are not at once adopted."

Two serious breaches of the public peace occurred during this period. The earliest occurred at Mahim on the last day of the Muharram, 1850, in consequence of a dispute between two rival factions of Khojas and resulted in the murder of three men and the wounding of several others. The later riots broke out between the Muhammedans and Parsis in October, 1851, in consequence of a very ill-advised article upon the Muhammedan religion which appeared in the *Gujarathi*. The Muhammedans, enraged by the Parsi editor's strictures upon the Prophet, collected at the Jama Masjid on the 17th October in very large numbers, and after disabling a small police patrol which had been posted there to keep the peace fell to attacking any Parsi they met and destroying the property of members of that community. The public conveyance stabled at Paidhoni were wrecked, liquor shops were broken into and rifled, shops and private houses were pillaged. Captain Baynes, the Superintendent of Police, aided by Mr. Spens, the Chief Magistrate, managed with a strong force to disperse the main body of rioters, capturing eighty-five of them; but towards evening, as there were signs of a recrudescence of violence and the neighbourhood of the Bhendi Bazar was in a state of practical siege, the troops of the garrison were marched down to Mumbadevi and thence distributed in picketing parties throughout the disturbed area. This action had the effect of finally quelling the disturbance and the annual Muharram festival, which commenced on the 27th October passed off quietly.

The period of the Mutiny was fraught with anxiety to the European residents of Bombay, and more than one native of standing narrowly escaped arrest for high treason, as the result of false complaints laid before the authorities by interested parties. Among those thus secretly impeached was Mr. Jagannath Shankarshet (1804-65) who might conceivably have incurred the same fate as Rama Kamati in earlier years, had Lord Elphinstone been less calm, circumspect and resolute. Jagannath's guilt was firmly believed in by several Europeans of influence, who brought the facts to the notice of the Governor: and he ordered an investigation to be made by Charles Forjett, Superintendent of Police, who was able to satisfactorily prove that the stories were wholly unfounded. Nevertheless the widespread anxiety in Bombay between May and September 1857 was by no means groundless. There were at this date three sepoy regiments on the island and only one European force of 400 men under Brigadier Shortt. The native troops were implicitly

trusted by their officers and the chief danger apprehended by the Bombay Government was from the Muhammedan population which numbered at this date about 150,000. Besides the troops, Mr. Forjett was in charge of a number of native and 60 European police. Forjett, who was born and bred in India and could disguise himself as a native without fear of detection, was convinced that the towns people would not stir without the sepoys; but he knew that the latter were planning mutiny and much to the disgust of the Brigadier made no secret of his views. The Muharram was approaching, which is always an occasion of anxiety in Bombay even in times of peace; and the plans made by Government to keep order involved the splitting up of the European troops and police into small parties. Forjett by no means approved of an arrangement by which there would be no Europeans to oppose a mutiny of the sepoys at the place where it was likely to begin. As regards the troops he could do nothing, but he told the Governor—that he felt obliged to disobey orders as to the location of the police. "It is a very risky thing," said Lord Elphinstone, "to disobey orders; but I am sure you will do nothing rash."

Forjett did disobey orders, in spite of risk. He wandered round the city in disguise every night of the Muharram and whenever he heard anyone sympathising with the success of the mutineers in other parts of India, he at once whistled for his men, some of whom were sure to be near. The scoundrels of the town were so alarmed at these mysterious arrests, which seemed to show that the authorities knew everything, that they remained quiet. But towards the end of the Muharram, a drunken Christian drummer belonging to one of the sepoy regiments insulted a religious procession of Hindus, and overthrew a god that they were escorting. He was at once arrested and placed in custody; but the men of his regiment, incensed at the action of the police, whom they detested on account of Forjett's hostility to themselves, hurried to the lock-up, rescued the drummer and took him with two policemen to their lines. A European constable and four natives went at once to demand that their comrades should be released and the drummer given up. They were resisted by force; a struggle ensued, and the police fought their way out, leaving two sepoys for dead. The sepoys were in the utmost fury and excitement, and Forjett was summoned by his police. Forjett was equal to the emergency. He ordered his European police to follow him, and galloped to the scene of the mutiny. He found the sepoys trying to force their way out of the lines, and their officers withdrawn swords with difficulty restraining them. On seeing Forjett their anger could hardly be controlled. "For God's sake, Mr. Forjett," cried the officers, "go away". "If your men are bent on mischief," he replied, "the sooner it is over the better". The sepoys paused while Forjett sat on his horse confronting them. Soon his assistant and fifty-four European constables arrived, and

Forjett cried, "Throw open the gates—I am ready for them!" The sepoys were not prepared for this prompt action; and in the face of the European force judged discretion to be the better part of valour.

A few days later, Forjett erected a gallows near the police office, summoned the chief citizens whom he knew to be disaffected, and pointing to the gibbet told them that on the slightest sign that they meditated an outbreak they would promptly be hanged. The hint was taken. But there was still danger from the sepoys. Forjett learnt that a number of them were systematically holding secret meetings at the house of one Ganga Prasad. He immediately had this man arrested, and induced him to confess what he knew. The next evening he went to the house and through a hole in the wall gathered from the sepoys' conversation that they meant to mutiny during the Hindu festival of the Diwali in October, pillage the city and then leave the island. His report of this to the officers was received with incredulity; but Forjett persuaded Major Barrow, the commandant of one of the regiments, to go with him to the house. "Mr. Forjett has caught us at last!" said Brigadier Shortt when the facts were reported to him. Court-martials were promptly held, the two ring-leaders—a native officer of the Marine Battalion and a private of the 10th N.I. were blown from guns on the Esplanade, and six of their accomplices were transported for life. The Diwali passed off quietly, and thus by the prescience of the Superintendent of Police, Bombay was saved from the horrors of mutiny.

The town meanwhile had watched the course of affairs in Bengal with feverish interest. A great meeting was held in the Town Hall in July 1857 to form a fund for the relief of those who had suffered in the mutiny; the Parsis met *en masse* on the beach at Back Bay and thence moved to the fire temple, in Chandanwadi to pray for the success of British arms against the rebels; and after the Queen's Proclamation, which was read from the steps of the Town Hall on the 1st November, 1858, thanksgiving was offered in every temple, mosque and church upon the island and all sections of the people were present at the festivities and illuminations arranged in honour of that event.

A mention may here be made of the proselytising activities of Christian missionaries who were actively helped by responsible officials as for example Mr. Fisher, acting Governor of Bombay (1841). These activities soon assumed aggressive proportions and caused great commotion in Bombay. The Parsees were much agitated and large amounts of money were spent by them on carrying on counter propaganda against missionaries by publication of books, pamphlets, booklets etc. Vishnuwa Brahmachari next took up the challenge (1855) and carried on his wordy crusade on Chaupati sands. But he was gagged by Government. This agitation went on vigorously till about 1857.

Government in the beginning appeared to be having a strictly impartial policy in religious matters. They did not want to give any offence to the people, on the contrary they wanted to assure them that they would not allow any propaganda in favour of Christianity.

From the correspondence published in the name of 'a native' in the *Bombay Samachar* (A Gujarati weekly 11th February, 1841) and also from the comments in the *Bombay Courier* (4th March, 1841) it seems that two Parsi boys were converted to Christianity by the local Presbyterian Mission. The *Courier* states, "As both the boys gave up the religion of their forefathers, there was great excitement amongst the native (Parsi) population. The Parsis boycotted the missionary schools withdrawing their children from them, whose chief aim was the spread of Christian religion." The Parsi community organized resistance on this occasion. They sought legal assistance and went up to the Supreme Court. It seems they also lodged complaints with highest authorities in England; but nowhere they could succeed. How the highest Government officials also used to take part in such activities was proved when a public reception arranged in honour of the Hon. Mr. Fisher was effectively boycotted by the Bombay public (February 1841). Mr. Fisher who was the senior member of the Governor's Council had also worked as acting Governor. It was alleged that Mr. Fisher had helped the missionaries in their proselytising activities when he was acting Governor. At the time of Mr. Fisher's retirement from the service a public meeting was organized as mentioned above by the Europeans in the city of Bombay in appreciation of his long meritorious services by creating scholarships in a missionary medical school from a memorial fund which was proposed to be raised from the public of Bombay. This meeting was opposed by the native population of Bombay particularly the Parsis. A correspondent in the *Bombay Samachar* (11th February, 1841) stated "I am sure nobody would join in the move for the collection of the fund. Anybody who gives money to patronize a missionary school will help proselytisation of the natives. So no native should attend this meeting." This meeting was duly held in the Town Hall on the 19th February, 1841, under the chairmanship of Mr. James Henry Crawford. The native population effectively boycotted it. Only two natives, one Parsi and the other Muslim attended it. The Europeans were surprised by this demonstration of unity and strong opposition. One of them Mr. John Iskiner went to the length of saying, "the natives have shown their ingratitude to Mr. Fisher who had done so much for their welfare and who was their true friend. The natives thus have insulted Mr. Fisher." Mr. Iskiner even proposed a resolution at the meeting recommending that natives be excluded from contributing to the fund. However, better counsel of the chairman prevailed and the proposal was rejected (*Bombay Samachar*, 21st February, 1841).

The then Governor Sir J. Rivett-Carnac while speaking before the students of the Elphinstone Institution took pains to emphasise the value and use of English education which was meant for their happiness and welfare. He asked the Europeans also to help the natives without any selfish motives (*Bombay Samachar*, 25th March, 1841). Sir Carnac in his talks with the professors and scholars of the said Institute declared that in order to banish fear of proselytisation and other apprehensions, small or big, the Government had instituted a board of education and entrusted to it the work of education (*Bombay Samachar*, 1st April, 1841).

Another incident of conversion to Christianity created the same sort of hue and cry in the city in the month of May 1841. This was described as "*Zulum* on the pattern of the Pindharies" by some newspapers. In this instance a 16-year old boy Sorabji according to the report in the *Bombay Samachar* (27th May, 1841) left his house and was traced in the house of a missionary. His old mother and sisters went there and tried to persuade him to come back but they did not succeed. Sorabji, because of the various inducements and temptations offered by the missionaries refused to go with his mother. He was the only son of the aged mother. She cried and cried and also sought police help. The police took the boy to the Mazagaon Police Court where in the enquiry it was found that the boy was illiterate but it was his wish to adopt Christianity. The lad refused to go home to his mother. So the police took him the next day to the missionary's home where he was converted to Christianity.

The *Bombay Samachar* writing on this incident states, "we cannot describe in words the misery and torture of the mother of the converted boy. She is suffering from old age and poverty. Have these missionaries and those who patronize them thought for a moment how miserable they themselves would be if their son was beguiled to court a religion other than that of his forefathers? We ask, "what domes this immature and illiterate boy who does not know his mother language properly (Gujarati) nor has any knowledge of his own religion understand about the Christian religion? And what advantage the missionaries bring to their religion by converting such boys of tender age and who have not much intelligence also?"

Criticising the attitude of Government the paper writes "When the British rule in India began the people were given a guarantee that their religion would be protected and no harm would come to the people. Last time when two Parsi boys were converted to Christianity the *Native* made a petition to the Government expressing their grievance and feelings. The authorities replied that they would not interfere with religious matters and would keep aloof. This would not do. They should do more than that."

"In earlier times Pindharies plundered and tortured the people and the rulers (native) connived at it and allowed them to plunder as they (rulers) also used to have their share in the loot. Similarly the Government of the day do not prevent the missionaries who are like the Pindharies and allow them to torment the people and do what they like. The Government only says, "we do not interfere". Old rulers used to serve their cause through the missionaries. This is confirmed, if what we read in Calcutta newspapers is true. If that is true then we would say that the Government is openly helping the missionaries. We read from Bengal newspapers that the Government intends to bring a bill to enable the Hindus to share in their ancestral property even after their conversion to Christianity. This proves that the Government has employed Christian Missionaries for the spread of Christian religion in the country."

At the end of the article the paper has appealed the Government to stop this "Pindharies like *zulum* of the missionaries and to restore the trust and contentment among the people wherein alone lie the security and strength of the State."

It would be worthwhile to reproduce the comments of the *Bombay Times* of 15th January, 1859 on the "Deadly National Rebellion" as it deals with the great uprising of 1857.

"If you choose to turn your eyes to the truth and call it, as some of your high civil officials in 1857 called it, a mere Military mutiny, the blame of keeping up a large Sepoy Army with an absurdly small number of European soldiers in the country, with the Empire daily extending, lies at the door of the Court of Directors. If you call it by its right name a deadly national rebellion, more fierce and sanguinary than ever occurred in France, the blame of annexing Oude against solemn treaties (as now admitted by every Member of Parliament, but long ago ineffectually dinned into Lord Dalhousie's ears by the whole press of India, save the "Friend"), lies at the door of their pet servant whom they rewarded with a pension of Rs. 50,000 a year, to be paid out of the revenues of the very land which he had so cruelly despoiled. Who, but the Court of Directors, refused to allow Nana Dhoondoo Punt (the notorious Nana) to sit on the *gadee* of the Great Bajee Rao Peshwa, in defiance of the *shastras* on the false plea that a Hindoo's adopted son was not a legal heir, and on the same plea deprived the Nana of a pension of Rs. 8,00,000 per annum? Who, but the Court of Directors refused to entertain the just and equitable prayer of the *Ranee* of Jhansi, to have her husband's adopted son placed on the *Masnad*, and punished her by annexing her territory? Who but Lord Dalhousie, forgetting the period of history when the Company's servants had to beg of Shah Alum for a small bit of territory known as the Dewanny of Bengal, forgetting the immense wealth, influence and power of the whole line of Muhammedan Emperors that ruled India from

the Throne of Delhi in the days of Yore would so far insult and exasperate the old King (now on his way to the Cape), as to inform him that on his death (he was then 70 years of age) his throne would be extinct and his pension of rupees 1,20,00,000 per annum resumed? Who, but Lord Dalhousie would have annexed the large provinces of Nagpore and appropriated a revenue of about Rs. 15,00,00,000 per annum, merely because the *Ranee* of the late *Raja* desired to place the *Raja's* adopted son on the throne; and so we might go on tearing to tatters all those mighty acts of spoliation in India which the blind Ministers of England, misled by the Court of Directors, were wont to call great political achievements.

Irresistibly then will the conclusion force itself upon every impartial inquirer that, to the Government chiefly, to its breach of faith and breach of sacred Hindoo Laws in its relation with Muhammedan and Hindoo Princes, to its oppressive and defective Revenue Laws and still more defective administration of justice, civil and criminal, are we, the European residents of India, indebted for the loss of our dearest kinsmen whom the Government cannot replace and for the loss of our houses and household property, the accumulations of 20 and 30 and sometimes 40 years of hard toil in a foreign land, which the Government can and is bound to replace. The Government of India will do well to abandon the pernicious habit of disguising the true causes of this rebellion."

The years which elapsed between 1820 and 1860 were emphatically years of steady improvement. Yet, notwithstanding the building of mills, the opening of institutions like the Grant Medical College and the projection of water works the town had still to be decked in a manner worthy of her position as a possession of the British Crown. Increasing commerce demanded new facilities for transit and new wharfage and pier accommodation. Fortunately for posterity the administration was entrusted at this juncture to one who clearly realized the need for expansion and urban improvement and possessed the energy and determination to carry it out in face of the obstruction and indignation of the Government of India; while circumstances, to be referred to hereafter, placed at the disposal of Bombay the funds needed to perfect her transformation from a mercantile town into a splendid and populous city. Modern Bombay really dates from the year 1860 and was brought into existence by the achievements of Sir Bartle Frere's administration.

The period between 1860 and 1865 was one of feverish activity in Bombay, and was marked by progress in every branch of the administration. In the case of the island's railway communication the advance was particularly noticeable. At the close of 1860 the Great Indian Peninsula Company had opened their line as far as Thane, and three

years later, on the 22nd April 1863, the *Bor Ghat* incline was opened. Sir Bartle Frere was present at the opening ceremony and in recalling the words of Sir John Malcolm, in 1830 said : "When I first saw the *Ghat* some years later, we were very proud in Bombay of our mail cart to Poona, the first and at that time, I believe, the only one running in India; but it was some years later before the road was generally used for wheeled carriages. I remember that we hardly met a single cart between Khandalla and Poona. Long droves of pack bullocks had still exclusive possession of the road and probably more carts now pass up and down the *Ghat* in a week than were to be seen on it in a whole year. But the days of mail cart, and bullock cart, as well as the Brinjari pack bullocks, are now drawing to a close". The value of the railway in fostering the growth of Bombay has been well nigh incalculable; both European and Native profited by the saving of time and expense thereby assured and a journey to the Deccan, which once cost £ 6 and lasted twenty-four hours, became by virtue of a splendid feat of engineering, an easy achievement costing but a few rupees and lasting only for about six hours. Nor was Gujarat forgotten. Communications in that part of the Presidency were inferior to those of the Deccan and Konkan, by reason of the entire absence of made roads. This mattered but little in the fair season when communication by sea was open; but for three or four months every year the inhabitants of Gujarat were denied all means of access to Bombay and many a luckless resident of Kathiawar, Ahmedabad or Baroda died of sickness that might have yielded to treatment in another climate. The opening of the first section of the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway in 1860 therefore brought relief to many, and was followed by the opening of the Broach and Baroda section in 1861 and of the Ahmedabad section in 1863. Finally in 1864 the line which the Company had been forced by Government to commence at a distance from its base of operations was completed southwards as far as Bombay. The original proposal, made by Sir George Clerk when Governor of Bombay, had been to give the Bombay and Baroda Railway a concession of the shallow waters of Back Bay, which had been converted by the inhabitants of the adjacent undrained native town into a noisome and pestilential foreshore, on the sole condition of their constructing their railway across it at an estimated cost of about £ 90,000. This outlay would have been more than covered by the sale of the land reclaimed between the railway embankment and high water mark. The Home Government, however, objected to this being done by the railway with their guaranteed capital, and the concession was given to a company of Bombay merchants, the agreement being that the Back Bay Reclamation Company, after reclaiming from the sea and making over to the Government the land required for the railway and other public purposes, should make its profit out of the rest of the reclaimed land.

Further encouragement was afforded to trade by the institution of a regular service of coasting steamers and by the opening of the Suez Canal. In 1866 Government arranged with the Bombay Coast and River Steam Navigation Company for the maintenance of steam ferries between Bombay and Mandva, Karanja, Revas, Dharamtar, Uran and Ulva ; while the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 effected a complete revolution in the carrying trade of Bombay, which had up to that date been restricted by a lengthy voyage round the Cape. Early in the previous year a weekly mail service had been instituted in response to the agitation commenced in 1857 and Bombay had become the port of arrival and departure for all the English mails. The claims of Bombay to be regarded as the imperial port of India had become too strong to be disregarded for the sake of local interests ; and by 1875 Bombay harbour had become acquainted not only with the P. & O. weekly mail steamers but with the Government transports conveying the annual reliefs to India, and with the passenger steamers of the Austrian-Lloyd, the Rubattino, the Anchor, the Clan and the Hall Lines. The British India Company also had entered into a contract with Government for the carriage of mails from Bombay to all the other large ports of India. Finally, to complete the record of what was done during these years to improve communication between Bombay and the rest of the world, we may mention that a direct submarine cable was laid down from Suez to Bombay in 1870, in connection with the cable from Falmouth to Gibraltar. A cable had been previously laid down in 1860, but it became useless after one or two messages had been transmitted through it. Telegraphic communication between England and Karachi by a Persian Gulf cable was however successfully established in 1865.

The third fundamental cause of the growth of Bombay was the enormous increase of the cotton-trade and the subsequent Share Mania of the years 1861-65. The outbreak of the civil war in America, which at once cut off supply of American staples, is calculated by Maclean to have given to Bombay roughly 81 millions sterling in five years over and above what she had in former years as a fair price for her cotton. "Allowing" says he, "a liberal margin for errors of valuation at the Custom House, we may compute the clear addition to the wealth of Bombay at 70 to 75 millions sterling a tolerably substantial foundation for speculators to build upon. An unexampled exportation of cotton continued as long as the war lasted". "The produce of all the great cotton fields of India, Nagpur, Berar, Gujarat and the Southern Maratha Country", writes Sir Richard Temple, "found its way to Bombay in order to be exported to England with all possible despatch, while the high prices ruled and the blockade of the South American ports lasted. So sudden was the demand, so high the range of price, so vast the profits, that an economic disturbance set in. Money seemed to lose its purchasing power, the prices of

almost all articles rose simultaneously and the wages of labour were enhanced in proportion". Dealers were absolutely indifferent to quality, so long as they could hurry on the staple to the market and gain the fortune spread before their eyes. The press voiced the forebodings of the wiser portion of the public, but was not heeded. The economic history of most commercial countries has shown that when money in vast quantities seeks for and fails to find sound investments, it will be wasted. The wastage takes the form of unwise or insane speculation. It was to such speculations that Bombay fell a victim during these years.

At the outset, speculation was confined to ventures in cotton and piece-goods ; but as the money made in this way accumulated, and adventures from all parts were attracted to Bombay all sorts of ingenious schemes were devised for putting the newly-acquired wealth to use. By 1864 the whole community of Bombay, from the highest English official to the lowest native broker, became utterly demoralized and abandoning business gave themselves up to the delusion that they could all succeed in making fortunes on the stock exchange. Up to the end of 1863 almost the only new form of enterprise brought before the public had been the creation of joint stock banks ; but in that year the Bombay Shipping and Iron Shipping Companies were started to make Bombay merchants independent of English ship-owners, and the shares of the former company went to nearly 200 per cent. premium and were retained at that rate, the promoters being men who were reputed to have made millions in cotton and who had already secured public confidence by the successful manner of their launching of the Asiatic Bank. Then came the year 1864, when the prospect of the conclusion of the American war seemed, thanks to the genius of Lee and the stubborn valour of his soldiers, to be further off than ever. No bounds therefore, it was assumed, could be set to the flowing tide of Bombay's prosperity, and everyone hastened to plunge in and let himself be borne upwards to fame and fortune. It is literally the case that in 1864 banks were brought out by the dozen and financial associations, a new engine for the promotion of speculation, by the score. The first, afterwards known as the old Financial Association, appeared in June and had its shares run up to nearly 100 per cent. premium on the nominal capital of Rs. 400 per share, while only Rs. 100 had been paid up and no business done. The lucky receiver of an original allotment could therefore make about £ 40 on each £ 10 share, without putting himself to any immediate trouble beyond that of signing his name. It is needless to say that there was a frantic rush for shares ; and that soon the newspapers were crammed with announcements of new financial associations. But all other speculation was dwarfed by the magnitude of the Back Bay Reclamation project, which was designed in the first place to provide the land on the shore of Back Bay along which the B.B. and C.I. Railway ran, and afterwards to use

the residue of the ground reclaimed for the purpose of providing sites for marine residences. The value of land had been trebled and quadrupled in Bombay, the population was daily increasing in numbers, and as the available space within the island was very little, every additional foot tacked on seemed likely to be worth its weight in gold. Fierce opposition was made to the grant to a private company of so valuable a concession; and the Bombay Government which had determined to make something for itself out of the rage for speculation by taking a number of Back Bay shares, was forced by the Government of India to abandon such a partnership. The astute promoters of the company then sold these shares by public auction, the brokers ran them up to Rs. 25,000 a share on Rs. 4,000 paid up, or more than 600 per cent., and this sale may be said to have sent the city quite mad.

A share list published on the 31st December 1864 shows that at that date there were in existence 31 banks, 16 financial associations, 8 land companies, 16 press companies, 10 shipping companies, 20 insurance companies against 10 in 1855, 62 joint stock companies where in 1855 none had existed. The Back Bay Company's transactions had proved too great a temptation for the merchants of Bombay and the chance of making 600 per cent on one's money was too strong to be resisted. "Were there not other sites as valuable as the barren sands of Back Bay? Were there not the flats to be filled up and built over, the pleasant slopes of Trombay to be covered with country houses, to which the weary speculators of Bombay might retire every evening by means of a branch railway crossing reclaimed ground at the northern end of the harbour? Were there not banks of mud at Mazagaon and Sewri which could be converted into docks and wharves to accommodate the ever-expanding trade of the greatest port in Asia? To crown all, when Bombay and the islands in the harbour had been exhausted, and even the most keen-eyed speculator might have looked in vain for a square foot of muddy foreshore not yet appropriated by a local land company, a new plague fell upon the city in the shape of an importation from Calcutta of certain public-spirited promoters who were anxious to point out to Bombay capitalists what a splendid field for investment was offered to them by the swamp known as Port Canning near Calcutta. The bait took and early in 1865 the Port Canning Company appeared before the public with a list of influential directors that was alone sufficient to send the shares up to several hundred per cent premium. This was the climax. It was impossible to surpass the Port Canning Company; and in the spring of 1865 a sudden end was put to further speculation by a telegram announcing the surrender of Lee's army and the termination of the war in America.

Then the reaction set in. The price of Dhollera cotton in the Liverpool market, which at the beginning of the year had been 19½ pence per pound fell to 11 pence before the end of April; and as it was evident that in the natural course of things there must be a further heavy fall, the prices of all securities gave way in sympathy with cotton. Men who had been trading or speculating beyond their means found themselves unable to meet their engagements; a leading firm of Parsi merchants set the example by failing for 3 millions; and a panic ensued which baffles description. Every one soon discovered that the nominal capital of the numerous companies in existence only represented so much paper money; that a few shrewd men had first started banks and run up the shares to a premium, and then obligingly started Financials to lend money to other people to buy these shares from them. The banks again had been able to do no business beyond advancing money on the shares of land companies brought into being by the financial associations; and so the whole show of wealth of these various establishments had depended on nothing but dealing in one another's shares. When the crash came, there was nothing to meet it but paper, and the whole elaborate edifice of speculation toppled down like a house of cards. The shares of land companies might have been supposed to represent valuable property; but the fall in cotton was followed by a depreciation in land which brought down shares from 500 or 600 per cent. premium to a discount. The scales fell from the eyes of the public and they saw the worthlessness of the properties they had bought under the influence of a strong delusion. A wild rally made at the end of 1865, when the price of cotton was temporarily forced up again—reaching in December 17½ pence a pound—was quickly followed by a relapse and by the terrible commercial crisis of the spring of 1866 in England; and then the panic at Bombay set in with renewed intensity. Finally the master-spirits of the speculative era were themselves pressed hard, and in their fall they brought down institutions whose credit had been deemed beyond suspicion. By the end of 1866 every one of the financial associations had failed and gone into liquidation; all the banks, with the exception of the Oriental, the Chartered Mercantile, the Chartered, the French Bank, and one or two others, which had not their headquarters in Bombay, had also been swept out of existence; and not a land company remained that was not insolvent, with the exception of the old Colaba Company and the Elphinstone Company. The latter had done good work and possessed a valuable property; and it was able to keep on its way for some years till a sympathetic Government relieved it of anxiety by buying all its shares at par. The collapse of the Bank of Bombay created much scandal in India and in England; and the causes of it were investigated by a Royal Commission and discussed two or three times in Parliament. The disasters that befell the

surface of society formed but a fraction of the misery occasioned by the failure of the leading merchants and firms. The impossibility of realising land assets for cash and distributing the proceeds gave rise to a wide-spread under current of distress, blighting careers once promising and condemning many lives to a hopeless and degrading bondage. By the close of 1867 the panic had subsided, and commercial affairs which fortunately suffered no permanent injury from the wild excesses of these five years commenced to regain a normal aspect. Moreover, the future financial independence of Bombay was placed in its own keeping by the opening in 1868 of a new Bank of Bombay, which was to form an impregnable centre of commercial stability. The new bank, as the contemporary press remarked, had the strongest negative guarantee for safety in the history of the four years downfall of the old Bank.

The Share Mania by good fortune did no permanent injury to the trade of Bombay; while it, at the same time, was responsible for improvements which might reasonably have taken many years to introduce. At the outset when the piles of gold commenced to stream into the city, the public mind was directed towards improvements that might render the island more spacious and more wholesome; and at the head of the Government was just the one man who could stimulate the public desire and guide it by zeal and enthusiasm to a practical issue. "The old town of Bombay was ill-built, ill-drained, or rather not drained at all, very dirty and very unhealthy. Land for building was urgently required by the rapidly increasing population, and space for more airy streets and houses. Frere was a keen and ardent sanitary reformer, abreast of all the latest knowledge on the subject. He had obtained a report on the condition of the city from Dr. Leith, President of the Bombay Sanitary Commission; and he called to his assistance Dr. Hewlett, then recently returned from England, where he had been making a special study of sanitation." It was Sir Bartle Frere who was mainly responsible for the final orders of 1862 for the removal of obsolete fortifications and useless public buildings and of the old ramparts of Bombay which were not only useless for purposes of defence but occupied a large space between the busiest portions of the town. The high walls interfere with the circulation of air, and the ditches contained foul and stagnant water, which was responsible for a considerable amount of disease. Accordingly, under the Governor's auspices, the walls were levelled, and the old Fort, which had frowned upon the Malabar pirate and had watched the Company's fleet sail forth to punish Angre, disappeared forever. The space, thus set free, was partly laid out in roads, open spaces and public buildings; and the remainder, comprising a considerable area, was sold under conditions arranged so as to secure the interests of the public and for a sum which was sufficient to cover the whole expense of the work done.

The task of driving back the ocean was also undertaken. "The traveller landing at Apollo Bandar about the year 1855", writes Maclean, "would have found a foul and hideous foreshore from the Fort to Sewri on the east, from Apollo Bandar round Colaba and Back Bay to the west. All round the island of Bombay was one foul cesspool, sewers discharging on the sand, rocks only used for the purposes of nature. To ride home to Malabar Hill along the sands of Back Bay was to encounter sights and odours too horrible to describe, to leap four sewers whose gaping mouths discharged deep black streams across your path, to be impeded as you neared Chaupati by boats and nets and stacks of firewood, and to be choked by the fumes from the open burning *ghat* and many an ancient and fish-like smell. To travel by rail from Bori Bandar to Byculla or to go into Mody Bay was to see in the foreshore the latrine of the whole population of the Native town". Of the wealth which found its way into Bombay subsequent to 1860, about six million pounds sterling was devoted to regulating and advancing into the sea below low water mark the whole of the Island's foreshore. Handsome works were carried out on either side of the Apollo Bandar, extending south westward almost to Colaba Church and stretching from the Custom House to Sewri along Mody Bay and the Elphinstone, Mazagaon, Tank Bandar and Frere reclamations—a distance of at least five miles. On the other side of the island was the great Back Bay reclamation from Colaba to the foot of Malabar Hill, whereon was constructed a good road and bridle-path. The area thus reclaimed amounted to more than 4,000,000 square yards, and resulted by 1872 in an increase of the area of the whole Island from 18 to 22 square miles. Simultaneously much energy was displayed in the construction of new roads and the widening of old tracks, among the chief works of this nature being the widening and rebuilding of the Colaba Causeway in 1861-63, the commencement of the Esplanade, Rampart Row and Hornby Roads, the widening of Cruickshank and Carnac Roads in 1865 and 1866 and the completion of the Carnac, Masjid and Elphinstone overbridges in 1867.

More striking than new reclamation and communications were the great buildings and architectural adornments of the city which were projected and commenced during Sir Bartle Frere's tenure of office. The embellishment of Bombay was carried out by both Government and private citizens, both equally actuated by the spirit of the age, which demanded that some part of the newly acquired wealth should be allocated to the permanent advantage of the city. "It should never be forgotten," writes Maclean, "that the splendour of the public buildings and useful and benevolent institutions of new Bombay is due to the munificence of the speculators of 1861-65." Thus Mr. Premchand Raichand, "the uncrowned king of Bombay" in those days of financial delirium, gave four lakhs for the building of an University Library building and a tower, to be named after his mother, the Rajabai Tower; the Jamsetji Jijibhoy School of Art

came into existence; forty drinking fountains were by the liberality of Mr. Cowasji Jehangir erected in various quarters of the city; the Parsi community opened an ophthalmic hospital and a hospital at Colaba; a hospital for incurables was established at Byculla; and subscriptions were readily offered for the Victoria and Albert Museum, and the Sassoon Mechanics Institute. Public companies also played their part in the general progress of improvements. The Railway Companies opened new and extensive workshops at Parel; the Gas Company laid down their plant in 1862 and lighted a portion of the town with gas for the first time in October, 1866; and the P. and O. Company commenced the conversion of the old Mazagaon dock into the largest and most perfect timber-slip in Bombay. Lastly may be mentioned the Elphinstone Circle, the scheme for which originated with Charles Forjett, was sanctioned by Sir George Clerk and was completed during his successors' tenure of office. The site of this imposing collection of buildings—the old Bombay Green, was purchased by the Municipality and resold by them at a profit in building lots to English mercantile firms, who gradually transformed the dusty open space, inhabited for the most part by crowds of pigeons, into an imposing example of street architecture. The suggestion that the circle should bear the name of Lord Elphinstone emanated from the firms concerned in the building thereof, who held a public meeting in 1862 at the office of Messrs. Ritchie, Stuart and Co. The proposal testifying to the support which Lord Elphinstone had accorded to the scheme in its infancy, was approved by Government, and under the name of the Elphinstone Circle one more striking improvement was added to the list of those executed during this period.

On the one hand, therefore, were private individuals and public firms, working during these years with one fixed idea of improving and enlarging the city, to which their several destinies had driven them. On the other hand were Sir Bartle Frere and his Government, actuated no less keenly by the same wish. "As lands for building purposes were very much needed" writes Sir Richard Temple, "and would command a high price, a project was formed for throwing down the walls of the Fort, taking up a portion of the plain, and making allotments of ground available for building. Sir Bartle Frere took up this project with his accustomed zeal, and obtained large sums in purchase money from those who bid for the allotments. The means thus acquired, together with grants from the Government, were collected and formed into a special fund for the construction of public offices and buildings for Bombay. The formation and management of this fund caused much correspondence with the Government of India; but the scheme held good and was duly carried into effect. Previously these buildings had been found unsuitable for the growing needs of a capital city, being cramped in space, badly situated and imperfectly ventilated; they were erected at a time when civilization was

but little advanced in the settlements of the East India Company, and when architectural taste was almost unknown in British India. The opportunity was to be taken of giving Bombay a series of structures worthy of her wealth, her populousness, and her geographical situation. The designs were to be of the highest character architecturally; therefore architects were obtained from England to frame them elaborately and due thought was given to artistic effect. The operations were planned deliberately and were begun while Frere was still in Bombay. Their completion was arranged by his successors very much on the lines which he had laid down. They comprise the Government Secretariat, the University Library, the Convocation Hall, the High Court, the Telegraph Department, the Post Office, all in one grand line facing the sea. Other buildings in a similar style were built in other parts of the city, such as the Elphinstone College, the Victoria Museum, the Elphinstone High School, the School of Art, the Gokuldas Hospital, the Sailor's Home and others. Few cities in the world can show a finer series of structures; and those who admire the buildings after the lapse of fifteen years from the beginning of the work, may well be reminded that it is to Sir Bartle Frere that Bombay owes the origination and inception of this comprehensive project. It would be a mistake to attribute too much to individual Governors; for when work is demanded by the spirit of the age, it will be done in some shape or other, whoever may be in power. But in justice it must be said, that Frere deserves the lion's share in the credit of this undertaking, and that without him the work would never have reached that magnitude which is now beheld by all English spectators with a feeling of national pride." In addition to the great buildings mentioned by Sir Richard Temple, we read of improvements to the Cathedral, new Police Courts in Byculla and the fort, the expenditure necessary for which was sanctioned by Government in 1866; of new light-houses on Kennery and the Prongs; of Harbour defences, batteries at Oyster Rock, Cross island and middle ground; of a Wellington Memorial Fountain; and of a European General Hospital; and many other works of utility and adornment. "Upwards of a million sterling," says the *Bombay Builder* of 1866-67, "has already been expended upon the various works which have been undertaken by this Government in Bombay; and about a million and-a-quarter is the estimated cost of completing works already in progress. Two millions more will be required for projected works, including the Military cantonment at Colaba. More has been done for the advancement of important works during the present than during any previous administration. The works of progress that remain are blessings to Bombay; those that have miscarried are landmarks to guide the coming administration; and those that are retarded belong more to the financial policy of the Government of India than to the policy of Sir Bartle Frere."

No retrospect of this important period would be complete without a reference to the change and growth of Municipal Government, which was necessitated in the first instance by the increase of the city and of its population. Sir Bartle Frere, in speech delivered at the laying of the foundation-stone of the Elphinstone Circle in October 1864, remarked that "the three great objects which Lord Elphinstone had ever kept in view were, firstly, the water-supply of the city; secondly, the efficient drainage of the whole town and island; and, lastly, the reclamation of the flats." The first object had already been brought to a practical issue by the construction of the Vehar Lake; but by the time Sir Bartle Frere took up the reins of Government, the triumvirate of Municipal Commissioners, appointed by the Act of 1858, had effected little or nothing towards the consummation of the two latter desiderata. Moreover, the administration of 1858 had not met with the favour of the public, and was not so constituted as to be able to effect the radical improvements in conservancy and communications which were demanded by the spirit of those years. One of the most notable features, therefore, of Sir Bartle's administration was the abolition of the old triumvirate and the passing of Act II of 1865, whereby the Justices for the Town and Island of Bombay were created a body corporate, and entire executive power and responsibility was vested in a Commissioner, appointed by Government for a term of three years. A contemporary writer, in reviewing the events connected with the name of Sir Bartle Frere, remarked that "this Act at first sight appears quite unconnected with the building or improvement question, with which we now have to deal. But when it is remembered that the large revenues of the Municipality will come in part to be expended on works of public utility in coming years, and that the Municipal credit will be pledged for carrying out vast and costly undertakings, our readers will confess that in the passing of the Municipal Act a rich vein of progress and development has been struck, which will yet in point of magnitude of operation and success distance even the efforts of Government and of public companies." The new system was unfortunately marred by one flaw, which eventually led in the closing year of the period under review to its discontinuation, and to the passing of a new Municipal Bill. Municipal administration, as has been remarked, was conducted by a Commissioner and the Bench of Justices; but the powers of the Commissioner were so extensive that he was practically irresponsible; and, in an age so fertile of great and costly works, he was open to a temptation to spend the money of the rate payers in a far too lavish manner. Had there only existed some constitutional check upon his powers and inclinations, the municipal system of 1865 might have lasted beyond 1872. But, as the Act contemplated no such check, costly works were set on foot, necessitating the disbursement of such immense sums, that something akin to a popular revolution took place in 1871, and Government felt itself compelled to

create a new municipality, in which the rate-payers themselves should, by their representatives, have an authoritative voice. The first real experiment, for as such it has always been regarded, in municipal government in India was made by the Municipal Bill which passed the Legislative Council of Bombay, and received the sanction of the Government of India in 1872. The first municipal elections were held in the month of July 1873; and there came into existence from that date a Municipal Corporation, consisting of 64 persons all of them rate-payers resident in the city of Bombay, of whom 16 were nominated by Government, 16 were elected by the Justices of the Peace resident in the island, and 32 were elected by the rate-payers.

Short as was the period, during which the municipal constitution of 1865 lasted, considerable progress was made in sanitation and communications. An efficient health department was organised, and came into existence on November 1, 1865, which at once directed its attention to drainage, to the condition of burial grounds and to the presence of dangerous and offensive trades. The drainage question had for many years troubled the minds of those responsible for the welfare of the island. As early as 1863, journalism broke into a paean of praise over the prospect of such a reform, declaring that "Bombay is to be drained at last;" that "the Municipal Commissioners have taken steps for breaking ground at once in the Fort and in a fortnight or so, we may expect to see the beginning of the greatest sanitary reform, that can possibly be introduced, applied to Bombay." The unfortunate triumvirate was unequal to the task. Though the work was commenced in 1864, the feebleness of the old commission militated against a satisfactory issue thereof; and, in the meantime, the public had discovered that the most vital point connected with through drainage—namely, the location of the sewage outfall—was still undecided. The importance of deciding this question was put forward in 1865 by a special committee, appointed to deal with the drainage of flats, and it was not till after the Municipality of 1865 had been constituted that any definite advance in sanitary engineering was recorded. The Municipal Commissioner also returned his attention to the crying need of well-conducted markets and slaughter-houses, the best-known of those erected prior to 1870 being the Arthur Crawford markets which have been described as "the noblest and most useful of all the public improvements executed in Bombay, and as forming a grand monument to the energy and administrative capacity of the gentleman whose name they bear, and who was Municipal Commissioner of Bombay from July 1865 till November 1871". The increase of the Vehar water supply, the initiation of the Tulsi water works, and the reclamation of the flats with town-sweepings were further measures of utility introduced prior to 1872.

The birth of Bombay as a populous and beautiful city is ascribable, therefore, to the joint labours of Government, the Municipality, private firms and public-spirited citizens, who strove in their several spheres to render the once inconsiderable island worthy of her position as one of the outposts of a wide Empire. At the same time it must be remembered that the decade 1860-70 was responsible for the introduction of those conditions of urban life which have rendered the city a hot-bed of disease, and have necessitated the creation by a later generation of a special board, charged with the relief of overcrowding and the sanitary regeneration of the island. The evils arising from an unprecedented influx of population and the absence of any Act to regulate building and obviate overcrowding were clearly portrayed in the report of the health officer in 1872, whose description of the city proper forms a starting contrast to the agreeable account recorded by Maclean of the more salient features of the island. The death-rate in the Market section was unusually high in consequence of the condition of the houses in that locality; land in the Mandvi section was so valuable that the houses were built very high, the streets were narrow, and the people overcrowded, while the imperfect drains were often choked. Chakla was full of dark and ill ventilated milch cattle-stables. Naoraji Hill had already been mined by its owner "who let out plots of land to persons to build as they pleased, without any definite plan to ensure breadth of streets and ventilation of houses. In the heart of Dhobi Talao was "the dirty irregular labyrinth of Cavel. Vehicles can only pass a very short distance into it, and one of the principal thoroughfares thither is through a liquor-shop in Girgaum road". Phanaswadi was honey combed with sewers; Bhuleshwar contained the indescribably filthy quarters of the milk-sellers known as Goghari; while Kumbharwada ranked as a shamefully neglected district, where the inhabitants sleep in atmosphere tainted with sulphurated hydrogen. Khetwadi was being rapidly covered with houses notwithstanding that during the monsoon the storm-water from the Falkland road main drain was ponded up in the Khetwadi back road to a depth of three or four feet. Chaupati and Girgaum were full of cesspools; the state of Malabar Hill was such as to cause grave anxiety to the guardians of the public health. Tardeo was beginning to attract so many people to its mills that a properly laid out village for mill-employees appeared desirable. Khara Talao possessed many houses in which it was essential to carry a light by day; the villages of Sindulpada, Agripada and Julhaipada were well nigh untraversable owing to the presence of an open drain; the thickly populated villages and hamlets of Parel were wholly undrained. The condition of Mazagaon and Sewri was more satisfactory. The former, however, still lacked a road across the waste ground reclaimed by the Elphinstone Company, which separated it from the Fort on one side and the native town on the other. The foreshore of Sewri had been

vastly improved by the Frere reclamation, but the section was handicapped, from a sanitary point of view, by the detached hamlets of Ghorupdeo and Jackeria Bandar in which dwelt the labourers and quarrymen of that time. Mahim was covered with thick cocoanut plantations and formed an agreeable resort during the morning or evening hours.

Of social events which occurred during this decade one may remark the rejoicing of the 1st May 1863 on the occasion of the marriage of the Prince of Wales, when the entire town was decorated and a huge children's fete was held on the Esplanade. This was followed by the visit of H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh on the 11th March 1870, in commemoration of which H. H. Khande Rao Gaikwad of Baroda, gave a munificent donation for the new sailors' home, and by the visit of Lord Northbrook, the Viceroy, in November 1872, who held a huge *darbar* of Native princes in a *shamiana* on the Esplanade and in whose honour the Northbrook Gardens in Grant Road were thrown open to the public. Improved communications by sea not only brought Bombay into contact with notabilities of the western world, such as Livingstone the explorer who sailed from Bombay for Africa in January 1866, but also inculcated a desire for travel in the minds of the Natives of India. Members of the Vani community began about this date to visit England in the interests of commerce, while several Khojas, Bohras and Marwadis, overcoming their inherited prejudices against foreign travel, set out for China.

The enormous increase of population engendered by the Share Mania of 1861-65, which led Sir Bartle Frere to order a census to be taken in 1864 in face of the opposition of the Home Government, naturally introduced fresh problems into the police administration of the city and for the first time brought the guardians of law and order face to face with the difficulties attendant upon the presence of a large and fanatical Eastern population. Both in 1872 and 1874 the orderly course of urban life was broken by riots of a serious character. The Muharram celebration of the former year formed the signal for a violent outburst of antagonism between the Sunni and Shia Muhammedans of the city, which was admirably held in check by the police under Mr. Frank Souter, but not before about sixty persons had sustained more or less severe injuries; while about a month later a somewhat serious fracas occurred outside the gates of the Towers of Silence on Gibbs Road between two factions of the Parsi community. But these outbreaks were almost trivial by comparison with the Parsi-Muhammedans riots of February 1874, which were caused by a scurrilous attack upon the Prophet written and published by a Parsi resident. Shortly after 10 a.m. on the morning of the 13th February a mob of rough Muhammedans collected outside the Jama Masjid and thence, after hearing the exhortations of the Mulla, began

attacking the houses of the Parsi residents in the neighbourhood. Two fire-temples were broken open and subjected to desecration by a band of Sidis, Arabs and Pathans, who next proceeded to loot and damage every Parsi residence in the street and to attack with sticks and stones any stray Parsi whom they met. On the arrival of the police, the mob gradually dispersed, leaving about seventy of their number in custody, but not before considerable damage to person and property had been perpetrated in Bhendi Bazar, Khetwadi and parts of the Dhobi Talao section. The chief feature of the riot was the refusal of the Governor, Sir Philip Wodehouse, to call out the troops until the police were breaking down, in spite of urgent appeals from the leaders of the Parsi community. Sir Philip believed his powers in this matter to be restricted, but was subsequently informed by Lord Salisbury that extreme constitutional theories could not be safely imported into India and that therefore troops might be legitimately used to render a riot impossible.

The year 1870 was remarkable for the formation of the Bombay Port Trust, though the board of trustees was not actually appointed till June 1873. The decision to constitute a board originated in an apprehension on the part of Government that trade-interests were seriously endangered by the possession by private companies of a monopoly of the landing and shipping facilities at the port, the salient case being that of the Elphinstone Land Company, mentioned above, which had been granted extensive rights of reclamation on the eastern foreshore of the Island in return for its undertaking to provide land for the terminus of the G.I.P. Railway Company. The Company did very good work between 1862 and 1866, but, like all other firms in Bombay, suffered considerable loss when the Share Mania declined; and in 1866-67 its finances had sunk so low that it was forced to apply to Government for assistance. At this juncture (1867) the Government of Sir Seymour Fitzgerald strongly urged upon the Government of India the importance of buying out the company, thus regaining possession of the harbour foreshore and of placing the future administration of the harbour and wharves in the hands of a public trust. This proposal was sanctioned by the Secretary of State in 1869 and the Company went into voluntary liquidation in the following year, their property being transferred to the Secretary of State in consideration of the payment of the purchase money in 4 per cent Government of India stock. With effect from the date of purchase, May 1st, 1870, the whole of the property of the Company was managed by a department of Government in anticipation of the formation of the new Port Trust.

In November 1875 H. R. H. the Prince of Wales, the King-Emperor, landed in Bombay at the outset of his Indian tour, and was received with universal expressions of loyalty and good-will, and two years later (1st January 1877) Her Majesty Queen Victoria assumed the title of Empress

of India. Bombay was *en fete* that day. The seamen of the Royal Navy and the mercantile marine were feasted in the Sailors' Home, the military and naval pensioners were feted in the old Sailors' Home; after which, Her Majesty's Proclamation was publicly read out before the troops and the people in front of the Queen's statue on the Esplanade. The day concluded with illuminations and with the despatch of congratulatory addresses to Her Majesty from the leading communities of the city. Equally spontaneous expressions of loyalty characterised the arrival of the Duke and Duchess of Connaught in 1883, the jubilee celebration of February 16th, 1887, and the visit of the late Duke of Clarence and Avondale in 1889. Meanwhile the two great railway companies threw out fresh lines and linked themselves with more remote railroads, until the island became the central terminus of a series of arterial railways, radiating in various directions across the continent of India. Communication by sea became yet more regular to the advantage of the inhabitants of the coast-villages who thereby were brought into even closer touch with the life of the city. Trade rapidly increased and with it the demand for labour, which was responsible for an enormous increase of the Maratha population by the year 1882. "Bombay", said the members of the Municipal Corporation in their address of 1875 to the Prince of Wales, "may lay claim to the distinction of being a Royal City; for this Island, first became an appanage of the Crown of England through forming part of the Dowry of Charles the Second's Portuguese bride; and during the two centuries that have elapsed since then, Bombay has had every reason to be grateful for this fortunate change in her destiny. From a barren rock, whose only wealth consisted in coconuts and dried fish, whose scanty population of 10,000 souls paid a total revenue to the State of not more than £ 6,000 a year whose trade was of less value than that of Thana and Bassein, and whose climate was so deadly to Europeans that two monsoons were said to be the age of a man, she has blossomed into a fair and wholesome city, with a population which makes her rank next to London among the cities of the British Empire, with a municipal revenue amounting to £ 30,000 a year, and with a foreign commerce worth forty-five millions and yielding in customs duties to the Imperial treasury three millions a year". The mill-industry thrived apace during these years. In 1870 there were only 10 mills on the island; in 1875 when the Millowners' Association was first established there were 27; in 1880, 32; and in 1890, 70 mills. The foundation of each new mill or new press, the opening of each new spinning or weaving department augmented the numbers of the industrial population, so that by the time the census of 1881 was taken, 8.4 per cent of the total labouring population were classed as mill workers. Meanwhile building operations and reclamations were steadily progressing. Three hundred new houses were yearly constructed in different parts of the city; new police stations were erected at Paidhoni

and Bazaar Gate between 1871 and 1881; churches, temples and mosques sprang into existence and new water works were projected to supply the rapidly growing needs of the city.

"The Vehar Lake", writes Sir Richard Temple, "was found insufficient for the growing community, and the formation of an additional lake was undertaken in the time of my predecessors. The work was completed in my time and water was conducted to a higher level than before." The Tulsi water works were completed in 1879; but even they failed adequately to supply the whole city. Accordingly in 1884 the Bhandarwada and Malabar Hill reservoirs were constructed, and in 1889-90 Mr. Tomlinson's scheme for works in the Pawai valley was put into execution. But these improvements were of minor importance compared with the great Tansa water works which were commenced about 1885. Sir William Hunter characterizing the project as the most important undertaking of the years 1885 to 1890 observes that "the city was and is for the present supplied with water from the Vehar and Tulsi lakes. But the growth of population has been so rapid that the supplies from these sources, though comparatively recently provided, soon proved inadequate. The Municipality therefore decided, on the 19th November 1885, to adopt a magnificent project that will provide the city with an inexhaustible water supply. The scheme when carried out will afford another splendid proof of the public spirit of the citizens of Bombay and the skill of English engineers." The Tansa works were finally opened in the year 1891-92 by the Marquis of Lansdowne who, referring to the magnitude of the achievement, congratulated Bombay upon the true measure of municipal self-government which she had been the first among all cities in India to introduce.

Another great work was the construction of the Prince's Dock, the first stone of which was laid by the Prince of Wales in 1875. It was designed by Thomas Ormiston as part of a scheme for improving the whole foreshore of the harbour, and was finally opened on the 1st January 1880, the earth which had been excavated during the process from an area of 30 acres being applied to the further reclamation of the Mody Bay foreshore. Land reclamation was also steadily progressing. Fifty acres of swamp at Sion and Kurla were reclaimed with town sweeping and converted into a garden; a part of the foreshore near the wilderness was reclaimed by a member of the Petit family; the flats near Tardeo were being rapidly filled up by the Municipality; and a considerable area near Arthur Road was rendered fit for building operations. Tramway communication was instituted between 1872 and 1877. Some attempt at this form of communication had already been made in Colaba in earlier years, but a properly organised system was not projected till the date of Sir Philip Wodehouse's administration. By 1880 the Company's line had reached from the Fort to Girgaum, Byculla and Grant Road. Throughout this period also the

Municipality was actively engaged in widening old streets, opening new roads, setting aside new sites for burial grounds, extending the lighting of the city and opening public gardens, such as the Victoria Gardens opened in 1873 and the Northbrook Gardens opened in 1874. Systematic drainage of the island was also taken in hand. "Much had already been done," wrote Sir Richard Temple in 1882, "at great cost and labour for the drainage of the city. Still a mass of sewage entered the harbour to the great detriment of all concerned. So additional drainage works were undertaken for diverting the sewage to a quarter where it would not be hurtful." A comprehensive scheme had been prepared by Mr. Pedder, the Municipal Commissioner and Major Tulloch, R. E., and this was scrutinized and reported upon by a special commissioner in 1878. As a result of the Commission's report the Municipal Corporation resolved in the same year to commence the scheme immediately and raised a loan of 27 lakhs for that purpose.

The progress of Bombay between 1870 and 1880 is summed up by Sir Richard Temple (1877-80) in the following words: "The City of Bombay itself with its vast and varied interests, and its fast growing importance, claimed constant attention. The police, under the able management of Sir Frank Souter, was a really efficient body and popular withal. The public structures, begun or designed under Sir Bartle Frere's administration, were advanced towards completion; and although these showed a goodly array, still not a year passed without several new buildings being undertaken, as the demands of an advancing community in a great seaport are incessant. The stream of native munificence continued to flow, though somewhat diminished in comparison with former times by reason of agricultural and commercial depression consequent on the famine. A marble statue of the Queen had been erected by the Native community on the Esplanade. Sir Albert Sassoon presented to the city a bronze equestrian statue of the Prince of Wales, in memory of the visit of His Royal Highness. The new Sailors' Home, built partly through the munificence of Khande Rao, Gaekwar of Baroda, in honour of the visit of His Royal Highness, the Duke of Edinburgh had become a noble institution. The new Wet Dock, accommodating the largest ships, was named the Prince's Dock, because the first stone of it was laid by the Prince of Wales.

"The elective principle had been introduced into the Municipality of Bombay by Sir Seymour Fitzgerald and established by Sir Philip Wodehouse, and I found it to operate advantageously. The citizens and rate payers exercised their franchise judiciously, electing good and able men, Europeans and Natives, to serve on the Municipal Corporation."

"The resources of Bombay were tested when in 1878 an expeditionary force was despatched to Malta. Within fourteen days after the receipt

of orders from the Governor-General in Council (Lord Lytton), the Bombay Government, of which Sir Charles Staveley, then Commander-in-Chief, was a member, despatched 6,000 men and 2,000 horses, with two months' supplies of provisions and six weeks' supply of water. They all arrived at their destination in good condition, and after some months returned equally well; still the risks attending the navigation of the Red Sea, in sailing ships towed by steamers, caused us anxiety."

The first decade of the period under review (1880-90), during which Sir James Fergusson, and Lord Reay held the office of Governor in succession, was characterized by much activity in Municipal administration, by the further growth of the island trade and by large public benefactions. During Lord Reay's tenure of office a new Municipal Bill was passed, which not only served to consolidate the enactments of 1865, 1872 and 1878, but also introduced alterations designed to systematize the prosecution of drainage works and water works, the registration and assessment of properties, and the expansion of education. Street-widening and urban improvement were actively prosecuted during the decade, nearly a lakh of rupees being spent on the former object during the year 1889-90; more than 12 lakhs were sanctioned by the Corporation in 1882 for the completion of a scheme of surface-drainage and storm-water drainage; the Matunga leper asylum was founded in 1890 chiefly through the exertion of Mr. H. A. Acworth, the then Municipal Commissioner; the Joint Schools Committee, which was charged with the task of educating the masses, came into existence; the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute was founded in 1887; and much good work was accomplished in the matter of communications, the erection of hospitals, and the general sanitary administration of the city. But the improvement of Bombay was not permitted to devolve wholly upon the Municipality. In January 1888 Sir Dinsha Petit offered more than a lakh for the construction of a hospital for women and children as an extension of the Jamsetji Jijibhoy Hospital; he founded a patho-bacteriological laboratory in connection with the Parel Veterinary College, and subscribed handsomely towards the foundation of a gymnastic institution; and he also presented Government with the property known as the Hydraulic Press, valued at Rs. 3 lakhs, in exchange for the Elphinstone College buildings which were converted into the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute. Bai Motlibai, widow of Mr. Naoroji Wadia, founded an obstetric hospital in connection with the Sir J. J. Hospital; Mr. Framji D. Petit gave nearly a lakh of rupees towards the foundation of a laboratory in the Grant Medical College; the Albless family established an obstetric ward in the Cama Hospital and quarters for the lady doctors of the Cama Hospital; and Mr. S. C. Powalla founded a gratuitous charitable dispensary in the Fort. Besides donations for medical objects by Sir M. M. Bhownagsee, Mr. Cama and Mr. Dwarkadas Lallubhai, funds were provided by a Parsi lady for

the establishment of an animal hospital at Parel which was opened by Lord Dufferin in 1884, an anglo-vernacular school for poor Parsis was opened with the help of Mr. Byramji Jijibhoy in 1890, and a handsome fountain was erected in Bazaar Gate Street by a charitable Parsi in the memory of Bomanji H. Wadia.

Among the institutions and landmarks of the island, which owe their existence to the action of the Bombay Government during these years, are the Victoria Terminus of the G.I.P. Railway¹ and the European Hospital, which was erected on the ruins of the old St. George Fort and to which Lord Reay, on laying the foundation-stone in February 1889, gave the name of St. George's Hospital. The Government Central Press building, which subsequently became the Elphinstone College, and the Presidency Magistrate's Police Court on the Esplanade were also commenced during these years. Nor were the defences of the harbour forgotten. In 1884 the Press pointed out that they were practically useless, Colaba Battery being untenable, the turrets out of order, and the batteries at Middle Island, Cross Island, Malabar Hill and Breach Candy being wholly inefficient. In the following year a new scheme of defence was sanctioned and was carried into effect by the year 1890. The Port Trust, which, in spite of yearly reductions of dues, showed a steady surplus of revenue between 1880 and 1889, was responsible for the construction of a new light house in 1884 and of the Victoria Dock, of which the first sluice was opened by Lady Reay in February 1888. The Merewether Graving Dock was subsequently projected and opened by the Governor in 1891.

With the exception possibly of the year 1889-90, the commercial prosperity of the island increased year by year and was referred to by Lord Reay in the following terms at the jubilee celebrations of 1887. "The prosperity of Bombay", said His Excellency, "is one of the most remarkable events of the Victorian reign. Its internal appearance is as much changed as its external condition. It is one of the most beautiful towns of the Empire, if not of the world. Its sanitary condition is also vastly improved. Fifty years ago the exports amounted to nearly 60 millions of rupees and the imports to little more than 47. In 1885-86 the exports amounted to more than 419 millions and the imports to nearly 440 millions. In 1885-86 the value of cotton exported amounted to more than 84 millions of rupees, of pulse and grain to more than 43 millions. The municipal income has risen from 18 to 42 lakhs. The Prince's Dock would do credit to any port in the world." The growth of the mill-industry during this decade was responsible for the further colonization of the northern areas

¹ The Victoria Terminus, G.I.P. Railway, is situated on the original site of the old Mumbadevi temple near the Phansi Talao or Gibbet Pond. The old temple was removed by Government in 1766 to allow space for fresh fortifications, a new shrine being erected by a Sonar, Pandurang Shivaji in the city proper. The old gibbet remained till 1805, when it was re-erected close to the Umarkhadi Jail.

of the island; and the industrial population which flocked from the Deccan and Konkan found work not only in the cotton-spinning factories but also in the flour-mills and workshops which sprang into existence at this date. Complaints regarding the smoke nuisance were for the first time brought forward in 1884; the Millowners' Association were reported in 1883 to be about to despatch travelling agents to open up new markets for Bombay piece-goods in Europe and Africa; and in 1890 a Factory Commission had perforce to be appointed for the regulation of female and child labour. A strike of female operatives in the Jubilee Mill was reported by the daily papers of 1890; a monster-meeting of millhands was convened at Parel in the same year to protest against the closing of factories for eight days in the month; and by 1890 the Tardeo, Parel, Byculla, Nagpada and Chinchpokli sections of the island had expanded by the forward march of industrial enterprise into the populous dwelling places of a huge immigrant labour population.

To one visiting Bombay after a long absence, the change in the appearance of the city must have seemed extraordinary. "Bombay of today", remarked Sir Edwin Arnold in 1886, "is hardly recognizable to one who knew the place in the time of the Mutiny and in those years which followed it." Augustus said of Rome, "I found it mud; I leave it marble;" and the visitor to India after so long an absence as mine might justly exclaim, "I left Bombay a town of warehouse and offices; I find now a city of parks and palaces." The expansion of the population went hand in hand with the growth and adjournment of the island. All the tribes of Western India seemed to have flocked to Bombay like the Adriatic tribes who sought refuge in the city of the lagoons and settled in certain definite areas according to traditional belief, social instincts or tribal affinities. The Parsi sought the home of his ancestors in the Fort or Dhobi Talao; the *Yogi* and *Sanyasi* found a resting place near the shrines of Mahalakshmi, Kali or the God of the Sand (Walkeshwar); the Goanese and Native Christians were never absent from Cavel, the old home of early converts to Roman Catholicism; the Julhai silk weaver sought Madanpura; the grain-merchants were a power in Mandvi; the Bene-Israel owned their Samuel Street and Israel *moholla*; the dancing girls drifted to Khetwadi and Byculla, the scarlet women to Kamathipura; in the Null Bazaar and Umarchadi lived the Siddis; in Parel, Nagpada and Byculla were millhands from the Konkan and labourers from the Deccan; many a Koliwadi, from Colaba to Sion, sheltered the descendants of the aboriginal fishing-tribes of Bombay; the Musalman was a power in Mandvi, Chakla and Umarchadi; the Arab haunted Byculla; and in Girgaum the Brahman had made his home. This huge population of more than 8,00,000 lived in perfect contentment under the rule of perhaps the greatest monarch the world has ever known and contributed largely to establishing Bombay's position as the Gateway of India.

MODERN PERIOD¹

THE MODERN PERIOD IN THE HISTORY OF BOMBAY can be said to have dawned in the eighteenthirties. The quarter of a century beginning with 1840 is appropriately characterised as the most significant epoch in the history of Bombay. This period marks the emergence of a prosperous, modern and progressive city. The city's fortunes rose and fell, and finally settled on a stable basis. Bombay received a much needed face-lift, and several momentous changes revolutionised her educational and economic status. There was an all-round awakening in the matters of education, a vibrant press and administration of justice, all of which contributed to her emergence as a vibrantly progressive and modern city of the world. This metamorphosis was the result mainly of the collaborated efforts of a truly enlightened and dedicated section of citizens.

The period was most remarkable for the keen, and hitherto absent, public spirit so predominantly displayed by a segment of the Bombay men, both European and Indian. The same fervour created a multi-sphered collaboration between the rulers and the ruled. Both Indians and Europeans were represented, although not equally, on various fronts: the Board of Education, the Chamber of Commerce, the Bench of Justices, the Press, the Courts of Law and the Governor's Legislative Council. During this quarter of a century the Governors of Bombay were highly motivated by a zeal for the common good. But it was also outside the government circles that men like Dr. John Wilson, Jagannath Shankarshet, Sir Jamshetji Jijibhai, Muhammad Ibrahim Mukba, Mahomed Ali Roghay and Balshastri Jambhekar strove hard to further the progress of the island. The young intellectual elite always sought the blessings of their enlightened elders. And it was the moral and financial support extended by the latter that crowned the manifold efforts of Young Bombay with success.

Bombay's commercial fortunes during this period, particularly during the Cotton Boom, greatly augmented her prestige. Although many individuals suffered irreparable losses after the collapse of the boom; the city herself surged forward, with her economy placed on a stable base. The Share Mania of the sixties shot up Bombay's finances to great heights. It hastened the economic resurgence of Bombay. Moreover much of the wealth created in the speculative era was utilised to embellish the city. Not only was the material prosperity utilised to embellish Bombay, but her citizens also benefited by the advantages of education and awakening. It is true that education did not percolate downwards to the entire masses but created an elitist society in Bombay. It engendered

¹ The *History of Bombay—Modern Period* has been contributed by Shri K. K. Chaudhari, Executive Editor and Secretary, Gazetteers Department, Government of Maharashtra, Bombay.

the spirit of self-reliance. The new air of confidence that was manifest in the active participation of Indians, newly admitted into the Governor's Council, and more so in the righteous indignation against discrimination evinced in the proceedings of the Bombay Association, was the consequence of this education.

The alert and vigilant Press, particularly vernacular, became the mouthpiece of the people. Karsondas Mulji's¹ vehement outburst against adultery perpetrated by revered religious heads unleashed a fury of pent-up denunciation of hypocrisy and blind allegiance to tradition. The vigilance against the encroachment on rights was frequently expressed in the working of the Chamber of Commerce, the Bench of Justices, and the Board of Education.

The revision of the various law codes and the creation of the High Court ushered in reforms of the system, and the administration of justice in India provided for greater participation of Indians.

EDUCATIONAL AWAKENING

The history of Bombay is closely related with the growth of modern Western education. The rise of what is termed as the intelligentsia² in this premier city was a precursor of the upsurge in political and social awakening. The intelligentsia, also styled as 'Young Bombay' in collaboration with the rich *shetias*³ initiated the process of national awakening. Bombay became the leading centre of higher education in the middle of the nineteenth century, both because of its position as headquarters of the British Government in Western India and the virtual lack of any realistic alternative. The foundations for educational progress were laid by the benevolent Mountstuart Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay (1819-27), who desired the educated enlightened Indians to participate in public administration. Under his presiding influence the Bombay Education Society⁴ decided, in August 1820, to extend its activities by opening

¹ Famous Maharaja Libel Case.

² The intelligentsia of the period is defined, after Christine Dobbin, "as all those in Bombay who received English education in the collegiate classes of the Elphinstone Institution before the founding of the University, and those who gained University degrees after that date. The term also comprises those who attended professional institutions, such as the Grant Medical College and the Government Law Classes". Christine Dobbin, *Urban Leadership in Western India. Politics and Communities in Bombay City, 1840-1885* (Oxford Historical Monographs, Oxford University Press, 1972), p. 28.

³ The word was used to mean a great man, a rich man, and a man of influence and respectability.

⁴ Bombay Education Society was started in 1815 by some members of the Church of London. The Charity School of the St. Thomas Church, established in 1718 by Richard Cobbe, was probably the first English School for Europeans. It was patronised by the East India Company in 1807.

schools for natives, and the first important English school was started in 1825. The first college classes were projected from public and Government subscriptions in 1827. The Bombay Native Education Society was commenced in 1827, under which name it continued until April 1840 when the school and the college became one, under the name of the Elphinstone Native Education Institution.¹ It was in 1835 that two Elphinstonian professorships were endowed from a public fund to commemorate the distinguished services of Mountstuart Elphinstone, and Prof. Harkness and Prof. Orlebar commenced teaching English literature and arts, and European science, respectively, in the Town Hall. The collegiate classes attached to the Elphinstone High School were renamed as the Elphinstone College School and later the Elphinstone Native Education Institution in 1840. The Elphinstone College became an independent institution in 1856. The overall control of education was vested in the Board of Education in 1840² under Sir Erskine Perry, a devoted imaginative man. Although the Board was under European domination, it did have Jagannath Shankarshet, Sir Jamshetji Jijibhai³ and Muhammad Ibrahim Mukba as its members.

Under Elphinstone's influence, educational facilities in Bombay steadily increased. Magnates like Jagannath Shankarshet, Framji Cowasji, Jamshetji Jijibhai and Mahomed Ali Roghay were the patrons of education.

The Grant Medical College was founded in fulfilment of a resolution in a public meeting in the Town Hall on 28 July 1835, and commenced on 3 November 1845. Jamshetji Jijibhai and Jagannath Shankarshet were among the native inspirators. The Government Law College, the first of its kind in India, was founded in 1855 on public demand under the inspired leadership of Shankarshet.

Thus, the Elphinstone College, the Grant Medical College and the Government Law College, came to form the apex of Western education. The Free General Assembly's Institution, later named as Wilson College after its founder, Dr. John Wilson, was another seat of Western education. The Elphinstonian institution along with the institutions started by Dr. John Wilson, a missionary, philosopher and educationist, and his wife, generated an enquiring spirit and liberal enlightenment eager for improvement and advancement of natives. Western learning was hoped to work a moral, cultural and scientific transformation of the Indian scene.⁴

¹ Christine Dobbin, op. cit., p. 27.

² The functions of the Board including co-ordination of education in the Presidency were transferred to the new Department of Public Instruction at Pune in 1855.

³ He was knighted in 1842, and obtained baronetcy in recognition of his charities in 1857.

⁴ A detailed history of all the colleges and the University of Bombay is given later in this Chapter.

The University of Bombay founded in 1857 after the Calcutta University not only formalised the educational structure in Bombay but also gave birth to the intelligentsia and epoch-making forces.

Jagannath Shankarshet and Dr. Bhau Daji Lad, as leaders of the Bombay Association, played a very active role in the foundation of the University. It is a great tribute to Indians that among the Fellows mentioned by name in the Act of Incorporation of the University, there were five Indians, Jagannath Shankarshet, Bhau Daji, Sir Jamshetji Jijibhai, Bomanji Hormusji and Mahomed Yusuf Moorgay. Shankarshet, a protagonist of the synthesis of oriental and occidental cultures, was a member of the Senate ever since its foundation, till his death in 1865. Dadabhai Naoroji, a product of the renaissance, and one of the inspiring spirits of the times, was also one of the founders of the University. Sir Alexander Grant, John Wilson, Justice James Gibbs, Sir Raymond West, Dr. Mackichan and many other enlightened Europeans devoted themselves to the mission of educational expansion in Bombay which had a startling impact on the growth of all-round awakening and far-reaching results.

The first four graduates of the University, Mahadeo Govind Ranade, Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar (1837-1925), Bal Mangesh Wagle and Vaman Abaji Modak, awarded B. A. degree in 1862, were great luminaries and distinguished persons of the times. They were shortly joined by Pherozeshah Mervanji Mehta (1864), Kashinath Trimbak Telang (1867) and Rahimtula Muhammad Sayani (1868). Balshastri Gangadhar Jambhekar, Atmaram Pandurang Parmanand and Vishwanath Narayan Mandlik were also vital constituents of the intelligentsia. The Parsis were just beginning to emerge from their mercantile mould. Pherozeshah Mehta, Dinshaw Edulji Wacha, Naoroji Furdunji and Sorabji Shapurji Bengali emerged on the scene and enriched the elite in Bombay under the inspiring spirit of Dadabhai Naoroji.

It was precisely this galaxy of luminaries who were to be precursors of the intelligentsia and the rising social and political awakening in Bombay.

Sir Erskine Perry, president of the Board of Education, was the man associated with the spread of education in the Presidency in the forties. He was proud of his work in Bombay, where he found the growth of a true intellectual awakening accompanied by a rising public spirit and closer communication between the rulers and the ruled.¹ There arose a controversy over the medium of instruction. A compromise was finally reached and cemented in 1854 by the Wood Educational Dispatch: higher education was to continue in English, but more attention was to be paid to the vernacular instruction of the masses. As per Government

¹ cf. *Report of the Board of Education, Bombay*, 1849, app. iii, pp. 69-91.

the two aims of higher education in English were to raise up a class of Indian 'gentlemen' and to train the best class of natives suitable for Government service. The Government had wished to associate the city's rich *shetias* with its educational plans.¹ However the rich *shetias* of Bombay, with a few exceptions, took no interest in the new education, and English education was mainly confined to Brahmins and other literary castes and middle class Parsis. The fact, however, remains that many *shetias* did, in fact, become patrons of education, either privately helping poor students or founding Anglo-Vernacular schools, as did Jagannath Shankarshet, Goculdas Tejpal and Varjivandas Madhavdas, or endowing the Bombay University with buildings and scholarships like Sir Cowasji Jehangir Readymoney,² Premchand Raichand and Sir Mangaldas Nathubhai.³ Sir Alexander Grant continued to propagate English education among the merchants, and Shankarshet, the second Jamshetji Jijibhai, Cowasji Jehangir Readymoney and Goculdas Tejpal were made Fellows of the University.

Considering the smallness of its number, the Elphinstone College contained a quite startling quantity of talents in the period. These were the persons to make an important mark in the life of the city and of the country.⁴ Among the teachers in the College were Balshastri Gangadhar Jambhekar (1812-46), and Naoroji Furdunji (1817-85), the latter distinguishing himself as one of the architects of the political organisations in Bombay. Jambhekar was an acting professor of Mathematics in 1842. In 1850 Dadabhai Naoroji (1825-1917) was appointed as acting professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy. Of a later generation, M. G. Ranade (1842-1901) was appointed professor of English, R. G. Bhandarkar (1837-1925) as professor of Oriental Languages in the Elphinstone College and B. M. Wagle at Poona College.⁵ These were choice positions for Indians in those days.

Among the distinguished Elphinstonians who were later on to play an excellent role in the social and political history of Bombay, the following were the most honourable. Dr. Bhau Daji Lad (1822-74) who later became one of Bombay's first medical graduates from the Grant Medical College, was an antiquarian. He was one of the most active members of the Bombay Association of which he was a secretary for many years. He played an outstanding role in the political life of the city throughout his life. R. N. Khot (1821-91), who became extremely rich through trade, was a great conservative in Bombay politics.

¹ Ibid.

² Knighted in 1872.

³ Received Knighthood in 1875.

⁴ Christine Dobbin, op. cit., p. 36.

⁵ Ibid., p. 41. Poona Sanskrit College, founded in 1821, was renamed Deccan College in 1867.

Atmaram Pandurang Tarkhadkar (1823-98) distinguished himself in medical studies, and was destined to found the reformist Prarthana Samaja.¹ S. S. Bengali (1831-93), an elite Parsi, was a noted journalist, political activist and social reformer of Bombay, though for a short time. Kharshedji Rastamji Cama (1831-1909), renowned for his subsequent researches in the Zoroastrian religion, completed college education, and occupied an important position in the intellectual ferment in Bombay.

The most noteworthy Elphinstonians included V. N. Mandlik (1833-89), who later distinguished himself by playing many roles in Bombay's political history, particularly as a pioneering Marathi journalist and political activist. Javerilal Umiashankar, achieving highest academic honours in the college, became a leading Gujarati political figure. Naramdashankar Lalshankar (1833-86), a Gujarati poet, and Karsondas Mulji (1832-71), a Bania reformer, were among those who adorned the public life of the city of Bombay.

The next generation of distinguished Elphinstonians included Dinshaw Edulji Wacha (1844-1936), the politician and writer who dominated the Congress politics not only in Bombay but also in India, for several decades. Badruddin Tyabji (1844-1906), one of the first Muslim students, later became a leader of the Muslim community and the Indian National Congress, and a Judge on the Bombay High Court. Also worth mentioning is Narayan Mahadev Paramanand (1838-93), the religious reformer and journalist.

Pherozechah Mervanji Mehta (1845-1915), one of the greatest of the Bombay luminaries, a "Lion of Bombay", and a Congress leader of unrivalled status of the day, gained his B.A. in 1864 and was allowed to appear for his M.A. in the same year.² He was instrumental in several political, municipal and social reforms, besides University reforms throughout his lifetime. Kashinath Trimbak Telang (1850-93), who was awarded B.A. in 1868 and M.A. the following year, distinguished himself at the High Court Bench and the activities of the Bombay Presidency Association, as well as other political organisations. His work in the Legislative Council, civic government and Congress politics, was outstanding. R. M. Sayani (1847-1902), Telang's contemporary, was an important politician of 1880's, a Congress president and a Muslim leader.

GROWTH OF POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS

BOMBAY ASSOCIATION

The Charter of 1833 granted to the East India Company by the British Parliament for the governance of India had specifically laid down that

¹ *First Report of the Elphinstone Native Education Institution*, 1840.

² Homi Mody, *Sir Pherozechah Mehta : A Political Biography* (Asia Publishing House, London, reprinted in 1963), p. 192.

there should be no bar against anybody in adorning any position in the Company's administration on account of religion, race or caste.¹ However this benevolent clause in the Charter was observed by its breach by the Company. The distinction between covenanted and uncovenanted services was tantamount to the distinction between the white and coloured races. This state of affairs was keenly felt by the enlightened Indians. At this juncture the Company's charter was to be renewed in 1853. Against this background the political leaders of Bombay decided to start a political organisation to vent public grievances, and accordingly, the Bombay Association was established on August 26, 1852 at Bombay. It was the first political organisation of the Bombay Presidency, and was founded at the inspiration of luminaries like Jagannath Shankarshet, Dr. Bhau Daji Lad, and Dadabhai Naoroji. The architects of the organisation felt that although the British had established a rule of law and peace, their motive was economic exploitation of India, that the promises in the Charter of 1833 were bluntly violated by the Company Government; and that the better mind of England would improve the situation with petitions and pursuances.

A public meeting was held under the chairmanship of Jagannath Shankarshet in the meeting hall of the Elphinstone Institute on August 26, 1852, wherein the objectives of the Bombay Association were spelt out. Besides Jagannath Shankarshet, Dr. Bhau Daji Lad and Dadabhai Naoroji, the distinguished participants in the meeting, and so to say the functionaries of the Association, were: Sir Jamshetji Jijibhai, Bomanji Hormusji, Cowasji Jehangir, Cursetji Nasarvanji, Manakji Nasarvanji, Framji Nasarvanji, Naoroji Furdunji, Manakji Limji, Varjivandas Madhavdas, Bapu Jagannath, Narayan Dinanath, Manakji Kharshedji, etc.²

As unanimously adopted in the public meeting, the object of the Association was to ascertain the wants of the people in Bombay Presidency and to represent to Government regarding the measures for achievement of welfare of the people. It was decided to take advantage of the opportunity afforded by enquiries in England as regards the constitution of the Indian Government, and to represent to the British Parliament in the matter of reforms in the system of efficient Government so as to safeguard Indian interests and welfare of the people. It was decided to seek co-operation of similar Societies at Calcutta and Madras.

¹ *Source Material for a History of Freedom Movement, 1818-85*, Vol. I (Government of Bombay, 1957).

² I have attempted to standardise the spellings of Indian names in the body of the text. For Parsi names I have followed the spellings used by D. F. Karaka in *The Parsees : Their History, Manners, Customs and Religion* (London, 1858), except where usage has made this unacceptable. A few variants, however, have crept in due to the particular spellings in the sources used.

It was also resolved to memorialise the Government for the removal of existing evils and for the enactment for promotion of general Indian interest. Subscriptions were prescribed for raising necessary funds. The Rules of the Association were also adopted.

The object of this political body was not to offer opposition to Government, but was to secure the largest good by persuasions. Jagannath Shankarshet in his speech, appreciated many good things done by Government, such as "gratuitous" teaching in Grant Medical College, appointments of natives as Deputy Collectors and Magistrates, etc. The gravamen of the deliberations of the distinguished gathering in Bombay was to create a forum for assessment of the measures essential for the welfare of the natives, and to represent to the Government in India or England regarding redressal of grievances.¹

Sir Jamshetji Jijibhai, the first Baronet and an elite citizen of Bombay, was elected the first president of the Bombay Association, while Jagannath Shankarshet was elected executive chairman, and Dr. Bhau Daji and Vinayak Shankarshet as secretaries. Throughout the life of the association Bhau Daji (1822-74) worked with deep devotion and involvement. As a matter of fact, he was concerned closely with practically every movement of public interest and social organisation in Bombay from 1851 to 1874.

The Association prepared an elaborate petition to be sent to the House of Commons² which was adopted at a meeting held in the Elphinstone Institution on October 28, 1852 under the presidentship of Jagannath Shankarshet. Dr. Bhau Daji was one of the principal architects of the petition which was signed by 3,000 enlightened citizens from Bombay, Pune and Thane.

The petition was drafted with great care after collection of information from people in various districts, as regards the drawbacks and despondency in administration. The petition entreated upon the British Parliament for an enlightened system of Government, with the participation of qualified and trustworthy natives in the civil services. It sought for establishment of a University in each Presidency for educating Indians to man the civil services. The authors of the petition demanded an increase in allocation of funds for education and a measure of local self-governing councils.

This petition was followed by another very elaborate petition sent to the House of Commons in May 1853. It was also competently drafted by Dr. Bhau Daji.³ It recalled that the enquiries made by the Committee

¹ For text of propositions and speeches in the meeting refer *Source Material for a history of Freedom Movement in India*, Vol. I, pp. 133-39.

² Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland.

³ This account is based on the text of the Petition given in *Source Material for a History of Freedom Movement*, Vol. I, pp. 139-49.

of both Houses of Parliament, which had examined only persons of vested interests and beneficiaries of the covenanted service of the East India Company, were by no means thorough nor impartial. The petitioners sought the services of the ablest and most experienced persons in Indian affairs and a review of the existing system of local government. There was an interest and spirit of inquiry, in certain circles in England, about the Indian problem, but it did not form part of evidence collected by the Committee of the House of Commons. The Courts of the East India Company in the Bombay Presidency were on no better footing as regards judicial fitness and capacity than those of Madras.

The petitioners sought for efficient and properly constituted local governments as the prevailing government was "quite unequal to the efficient discharge of its duties and that nothing but the impenetrable veil of secrecy . . . protects it from Universal condemnation."

The Government of the Presidency then consisted of a Governor, a Commander-in-Chief and two civil servants as members of the Council. The business was conducted primarily by four secretaries and two deputy secretaries, each secretary having a separate department of his own and being the adviser of the Governor. The latter, who generally lacked local knowledge and experience, was obviously in the hands of secretaries, and was compelled to adopt the minutes they placed before him. The Commander-in-Chief, pre-occupied with army matters and being least acquainted with civil affairs, hardly could devote time to civil government. He used to enter the Council apparently merely to record his assent to the minutes of the Governor. Although knowing nothing of the subjects in hand, the Commander felt it his duty invariably to vote with the Governor. Several boxes full of papers on revenue and judicial matters were sent to him at one time which, it has been stated, he used to return from his house to the other members of the government within one hour after putting his initials.¹

The Civil members of the Council were appointed from those who enjoyed the confidence and personal favours of the Court of Directors without due regard to their ability. The appointment was more in the nature of a gift bestowed on a favoured member of service about to close his Indian career, by the Court of Directors. The Civil members had no specific duties to discharge and little or no responsibility, and their views were very often liable to be outvoted by the Governor and Commander-in-Chief. The practical effect of a Government so constituted was that for the most part each secretary in his own Department was almost like the Governor. The secretaries, exceptions apart, selected from the Civil Service, having passed their lives in the subordinate agencies of

¹ Petition of the Bombay Association, May 1853, cf. *Source Material for a History of Freedom Movement*, Vol. I, pp. 139-49.

Government, were suddenly called upon to discharge the most onerous duties for which their previous training did not at all qualify them. Their lack of knowledge of the economy, systems of the country and requirements of the people, coupled with the short time at their disposal, compelled them to dispose of the greater part of their business in a very imperfect manner. The net result of the government so constituted was that the actions of government were executed in an arbitrary manner and they were protected with the most rigid secrecy. In everything that came before Government, an impenetrable secrecy was preserved to escape public scrutiny. The most cruel justice was done even with the best intention. As the petition said "as a system it is the very worst that could be devised and the very last which good sense would indicate as adopted to strengthen British Rule in India by giving it a hold on the affection of the people. On the contrary its obvious tendency is to engender and perpetuate among the young servants of Government an illiterate and despotic tone to give full scope to the prejudice, the ignorance and the self-sufficiency of all, to discourage progress, to discountenance all schemes of improvement emanating from independent and disinterested sources and not within the view of the officer to whose department they are referred, and to cramp all agriculture or commercial energy, all individual enterprise."¹

The petition entreated upon the British Parliament to abolish the Councils as they were constituted and to create an useful and efficient Council of which the judges of the Supreme Court in legislative matters, and some of the European and native citizens should form part. Persons experienced in public offices in England were urged to be inducted in the local government with greater advantage to strengthen the hands of the Executive Government.

Trustworthy and qualified natives were excluded from the higher grade of judicial, revenue and regular medical services to which covenanted Europeans sent from England alone were appointed. Such exclusion was contrary to the letter and spirit of Section 87 of the Charter Act of 1834, being unjust and impolitic. The petitioners prayed that the invidious and unjustifiable distinction between the covenanted and uncovenanted services, which exclude the natives from higher offices, be abolished and that qualified Indians be appointed. Even competent Indian physicians and surgeons trained by the Grant Medical College and the Medical College at Calcutta were not appointed in superior service. The distinction between covenanted and uncovenanted was rigidly preserved, and even meritorious persons were refused admission to covenanted services.

The Petition proposed the establishment of a University for imparting education to Indians in various faculties so as to qualify them for efficient

¹ Petition of the Bombay Association, May 1853, op. cit. pp. 144-45.

administration of Government and administering the necessary justice in the country.

It was also proposed to separate the judiciary from the executive services, and to appoint Indians as Zilla judges along with Europeans who should know Indian jurisprudence, the law and constitution of India, and her modern history. As regards legislation by Parliament on Indian affairs, it was proposed to have subject-wise legislation instead of a single enactment comprising all subjects, such as, constitution and powers of several local governments, judiciary, revenue, etc. The petition also urged upon the House of Commons to be placed before its Committee on Indian affairs for proposing appropriate legislation.

The petition was well-timed as the Committee of British Parliament was then studying Indian affairs. It had won over many sympathisers in Great Britain, and enabled a number of friends of India to understand the Indian problem. Englishmen like Sir Edward Ryon, Sir Erskine Perry, Lord Monteagle, John Bright and Joseph Hume, championed the Indian cause in England. A meeting of the Friends of India was convened in London on March 13, 1853, and it constituted itself into what was termed as the Indian Reform Society with Danby Seymour (a Member of the British Parliament) as its president and John Dickinson as secretary. Although its efforts could not influence much the enactment of the House of Commons, a significant change was effected in the constitution of the Court of Directors of the Company. Accordingly the Court was reconstituted by reducing the number of members to 18, of whom six members were to be nominated by the British Crown from among persons who should have resided in India for a minimum of ten years. Another salutary change was that the appointments to civil and medical services in India were thrown open to public competition. The outcome was, however, not very favourable to Indians as the competition was to be conducted in Great Britain, and Indians were practically held ineligible for contesting on various grounds. This invited protests. All said and done, the net outcome was that the concerted agitation had wrung from the British Ministers more than it was considered possible.

The memorials of the Association were always restrained and dignified. However, a section of Englishmen considered it a rebellious body, while men like Mr. Cobden could see no advantage either to the Indians or their British masters in the vast possession called India. Some of the members of the Bombay Association itself ventilated the misgivings of the Englishmen. Mr. Manakji Kharshedji, for example, had opposed its activities and published a pamphlet containing libellous statements against Dr. Bhau Daji, its staunch leader. The latter was obliged to file a suit of defamation against the former which was heard with great interest in the Supreme Court. Bhau Daji was acquitted.

The British press, as it could be expected, did not respond favourably to the Indian demand, although it felt the inevitability of administering Government of India with the concurrence of Indians. Many Englishmen like Col. Pope considered the Bombay Association a political body which was opposed to English rule. Naoroji Furdunji and Bhau Daji came in for criticism frequently.

During the presidentship of Nana Shankarshet, the English friends of India like Danby Seymour (M.P.), president of the Indian Reform Society in London, paid a visit to Bombay to study the points of view of the Bombay Association. In a meeting of the citizens of Bombay held at Nana's house on 13 February 1854, Danby Seymour complimented the Association on its efforts to educate the British intelligentsia on the Indian problem. He also expressed that a section of people in England was eager to obtain authentic information, and desired the deputationists to be self-reliant and be prepared for a long drawn out movement. Another member of the British Parliament Mr. A. H. Layard visited Bombay in 1857-58¹ who was briefed competently at Nana's house by Bhau Daji, Nana, Naoroji Furdunji, Bomanji Hormusji, Framji Nasarvanji and many others. Mr. Layard appreciated the Bombay Association as an institution which reflected the mind of the people, and as a good link between the Indians and the Government. The Association functioned as per the guidelines given by the above referred Englishmen.

The matters taken up by it included joining the cotton producing tracts of Khandesh and Berar with Bombay by railway, which was already opened upto Thane; appointment of Indian judges; revival of gold coinage; publication of the Government *Gazette* in provincial language; representation before Parliament about the treatment given to Indians by the English; and increase in expenditure on education, etc.

After the demise of Nana (1865) who was its president for 12 years, the Bombay Association became defunct. Vishwanath Narayan Mandlik and N. M. Paramanand, the other celebrities of the day, tried to revive it in December 1867. The two celebrities who were publishing the *Native Opinion* from 1864, convened a meeting on December 14, 1867, wherein a new executive committee was appointed. Its office bearers were as under : Sir Jamshetji Jijibhai Batliwala (Hon. president), Mangaldas Nathubhai (working president), Framji Nasarvanji, Vinayak Jagannath, Cowasji Jehangir Readymoney and Byramji Jijibhai (vice-presidents), and Naoroji Furdunji (secretary), Bhau Daji, V. N. Mandlik, V. G. Shastri and Bal Mangesh Wagle (members). The Association, however, did not survive for long as it had to fight against manifold difficulties.

¹ Date not known.

It was during this period that the foundations of modern Bombay were laid and embellishment of the city was initiated. The birth of Bombay as a beautiful modern city could be ascribed to the joint labours of Government, public-spirited citizens associated with the Bombay Association and a few private firms who strove in several spheres.¹ The leaders of the Association persistently pursued the authorities in Government and the Municipality for improvements in almost all spheres.

The success of the Bombay Association was precluded by internal dissensions from the very beginning. There were many supporters of British rule whose creed was that India required the undisturbed peace and tranquillity of British rule, without participation in the highest levels of Government. On the contrary ardent men like Bhau Daji and Naoroji Furdunji determinably expressed their views on the political needs of India in a plain and unmistakable language.² The spirit of the first petition was not particularly moderate.³ It characterised the existing system of Government as "but little suited to the present state of the country, and the fair demands of the people of India." The second petition dispatched in May 1853, and detailed above, drew on the more extensive pamphlet literature collected by the ardent leaders.

Although the intelligentsia were ardently working behind the scene, the public face which the Association presented was increasingly that of its *shetia* leaders. The Association, at one stage, described itself as comprised of men "mostly possessed of considerable property and all deeply interested in the efficiency of those Departments of Government which are charged with the preservation of order, the protection of life and property, and the vindication of the Law."⁴

These interests were exemplified in the main question dealt with by the Association during the 1850's. Although the problems of civil service and educational policy were not neglected, they received far less attention than the two questions of immense interest to the mercantile community, the administration of justice in the Presidency, and the encouragement of public works. The dominance of these matters was, of course, made possible by the fact that they were also of interest to the intelligentsia working in courts, like Naoroji Furdunji, and like Dadabhai Naoroji, engaged in commerce.⁵ The last petition of the Bombay Association to the British Parliament in 1857, protesting against certain aspects of the supercession of the Supreme Court by the High Court, warned

¹ Details of developments in the city are furnished in an earlier section in this *Gazetteer* and in Chapter 9 of this *Gazetteer*.

² *Times of India*, 10 October 1885.

³ Christine Dobbin, op. cit., p. 82.

⁴ *Proceedings of the Third Annual General Meeting of Bombay Association*, 1856.

⁵ Christine Dobbin, op. cit., p. 84.

that no change could afford to ignore the grim fact that the entire prosperity of Bombay rested on the application of the English mercantile law to commercial transactions in Bombay. The Association along with the Chamber of Commerce¹ demanded extension of railway and improvement of means of communications.

The Elphinstonians kept in touch with the activities of their colleagues through their newspapers. They were aware that Government was recognising their importance increasingly. Jambhekar was the first Elphinstonian to be appointed a Justice of the Peace in 1840, and although wealthy *shetias* continued to dominate the Bench, in time all the outstanding Elphinstonians became Justices of the Peace. "Above all they were aware of their own importance, and a sense of mission. Trained in school and college to believe that they were the regenerators of their country, they could not permit their own city to slip through their hands."²

The powerful weapon of the press was under their command. The *Rast Goftar* began to direct their fire against the society and its *shetia* members. The *Rast Goftar* inflicted heavy criticism against the mercantile interests in the Bombay Association, and accused it of 'servile imbecility' and decried it as 'a disgrace to the community', 'the laughing stock of all thinking men' and of being incapable of even terminating 'its imbecile existence'. The most important *shetias* were proclaimed totally unfit to provide political leadership, both because of their lack of knowledge and interest in anything beyond their commercial interests.

The problem of political leadership was made more evident in 1862 by the desire of the Bombay Government to appoint natives to the Governor's Council.³ The organs of the intelligentsia, the *Native Opinion*, this time taking a leading part, decried the Government to induct the mercantile magnates in the Council, branding them as foreigners to the people in the country.⁴

During this period the Bombay Board of Censors, a private society, was founded by European merchants, civil servants and army officers. Its aim was to bring public opinion to bear on the basically autocratic Government. It used to discuss government policies pertaining to services, legislation, agriculture and education. Bhau Daji, Cowasji Jehangir Readymoney, Mangaldas Nathubhai and A. H. Gubbay were associated with this body which afforded them a good deal of political experience. It, however, collapsed in March 1864, owing to the fear of public exposure

¹ The desire of European businessmen to exert pressure on government culminated in the establishment of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce in 1836, comprising 15 European and 10 Indian firms.

² Christine Dobbin, op. cit., p. 86.

³ Ibid., p. 87.

⁴ *Native Opinion*, 24 January 1869.

by those Government servants and army officers involved. Meanwhile, although the Bombay Association did show signs of life in 1865 with a petition against Income Tax, it was moribund for all practical purposes. Jagannath Shankarshet had died in 1865 and Jamshetji Jijibhai in 1859.

The collapse of the unprecedented boom and Share Mania of 1861-65 also caused a collapse of many mercantile magnates of Bombay. This paved the way for the revival of the intelligentsia and of the Bombay Association. The revived Association was also under influence of the *shetias* without whose donations it was difficult to manage its day-to-day affairs. However, the intelligentsia were well represented this time. Along with Bhau Daji, Narayan Dinanathji and S. S. Bengali, prominent new graduates of the Government Law Classes (College), such as V. N. Mandlik, Shantaram Narayan, B. M. Wagle and the solicitor Kamruddin Tyabji, were inducted in the committee in 1867. In 1869 their number was strengthened by the addition of R. G. Bhandarkar, M. G. Ranade and Nanabhai Haridas. Of the 40 members of its committee in 1867, only 16 were Parsis, the rest being Brahmins, Banias and Muslims. Its membership increased from 87 in 1867 to 141 in 1869. With the increased participation of the intelligentsia in the revived Bombay Association, its first activities were directed towards the burning problem of appointment of natives to the covenanted and higher grades of civil service. A memorial was dispatched to the Secretary of State. The memorial reiterated the earlier demands for simultaneous examinations in India and England, and a raising of the age limit for Indian students. It protested against privileged position of Europeans in courts and the conditions in the Colaba lunatic asylum. It also dealt with the government Bill for assessment of lands in cities and towns, and with the construction of public works.

A remarkable feature of the late sixties in Bombay was the growth of popular interest in municipal affairs. The Bombay Association channelised the growing public interest. The first public meeting, to adopt the civil service memorial in March 1868, was an attempt to mobilise public opinion on behalf of the intelligentsia. The second public meeting with more than 600 participants, held in October 1869, was on behalf of the mercantile interests. The meeting held in Town Hall protested against the Bombay Government's measure to treat the adulteration of cotton as a criminal offence. It was opposed on the ground that it would hamper the trade and cultivation of cotton in Western India.

The third meeting, attended by about 2,000 in the Town Hall, protested against the increase in income tax by the Government of India. The *London Times* noted that the meeting attracted not only the leaders of society, but also small traders in large numbers, all concerned to memorialise the Secretary of State to disallow the Indian Income Tax Act of

1870. The speeches were delivered by Mangaldas Nathubhai, Sir Jamshetji Jijibhai, V. J. Shankarshet, Nanabhai Beramji Jijibhai and Narayan V. Dabholkar. They ventilated the points raised in the native newspapers, and attacked the heavy military expenditure. Narayan Dabholkar urged for English political institutions for India, and censured the existing system of representation in the Councils 'as a farce and delusion'. Sir Jamshetji Jijibhai, the third son of the first baronet, warned the British that they should take cognizance of a rising power in the state.

Consequent upon the meeting, the Association sent a petition to Parliament, and Naoroji Furdunji (secretary) was deputed to London to give evidence before the Fawcett Committee on Indian Finance. The petition was doubtless prepared by educated members. The *Times of India* of 7 April 1871, described the petition as "the Indian Grand Remonstrance of 1871". It was on the eve of Bombay's own great financial crisis that the petition condemned almost *in toto* the entire financial system of India. The excessive public expenditure and mismanagement of public finance had inflicted an intolerable burden on the people. Naoroji Furdunji expounded the Indian cause and the point of view of the Bombay people in his London interviews with prominent Members of the House of Commons. Asking for a Select Committee of Parliament to inquire into Indian affairs, he painted a picture of an India burdened with heavy taxes, and impoverished by a drain of wealth to England. The solution was granting of representation to Indians in the Governor General's Council and Local Legislative Councils in the matters of public finance and legislation.¹

This petition on the financial conditions of the country was followed by an identical memorial from Bombay's second political association, the Bombay Branch of the East India Association. It also demanded greater representation of Indians in the Legislative Councils, a broad scheme of decentralization, investigation of uncalled for military expenditure, and reforms in the civil service.²

A deep crisis was provoked within the Bombay Association by the municipal reform agitation of 1871 and 1872, during which it was quite active. It was this crisis which led to its ultimate dissolution. The mercantile magnates along with Narayan Dabholkar, V. J. Shankarshet, R. N. Khot, Beramji Jijibhai and his son deserted the body because they could not oust Naoroji Furdunji. They ended that body completely. They incorporated a rival association, the Association of Western India with the help of anti-reform rich persons. "It was alleged that the inspiration behind new association was Narayan Vasudev Dabholkar."³

¹ For details refer *Proceedings of the Third Annual General Meeting of the Bombay Association*, 1871.

² *Journal of the East India Association* (J.E.I.A.), V, 1871, Part ii, pp. 130-34.

³ Christine Dobbin, op. cit., p. 186.

After his prominence in the civic reform debates, he was unwilling to go into oblivion once the reform question had been settled. V. J. Shankarshet was also eager to acquire the influence and position which his illustrious father had possessed. The municipal reformers had, in the opinion of Pherozechah Mehta, done considerable harm by their espousal of 'exploded fallacies'.¹

Sir Pherozechah Mehta had claimed that the new Association of Western India had higher aims than the Bombay Association. It was aimed at training the people in political observation and discussion, and teaching them the administrative policy of India, instead of perpetually putting up grievances before the rulers. However, the published aims of the new Association differed little from those of the Bombay Association. Its creation provoked violent criticism from the organs of reform, both European and Indian. The *Times of India* described its members as "those who have injured Bombay in every way."² It remained more or less a moribund body and died with its principal *shetia* supporters, V. J. Shankarshet in October 1873 and Narayan Dabholkar in August 1874.

Although the Bombay Association survived the demise of its rival body, its activities appeared very sporadic in comparison with those of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha which was a very active body of enthusiasts, established in 1870. The ardent Naoroji Furdunji and Bhau Daji, who dominated the committee, did prepare a good report on the low standard of living of agriculturists which was attributed to the revenue assessment system. They also strived for numerous reforms. But the Association's lack of contact with rural areas and the loss of talents were responsible for its desultory activity. Bhau Daji died in 1874. Justice Ranade had migrated to Pune. Pherozechah was alienated from the Association. Dadabhai Naoroji was in England, and Badruddin Tyabji was busy in his profession and Muslim problems. The remainder members viz. Naoroji Furdunji, Telang, Mandlik, Wagle, Bhandarkar and Atmaram Pandurang with the help of Morarji Goculdas, Kesowji Naik, D. M. Petit and Sorabji Jamshetji Jijibhai tried to save the Association. Jamshetji Jijibhai as honorary president, Mangaldas Nathubhai as president and F. N. Patel and K. N. Cama were still there. However, it became practically moribund.

"The real reason for the lack of political dynamism in Bombay was the very dislike of the majority of *shetias*—including those prominent in political associations—for any activities which involved public criticism of Government, coupled with their basic lack of sympathy with the

¹ *Bombay Gazette*, 14 May 1873.

² *Times of India*, 25 April 1873.

VF 4361—20

English educated group who promoted the criticism."¹ There was personal criticism from within. Naturally Naoroji Furdunji and Mangaldas Nathubhai resigned by the end of 1875, and the end was doomed. After its faltering revival by the Elphinstonians, it was declared dormant in 1879,² due to lack of support. It is pertinent to note that many newspapers including the *Rast Goftar*, *Indu Prakash* and *Native Opinion* had expressed the advisability of founding a political association purely of the intelligentsia, and basically different from the Bombay Association. This idea came into reality when Dadabhai Naoroji, while in a visit to Bombay, established the Bombay Branch of the East India Association, in May 1869.

EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

Although intended to be an organ of the intelligentsia, the Bombay Branch of the East India Association was constituted in collaboration with the mercantile magnates of Bombay. This was particularly because of financial requirements and the influence of the *shettias* on the public life in Bombay. A formula was therefore evolved whereby the Managing Committee was comprised largely of Elphinstonians, while president and vice-presidents were mercantile magnates, many of whom were also taken on the Committee. Sir Jamshetji Jijibhai was chosen president, while eight of the ten vice-presidents were *shettias* such as Mangaldas Nathubhai, F. N. Patel, Beramji Jijibhai, Dinshaw M. Petit, K. N. Cama, etc. Dr. Bhau Daji was chairman of the Managing Committee, Mr. William Wedderburn was the vice-chairman and Pherozeshah Mehta and B. M. Wagle were honorary secretaries. The 31 ordinary members of the Managing Committee were almost overwhelmingly Elphinstonians, such as V. N. Mandlik, Shantaram Narayan, S. S. Bengali, M. G. Ranade, R. G. Bhandarkar, Javerilal Umiashankar and K. N. Kabraji. They were all active members of the Bombay Association as well. The notable absentees were Naoroji Furdunji, who did not leave Bombay Association, Badruddin Tyabji who joined later, and K. T. Telang. Despite Bhau Daji's opposition, the princes and chiefs of the Southern Maratha Country, Gujarat and Kathiawar, were admitted as life members at the instance of Dadabhai Naoroji. They numbered about 25 in July 1871. The total membership of the association swelled to 700 by end of 1871.³

The Bombay Branch of East India Association did not fare better than the Bombay Association, although the former was equipped with better talents. It was still led by mercantile interests. Sir Jamshetji Jijibhai died in 1877 and was succeeded by Mangaldas Nathubhai as

¹ Christine Dobbin, op. cit., pp. 188-89.

² *Times of India*, 5 May 1879.

³ *Journal of East India Association*, vi (1872), 253-54.

president. Its main work was shouldered by K. T. Telang who was its joint secretary throughout the period, in combination with J. U. Yajnik. Other committee members included Dadabhai Naoroji, V. N. Mandlik, Atmaram Pandurang, R. G. Bhandarkar, B. M. Wagle, K. C. Bedarkar, M. M. Bhavnagari, D. A. Khare, etc. "Although Telang was become an important political figure in Bombay, his leadership was never particularly dynamic J. U. Yajnik was similarly never thought of as an activist. Mandlik was a difficult colleague to work with. His newspaper already provided him with a forum for his views, and he was not particularly popular because of his well-known ambition, his grandiloquence and his aristocratic notions. Of the remainder Dadabhai Naoroji was frequently absent whilst Bhandarkar, Atmaram Pandurang and others were more interested in religious and social questions."¹ Pherozeshah had withdrawn after the Crawford affairs while Badruddin Tyabji was otherwise busy.

Hence, the body could do little to further its original objectives. The furore over municipal reforms in the city also distracted the energies of the leaders.

It should, however, go to the credit of the Association that it strived for the grant-in-aid system in education. It fought for the cause of Indian entry into the Indian Civil Service. It submitted a memorial to Government advocating a wholly elective Municipal Corporation for Bombay. Its enthusiasm in the initial period under the Elphinstonians was commendable.

The most significant contribution of this body was to the contemporary political ideology of India. Dadabhai Naoroji elaborated a theory of drain of wealth from India. It was natural that this theory was first systematised in Bombay by men educated in Western political philosophy and mercantile practices. In July 1870 Dadabhai invited attention to the high cost of foreign rule in India, leading to a drain of one crore pound sterling per annum from India.² He elaborated the losses to India by foreign rule, in various meetings. The managing committee under Telang suggested investment in agriculture and growth of industries by utilizing Indian raw material and labour, and induction of natives in public service.

The Press Act, which circumscribed the freedom of press and the rule of law under the Viceroyalty of Lord Lytton, gave a fresh lease of life to the Bombay Branch of the East India Association. This body attacked the involvement of India in the Afghan War and the Egyptian contingent. However, the opening of the eighties witnessed decline in the membership

¹ Christine Dobbin, op. cit., pp. 190-91.

² *Journal of East India Association*, viii (1874), pp. 33-80.

from 700 in 1871 to 153 in 1882. Telang was still there. But Mangaldas Nathubhai was replaced by D. M. Petit, whilst Mandlik took over as chairman on the resignation of R. N. Khot. Moreover the domination of Richard Temple over the parent body in London was a still greater handicap. Hence after its faltering existence it went defunct in 1884.

There was a certain amount of political activity in Bombay even outside the associations described above. Public meetings were organised on some occasions by the leaders of public opinion. The Town Hall was very often the chosen venue. The salt pan owners in the city organised such a meeting for attacking the Salt Bill of 1873, while the public meeting in April 1876 was arranged to oppose the Revenue Jurisdiction Bill. The latter was addressed by Mandlik and Telang. The 1878 meeting over the Licence Tax on trades and dealings was more spectacular. An interesting episode in the history of Bombay was the furore over the decision of the leading *shetias* to join the Anglo-Indian officials in voting an address and statue to Sir Richard Temple on his retirement as Governor of Bombay (March 1880). Despite the bitter criticism by the *Native Opinion* and the intelligentsia, the third Jamshetji Jijibhai and his supporters including Badruddin Tyabji, did in fact express their gratitude to Richard Temple in the meeting.

Lord Lytton left India as possibly her most unpopular Viceroy. His unpopularity had begun to assume serious proportions after the middle of 1877 on account of the hardships caused by the famine of 1876-77. The hurried enactment of the Vernacular Press Act (March 1878) further exposed his despotic and 'patriarchal' rule, as denigrated by Telang. The Imperial Assemblage at Delhi in January 1877 at which Queen Victoria was proclaimed the Empress of India, threw open to doubt the intentions of the British to establish a despotic rule in this country. These events coincided with the Governorship of the unpopular Sir Richard Temple, of Bombay (April 1877 to March 1880). The Vernacular Press Act with its severe limitation on the freedom of press was received as a shock in Bombay. A meeting was held in Bombay comprising, besides representatives from Pune, Nashik, Thane, Ratnagiri, Dhule and Surat, the city's most influential men like Pherozeshah Mehta, Telang, Cowasji Jehangir, and Nanabhai B. Jijibhai. The Marathi press was more unequivocal in its criticism than the Gujarati papers. M. R. Jayakar has given a vivid account of his impressions about the Marathi press during his studenthood.¹ The reaction against the Act was, however, not well-organised in Bombay due to some conservative elements, although it was formalised into a campaign by the Poona Sabha. The Bombay Association did not memorialise to Parliament, but the Bombay

¹ M. R. Jayakar, *The Story of My Life* (Bombay, 1958), i. 10.

Branch of the East India Association submitted a memorial to the House of Commons, signed by Telang and Bhavnagari.¹

The rule of Lytton and Richard Temple led to increasing interests in political questions among the young graduates, manifested in the press. The newspapers in Bombay were over-joyed by the success of the Liberals in England in 1880 and also by the appointment of Lord Ripon as the Viceroy of India.

The Viceroyalty of Lord Ripon really galvanized Bombay politics. A number of issues raised during Ripon's regime, particularly pertaining to the future of India, and the role of Indians in the administration, aroused hopes and stimulated the minds of the educated and generated a sense of solidarity among them. Lord Ripon's Local Self-Government Bill of 1882, which was an instrument of political and popular education granting the principle of elective representation, was highly welcomed in Bombay. It stimulated political thought and a feeling of common interest in the educated people. By a small extension, the arguments in favour of local self-government were applied to the larger issue of representation in the Legislative Council. The elective principle which had earlier been introduced in the Municipality of Bombay during the Governorship of Sir Seymour Fitzgerald² and Sir Philip Wodehouse³ was extended further. Unfortunately, however, "Sir James Fergusson and his executive council proved most reluctant to accept the basic principles of the Resolution so that the two bills introduced as a consequence, the Bombay Local Boards Bill and the Bombay District Municipal Act (Amendment) Bill, made few real concessions. Though they did grant the right of election, they failed to concede any real responsibility to the new committees and boards which were to be controlled by an official chairman."⁴

A more important episode of the days was the Ilbert Bill crisis of 1883, in Lord Ripon's regime. The aim of the bill was the removal of an anomaly whereby Indian District Magistrates and Sessions Judges were prevented from hearing cases involving Europeans. It sought to remove judicial disqualifications based on creed or race. Its promulgation caused an uproar among the Anglo-Indian community, who were able to get the Bill modified to their own advantage after uproar. Although Bombay remained fairly quiet throughout the Ilbert Bill agitation, the question did reactivate the city's political life. The meeting of 28 April 1883 was

¹ Jim Masselos, *Towards Nationalism: Group Affiliations and the Politics of Public Associations in Nineteenth Century Western India* (Popular Prakashan, Bombay, 1974), p. 196.

² From 6 March 1867 to 5 May 1872.

³ From 6 May 1872 to 29 April 1877.

⁴ J. Masselos, op. cit., p. 225.

convened by the Bombay Branch of the East India Association which constituted the first major demonstration of Indian support for Lord Ripon and the Bill. It was a widely representative meeting of over 4,000. Almost all the public leaders of the city were present, the intelligentsia, industrialists, merchants, etc. Dadabhai's great popularity was seen from the uncommon warm ovation he received. However, the speeches of Pherozeshah, Telang and Badruddin made the greatest impact.¹ Mehta appealed for Indian unity and self-sacrifice, and observed that the conflict was a conflict of opposing ideas about the future of India, and about the policy of Indian participation in administration.

However, Ripon was forced to grant some concession to the Anglo-Indians. By this time (second half of 1883), William Wordsworth, Principal of Elphinstone College and A. O. Hume emerged as European sympathisers of Indian cause. Prof. Wordsworth was in contact with the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha.

The Indian leaders were frustrated by the final terms of the Bill. The Bombay Branch of the East India Association sent a memorial to Government for raising the age limit of civil service candidates to its former level, after a large public meeting in August 1884. Another meeting of 15,000 was held in December at the Town Hall to express thanks to Lord Ripon for his administration. Practically the entire city seemed to have turned out among noisy rejoicing, to bid farewell to Ripon. The *Times of India* (19-12-1884) acknowledged that for the first time in Indian history the people of India have learnt how to demonstrate and agitate as a whole, irrespective of caste.

BOMBAY PRESIDENCY ASSOCIATION (1885)

In view of the political excitement in the city it was felt that Bombay should have a political organisation to direct public activity, particularly because the Bombay Branch of East India Association² was almost defunct. Accordingly the triumvirate, Mehta, Telang and Tyabji, assisted by leaders of the earlier generation, Mandlik, Dadabhai Naoroji and Naoroji Furdunji, founded a new political association, the Bombay Presidency Association, on 31 January 1885. It was inaugurated at a public meeting at the Framji Cowasji Institute. It was established on the crest of a wave following the Ilbert Bill agitation and the Ripon farewells. Its architects had designed it to be a truly national association. Its aims were to give information to Government, and to enlighten the people about public affairs. While advocating Indian national rights, its aim was to remain loyal to the throne.

¹ J. Masselos, op. cit., p. 214.

² The London headquarters had become more conservative and even hostile towards Indian interests in the 1880's, and hence the Bombay Branch was handicapped.

The intelligentsia dominated the Presidency Association, although the presence of wealth was acknowledged in its hierarchy. Sir Jamshetji Jijibhai, the third Baronet, was the first president, although his influence in the body was limited. Of the 16 vice-presidents, eight were rich men, such as Mangaldas Nathubhai, D. M. Petit,¹ Beramji Jijibhai, Varjivandas Madhavdas, F. N. Patel, R. N. Khot, M. A. Roghay and Kamruddin Tyabji. The three secretaries were Mehta, Telang and D. E. Wacha. Six of their collaborators, including Mandlik, Dadabhai, Bengali and N. Furdunji were made vice-presidents. It had 300 members even before its inauguration.

In its meeting on 29 September 1885 it was decided to enlighten the British electorate in Indian problems. Leaflets on Indian issues were already being distributed in England. It was decided to support John Bright and W. S. Blunt of the Liberal Party in elections. Dadabhai's resolution marked the beginning of Indian attempt to ally with a particular political party in England, and seek its support for Indian issues. Sir Jamshetji objected to the resolution and resigned under pressure from English friends. D. F. Karaka also resigned. D. M. Petit, Bombay's leading industrialist, became the new president.

The Association focussed its attention on issues of imperial significance. It was more in unison with other associations and particularly the Poona Sabha. It did considerable propaganda work in England and sent several telegrams to educate British friends of India. Funds were raised to support Lal Mohan Ghose's² candidature to the House of Commons and attempts were made to bring Indian opinion before the British electorate.

Mandlik as a vice-president and a member of the Legislative Council had some influence in the Association. But successful attempts were made to reduce his influence. Dadabhai's role was significant until he left Bombay for England in March 1886. He, however, wielded influence upon the politics in Bombay till his death.

The Presidency Association was dominated by Pherozeshah, Telang and Badruddin. Governor Lord Reay considered Telang as "undoubtedly the foremost man in the Presidency." He was responsible for the energy and enthusiasm which rendered the Association so vigorous an entity in its first few years. He was appointed judge on the Bombay High Court in 1889, since when he withdrew from public affairs. His early death in 1893 left the field open to Pherozeshah. Badruddin, who was also closely connected with the Congress, gained popularity during his opposition to the Bombay local self-government bills. He wielded influence

¹ He was also a Baronet.

² He was defeated along with other candidates who were supported by Indian associations.

in public meetings of the Association. However, after his elevation to the High Court in 1895 he also withdrew from public life.

Consequently Pherozechah assumed a dominating position in the Association, and became the city's major leader, appropriately called the "Lion of Bombay". He had a leading role amongst the Parsis and a stronghold of influence in the Municipality, where he was a chairman from 1884 to 1886. During 1887-88 he led the battle for a representative and yet workable constitution for the Municipality, and was considered largely responsible for its new form. His position had become unrivalled by 1890. He was chosen president of the Congress in 1890, and was a member of the Bombay Legislative Council from 1887 to 1893 when he was elected to the Viceroy's Legislative Council. His position within the Presidency Association had also been nothing but formidable. His leadership was accepted by the educated and the lawyers who met regularly in his chambers, where most of the decisions of the Association were taken. His bonds with industrialists, including J. N. Tata, who was rising in the nineties, and D. M. Petit and others, brought support, funds and goodwill for the Association from industrialists and the rich. D. M. Petit, who continued to be its president until well into the twentieth century, and Tata ensured the general support of Bombay's rich class to this body. Pherozechah, working in close co-ordination with Dinshaw Wacha, the secretary, and being supported by the intelligentsia and the wealthy persons, continued to dominate till the Presidency Association's control went into Dinshaw's hands. By then, new factions of younger graduates and lawyers had emerged in and outside the Association to win its control.¹

In subsequent years the young educated desired to bring the Association more close to the Home Rule ideology. The Presidency Association made numerous representations to the governing authorities on local, provincial and imperial matters. It used to call public meetings for ventilating the grievances of the people. It sent N. G. Chandavarkar as a delegate to London on the occasion of the general elections of 1885 in England to submit Indian public opinion to the British Electors. He was one of the three delegates, the other two being Man Mohan Ghosh and Ramaswamy Mudaliyar. In 1897 the Association was invited by the Government of India to select a representative to give evidence before the Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure. The Government had granted it a privilege to select a Director for the London Imperial Institute, which undoubtedly was a recognition of its importance as a representative body. Although the propaganda and pamphleteering work of the Indian organisations did not influence the British electorate, it did have some impact. As Pherozechah observed, if the delegates had not set the Thames on fire, they had certainly kindled a spark in the hearts of the British public. It had won

¹ J. Masselos, op. cit., p. 242.

over many friends among the Englishmen, such as, Lord Reay, Lord Rosebery and Mr. Bryce.

The Presidency Association sent its delegates to all sessions of the Indian National Congress held from time to time. Its name became synonymous with that of the Congress in the Bombay Presidency, and very few important decisions were taken without its prior approval. Its formidable position was due to various reasons as under: (1) It was a stable body with strong leadership. (2) It could raise large funds and could undertake energetic work for the Congress. (3) There were close personal bonds between the Bombay politicians and A. O. Hume, W. Wedderburn, Ranade and others throughout India. (4) With Wacha becoming its secretary, it had an upper hand in the Congress. "Thereafter no key decision was taken without Pherozechah's approval although there was, of course, discussion and consultation with other leaders throughout the country".¹

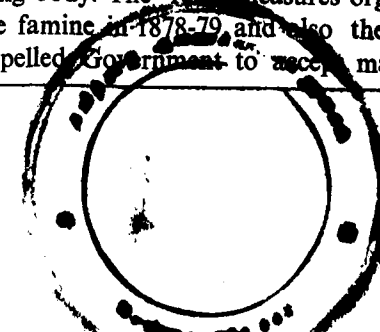
The first Bombay Provincial Conference emerged in November 1888 as a means of concerting policy and action for the forthcoming session of Congress in Bombay. Its goal was also to deal with local grievances. Bombay leaders obtained a significant foothold in the conference.

Badruddin Tyabji of the Presidency Association was the president of the Congress of 1887. He possessed a national and strong regional reputation. His opposition to the Bombay local self-government bills in 1884 had enhanced his reputation not only as a leader of the Muslims but also of "the whole native community".

Two stalwarts of the Bombay Presidency Association, Pherozechah and R. M. Sayani, were appointed to the provincial Legislative Council in 1894. The former was elected by the Bombay Municipal Corporation, while the latter was nominated by the Governor, Lord Harris. The Association had effectively superseded all earlier political clubs in Bombay. It functioned almost as the nerve centre of the Congress for many years.

The period 1860-1885 can be styled as the period of petitions and memorials by various associations. The Poona Sarvajanik Sabha was one of the leading political organisations of India in the latter half of the nineteenth century. It was founded on April 1870 in lieu of the Poona Association, established in 1867. It is interesting to contrast the role of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha with that of the Bombay Association. The difference between the two was that the former used to go to the people and create informed public opinion in support of its demands. It was not a mere petition making body. The relief measures organised by the Sabha at the time of the famine in 1878-79 and also the sober agitation conducted by it, compelled Government to meet many of

¹ J. Masselos, op. cit., p. 245.



its proposals.¹ The names of top rank leaders like M. G. Ranade, G. V. Joshi (*Sarvajanic Kaka*), Tilak and Gokhale were associated with it.

Poona Sabha's preoccupations and many of its general objectives carried the hallmark of the association catechism : the concern with the welfare of the people and the adoption of a role as mediator between the government and the subjects. It reflected the broad conceptual approach of its guiding spirit, M. G. Ranade. It staunchly advocated measures for amelioration of economic miseries in rural areas. In the late 1870's it was a dominating public body in Poona and rural Maharashtra. "For while the Sabha had established a leading position for itself both in the public life of the Presidency and in rural affairs specifically, the Bombay Association had failed even to maintain a consensus regarding its role within Bombay City."²

The latter half of the nineteenth century witnessed a rapid growth of the cotton textile industry in Bombay. While an enterprising class of enlightened industrialists was coming to the fore, many native newspapers like *Native Opinion*, *Indu Prakash* and *Rast Gofstar* were strongly advocating the cause of the manufacturing industry in Bombay. In the wake of growing industry, the influence of the free trade doctrine in England and its application to the disadvantage of India was taken with alarm by the press as well as the intelligentsia in the city. The Bombay Branch of the East India Association memorialised to Lord Northbrook to withdraw the tariff on raw cotton in 1875. Economic issues came to the fore when Lord Lytton abolished custom duties on imported cotton goods in 1879. This caused a stir in the quiescent political life in Bombay. The political forces in the city joined hands, and a public meeting was held on 3 May 1879, under the leadership of Telang, Mehta, Tyabji, Mangaldas Nathubhai, Morarji Goculdas, Beramji Jijibhai and Nanabhai, representing the intelligentsia and the millowners. "For perhaps the first time in the history of Bombay politics the speakers from both sides echoed identical sentiments : that over the question of import duties . . . India was unfairly treated by Britain".³

The Bombay Millowners' Association was formed in February 1875 in order to protect interests threatened by possible factory and tariff legislation. Common interests tended to promote group consciousness amongst the millowners. The Parsis comprised the wealthiest section, although Bhatias and Banias were equally significant.

After the intelligentsia and the millowners, the third force of organised workers in cotton mills was making itself felt in Bombay's political

¹ *Source Material for a History of Freedom Movement*, Vol. I, 1818-85, p. 151.

² J. Masselos, op. cit., p. 131.

³ Christine Dobbin, op. cit., p. 204.

life in the eighties. It was a new class in Bombay politics. N. M. Lokhande, the father of the labour movement, formed the Millhands' Association in 1884. It consisted of the head jobbers in cotton mills in Bombay. At a public meeting of about 4,000 mill workers (23 September 1884) at Parel, Lokhande read a petition of demands concerning hours of work, regular payment of wages and appointment of two representatives of workers on the Factory Commission (1884). Under N. M. Lokhande's influence, the Bombay workers were heard by the Commission. The Millhands' Association was received with mixed reactions in the press. Even papers like *Native Opinion* and *Indu Prakash* seemed to have misunderstood its aims, and showed more regard for the mill industry rather than for the workers.

The Bombay Government had recommended to the Secretary of State, for the enactment of factory legislation in 1874 in view of the rapid growth of mills in Bombay. Surprisingly even patriotic newspapers like the *Native Opinion*, the *Jame Jamshed*, the *Bombay Samachar* and the *Gujarati* denounced the whole concept of factory legislation, which argued that such interference would crush Bombay's rising cotton industry. The *Rast Gofstar*, and later, the *Indian Spectator* were the chief supporters of the Factory Bill which was introduced into the Viceroy's Council in November 1879. Naturally the Bombay Millowners' Association vehemently opposed the Bill as well as Government efforts at factory legislation. It protested in a memorial to Government that any restrictions in the hours of work would harm the industry, and that the Bill was unsuited to Indian conditions and that government interference in such matters was objectionable in principle. It lauded the benefits enjoyed by a mill worker fortunate enough to get a job.

In spite of opposition from vested interests the Bill was passed in the Viceroy's Council in March 1881. The official and non-official opposition to the Bill was reflected in its provisions.¹ Even before the Act came into force in Bombay a movement for its amendment and for alternative provincial legislation, was started. The *Rast Gofstar* and the *Indian Spectator*, as also official opinion in Bombay was in favour of amending the Act. Accordingly the Bombay Government appointed a Commission in 1884 to investigate into the working of the Act. Many representatives of the 31,812 workers in Bombay mills, under the leadership of N. M. Lokhande were heard by the Commission. However, the latter body reported against amendment of the 1881 Act, and the Government fell in line. The Act was ultimately amended by enactment of the Factory Act of 1891.

¹ The Factory Act provided for a 9-hour day for child labour under 12, forbade child labour under seven, ensured one hour rest every day and four holidays in a month.

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

The renewal of the Charter of the East India Company was an occasion for a comprehensive restatement of educational policy of Government. A select committee of the House of Commons under Charles Wood prepared a comprehensive document known to history as Wood's Educational Despatch of 19 July 1854 which has been regarded as the starting point of modern university education in India. It may be recalled that the distinguished citizens of Bombay including Jagannath Shankarshet, Sir Cowasji Jehangir, Naoroji Furdunji, Dadabhai Naoroji, Bhau Daji, Varjivandas Madhavdas, David Sassoon, Beramji Jijibhai, Muhammad Ibrahim Mukba, etc. established the Bombay Association in a public meeting in the Elphinstone Institution on 26 August 1852, and sent petitions to British Parliament regarding improvements in the system of government and education. Undoubtedly the suggestion in the petitions to establish in each Presidency a University for qualifying persons for various professions, must have weighed with the Court of Directors in issuing the Despatch, in supersession of their earlier decision of 1845.¹ A ground had also been prepared by the Elphinstonian institutions and by the efforts of Jagannath Shankarshet and Dr. Wilson for higher education leading to University stage. Accordingly the Bombay University² was established under Act XXII of 18 July 1857 during the Governorship of Lord Elphinstone. It was on the model of the London University and was a purely examining body like the model body. Its jurisdiction extended over the whole of the Bombay Presidency including Sind upto 1947 after which the jurisdiction became more and more circumscribed as regional universities were founded.³

With the founding of the University the educational structure was formalised. The first Matriculation examination was held by it in October 1859 and the first B.A.s were granted in 1862. It was reconstituted from time to time by the Acts of 1904, 1928 and 1953.

The first graduates of the University to receive B.A. degree in 1862 were M. G. Ranade, R. G. Bhandarkar, B. M. Wagle and V. A. Modak. Justice Ranade was destined later to play important roles in the progress of the University and in the initiation of political and social reforms, while Dr. Bhandarkar was destined to shed lustre as a great Sanskrit scholar and Vice-Chancellor.

For more than 17 years the University was without a permanent building of its own and its offices were located in the Town Hall. The

¹ S. R. Dongerkery, *A History of the University of Bombay, 1857-1957* (University of Bombay, 1957), p. 9.

² The Calcutta University was established a few days earlier in the same year. The Madras University was founded a little later than Bombay in 1857.

³ For details see S. R. Dongerkery, *History of the Bombay University, 1857-1957*.

convocation hall, named after Sir Cowasji Jehangir Readymoney who had donated a munificent donation of one lakh as early as 1863, was completed in November 1874 until which convocations were held in the Town Hall. The Cowasji Jehangir Hall, representing an early type of French architecture of the thirteenth century, is a magnificent structure which, in the beauty of its architecture, its excellent proportions and its spacious interior with a lofty ceiling, is one of the finest buildings the city can boast of. Few universities even in the West are the proud possessors of a Senate Hall such as this, as has frequently been observed by academic visitors from abroad. Its actual cost of construction was Rs. 3.79 lakhs.¹

The University Library and Rajabai Tower is unique among the buildings which enhance the beauty of Bombay and has amply fulfilled the desire of the donor that it should be "an ornament to this city, and by becoming a store house of the learned works of past and future generations promote the high ends of the University." The Clock Tower, one of the most attractive features of the city, rises to a height of 280 feet. Above the first gallery, in niches cut in the pillars at the corners of the octagon, are large figures carved out of Porbunder stone, representing the different races and costumes of Western India, and higher still is another series of figures of the same description representing the features and mode of dress of the different communities of Bombay State. The building was completed in November 1878 at a total cost of Rs. 5.48 lakhs covered by the gift of Rs. 4 lakhs generously donated by Premchand Raichand in 1864 and the interest which had since accumulated thereon. The donation was made by him in commemoration of his mother.²

This was the first university in India to admit women to all degrees in 1883.³ There was a long drawn out controversy over the desirability of general education as against specialisation upto B. A. level. The stalwarts like Telang, Bhandarkar, Pherozeshah Mehta and Chimanlal Setalvad who wore the robes of vice-chancellorship, were ranged on the side of general education.

The constitution of the University remained unaltered until 1904. The Indian Universities Commission of 1902 appointed by Lord Curzon, became a subject of controversy in Bombay. Justice Chandavarkar was invited to join the Commission for the purpose of the enquiry relating to Bombay University. Pherozeshah criticised the Commission very severely in regard to its constitution, encroachment upon university autonomy, recommendation of courses of study and perfunctory approach, in the

¹ S. R. Dongerkery, op. cit., p. 22.

² Ibid, p. 20.

³ London was the first British University to throw its degree open to women, in 1878. Oxford and Cambridge took a much longer time to get over their prejudice against the fair sex.

debates in the Senate. The echoes of the debate in the Senate were voiced in the columns of the daily press, and there were many protests against the encroachment on university autonomy and officialisation of higher education which the Bill had purported. Gopal Krishna Gokhale combated against infringement of autonomy in the Imperial Legislative Council. In spite of the powerful opposition from stalwarts like Pherozeshah and Gokhale, the Indian Universities Bill was passed into law in 1904. The battle was really between Lord Curzon, who was determined to bring universities under Government domination and the leaders of public opinion like Pherozeshah and Gokhale who stood for university autonomy and Indian interests in higher education. Lord Sydenham did in fact interfere with the University affairs in a subsequent year as foreseen by Pherozeshah and Gokhale. The tall claims made for the Bill by Lord Curzon have also not been justified by events in the following period. The Act of 1904 had, however, some redeeming features, as conceded by Gokhale, such as better control of the University over colleges, enabling the former to increase efficiency of the colleges by inspection, etc.

In pursuance of the provisions in the Act of 1904, concrete steps were taken towards the transformation of the affiliating university into a teaching university in 1914-15, and post-graduate lectures were arranged at the University in Economics, History, Philosophy, Sanskrit and Persian. The University Department of Sociology was founded in November 1919 under the able Prof. Patrick Geddes. This was a right step towards a transition to teaching university. Another landmark in the history of the University was the foundation of the Department of Economics in September 1921 under Prof. K. T. Shah. The Civics and Politics department followed suite in 1948 with the help of the Pherozeshah Mehta Memorial Fund and a grant from the State Government. These three departments constituted a single administrative unit, called the University School of Economics and Sociology until June 1956, when they were reorganised into independent units. The Departments of Chemical Technology and Statistics were founded in 1934 and 1948, respectively. Several other departments were opened during the last about 25 years. The Departments of Economics, Politics, Sociology and Technology have helped to bring the commercial, social and industrial life of the city into close relationship.

The Bombay University Act of 1928 was a great advance over the Indian Universities Act of 1904 in many respects. It was a great step forward towards democratisation of the University which was under Government domination with four-fifths of the Senate members nominated by Government. The Senate was made more broad-based to represent principals of colleges, headmasters, municipalities, local bodies, Chambers of

Commerce and the Millowners' Associations of Bombay and Ahmedabad, besides graduates and faculties. The University thus assumed a more democratic character and echoed the voices of academicians, educated public as well as commercial interests in the city.

The 25 years after the Act of 1928 constituted a momentous period in the history of the University. It was marked by horizontal and vertical expansion and changes in university education. This was but natural because the country was passing through the vicissitudes of the Second World War, the enthusiasm and pangs of the struggle for freedom, the Quit India movement of 1942, the partition of India, and "the ferment of new ideas of linguistic loyalties which was a concomitant of the political movement, and which was to lead to the decentralisation of university education on a linguistic basis." The expansion of collegiate education may be judged from the fact that the number of affiliated colleges increased from 29 to 79 and the student population swelled from 11,059 to 41,829 from April 1927 to March 1947. Even after formation of separate universities for Sind, Poona, Karnatak and Gujarat, there were 31 colleges with 34,000 students in the city of Bombay in 1956. The expansion of the University activities in the direction of teaching and research was remarkable. The School of Economics and Sociology expanded rapidly and produced celebrities like K. T. Shah, C. N. Vakil, J. J. Anjaria, D. T. Lakadawala, M. B. Desai, M. L. Datwala, Patrick Geddes, G. S. Ghurye, P. R. Brahmanand, A. R. Desai and a galaxy of great men. The Department of Chemical Technology which shifted to the magnificent building at Matunga in 1943, was expanded very rapidly from time to time. The University Hostel and the Birla Hostel (through donation by the Birla Education Trust) were inaugurated in June 1952 for accommodating 148 students.

It was in 1937 that the bifurcation scheme was introduced under which students were required to exercise a choice between arts and science studies from the commencement of the University course. Prior to that year, the first year course used to be a composite one, and the student had to choose between arts and science courses only at the intermediate stage. This scheme was extended to commerce colleges from 1938. The Matriculation examination conducted so far by the University was abolished from 1949 as the S. S. C. Examination Board for the Bombay State was created for conducting the S. S. C. Examination. Thus, the supervision of the University over secondary schools ceased for ever.

The Poona University was fully constituted in February 1949, when all colleges in its jurisdiction were affiliated to it. This was a culmination of the prolonged efforts of persons like Narayan Chandavarkar, M. R. Jayakar, G. S. Mahajani and others in the Bombay Legislative Council and outside. The Marathi Sahitya Sammelan in its Bombay session in

1926 had earlier urged the Government, princely states and the educated to help the foundation of a university for Maharashtra. Similarly separate universities were constituted for Gujarat (November 1949) and Karnatak (March 1950). The Shreemati Nathibai Damodar Thackersey Women's University was given a statutory recognition in 1949. Thus, the jurisdiction of the Bombay University became circumscribed, and it emerged as a City University worthy of the first city of India which had given its birth. It then became a "teaching and federal" university by virtue of the Bombay University Act of 1953 which came into force on June 1 1953, and under which the colleges have become constituent parts or limbs of the University.

At the dawn of the University, there were only four faculties, viz., Arts, Law, Medicine and Civil Engineering. The Faculty of Science was started much later in 1917, in lieu of the Faculty of Civil Engineering. There are at present seven Faculties: Arts, Science (1917), Law, Medicine, Technology (1933), Commerce (1949) and Dentistry (1956).

One of the most historic events in the life of the Bombay University was the opening of a new campus at Kalina in Santacruz area in July 1971. Its jurisdiction now extends over far and wide territories including Greater Bombay, Thane, Raigad, Ratnagiri and Sindhudurg districts and the Union Territory of Goa.

BUILDERS OF THE UNIVERSITY

The history of the Bombay University or even of Bombay city would not be complete without a brief account of the great men and luminaries who paved the way for its foundation or strived to build up the noble traditions which are associated with it in the public mind today. Mountstuart Elphinstone, John Wilson and Jagannath Shankarshet as pioneers of education had prepared a ground for the University. As stated earlier Shankarshet and Bhau Daji had played a very active role in its foundation. It is a great tribute to Bombay that among the Fellows mentioned by name in the Act of Incorporation of the University there were five Indians, namely, Shankarshet, Bhau Daji, Sir Jamshetji Jijibhai, Bomanji Hormusji and Mahomed Yusuf Moorgay. Shankarshet was on the Senate ever since its foundation till his death in 1865.

Bhau Daji, although a medical graduate, was an antiquarian and a Sanskrit scholar and was for a long time a syndic. He is rightly commemorated by the Bhau Daji Prize, awarded since 1876 to the highest in B.A. Sanskrit of the University.

Dadabhai Naoroji, a product of the renaissance which had given birth to the University, had also a claim to be included among the founders of the University. He was the second Indian professor in the Elphinstone Institution of which he was very proud.

Sir Alexander Grant,¹ one of the most distinguished Vice-Chancellors, which position he adored twice, brought the University in its infancy the high academic tone of the Oxford University. A protagonist of university autonomy and scholarly traditions, he is said to have left his noble impress on the personality of a distinguished student like Pheroze Shah Mehta.

John Wilson, a great scholar in Sanskrit, Persian and Philosophy, and one of the founders of the University, succeeded as Vice-Chancellor in October 1868. He enhanced the reputation of the University and fostered its growth on sound footing. The Wilson Philological Lectureship and his bust in the Library serve as a fitting memorial to him. Justice James Gibbs who succeeded Dr. Wilson as Vice-Chancellor (March 1870) and continued to adore that position for more than nine years, helped development of modern Indian languages and academical buildings. A bust statue and the "Gibbs Testimonial" in the library section were raised in his honour as a memorial to his services. Sir Raymond West, who adorned the vice-chancellorship for three terms extending over a period of eight years imparted strength to the University and strove for its autonomy and development into a teaching university. He is remembered for his services to the University in drafting a Bill seeking autonomy which was, however, unfortunately rejected by the Government of India, although approved by the Bombay Government. It was during his regime that a new degree in Science was instituted in 1880, specialisation at the B.A. level was allowed, and women were admitted to the degrees.

Dr. Mackichan was Vice-Chancellor four times, and almost continuously a member of the Syndicate for 30 years, besides being in the echelons of higher education in the city for 42 years. He had not only become one of the living institutions and landmarks of Bombay but also a maker and moulder of the University. The duration of the B.A. course was extended from three to four years during his tenure.

Justice K. T. Telang was the first Indian to be appointed Vice-Chancellor in August 1892, which position he adored worthily till his death on 1 September 1893. He was one of the brightest *alumni* of the University, and was endowed with a sweet persuasive reasonableness illumined by a diffused radiance of feeling. He served the University faithfully for 16 years. His name will always be remembered for reformation of the B.A. and LL.B. degree courses, which are known as "Telang courses". He was a protagonist of all-round development of a graduate, which can be achieved through knowledge of English, Sanskrit, Mathematics, Logic, Political Economy and Physical Sciences. As a member of the Indian Education Commission, 1882, he held independent views.

¹ The Succession List of Vice-Chancellors of the University is given at the end in an Appendix.

Besides being a nationalist leader, he was a great Sanskrit scholar and a distinguished Judge of the Bombay High Court.

Although not appointed as a Vice-Chancellor, the services of Justice Ranade to the University were devoted and highly meritorious. He gave the benefit of his talents to the University as Fellow, Syndic and Dean till his death. Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, one of the most pre-eminent oriental scholars of his day, was also a distinguished Vice-Chancellor of the University (1893-95). He was a syndic of the University from 1873 to 1882. He was keenly interested in the improvement of curricula, and was a great protagonist of general education as well as research. Dr. Bhandarkar's works included treatises on Sanskrit grammar, critical editions of Sanskrit texts, reports on Sanskrit manuscripts and contributions to proceedings of learned societies and journals. His book *Ancient History of the Deccan* has been acclaimed as the most authoritative work on the subject. A strong adherent of the critical and historical school of Philology, and unrivalled in the accuracy and thoroughness of his scholarship and literary criticism, Dr. Bhandarkar soon attained a world-wide reputation for oriental learning. In 1904, the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws, an extremely rare honour, was bestowed upon him. The Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute¹ was founded at Pune by his disciples and admirers as a temple of learning.

Sir Pherozeshah Mehta's association with the University was much longer than the brilliant trio, Bhandarkar, Telang and Ranade. However, it was not until the Senate was rocked by the controversy over the reforms in university administration, sought to be introduced by Lord Curzon in 1902, and again, over the attempt by Lord Sydenham to interfere with the autonomy of the University in framing its curricula, that Sir Pherozeshah threw himself with full vigour into the debate on the floor of the Senate to meet the challenge to the University's independence and autonomy. Although his tenure as Vice-Chancellor was brief, he will be remembered for the work done earlier. He rose to the full height of his powers, when he was opposing any measure which he regarded as unjust or undemocratic, whether in political, civic or academic sphere. There were three occasions when he took a lead in the Senate which no historian of the University can lightly pass over. These were: (i) the constitution of the Indian Universities Commission of 1902 by Lord Curzon; (ii) consideration by the Senate over the Commission's recommendations; and (iii) the Senate Committee's report on Sir George Clarke's² letter which came up before the Senate in January 1910. "Sir Pherozeshah was at that time unquestionably the strongest and ablest politician in India.

¹ It was formally inaugurated by Lord Willingdon, Governor, on 6 July 1917.

² Governor of Bombay.

The University lay near his heart."³ His services have been commemorated by a life-size painting on Venetian glass and a marble bust in the University Buildings.

It was in the Viceroy's Council as well as in the Senate that Gokhale fought valiantly along with his political guru, Pherozeshah, for the sake of University autonomy. His political pre-occupations, however, prevented him from participating in the affairs of the University actively.

Sir Narayan Chandavarkar who succeeded Dr. F. G. Selby in January 1909 continued to be Vice-Chancellor till August 1912. Earlier he had adorned the Bench of the High Court in succession to Ranade. He was closely associated with Pherozeshah and Dinshaw Wacha in public life. He was elected president of the Indian National Congress in 1900, and represented the University in the Bombay Legislative Council from 1897 to 1901. After leaving Chief Ministership of Indore State (1912-14), he returned to active public life. He was a great social reformer, a protagonist of female education and depressed class reforms. In 1920, he was one of the three distinguished recipients of the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws.

Sir Narayan was the first non-official president of the Reformed Bombay Legislative Council from 1921 to his death in 1923. "He displayed a wide knowledge of parliamentary precedent and custom, and established in the Legislative Council a procedure founded upon the best traditions of the House of Commons."⁴ An extremely fierce controversy over Sir George Clarke's (Lord Sydenham) attempt at violating autonomy of the University arose during Chandavarkar's vice-chancellorship. This was a historic combat⁵ between the Government and the protagonists of autonomy.

Sir Chimanlal Setalvad had the unique distinction of occupying Vice-Chancellorship for 12 continuous years (1917-29), the longest period for which any one has hitherto been privileged to serve the University. He was on the Senate from 1895 till his death in 1947, and on the Syndicate from 1899 upto 1929. He represented the University on the Municipal Corporation for 20 years and on the Bombay Legislative Council for 12 years. He succeeded Gokhale as a member of the Imperial Legislative Council on the former's death in 1915. He acted as Advocate General for sometime. He was a Judge of the Bombay High Court in 1920 but resigned shortly to participate in active public life and politics.

He strived for the progress of the University, and was instrumental in establishment of the School of Economics and Sociology. He was

¹ Mr. Lovat Fraser.

² Resolution of the Government of Bombay, May 1923.

³ In the course of this combat, at one stage, Chandavarkar disallowed Pherozeshah's address to the House, which incident came perilously near wrecking the life-long friendship between them. The dignified tone of Pherozeshah and the admirable temper of Chandavarkar, however, did not leave any bitterness.

appointed Chairman of the Committee on University Reforms (1924-25), the report of which bears the impress of his personality. His contribution towards the establishment of the G. S. Medical College is noteworthy. A marble bust of Sir Chimanlal stands in the Convocation Hall side by side with the busts of the distinguished Vice-Chancellors, Telang and Pherozeshah.

The account of Vice-Chancellors, which has necessarily to be brief, is illustrative and not exhaustive. Among the celebrated Vice-Chancellors of the later period, Justice M. C. Chhagla, Dr. P. V. Kane, Justice N. H. Bhagwati, Dr. John Matthai and Justice P. B. Gajendragadkar deserve a mention.

HISTORICAL COLLEGES

The Elphinstone College, the oldest institution of its kind in Western India, occupies a unique position in the annals of education as also of the growth of all-round awakening. It has produced men of outstanding merit in all spheres of life. The College was opened as a befitting memorial¹ to Mountstuart Elphinstone on his retirement as Governor, in recognition of his valuable services to the cause of Indians. The college assumed independent existence as Elphinstone College in April 1856 and was formally affiliated to the Bombay University in 1860. The College classes were first held in the Town Hall, and were shifted opposite the Grant Medical College in 1855. After 1862, the college migrated to the Tankar Villa near Gowalia Tank, and then to Cowasji Jehangir Readymoney building on Parel Road in 1871. Finally, it was housed in the present magnificent building with high stone walls and mediaeval arches, and was inaugurated by the Governor, Lord Reay, on 4 February 1889.

The celebrated professors of the Elphinstone College as well as its distinguished alumni which constituted the intelligentsia of Bombay have, already been mentioned in an earlier account in this Chapter.

The robe of the Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University has often been worn by Elphinstonians like Telang, Narayan Chandavarkar, Pherozeshah Mehta, Chimanlal Setalwad, Vithal Chandavarkar and Justice Bhagwati. Maharshi Dhondo Keshav Karve, the founder of the S. N. D. T. Women's University, C. D. Deshmukh, former Finance Minister of India, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Constitution of India and S. R. Dongerkery, the first Vice-Chancellor of the Marathwada University, belong to the galaxy of great Elphinstonians. Famous cricketers like Vijay Merchant, Khandu Ranganekar, Madhav Mantri, Datta Phadkar, Subhash Gupte and Madhav Apte

¹ Public contributions amounting to Rs. 4,43,900 were collected for the memorial, the Maharaja of Satara and the young widow of Nana Phadnavis donating Rs. 17,000 and Rs. 1,000, respectively.

were Elphinstonians.¹ Lokamanya Tilak, the father of Indian unrest, and Gopal Krishna Gokhale, a constructive statesman and nationalist, were the distinguished Elphinstonians who played eminent roles in India's struggle for freedom. There are numerous others who have rendered meritorious service to the cause of India, whose names cannot be mentioned here for paucity of space.

Dr. Wilson, the missionary scholar, opened an English School in his house at Girgaum on 29 March 1832. The school was shifted to the Military Square and was named as General Assembly's Institution in 1835. Dr. Wilson formed the college division of the Institution in 1836, and himself taught many subjects. On 31 April 1855, new buildings for the Institute were opened by Dr. Wilson on the site now occupied by Wilson High School in Girgaum. The college was affiliated to the Bombay University in 1861. The college grew in numbers and reputation, and its traditions of scholarship and all-round enlightenment were firmly founded when Dr. Wilson died in December 1875. He was closely connected with the Bombay University from its foundations, and during his tenure as Vice-Chancellor the foundation stone of the University Library and the Rajabai Tower was laid. He was a great protagonist of the study of Indian languages. The College was moved from Girgaum to Chowpati with the zealous efforts of Dr. Dugald Mackichan. The original building, built in Domestic Gothic, was inaugurated by Lord Reay, Governor, in 1889. Dr. Mackichan was appointed Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University four times, a unique record. Dr. Mackenzie, who succeeded him as Principal of the Wilson College and held that post upto 1944, was a great educationist. He was also Vice-Chancellor of the University from 1931 to 1933. The Pandita Ramabai Hostel for Ladies, attached to the college, was opened in February 1932 out of the funds collected in commemoration of Pandita Ramabai, an emancipationist of women. The College has produced illustrious men and women of outstanding merit. The first two Chief Ministers of Bombay State after Independence viz., B. G. Kher and Morarji Desai were Wilsonians.² It is remarkable that Morarji Desai distinguished himself in national politics for about a quarter of a century, and adorned Prime Ministership of the country from 1977 to 1980.

The Government Law College, Bombay, the first of its kind in India, was established in 1855 on public demand under the leadership of Jagannath Shankarshet. It was affiliated to the University in 1860. The College has produced a galaxy of eminent men who have made history both in the legal profession and national life. Only a few of them are mentioned here : H. J. Kania, the first Chief Justice of India, Nanabhai Haridas, the first

¹ University of Bombay, *Centenary Souvenir* (Bombay, 1957), p. 34.

² *Ibid.*, p. 51.

permanent Judge of the High Court, M. G. Ranade, K. T. Telang, B. G. Tilak, Badruddin Tyabji, N. G. Chandavarkar, Chimanlal Setalvad, Bhulabhai Desai, M. R. Jayakar, K. M. Munshi, D. F. Mulla, Dinshaw Davar, G. V. Mavlankar, B. R. Ambedkar, M. C. Chhagla, Justice N. H. Bhagwati, C. Coyajee, S. R. Tendulkar, M. C. Setalvad, Haribhau Pataskar, Mangaldas Pakvasa, H. P. Mody, B. G. Kher, Jamshedji Kanga etc.¹

By the latter half of the nineteenth century, legal profession was the only profession respected by the English ruling class. Indians' admission to this profession was not barred by political considerations. The rich in Bombay went to England also for advanced learning in law, and ultimately gained leadership in the Bombay intelligentsia. Badruddin Tyabji, Pheroze-shah Mehta, G. V. Karkare, Kharshedji Manakji and Hormasji A. Wadia were among the first generation of Barristers, who formed the nucleus of an India-wide fraternity. While studying in England, the Bombayites, along with Bengalis like W. C. Bannerji and Man Mohan Ghosh, formed a circle around Dadabhai Naoroji. Such early friendships were to prove invaluable in the political field in the following decades.²

Modern education in medicine was deliberately encouraged by Government. The idea of a medical college was first originated by Robert Grant, Governor of Bombay, in 1835. After his death, the citizens of Bombay with Jagannath Shankarshet and Sir Jamshetji Jijibhai,³ resolved in public meeting in the Town Hall on 28 July 1835 that the proposed college may be named to commemorate Robert Grant. Accordingly the Grant Medical College was inaugurated on 3 November 1845 by George Arthur, the Governor. The main building was raised out of funds contributed by the East India Company and public subscriptions in equal measure. The idea of a hospital was mooted in a public meeting on 16 March 1838, in which Jamshetji Jijibhai offered a munificent donation of Rs. 1,64,000. The East India Company contributed an equal amount, and the J. J. Hospital was opened on 15 May 1845. Since then many hospital buildings were constructed in charity in the premises by benevolent donors. The C. J. Ophthalmic Hospital was opened on 21 July 1866 out of a donation by Sir Cowasji Jehangir Readymoney. Bai Motlibai, widow of Naoroji Wadia, founded the Obstetric Hospital which was inaugurated by Lord Harris, Governor, in March 1892. Sir Dinshaw Maneckji Petit constructed the Petit Hospital for Women and Children which was also opened in March 1892. It was on the same date that the Governor inaugurated a dispensary in the J. J. Hospital premises donated by Dwarkadas Lallubhai.

¹ University of Bombay, *Centenary Souvenir*, p. 41.

² Christine Dobbin, op. cit., p. 47.

³ The first Baronet.

The Grant Medical College awarded its first diplomas in 1851 and first degrees in 1862. From the beginning it attracted a large number of Parsis, while Hindus were repugnant to the modern system of medical education. Bhau Daji Lad and Atmaram Pandurang were among the first 15 medical graduates from this college.¹

Another teaching hospital affiliated to the Grant Medical College, namely G. T. Hospital, was inaugurated on 8 April 1874. It owes its foundation to the munificent donation of Goculdas Tejpal, an enlightened public figure and patron of English education in Bombay. Goculdas Tejpal's donation of Rs. 1.5 lakh deserved particular appreciation because it came forth during the bad days of the general economic crash in Bombay after the Share Mania.

The other teaching hospital affiliated to the Grant Medical College owes its origin to the movement by Sorabji Shapurji Bengali, a journalist and political figure, and Pestanji Hormasji Cama, a philanthropist. It was the Cama Hospital opened on the Esplanade in August 1886. In connection with this hospital, the Jafar Suleman Dispensary was opened in the same year which was followed by the Bomanji Edulji Albless Obstetric Hospital in 1890.

While the above hospitals were established for natives out of philanthropy by the generous citizens of Bombay, the St. George's Hospital was raised by Government for Europeans in December 1892. Erected on the site of the historic Fort St. George, it is also a teaching hospital.

To resume the story of general education, it is certain that Government was not alone in the field of education. Missionaries had been quite active from the beginning. The *shetias* were ambivalent in their approach. While they desired to train their boys in English, they were averse to their children studying in government or mission schools. This was not only because of their aversion to profundity in literary education but also because they did not wish their children to mix with poorer children in government and mission schools. They, therefore, began to arrange for at least a smattering of English language and culture by organising their own seminaries, run mainly by British *ex-army* officers. Jagannath Shankarshet, D. M. Petit, Beramji Jijibhai and Mangaldas Nathubhai were educated in such a school.² Gradually the *shetias* became concerned at their self-imposed exclusion from university education, and the Fort Proprietary School was opened in 1859.

The St. Xavier's College was one of the early protagonists of Western learning and owed its origin to the St. Mary Institution and St. Xavier's High School. It was affiliated to the Bombay University in January 1869.

¹ Christine Dobbin, op. cit., p. 48.

² *Times of India*, 4 Feb. 1884.

The Sydenham College owed its origin to the pioneering efforts of K. Subramani Aiyar, Sir Vithaldas Thackersey, Sir Dinshaw Wacha, Manmohandas Ramji and Lord Sydenham (Governor), and to some philanthropists of Bombay. The degree of Bachelor of Commerce was first instituted in India by the Bombay University in 1912. The college was named after Lord Sydenham in 1916, and was moved into its newly built present premises as late as 1955.

Veterinary education in Western India was initiated by the establishment of the Bombay Veterinary College in August 1886 in collaboration with the Bai Sakarbai Dinshaw Petit Hospital for Animals, which was established by D. M. Petit as a wing of the Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals.

The work of medical relief was entrusted to the Municipal Corporation in 1907 under the famous Police Charges Act which came into being after an incessant protracted fight by Pherozeshah Mehta, both in the Legislative Council and the Corporation.¹ The municipal authorities then proceeded to formulate plans for developing additional hospital facilities in the city. The sad demise of King Edward VII occurred soon after, and the enlightened citizens of Bombay, under the leadership of Pherozeshah Mehta, raised a fund to be utilised for building a hospital in memory of King Edward VII. The Memorial Fund Committee raised about Rs. 7 lakhs inclusive of Rs. 1.20 lakhs donated by Sir Currimbhoy Ibrahim Entertainment Fund, rupees one lakh from Purshottamdas M. Nathubhai in memory of his wife Bai Lilavati, and Rs. 30 thousands from the estate of Dr. Habib Ismail Jan Mahomed.² The balance of the money from the celebration fund for the visit of King George V in 1911 was also handed over to the Corporation for naming a ward after the King. Government also contributed a sum of Rs. 4 lakhs and rendered considerable help by granting rebate on construction cost. The eminent citizens like Pherozeshah, Narayan Chandavarkar, Chimanlal Setalvad and D. N. Bahadurji who were trustees of the Seth Gordhandas Sunderdas Estate, offered a sum of Rs. 12 lakhs for endowing a medical college in connection with the proposed hospital. The zealous efforts of the elite bore fruit, and the Seth Gordhandas Sunderdas Medical College was started in June 1925, and the King Edward Memorial Hospital in February 1926, under the deanship of Dr. Jivaraj N. Mehta, who later played an important part in the Governments of Bombay and Gujarat States. The college and hospital were formally opened by Leslie Wilson, Governor of Bombay, on 22 January 1926.³ Unfortunately Pherozeshah did not live to participate in the inaugural ceremony.

¹ The account has already been given elsewhere.

² University of Bombay, *Centenary Souvenir*, p. 68.

³ The college was affiliated to the University of Bombay in August.

The foundation of the K. E. M. Hospital was followed by construction of the Nowrosjee Wadia Maternity Hospital in 1927 and the Bai Jerbai Wadia Hospital for Children in 1929, in the immediate neighbourhood. Both these hospitals owe their origin to the munificence of the Wadia brothers, Sir Ness Wadia and Sir Cusrow Wadia.

The role of Dr. D. D. Sathe in the public life of Bombay is too well-known. It was he who started the National Medical College on 4 September 1921 in collaboration with some patriotic doctors in Bombay.¹ He was inspired in this endeavour by the spirit of the Non-co-operation Movement launched by Mahatma Gandhi. The patriotic zeal of the pioneers was responded by Dr. Nair's munificent endowment. This paved the way for opening of the B. Y. L. Nair Hospital, in memory of his mother, in July 1925, and of the college building on 28 November 1927. Later the college was renamed after Motiram Desai Topiwala, a generous donor, with the zealous efforts of S. K. Patil. It was S. K. Patil, one of the most eminent men of Bombay, who prevailed over the Municipal Corporation to take over the college as well as the hospital in November 1946. It was affiliated to the Bombay University in the same month. The Nair Hospital Dental College was started by the philanthropist Dr. A. L. Nair in the Dental Department of the B. Y. L. Nair Hospital in 1933. It is now housed in a separate building, in the neighbourhood, erected by the Corporation, and has been affiliated to the University since June 1954.

The Ismail Yusuf College, established in 1929-30, owes its origin to the generosity of Sir Mahomed Yusuf who had donated eight lakh rupees for higher education of Muslims, way back in 1914. It has, however, been a cosmopolitan institution.²

The Shikshan Prasarak Mandali of Pune, who expanded Western education after the Deccan Education Society, established two colleges in Bombay, viz., Ramnarain Ruia College in 1937 and R. A. Podar College of Commerce and Economics in 1941. The first one received a donation of Rs. 2 lakhs from the house of Ruia and the second one Rs. 1.46 lakhs from the house of Podars,³ both of which have many textile mills and other business to their credit in Bombay. The colleges were named as per the desire of the donors.

The Sikh community also contributed to the expansion of educational facility in the city. The Khalsa College was established in 1937 by the Gurudwara Committee of Shri Nankana Sahib, the birth place of the founder of the Sikh religion, Shri Guru Nanak.⁴ The Partition of India inflicted severe miseries on the Hindus in Pakistan and thousands of

¹ University of Bombay, *Centenary Souvenir*, p. 100.

² Ibid., pp. 77-78.

³ Ibid., pp. 80, 85.

⁴ Ibid., p. 82.

Sindis had to migrate to Bombay in 1948. Although displaced from their native land, they made Bombay their home and participated in the public life of the city. Naturally they founded many institutions which have contributed to the enrichment of the educational and other fields of life. Accordingly the Jai Hind College and Basantsing Institute of Science was founded in June 1948 by the migrant professors from Karachi. The new building of the college at Churchgate, constructed out of donations and government grant, was inaugurated by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, then Vice-President of India, in 1952. The National College, Bandra, the second college to be established in the suburbs of Bombay,¹ stands testimony to the undaunted spirit of the Sindis. It was opened in June 1949 by the Hyderabad Sind National Collegiate Board at the efforts of H. G. Advani and Prof. K. M. Kundnani.² The munificence of the houses of Wassiamull Assomul and Kishinchand Chellaram, and Bagomal Trust helped the emergence of the college as a successor of the two colleges at Hyderabad Sind, which were shattered after Partition of India. The K. C. College was the second remarkable venture of the above mentioned Board in 1954.

The Sophia College for Women was founded by the Society for Higher Education of Women in India in 1940. It is a unique institution striving for all-round development of ladies.

Although a cosmopolitan first city of India, Bombay lacked a college entirely managed by persons belonging to the scheduled castes, till 1946. It was in that year that Dr. B. R. Ambedkar launched the People's Education Society for propagation of higher education among the down-trodden. The society and its Siddharth College stand testimony to the keen interest and passionate urge of Dr. Ambedkar towards the emancipation of the down-trodden by opening the portals of the University to them. Besides the Arts and Science College founded in 1946, Dr. Ambedkar opened the College of Commerce and Economics in June 1953. The institution was shifted to its present premises in 1951.

Bombay, and in fact India, owes the initiation of technical education to the immense foresight and zealous efforts of such public spirited leaders as Dadabhai Naoroji, Pherozeshah Mehta, M. G. Ranade, Dinshaw Wacha and Bādruddin Tyabji, as well as to the support of Lord Reay, the Bombay Municipal Corporation and the Bombay Mill-owners' Association. The foundation of the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute in 1887, which is probably the oldest institution of its kind in India, was mainly due to the endeavour of these men of vision and the organisations which actively supported the cause.³ The Institute was

¹ The Ismail Yusuf College was the first in the suburbs.

² University of Bombay, *Centenary Souvenir*, p. 113.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 97.

named to commemorate the Jubilee of Queen Victoria and was housed in the old Elphinstone College building at Byculla which was donated by Sir D. M. Petit. It was later shifted to its present premises at Matunga in 1923. It was initially awarding diplomas, and started degree courses from June 1946, and is now one of the famous institutions of its type in the country. It has excellent teaching and material testing laboratory facilities, and has produced eminent engineers.

RESEARCH INSTITUTES

Bombay as the first city of India has provided a haven to a number of research institutes, besides those imparting general and professional education. They have contributed towards the enrichment of the hoards of knowledge and of the cultural heritage of this city of gold as well as of the country as a whole. Many of them have earned an international reputation and have given birth to renowned scientists and scholars. Although there are many such organisations, a detailed account of all of them is beyond the scope of this study. Hence only a selected few research institutes which have played a historical role are mentioned below.¹

The *Haffkine Institute* is one such celebrated organisation. It is the biggest research institution of its kind not only in India, but also in the whole of Asia.² The building and the site where it stands have a long history. The Shiva temple stood on this site in Parel in olden times. A monastery and a chapel managed by the Jesuits, flourished here during the Portuguese regime. During the British rule, the building was constructed as Government House, and made the Governor's Palace. It was in 1882 that the Government House was permanently shifted to the Malabar Hill. This abandoned old magnificent building was used as a hospital from 1896 when a virulent epidemic of plague attacked Bombay.

It was in 1899 that Dr. Waldemar Mordecai Wolfe Haffkine, a brilliant student of Dr. Louis Pasteur, laid the foundation of the Plague Research Laboratory in this building, wherein were conducted some of the most fundamental researches in plague epidemiology and plague prophylaxis. Dr. Haffkine fought a crusade against the deadly epidemic by evolving an anti-plague vaccine and propagating it among the hostile native citizens. This zealous scientist gave public demonstrations by injecting the vaccine in his own body to get over popular hostility of the conservative natives, who opposed it due to orthodox beliefs. The Laboratory was renamed as the Bombay Bacteriological Laboratory in 1906 as it was further expanded to undertake research in other infectious diseases,

¹ Information about many voluntary social service organisations in Bombay, including a few research institutes, is given in Chapter 18 of this *Gazetteer*. Hence, repetition of the same is avoided as far as possible.

² University of Bombay, *Centenary Souvenir*, p. 162.

besides plague. In 1923, the Biochemistry department and Rabies section were added. This facilitated anti-rabic treatment which was available only at Coonoor and Kasauli in India till then. The Laboratory did excellent work in the control of tropical diseases in India, and was therefore aptly renamed as Haffkine Institute in 1925¹ after its founder whose inspiration and work bestowed enormous benefits upon mankind in general and India in particular.

The Entomology department was formed in 1938 for systematic studies in tropical diseases. The Second World War gave a great impetus to the Institute as it was the only one that supplied plague vaccine to an area stretching from the Mediterranean to Japan. The Blood Bank also played an important role in saving life during the war. The Institution was further expanded from time to time for the research and manufacturing of anti-bacterial vaccines, T.A.B. vaccines, antivenene, anti-tetanus, anti-diphtheria, anti-gas-gangrene, polyvalent anti-venene and a number of sera and vitamin preparations. A number of facilities were provided to equip the Institute for research in biological products and medical health problems in connection with endemic and epidemic diseases. It collaborates with different international organisations like WHO, UNICEF, Colombo Plan, etc. It also conducts post-graduate and doctorate research and training on behalf of the Indian Council of Medical Research and the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research, as also the Bombay University.

The Tata Institute of Fundamental Research (TIFR), which was founded by the Sir Dorabji Tata Trust and the Bombay Government in 1945, owes its origin to Dr. Homi Bhabha and the enlightened house of Tatas. It was initially started out of the funds provided by the Dorabji Tata Trust, the Bombay Government and Council of Scientific and Industrial Research, at temporary premises at Peddar Road, declared open by Sir John Colville, Governor of Bombay, on 19 December 1945.² The Institute shifted to the old Yatch Club in September 1949 and then to present campus at Colaba. The Atomic Energy Commission of the Government of India, established in 1948 at the instance of Dr. Bhabha and Jawaharlal Nehru, was faced with the acute problem of the shortage of nuclear scientists. The Government of India, therefore, entrusted to the TIFR a concerted programme of training scientists for the future requirements of the Atomic Energy Commission from 1948-49. It was in February 1956 that the Government of India recognised the TIFR as the national centre for advanced study in Nuclear Physics and Mathematics, and a tripartite agreement was concluded between the Government of India,

¹ University of Bombay, *Centenary Souvenir*, p. 163.

² The work had commenced on 1 June 1945 at the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, and its venue was shifted to Peddar Road in December 1945.

the Bombay Government and the Dorabji Tata Trust, in April 1956, as regards the financing and management of the organisation.³ There is no parallel to this institute in India which has made great contributions to the theory of elementary particles and advanced studies in Physics, Mathematics, Chemistry and Biology. The country owes a debt of gratitude to the TIFR for producing scientists of international reputation such as Dr. Homi Bhabha, Dr. Vikram Sarabhai, Dr. H. N. Sethna, Dr. Raja Ramanna and Dr. Jayant Narlikar.

Institute of Science : Dr. Dugald Mackichan, who made a great impress on the educational life of Western India, inspired the necessity of scientific research and an institution devoted to science in Bombay in 1903. Shortly Dr. Morris W. Traverse also stressed the importance of such an institution. Lord Sydenham took the initiative and appealed to the generous citizens of Bombay. Sir Cowasji Jehangir Readymoney⁴ the pioneered the project by donating Rs. 3.25 lakhs for the building of the Institute and Rs. 4.75 lakhs for a public hall, which is still known after him. Sir Jacob Sassoon made another magnificent donation of Rs. 10 lakhs, while Sir Currimbhoy Ibrahim generously donated Rs. 4.50 lakhs.⁵ A total of Rs. 25 lakhs including Rs. 5 lakhs by the Government of Bombay were collected for the building of the Institute. The foundation stone was laid by Lord Sydenham on 5 April 1911. King George V was pleased to allow the word 'Royal' to be associated with the name of the Institute. The building was completed in 1915. But it was requisitioned by Government for the Gerard Freeman Thomas Hospitals, in memory of the son of Lord Willingdon who was killed in the First World War. Even after cessation of the War, the building was not allowed to be used for its legitimate purpose. It was on 27 March 1920 that the Governor of Bombay, Leslie Wilson formally inaugurated the Royal Institute of Science and the Cowasji Jehangir Hall.⁶ Since then this premier Institute in India has contributed immensely in various fields of scientific research, and some of the scientists produced by it have adorned honourable seats in the Indian Science Congress. It was after Independence that it was renamed as Institute of Science.

With the increasing interest in social service, there was a keenly felt need for professional education of social workers in Bombay. The Sir Dorabji Tata Trust in keeping with its rich traditions, came forward, and founded the Sir Sorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work in

³ University of Bombay, *Centenary Souvenir*, p. 160.

⁴ He was called "Readymoney" because he was always ready to give money in charity.

⁵ Of this fund, one lakh rupees were reserved for endowment of scholarships for Muslim students of the Institute.

⁶ University of Bombay, *Centenary Souvenir*, 1957.

1936 which was renamed as *Tata Institute of Social Sciences* in 1944.¹ The Institute is recognised to guide students for Ph.D. degree of the Bombay University.

The Mumbai Marathi Grantha Sangrahalaya, established in 1898,² has been rendering excellent reading and research facilities to citizens of Bombay. It has had the benefit of guidance of eminent public men like M. G. Ranade, Bhalchandra Bhatavadekar, Lokamanya Tilak, M. R. Jayakar, P. B. Gajendragadkar and S. K. Patil and eminent scholars like P. V. Kane, A. K. Priolkar, N. R. Phatak, P. M. Joshi and K. P. Kulkarni. The Marathi Samshodhan Mandal was established as its wing in 1948.

The Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society is one of the most distinguished institutions of its type in India. The names of several distinguished scholars of Bombay are connected with it. They included Bhau Daji Lad, Telang, V. N. Mandlik, R. G. Bhandarkar, Bhagwanlal Indraji, Jadunath Sarkar, P. V. Kane, Erskine Perry, John Wilson, James Mackintosh, James Campbell, Dr. Buist, Dr. Bird, John Malcolm, Maneckji Cursetji, Prof. Orlebar, Malcolmson, Carter, Dr. Lisboa, Buhler, Peterson, Dr. Gerson da Cunha, George Grierson, John Marshall, Ganganath Jha, Prof. Thomas, V. S. Sukthankar and many others.³ The Bombay Literary Society owed its origin in 1804 to James Mackintosh. It was in 1825 that the Royal Asiatic Society of London was founded which adopted the Bombay Society as its child. The latter was made an integral part of the former under the appellation of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1829. It received gifts of money and books from princely Bombay men like Jagannath Shankarshet, Cowasji Jehangir Readymoney and Premchand Raichand. It now functions as a central library.⁴

The Bombay Historical Society, established in 1925, has done a good deal of work relating to research in Indian history, epigraphy, archaeology, numismatics and allied subjects, more particularly on Bombay and Western India. It is functioning in association with the Prince of Wales Museum.⁵

The Gujarat Research Society at Khar was founded in 1936 for promotion and co-ordination of research in all branches of knowledge, particularly with reference to Gujarat.⁶ *The Indian Historical Research Institute* of the St. Xavier's College founded in about 1925, maintains a historical and archaeological museum and rare books and manuscripts.

¹ Ibid., p. 169.

² Ibid., p. 150.

³ A. D. Pusalker and V. G. Dighe, *Bombay—Story of the Island City* (Bombay, 1949).

⁴ Details can be seen in Chapter 18 of this *Gazetteer*.

⁵ Pusalker and Dighe, op. cit.

⁶ See Chapter 18 for details.

and an excellent reference library. It was founded by Father Heras. *The Islamic Research Association* was founded on 1 February 1933 for encouragement of Islamic culture, religion, history, literature and biography. It has published several volumes on history, religion, etc.

The K. R. Cama Oriental Institute inaugurated on 18 December 1916, was founded in memory of the late Kharshedji Rastamji Cama,¹ the pioneer of the *Avesta* Studies on Western lines. The Institute is equipped with a good library of oriental literature and has always encouraged oriental studies.

The Prince of Wales Museum of Western India was established under Bombay Act No. III of 1909 in commemoration of the visit of Prince of Wales (later King George V) to Bombay in 1905. The magnificent building and galleries were raised through munificent donations by Currimbhoy Ibrahim, Cowasji Jehangir, Ratan Tata, Dorabji Tata, etc. The building, on completion in 1914, was allowed to be used as a war hospital during the First World War, after which the Museum comprising three main sections—Art, Archaeology and Natural History was opened to the public in 1922.² The exhibits include a rich varied collection including the loan collections of the Royal Asiatic Society, specimens lent by the Bombay Natural History Society, the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute and several hoards from public institutions and individuals.

The Victoria and Albert Museum, now known as Dr. Bhau Daji Lad Museum, was founded in 1858 and finally housed in the Victoria Gardens, where it was inaugurated on 22 May 1872. Its ownership was transferred to the Bombay Municipality from 1 October 1885. The Museum stands testimony to the pioneering zeal of Dr. Bhau Daji.

COMMUNAL UPHEAVALS

In Bombay in the eighteenth century, majority of the communities became aware of the necessity to reorganise themselves so as to enable them to present a united front on questions relating to them. There was also a movement for internal reforms to loosen the shackles of conservatism and ostracism. However, there was an increasing tension between the communities. Traditional enmities, such as those between Parsis and Muslims, flared into large-scale rioting in 1851 and 1874. The Parsis very often referred to the alleged favouritism of Hindus by Government in the matter of employment.³

There was an unprecedented awareness of education in several communities, particularly the Parsis and Hindus, in those days. In 1842

¹ A. D. Pusalker and V. G. Dighe, op. cit.

² Ibid.

³ D. Framjee Karaka, *The Parsees : Their History, Manners, Customs and Religion* (London, 1858), p. 38.

Sir Jamshetji Jijibhai established a fund which evolved into the Sir Jamshetji Jijibhai Parsi Benevolent Institution for education of the Parsis in Bombay and Gujarat.¹ B. M. Malabari was one of the champions of education and regeneration of cultural heritage of the Parsis. Jamshetji Jijibhai, the first Baronet, upheld the interests of his community till his death. The succeeding second Sir Jamshetji Jijibhai was rather unconcerned about social involvement. The other enlightened Parsis of the day who took great interest in community advancement included Sorabji Jamshetji, N. M. Wadia, K. N. Kabraji, D. M. Petit, M. F. Pandey, H. H. Sethna and K. F. Parekh.

Riots broke out in the city between Parsis and Muslims in 1851. "An article written by a Parsi Youth on Prophet of Arabia gave umbrage to the Muslims. At a meeting held on 7 October 1851, they proclaimed a *jihad* (holy war) against the Parsis. They overwhelmed the small police force on duty and marched triumphantly to the Parsi quarters of the Bombay town. The Parsis were 'belaboured mercilessly by the rioters'. 'For weeks together that part of Bombay was a scene of pillage and destruction, and the Parsis had to put up with shocking atrocities such as defilement of corpses.' Throughout the trouble, the Parsi community failed to secure any police protection."²

In February 1874 similar riots broke out in Bombay between Parsis and Muslims. An objectionable reference to the Prophet in a publication by a Parsi gave rise to the unfortunate episode. The publication was suppressed by Government, and the Governor of Bombay, Sir Philip E. Wodehouse (1872-1877) laid the blame for the riot on the Parsis. The Muslims "invaded Parsi places of worship, tore up the prayer-books, extinguished the sacred fires and subjected the fire-temples to various indignities. Parsis were attacked in the streets and in their houses, and free fights took place all over the city Considerable loss of life and damage to property were caused."³ The riot continued for several days till the military was called out.

Both Pherozeshah Mehta and Dadabhai Naoroji, who were eye-witnesses and who could not be accused of having any special animosity against the Muslims or the Government, laid emphasis on the callousness of the police and the indifference of the Government. The attitude of the Commissioner of Police was particularly hostile and objectionable. Even the Governor advised a Parsi deputation, that waited on him, to make its peace with the Muhammedans and to learn the lesson of defending itself without dependence on the authorities.⁴

¹ Ibid., pp. 285-88.

² R. C. Majumdar (ed.), *History of the Freedom Movement in India*, Vol. I, p. 493.

³ Homi Mody, op. cit., pp. 81-88.

⁴ Ibid.

It is noteworthy that but for the question of riots, the Parsi leadership in the seventies was far from united. In 1877 they were divided on the issue of leadership of the community when it was proposed by Pherozeshah Mehta that the third Jamshetji Jijibhai should be formally acknowledged as the head of the Bombay Parsis. Although the intelligentsia rallied behind Mehta, 600 eminent Parsis met on 25 July 1877 under the chairmanship of K. N. Cama to oppose the above proposition. On 29 July 1877, 5,000 Parsis with F. N. Patel, Pherozeshah, S. S. Bengali, Cowasji Jehangir Readymoney, H. N. Saklatwala, Naoroji Furdunji and H. D. Pleader met in Bombay, and resolved that the present Sir Jamshetji should act in concert with the trustees of the Parsi Panchayat, as also the heads and leaders of the community, and enjoy the position of a president.¹

The Pathare Prabhus, among the Marathi speaking communities, were also aware of the need for community reforms. The Pathare Reform Association was founded by Moroba Kanoba and Nana Moroji in 1863 for helping persons from the caste and fighting a crusade for widow remarriage. However, the Association could not rise to expectations till revival. It was in 1879 that the caste managed to put its affairs on a more regular footing.²

In 1876 the Chandraseniya Kayastha Prabhus of Bombay organised themselves to raise funds for improvement of their educational and social condition. The Panchkalshis, a prosperous old caste of Bombay, but depressed to the level of carpenters due to the loss of their land to the Portuguese, also were awakened to raise their status by education. They preferred to call themselves Somavanshi Kshatriyas, and introduced many reforms in marriage and other rituals. In 1884, they founded the Kshatriya Union Club for the cause of education and care of the poor.

The Sonars under the able leadership of Jagannath Shankarshet's son Vinayakrao founded the Daivadnya Dnatiya Association for welfare of the community.³ The Daivadnya Caste Charitable Fund was organised for monetary assistance to kinsmen in marriages and education. It published its own newspaper, the *Daivadnya Samachar*.

The first Brahmin Club in Bombay was established in about 1890. This was followed by clubs and conferences of Saraswats, Prabhus and Shimpis.⁴ Mahatma Phule opened a branch of the Satya Shodhak Samaj in Bombay in 1874. The Hindu Gujaratis established the Gujarati Social Union in 1879, while the Jain Association was formed in 1882 in Bombay. The coming of the Jesuits encouraged foundation of many

¹ *Times of India*, 31 July 1877.

² Christine Dobbin, op. cit., p. 225.

³ *Times of India Directory*, 1869.

⁴ Christine Dobbin, op. cit., p. 226.

schools. The St. Xavier's College started by them in 1869 was an important addition to Bombay.

Bombay owed a lot to Kamruddin Tyabji and Badruddin Tyabji. The former was the city's first Muslim solicitor, while the latter was the first Muslim barrister. The Tyabji brothers promoted the cause of Muslim education and social reforms. They were joined in their endeavours by Mahomed Ali Roghay, a very rich man from the ship-building family, and a great liberal. Roghay's interest in Syed Ahmad Khan brought him into contact with Ghulam Muhammad Munshi. At the latter's suggestion Roghay consulted the two Tyabjis, and in March 1876 the Anjuman-i-Islam of Bombay was established,¹ under presidency of Kamruddin Tyabji. R.M. Sayani,² Badruddin and a group of Khojas were among the founder members, besides the three mentioned above. The Anjuman aimed at amelioration of the Muslims, and at improvement in their educational and social condition. As per the *Times of India* (2 October 1876) Muslims of Bombay had no real identity as they were far from united. The Anjuman opened the Anjuman-i-Islam school for English education through Urdu medium in September 1880.³ The Tyabjis did a great deal in regard to Muslim education and unity, although their position was never undisputed. One Dr. Kassim, trained in the Grant Medical College as a surgeon, was their great critic. He was instrumental in foundation of the Bombay National Mahommedan Association in April 1882, as a rival body for Muslim welfare.⁴ It was, however, soon realised that the Muslims languished behind other communities in education, employment and material progress. This feeling was aired before the Education Commission (1882) by Badruddin Tyabji and Sayani. It was admitted by the Bombay Government also that there was an exceedingly small proportion of Muslims in the public service.⁵

On behalf of the Anjuman the Tyabji brothers drew up a memorial on 25 April 1885, on the question of Muslim education and employment. It demanded a share for Muslims in proportion to their population. After considering the pros and cons the Muslims were guaranteed a number of free studentships in Government high schools. The number of free studentships available to advanced classes, viz. Brahmins, Parsis and Europeans was curtailed. This measure came in for criticism by these classes and the press.

¹ *Times of India*, 27 May 1876.

² Sayani was the only Khoja pleader in Bombay in 1870s, and was a member of Government Commission on Laws relating to Khojas.

³ Christine Dobbin, op. cit., p. 236.

⁴ Ibid., p. 239.

⁵ Ibid., p. 242.

Meanwhile, despite the personal differences of the past and the political differences heralded by the founding of the Congress, the Muslims of Bombay appeared to have moved closer together for communal purposes in the 1880.¹

DAWN OF CONGRESS

The entire history of the struggle for freedom and the mass political mobilisation in India is intimately connected with the Indian National Congress. The foundation of the Congress was one of the most important political events in the later nineteenth century. It soon became recognised as the symbol of nationalism in this country. "Few other nationalist organisations in Africa and Asia can match the long history of the Indian National Congress, or rival its political sophistication, and even fewer have survived so successfully the ending of the imperial rule. Almost everything about the Congress is remarkable, and yet it did not spring into existence by chance. It emerged within a particular constitutional context and it was this that determined the form the Congress took and ensured its ultimate pre-eminence in Indian Politics."²

A study of the Congress is central to any understanding of the political history of Bombay as also of India after 1885. The Congress, in the initial stages, found a congenial home in Bombay and Poona. At least for the first about 40 years of the organisation's history many of its most important leaders and constant supporters came from Bombay city and Poona. The politicians from these two cities provided the core of national leadership.

Whatever might be the genesis of the Congress, the credit of organising it rightly or wrongly goes to Allan Octavian Hume, a retired I.C.S. Officer, who "was deeply impressed by the general discontent in India threatening imminent danger to the Government."³ He discussed his plans with many leaders of Pune and Bombay, such as Justice M. G. Ranade, Dadabhai Naoroji, Pherozeshah Mehta, K. T. Telang and Badruddin Tyabji. The ball was set rolling, and the culminating point was that the Indian National Union decided in March 1885, to hold a conference at Pune from 25 to 31 December, and immediately a circular letter was sent all over. Pune was considered the most central and suitable venue, and accordingly the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha forming a reception committee made extensive preparations. The place selected was Peshwe Park at the foot of Parvati hill. However, the venue of the first Congress was shifted at the eleventh hour to Bombay on account of the outbreak of cholera epidemic in Pune.

¹ Christine Dobbin, op. cit., p. 246.

² Gordon Johnson, *Provincial Politics and Indian Nationalism: Bombay and the Indian National Congress, 1880-1915* (Cambridge University Press, 1973), pp. 5-6.

³ R. C. Majumdar, *History of the Freedom Movement in India*, Vol. I, p. 389.

The Bombay Presidency Association came to the rescue and promptly shouldered the responsibility of the first historical meeting of the Congress. The Association convened the meeting in concert with the Sarvajanic Sabha. The trustees of the Goculdas Tejpal Sanskrit College and Boarding Trust, Telang being one of them, placed the grand building above the Gowalia Tank at the disposal of the Bombay Presidency Association and also supervised the furnishing and lighting of these large premises on behalf of the Association who played a host. The Representatives began to arrive in the morning of 27 December, by which time preparations were complete.

It is noteworthy that Europeans like Sir W. Wedderburn, Justice Jardine, Colonel Phelps and Prof. Wordsworth¹ and several leading citizens of Bombay welcomed the Representatives and expressed their sympathy with the endeavour, and participated in the Congress.

The first meeting took place on 28 December 1885. Very close on 100 gentlemen attended, but a considerable number of them being Government servants like M. G. Ranade (Member of the Legislative Council and Small Cause Court Judge of Poona), Prof. R. G. Bhandarkar (Deccan College), Mr. D. S. White (Eurasian Association), R. Raghunath Rao (Collector of Madras), Lalla Baijnath (Agra), Prof. A. V. Kattawate (Ahmedabad), Prof. Kadambi Sundararaman and Mr. T. N. Iyer, did not participate in the political discussions, although they gave some advice. The number of active participants was 72.²

The worthy speakers on the grand occasion included Dadabhai Naoroji, Hume, W. C. Bannerjee (who was elected president), K. T. Telang, Subrahmanya Aiyar, Pherozeshah and Wacha. Dadabhai made a strong plea for the transfer of the actual Government of India from England to India under the simple controlling power of the Parliament and Secretary of State. He also made a plea that the whole power of taxation and Legislation be transferred to representative councils in India, with full financial control and interpellary powers. Pherozeshah's share in the proceedings was not inconsiderable.³

"The Congress was the culmination of much that had been hoped for by the Bombay intelligentsia, and, of the 17 delegates sent by the city, only one, Tribhovandas Mangaldas Nathubhai, had any connection with shetia-dom. The delegates consisted of 7 Parsis, 5 Maratha Hindus, 3 Gujarati Hindus and 2 Muslims, and comprised nearly all the names—Telang, Mehta, Wacha, Sayani, Wagle, Malabari, Yajnik and Dadabhai Naoroji—prominent in Bombay politics over the past decades. Of the 17,

¹ Principal of Elphinstone College.

² *Source Material for a History of Freedom Movement, 1885-1920*, Vol. II (Government of Bombay, Bombay, 1958), p. 14.

³ Homi Mody, op. cit., p. 104.

11 were in some way connected with the legal profession Paradoxically, although they had still not captured their own city, they had been able to unite to capture the Indian political leadership of the country."⁴

The delegates were mostly lawyers, school teachers, newspaper editors and others who represented the intellectual power of India. They demanded political power and political changes giving an increased share to natives in the governance of this country. The Indian Council came in for wrath, while a Standing Committee of Parliament was demanded in place of the former. There was an expression of patriotic feelings, but a tone of loyalty to the British Crown pervaded all proceedings. The Queen Empress was applauded, and the beneficial effects of British rule, such as, education, law and order and material benefits were mentioned with gratitude.

In an editorial on the Congress, the *Times*⁵ (of London) observed that Bombay had been making a noteworthy effort to substantiate its claim to be a leading city of India. It was at Bombay that India had given proof of national spirit for the first time. The Congress was not satisfied with the slender political power which the natives of India possessed. It demanded a larger share in the deliberative and executive functions of Government. The memory of Lord Ripon's administration was still held in honour in Bombay. The Congress was in favour of a Royal Commission of Inquiry into the working of the Indian administration. The delegates had sketched a scheme of reforms,⁶ which included, (i) abolition of the Indian Council; (ii) constitution of a Standing Committee of the House of Commons; (iii) the Supreme Legislative Council and Provincial Councils in India to be expanded with more elected members; (iv) the examination for the Indian Civil Service (I.C.S.) should be held simultaneously in England and India by removing the disabilities imposed on natives; (v) military expenditure to be reduced; (vi) customs duty to be reimposed, etc.⁴

The *Times* observed that every important political society in India sent its delegates to Bombay, but no Mahomedan took any part in the proceedings, and that the question of social reforms was not even touched. K. T. Telang, one of the secretaries of the Congress, however, had made it clear that two leading Muslim leaders, viz., R. M. Sayani and A. M. Dharamsi did attend the Congress. Both of them were graduates of the University and attorneys of standing at the Bombay High Court. Sayani was the Sheriff of Bombay the previous year, and was appointed by

⁵ Christine Dobbin, op. cit., pp. 215-16.

⁶ The *Times*, London, cf., *Source Material for a History of Freedom Movement*, Vol. II, pp. 18-21.

⁷ This was to be put up before the Royal Commission.

⁸ The *Times* disapproved most of the demands, and sarcastically opined, "If India can govern itself, our stay in the country is no longer called for."

Government as a member of the Khoja Law Commission. He was also a member of the Municipal Corporation and Town Council of Bombay for many years. Mr. Dharamsi was also a member of the Bombay Municipal Corporation. The Tyabji brothers who were important office bearers of the Bombay Presidency Association could not attend because they were out of station. Telang further observed that the main object of the Congress was a political one. Hence the question of social reforms was allowed to be raised on the third day of the meeting when Diwan Bahadur Raghunath Rao and M. G. Ranade gave eloquent addresses on social questions.¹

The main result of the first session was that it quickened the political consciousness of the people. The Resolutions passed by it were widely circulated and discussed by the local political associations. The newspapers also heartily welcomed the new organisation as the most powerful organ of Indian political opinion.

The Congress was always in need of money, and it was to Bombay that other Indian politicians looked to provide it. In the initial stages the largest contributions often came from the Parsis, such as D. M. Petit, although Gujarati rich persons like Varjivandas Madhavdas were also persuaded to donate. However, the city politicians occasionally resented the burden of fund collections. In June 1889 D. E. Wacha reported to Dadabhai Naoroji: "Pherozeshah and Telang flatly say they cannot dance attendance on the rich and influential."² The founding of the Congress also created other strains in Bombay. The political leaders of the Parsis and Muslims, who had worked together with other groups in Bombay in the past, now split among themselves over the wisdom of supporting the Congress movement.³

The second session of the Congress was held in Calcutta in December 1886 under the presidency of a Bombay luminary, Dadabhai Naoroji. Bombay was represented by Pherozeshah, N. G. Chandavarkar, Dadabhai Naoroji and many others. The third session, held at Madras in 1887, was also presided over by an eminent Bombay leader, Badruddin Tyabji.

Thereafter the sessions of the Congress became regular annual events. The objective of this study is, however, limited to the political history of Greater Bombay. Hence the scope of narration of Congress activities in the following pages is limited to the sessions of the Congress in Bombay, and the political activities of the city politicians. The narration is focused mainly to the association of Bombay politicians with the national movement, and their role in the Indian politics.

¹ K. T. Telang's letter, dated 9th March 1886 to the *Times*, cf., *Source Material for a History of Freedom Movement*, Vol. II, pp. 22-23.

² *Dadabhai Naoroji MSS, file I: Wacha to Dadabhai*, cf. Christine Dobbin, op. cit.

³ Ibid.

The Bombay politicians provided the core of national leadership. The reasons are obvious. They were the beneficiary of liberal Western education, and came closely in contact with British institutions and political thought. Their literate occupations and business interests also brought them into contact with the day-to-day working of the Government and the European Community. Naturally they were tempted to politics. It is noteworthy that 22 of the 39 non-official members of the legislature who held office between 1893 and 1899 habitually lived in Bombay city itself. Many of them represented mofussil interests on the Council and were proposed by constituencies in the districts. The rules for election to the Council laid down a minimum qualification for members of the Council based on property. Thus, many men who usually lived in Bombay were able to use the fact of holding some property outside as a circumstance qualifying them for election from that district. The Bombay Government had also observed that a flexible interpretation of the rule about ownership of property "gives perhaps undue weight to residents of Bombay, (but) it is difficult to interpret the rule more strictly without excluding some most valuable candidates. While a stricter interpretation might ensure a more exact representation of local interests. . . . it would certainly entail a lower standard of intelligence and education among the candidates for election by bodies outside the city of Bombay."¹ Most of the native legislators were lawyers from the city and a few from Poona.

The Bombay politicians expressed their demands through the Bombay Presidency Association, the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha and the Congress. The demands related mainly to the following issues: (i) reform of the Legislative Councils in India to include more natives, (ii) reform of the civil service so as to enable Indians an easier entry into Government, (iii) reform of judicial administration on lines of English law, (iv) abrogation of discriminatory racial legislation, (v) economic development, and (vi) changes in taxation laws. For example, K. T. Telang moved a resolution in the 1885 Congress session recommending reform of the Legislative Councils. This proposal was repeated in some form or the other every year until 1894, and intermittently for many years later on. Another example, Dadabhai Naoroji told the 1885 Congress in Bombay that increased Indianisation of the administration was the most important key to our advancement. This feeling was echoed in various public meetings in the city.

Bombay men attained prominence in the upper ranks of the judiciary also. Telang, Tyabji, Chandavarkar and Ranade, all sat on the bench of the Bombay High Court, and were highly respected by Indians and the English alike. They were also deeply concerned about the poverty of India. Naoroji's economic essays exercised an overwhelming influence on

¹ *Bombay Legislative Proceedings, 1899*, Vol. 5772, India Office Records.

economic thought in India at the end of the nineteenth century. He formulated the theory of economic drain purporting that Indian poverty was mainly due to a drain of wealth to England.¹ He left for England in 1886 for contesting election to the British Parliament. But he was defeated in the election. He was later on elected to the Parliament in 1892,² and was the first Indian Member in the British Parliament.

The Bombay Presidency Association had taken over from all earlier political clubs in Bombay. Many of its leaders made Congress politics their life's work. They considered that control of the Congress was of vital importance. Dinshaw Edulji Wacha was the secretary of the Congress from 1895 to 1913. He acted practically in every capacity on behalf of the more powerful patrons of the organisation in Bombay.³ During the more important years 1903-08 Gopal Krishna Gokhale was appointed as an additional joint secretary.⁴ He was succeeded by D. A. Khare in 1908, who helped Wacha in paper-work. "All three of these men were members of the Bombay Presidency Association, and it is to this association that we must look for the hard core of Congress leadership during this period. When the leadership of Gokhale and Pherozeshah Mehta came under attack between 1904 and 1908, the Bombay Presidency Association's hold over such formal Congress organisation as existed was to prove a decisive advantage."⁵

Bombay was honoured again as a venue of the fifth session of the Congress in December 1889, although Poona had shown considerable interest. A consideration of the relative merits of Poona and Bombay went in favour of the latter city. The session proved to be the most memorable gathering of the "unconventional conventions" that had yet taken place. Very few Congress sessions indeed have surpassed it in brilliance.⁶ Sir William Wedderburn, who had retired from service two years ago, and was loved and honoured by all, was the president of the session.⁷ Charles Bradlaugh, a sympathiser of the Indian national movement, had graced the occasion. His magnetic eloquence had thrilled audiences in England. He took keen interest in Indian questions. His object in visiting India (on the occasion of the 1889 session) was to

¹ R. P. Masani, *Dadabhai Naoroji: The Grand Old Man of India* (Kavyalaya Publishers, Mysore, 1957).

² Homi Mody, op. cit., p. 153.

³ Gordon Johnson, op. cit., p. 43.

⁴ Hume retired permanently to England in 1892 and the main burden fell on the joint secretary.

⁵ Gordon Johnson, op. cit., p. 43.

⁶ Homi Mody, op. cit., 134.

⁷ Glowing tributes were paid to him at the time of his retirement from office, by the leaders of public opinion in Bombay at the Town Hall. The same feelings found expression on the occasion of the 1889 session.

ascertain personally the maturity of views of the educated Indians on certain points in his Bill for the reforms of the Legislative Councils in India. The presence of Sir Wedderburn and Mr. Bradlaugh, who had come from England, was regarded as a further stimulus to the Indian cause. "No Englishman living is more trusted or more respected throughout India than Sir William Wedderburn, and the news that he had consented to come out to India to preside over the assembly, undoubtedly gave a further stimulus to the country."¹

It was a great assembly with 1,248 delegates² who represented about three million people in India who had taken a direct part in the election. The delegates included representatives of the Sarvajanik Sabhas of Poona, Satara, Ahmadnagar, Wai and Berar as well as other bodies in Belgaum, Surat, Broach, Nagpur, Nadiad, Thana, Vasai, Ratnagiri, Ahmedabad and Bombay. There were even delegates from the caste associations in Bombay.³

A very large and picturesque structure was erected on a site at Byculla belonging to Sir Albert Sassoon,⁴ and next to his grand mansion, the "Sans-Souci", to accommodate the delegates and visitors, who numbered nearly 6,000.⁵ The burden of making arrangements on the occasion was shouldered by Dinshaw Wacha, the secretary of the Reception Committee. His untiring efforts to promote the success of the Bombay session were later on appreciated by the Reception Committee. Pherozeshah was the chairman of the Reception Committee. Mr. Bradlaugh was charmed at the magnificent deliverance and eloquence of Pherozeshah. Many others like D. A. Khare and Motilal M. Munshi, also from Bombay, really did exert themselves.

The Bombay gathering in the quaint picturesque hall represented all the multitudinous clans and peoples of India. A considerable section of Europeans attended. Not less than 10 lady delegates graced the assembly, one elected by men at a public meeting and the others by various ladies associations.⁶ They included European and native Christians, a Parsi, an orthodox Hindu, and three Brahmo-Samaj ladies. Pandita Ramabai Ranade was one of the most distinguished persons in the assembly, and was known for her ardent services, well-known not only in India but also in Europe and America.⁷

Although open opposition had ceased, a considerable section of the European officials and police were still credited by the people with a secret

¹ *Source Material for a History of Freedom Movement*, Vol. II, pp. 92-93.

² There were 1889 delegates according to Homi Mody, op. cit.

³ J. Masselos, op. cit., p. 244.

⁴ He was head of the Jews in India.

⁵ Homi Mody, op. cit., p. 135.

⁶ *Official Reports of the Congress Sessions*.

⁷ Ibid.

hostility towards the Congress. There was, however, no opposition from them.

Pherozezshah addressed the session with the best exhibition of his gifts of oratory, full of sarcasm, banter and ridicule of opponents. It gave a vindication of loyalty to the Government and of inflexible national spirit. The policy of the Congress was seditious, but conservative of public welfare and dignity of the Crown. The Congress was credited with the growth of the national idea among the people, and with the initiation of a series of reforms. Pherozezshah dealt with the opposition to the Congress which had culminated in the formation of the Anti-Congress United Patriotic Association.¹ The speech was well received and appreciated. The newspapers spoke of it as an eloquent and vigorous pronouncement.

Two incidents in this memorable Congress are worth mentioning. One was an address to Mr. Bradlaugh, which was in the nature of a resolution moved by Pherozezshah on the second day of the session. It was presented in the Congress Hall attended by Europeans and Indians. Mr. Bradlaugh's speech appealed and won the audience. He encouraged them to persevere ceaselessly. A resolution was passed to collect a sum of Rs. 45,000 for the expenses of Congress work in India and England.² A handsome collection was made instantly. A Congress deputation was also appointed to represent in England the Congress opinion on political reforms. Five members of the deputation to England, Surendranath Bannerji, R. N. Mudholkar, W. C. Bannerji, Norton and Hume, went and addressed a large public meeting and many private meetings, and rendered a useful service to the Indian cause.³

The Congress of 1889 thus proved an unqualified success from every point of view.⁴

Pherozezshah was chosen president of the Calcutta Congress held from 26 to 30 December 1890. His devotion to public movements, oratorical excellence, generosity and towering personality, elevated him to the presidency. His election was greeted by the public of Bombay and the press.

In 1889, the Parsis of Bombay mounted an attack on the Congress. They, however, did not get a following outside. The editor of the *Rast Gofar*, K. N. Kabraji, once a staunch member of Young Bombay, had organised the attack. His opposition was partly due to an apprehension of Government disapproval of Congress, and partly due to strained relationship with Pherozezshah. However, Parsis attended the 1889

¹ Homi Mody, op. cit., p. 136.

² Ibid, p. 139.

³ Others on the deputation were Pherozezshah, George Yule, Adam, Manmohan Ghosh, Sharfuddin and J. E. Howard.

⁴ Homi Mody, op. cit., p. 139.

Bombay session five times more than the earlier sessions, although they were apathetic. The non-Brahmins of Bombay and Pune had also organised a movement against Congress in 1889 on the ground that it was the monopoly of Brahmins. The *Din Bandhu* (founded in 1871) and the *Din Bandhu Sarvajanic Sabha* under N. M. Lokhande launched the attack. An anti-Congress petition was circulated, and a series of meetings were organised. But their petition did not succeed.

The Ripon Club, founded by Pherozezshah in 1885 for social and semi-political objects, occupied a distinctive place among the social institutions of the day in Bombay.

It appears that some of the chiefs of Native States had subscribed to the Reception Committee of the Congress of 1889. Some of them had contributed out of fear that their mis-government might be exposed. The British Government had always discouraged the chiefs from spending State money on philanthropic schemes outside their own territories. Even contributions from personal private funds by the chiefs were looked with hostility.¹

Pherozezshah's presidential speech in the 1890 session at Calcutta "was a sober, eminently practical and refreshingly vigorous presentment of the Congress cause".² He pledged support of the Parsis to the national cause. The question of reforms of Legislative Councils was also dealt with. The *Bombay Gazette* observed that Bombay by providing a president had contributed something of its own spirit to the assembly.

On 12 April 1890, Lord Reay handed over the reins of governorship of Bombay to Lord Harris. This event was regretted in Bombay whose fortunes he had guided with ability and a high sense of duty. He was instrumental in giving to the city the charter of local self-government, measures of technical education and a spirit of progress. The Bombay Presidency Association, hence gave a worthy send off to him.³

Developments in Bombay City : It may be interesting to refer here to the enactment of the Bombay Municipal Act of 1888. The Bill was introduced in the Legislative Council in July 1887. It was drafted mainly by the Legal Remembrancer (Mr. Naylor) and the Municipal Commissioner (Charles Ollivant). The only Indian of outstanding merit in the Council at the time was Mr. Telang. Lord Reay appointed Pherozezshah as additional member of the Legislative Council which position he held from 1887 to 1893. In its original form the Bill was retrograde as it sought to enlarge the authority of the Commissioner at the expense of the Corporation, and as it reserved to Government wide powers of initiative and interference in civic matters. It was referred to the select committee

¹ P. D. Volume 212 of 1889.

² Homi Mody, op. cit., p. 141.

³ Ibid., p. 148.

which comprised Pherozeshah and Telang, beside high officials. Dinshaw Wacha helped Pherozeshah in this process, the latter's performance being excellent.¹ The strenuous efforts of Pherozeshah and Telang, backed by Frank Forbes Adam, helped removing many drawbacks in the Bill. Lord Reay's fair attitude also contributed to enactment of the Bombay Municipal Act of 1888. The Act fulfilled the cherished desires of Telang and other Bombay men. In the Legislative Council, Lord Reay paid tributes to Pherozeshah and Telang who laboured for five years to give Bombay a pure and progressive charter of local self-government. It is remarkable that while the Bombay luminaries deserve the credit for the charter, the liberalism of Lord Reay was equally responsible for the same. He set a liberal tone to the Council, and the debates throughout maintained a high level of ability, moderation and good sense.² This piece of legislation gave Bombay an "inestimable boon of a sound and progressive municipal administration, which has been regarded as a model for the whole country."³ As observed by the Duke of Connaught, the municipal constitution of Bombay "bears the indelible mark of genius impressed upon it by the late Sir Pherozeshah Mehta".

After his tenure in the Legislative Council (1887-93), he was elected to the Viceroy's Legislative Council in 1893. He strongly opposed the Police Bill in the Council in 1895, which elevated his public position immensely.

Arthur Crawford inquiry of 1889 was one of the notable events of Lord Reay's regime. The dominating and dynamic officer, after his brilliant but extravagant administration of Bombay as Municipal Commissioner, was, at the time of his tragic downfall, the Commissioner of a Division. It was during this tenure that an unparalleled corruption prevailed, which amounted to a public scandal. He developed a widespread network of graft and bribery involving local officers. There was a furore all over; which led to the appointment of a Commission of Enquiry by Lord Reay in 1889. Although Arthur Crawford was adjudged not guilty of the specific charges levelled against him, the Commission held that grave irregularities had been committed during his regime. He had, therefore, to resign from service.

This created a furious campaign of vilification and misrepresentation against Lord Reay's Government among the organs of bureaucracy. The note written by the Inspector-General of Police who was in charge of the case, excited the Parsi community. The incident was cleverly manipulated by the opponents of Lord Reay's Government. Pherozeshah

¹ For deeper study, readers may refer to Dinshaw Wacha's graphic history of municipal institutions in his *Rise and Growth of Bombay Municipal Government*, 1913.

² Homi Mody, op. cit., p. 113.

³ Ibid., p. 114.

played a dominating role in persuading the Parsis to abstain from agitation. The episode did, however, a considerable damage to the political life in Bombay.

The Governorship of Lord Reay (1886-90) was characterised by many beneficial developments in Bombay. Besides the charter of local self-government, a good deal of urban improvement and street widening was executed. There was a considerable expansion of education. The Acworth Leprosy Hospital, named after the then Municipal Commissioner, was established in 1890.¹ The Joint Schools Committee was founded for mass education. The Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute, one of the pioneers in the field, was founded in 1887. Much good work was accomplished in the matter of communication, education, medical facilities and sanitation in the city.²

The Jubilee celebration in honour of Queen Victoria's reign was celebrated in 1887 at Bombay under Lord Reay. The Victoria Terminus of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway, a colossal monument of Gothic architecture, which is one of the finest stations in the world from the architectural point of view, was completed in 1888 at a cost of Rs. 16,35,562. On the Jubilee Day 1887, the building was named in honour of Queen Victoria. The station proper was erected and opened earlier on 1 January 1882. The foundation stone of the St. George Hospital was laid by Lord Reay in February 1889 on the ruins of the old Fort St. George. It was originally named as the European Hospital, the present name being given by Lord Reay at the time of the foundation. The Government Central Press building which was subsequently occupied by the Elphinstone College, and the Presidency Magistrate's Court on the Esplanade were also commenced during these years. The first sluice of the Victoria Dock was opened by the Governor's wife in February 1888. The Merewether Graving Dock was opened by the subsequent Governor in 1891.³

The philanthropists in the city also came forward with several schemes for public welfare. In January 1888, Sir Dinshaw Petit, an eminent millowner, offered more than a lakh for the construction of a hospital for women and children, as an extension of the J. J. Hospital. He founded a patho-bacteriological laboratory in the veterinary college at Parel, and subscribed handsomely to the foundation of a gymnastic club. The widow of Naoroji Wadia, Bai Motlibai, founded an obstetric hospital within the J. J. Hospital. Framji D. Petit donated nearly a lakh of rupees for the Laboratory in the Grant Medical College. The Albless family constructed the obstetric ward in the Cama Hospital. Mr. Cama,

¹ *Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island*, Vol. II, 1909, p. 186.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid., pp. 187-88.

M. M. Bhavnagari and Dwarkadas Lallubhai also contributed generously for medical facilities, etc.

The great Tansa water-works and two well-known hospitals were opened in 1892 by the Marquis of Lansdowne. Technical schools and orphanages were opened and mills and factories increased before the end of the 19th century. Immense new dock-works had been projected. A number of other projects were also taken up.

The new building of the Elphinstone College was opened by Lord Reay on 4 February 1889.¹ Reay retired as one of the popular Governors of the Presidency. A public meeting was held in the Town Hall on 9 April 1890 for the purpose of arranging to raise a suitable memorial to commemorate the distinguished services of Lord Reay. Badruddin Tyabji and Pherozeshah appreciated the services of the former Governor in the fields of education, local self-government, justice and public comforts.²

Shortly after Lord Reay left India, the relations between the Government and the Municipal Corporation became very strained. The bureaucracy was determined to impose its will on the body which was to be a self-governing institution. The Corporation, led by Pherozeshah and others, however, wanted to guard its independence and dignity. One of the points of dispute was the comparative responsibility of the Government and the Corporation for the cost of primary education in Bombay. The protracted controversy dragged on for 17 years. The dispute was sparked off by a government letter to the Corporation, raising the entire question of their shares in respect of primary education. Under the Act of 1888, primary education was a joint liability, but the manner of sharing the liability was not clarified. The matter was discussed in the Corporation on 17 July 1890, Pherozeshah championing its cause. It was resented that the Government was shifting new burdens without transferring equivalent revenue. Pherozeshah held that Government had done very little for primary education, when the liability was on their shoulders, as was the case upto 1888. Now that it was a joint responsibility, they wanted the Corporation to bear all sorts of burdens. Municipal funds were to be saddled with mounting burden, which the Government never showed any inclination to shoulder. The Corporation was, however, saved from such an uncertain liability mainly because of the determined and skilful fight given by Pherozeshah.³

Another point of dispute between the Government and the Corporation was due to the insistence by the Government that the latter should

¹ C. Y. Chintamani (ed.), *Speeches and Writings of the Honourable Sir Pherozeshah Mehta* (Allahabad 1905), p. 265.

² Ibid., p. 287.

³ Homi Mody, op. cit., pp. 149-150.

provide a hospital for infectious diseases in Bombay, failing which a "bludgeon" clause provided in the Act of 1888, was to be used. It was a threat to the Corporation that the cost of the same would be recovered in a court of law. There was an acute controversy within and outside the municipality, as the dispute also related to the dignity of the local body. A. O. Hume congratulated Pherozeshah for his stand by which the municipality stood firmly. The Corporation represented to the Government of India on this issue. But the Government was very firm about its decision, "and in October 1892, for the first time in local politics, the 'bludgeon' clause was applied, and the Corporation was bullied into submission to a high-handed and indefensible proceeding."¹

Pherozeshah enjoyed a commanding supreme position in the civic Government of the day. The Municipal Commissioners of the day were obliged to convince the 'Lion of Bombay' on any measure contemplated by them, failing which the measure could not be carried through. He, however, never abused the power he had won by sheer force of character, ability and devotion to civic matters.²

Dadabhai Naoroji's election to the British Parliament³ in 1892, was one of the important occasions in the political history of modern India. It was a successful culmination of a seven year war, the opening campaigning of which had taken place in the rooms of the Association in 1885. The Bombay Presidency Association held a public meeting at the Town Hall on 23 July 1892, under the chairmanship of Dinshaw M. Petit, to congratulate the 'Grand Old Man' as the first native of India ever elected to the House of Commons. Lord Harris, the Governor, also expressed his pleasure through a message. The citizens of Bombay, in the meeting, gave "expression to their boundless satisfaction at the success which has crowned his unselfish and devoted exertions for the welfare of this country and which have earned for him the respect, affection, and admiration of the people."⁴ Dadabhai's election was upheld as a means of championing the Indian cause in the House of Commons. It enabled the discussions of the Indian question in the party politics in Great Britain, and a direct appeal to the British electors.

Dadabhai came for a brief spell to India to preside over the Lahore Congress in December 1893. There was a remarkable demonstration at a mass meeting of welcome to him in Bombay by her citizens. The elite of Bombay as also the working class in great multitude, gathered at the time of the Dadabhai's landing on the shores. Dadabhai was welcomed

¹ Homi Mody, op. cit., p. 153.

² Ibid., p. 153.

³ He was elected from the Central Finsbury constituency in England.

⁴ Resolution moved by Pherozeshah Mehta, quoted from *Speeches and Writings of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta*, edited by C. Y. Chintamani.

at Poona the next day in a public meeting organised by Lokmanya Tilak and his friends. Similar receptions were arranged at Lahore and other places on the way, Dinshaw Wacha accompanying him.

The enlargement of the Legislative Councils in 1892 offered the representatives of the people an opportunity to criticise the administration. The first non-official member in all India to be elected to the new Councils was Pherozeshah. He was unanimously chosen by the Corporation, which had been empowered to return one representative. The first meeting of the provincial Legislative Council was held on 27 July 1893 at Pune, the monsoon capital of the Presidency. The other representatives included Ranade, Naoroji N. Wadia and Chimanlal Setalvad. The main questions before the Council were, Government grant to the University, the contribution of the Bombay Corporation to the city police force and separation of judicial from executive functions. The Corporation had to shoulder, under the Act of 1888, three-fourths of the cost of maintaining police in the city. This was ultimately changed in 1907, and the Corporation was spared of the liability of police expenses in return for taking over the full responsibility for primary education and medical relief. This issue is dealt with separately below. The problem of separation of judicial from executive functions, however, remained unsolved.

Justice K. T. Telang passed away on 1 September 1893 which cast a gloom over the city. He belonged to the earliest cadre of brilliant Elphinstonians who had devoted themselves to the advancement and upliftment of their countrymen under the guidance of Dadabhai, and had sowed the first seeds of national awakening. As a scholar, lawyer, judge and politician, he had won equal distinction. A memorial meeting was held in the Town Hall on 6 October under presidentship of the Governor, Lord Harris, which testified to the warm regard and esteem in which Telang was held by all classes of people. His elevation to the Bench when he was less than 40, was a well-deserved recognition of his high character and attainments. His death in the prime of his life was, therefore, a great blow to the Bombay men as also to many Indians.¹

It was on 2 June 1893 that the House of Commons passed a motion to the effect that the open competitive examinations for the I.C.S. be held simultaneously in India and England. This was in fulfilment of the long cherished aspirations of the Bombay elite. A meeting attended by Pherozeshah, Gokhale and J. U. Yajnik, greeted the decision.²

Pherozeshah Mehta was elected to the Imperial Council, also called Viceregal Council, in October 1893, as a representative of the Provincial Legislative Council. The first measure of importance before the Imperial Council was the Cotton Duties Bill introduced in December 1894. In

January 1895 came another important measure before the Council, namely, amendment of the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act of 1879. This was followed by the amendment of the Police Act of 1861, amendment of the Civil Procedure Code, the Cantonments Act of 1889, the question of the restitution of conjugal rights in Hindus, and several other legislative measures. Pherozeshah did splendid work in the Council for which he was highly applauded in Bombay. "All classes of people vied with each other to do honour to one who had come to be regarded as 'the uncrowned King of Bombay'."³ The Ripon Club gave him a public banquet. This was followed by rich tributes to him at the Novelty Theatre, present Excelsior, on 20 April 1895, at the Eighth Provincial Conference held at Belgaum on 4 May 1895 and at the Gaity Theatre on 20 December 1895. The last one mentioned was probably the most remarkable. The Elphinstonians presented him with a massive silver centre-piece which he preserved as a proud possession. The Municipal Corporation passed a worthy resolution congratulating Pherozeshah, and "recorded the great and valuable work done by him for the country and the Empire in manifold directions, and the exemplary self-sacrifice and rectitude of purpose with which he had served the city of Bombay for more than a generation."

It was Lord Curzon who recommended the conferment of the distinction of the title of K.C.I.E. on Pherozeshah in appreciation of the latter's brilliant abilities and eminence. This was particularly noteworthy because he was the most formidable opponent of the great Viceroy, and had waged many a war against the Viceroy on the issues of University reforms and measures of local and national magnitude.

Plague and Riots: The close of the nineteenth century was characterised by the misfortunes of a virulent plague which first appeared in 1896 in a chawl near the Masjid railway bridge. It wrought the greatest havoc upto the dawn of the twentieth century. The year 1897 might be said to have marked the zenith of the city's misfortunes.⁴ It was also the blackest year in the history of India as the country suffered from plague, famine, earthquake, cyclone, sedition and frontier wars. In a single week in 1897, over 10,000 persons fled away from Bombay. The condition of the city resembled that of Constantinople in the sixth century. In 1898 occurred riots due to plague and a strike of dock and railway workers, which paralysed life for some days. The early months of 1899 were marked by a fresh exodus from the city, to save life. However, the migrants to native places were not spared by the acute famine. They were, therefore, compelled to return to the city, and they preferred death from plague to death from hunger. This increased mortality in the city. The epidemic again swept through the city, and the people fled from the unseen

¹ Homi Mody, op. cit., p. 169.

² Ibid., pp. 170-71.

³ Homi Mody, op. cit., p. 195.

⁴ *Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island*, Vol. II, 1909, p. 190.

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death.¹ The old Government House at Parel which was vacated by the Governor earlier, was used as a hospital for plague patients from 1896.

The situation did not improve in 1900 or 1901. The cotton mill industry was adversely affected due to the flight of workers. There was acute shortage of labour, which led to intense bidding for labour at street corners. While almost all the mills had to drastically cut their operations to three days in a week, some mills had remained closed.² Between 1891 and 1898 the total number of factories in Bombay rose considerably in spite of the fact that the China market, the chief outlet for Bombay's output, was being rapidly glutted. But the condition of the industry was "most critical" in 1899 according to Sir George Cotton.

The years 1904-05, however, witnessed a reversion of this state of affairs. The cotton mill industry had started showing conspicuous improvement. The Swadeshi movement gave a great impetus for the growth of the indigenous industry.

The virulent plague epidemic which ravaged Bombay from 1896 to 1901, shocked the conscience of Government as well as of the public men of Bombay. It created an awareness and a compelling necessity for improvement of public health and medical facilities in Bombay. This situation gave birth to two great organisations, namely, the City Improvement Trust in 1898 and the Haffkine Institute in 1899. Lord Sandhurst, the Governor, was the architect of the former, while the inspiring spirit behind the latter was the world-famous Dr. Haffkine. The account of these organisations is given elsewhere in this chapter.

On 11 August 1893 a very serious riot³ took place between Hindus and Muslims in Bombay. The unfortunate episode commenced with an attack on a Hindu temple in Hanuman lane. Within a very short time, the entire areas of Parel, Kamathipura, Grant Road, Chinchpokli, Mazagaon and Tank Bunder were under mob rule. The tumult was enormous. At about 4 p.m. the Police Commissioner secured the help of the army. The troops were posted in different areas, but the fighting still continued, and the infantry was required to fire on the mob in the Grant Road area. The crowds, raging from street to street, desecrated temples, idols and inflicted fatal assaults. The riots continued on the 12th August in all parts of the city, and casual murders and assaults took place on the 13th also. But from the evening of the 13th tranquillity was gradually established. About 80 lives succumbed to injuries, and

¹ S. M. Edwardes, *Rise of Bombay : A Retrospect* (Bombay; Times of India Press, 1902).

² For condition of the industry see account of Cotton Textile Industry in Chapter 5 of *Greater Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. II.

³ For details of the riots refer *Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island*, Vol. II, 1909, pp. 192-96.

1,500 were arrested by the police. The damage to temples and mosques, exclusive of the value of property stolen, amounted to three quarters of a lakh.¹ The riots had deep repercussions in the Salsette island and even beyond. The butchers at Bandra observed a strike in consequence.²

There was another serious riot in Bombay on 9 March 1898. It started with a sudden outbreak of hostility against the measures adopted by Government for suppression of plague among the Julhai. The trouble commenced with an attempt on the part of a plague-search party to remove a patient. The Julhai community thereupon turned violent and assaulted the police in Ripon Road area. The Presidency Magistrate ordered to fire. The rioters dispersed, but very shortly the uproar spread to Bellasis, Duncan, Babula Tank, Parel, Grant, Falkland and Foras Road areas. Attempts were made to set fire to plague hospitals, the fire brigade station at Babula Tank road was attacked, and two European soldiers were murdered in Grant Road. The army was deployed instantly, and peace was restored the next day. The casualties of the riot were 19 killed and 42 wounded. About 205 were convicted and sentenced to imprisonment.

The third unfortunate episode of a riot in this period took place on 23 March 1904, on the fifth day of Muharram, between the Sunni and Shia sects of the Muslims in Bombay. Casual fighting between the Bohras and the Sunnis occurred upto the 27th March, and the police were forced to cancel the licence for the *tabut* procession from Rangari moholla. This enraged the Sunnis, and the police were attacked. There were conditions of panic among the Bohras, and the Police Commissioner thereupon sought military aid. Stray incidents continued upto April 1, about 34 persons being injured.

The fourth unfortunate riot flamed forth between the Sunni and Shia Muslims at the Muharram of 1908. A quarrel took place, in the morning of the 13th February, between a *tabut* procession composed of Julhais, Mughals, Khojas, Bohras and some Sunni Muslims congregated in a mosque on Falkland Road area. The news of the encounter quickly spread and resulted in a general refusal of the Sunnis to take out their *tabut* procession. Spasmodic attacks were made which resulted in serious rioting late in the afternoon in Parel area. The police had to take recourse to firing. The military forces were called out in the evening, which guarded the troubled areas until the next day.³

To resume the story of the Congress, its growth necessitated the creation of local public bodies which became Standing Congress Committees. By 1892, there were about nine committees in the Bombay Presidency with those at Bombay and Pune being the most important. By and large,

¹ *Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island*, Vol. II, 1909, p. 193.

² *Ibid.*, p. 194.

³ S. M. Edwardes, *The Bombay City Police*, 1922.

these were merely the Bombay Presidency Association and the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha under a different name.¹ The name of the former was synonymous with the Congress in the Presidency, and almost all decisions were taken with its approval. This was due to the towering leadership of the Association and its ability to raise funds for the party. It was also attributable to the close relationship between the Bombay leaders and Congress leaders like Hume, Wedderburn, Ranade, etc. Dinshaw Wacha's assumption of secretaryship of the Congress also gave Bombay an upper hand in the party. Thereafter no key decision was taken by the Congress without Pherozeshah's approval.²

The first Bombay Provincial Conference emerged in November 1888, convened by the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha as a means of concerting policy and action for the coming session of the Congress. It was also intended to deal with local problems. The first six sessions were all held in Pune. Bombay did not join the provincial conference until its fifth meeting in 1892. It was from the 1892 meeting that Bombay played a dominating role in this body. Pherozeshah presided over the Pune meeting in 1892. He "at once lifted it up from the narrow platform of parochialism to something higher and nobler and more national."³ His reputation was distinctly enhanced by the part he played in the Poona Conference.

At this juncture Lokamanya Tilak was engaged in taking over the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha and in reasserting the influence of Pune over Bombay, in respect of domination on the Congress. However, the Congress could not function without Bombay. The city was to contribute Rs. 15,000 out of the total of Rs. 40,000 needed for the Poona Congress session of 1895.⁴ Pherozeshah, controlling the Bombay Presidency Association, and Wacha, the Congress secretary, "were too essentially part of the Congress fabric to be more than polemical target for Tilak, and they steadfastly refused to take any notice of Tilak's public meetings."⁵ It was in the Bombay Congress Committee meeting on 26 October 1895 that the Bombay leaders elected Surendranath Bannerji as president of the Poona Congress of 1895. It was decided not to recognise Tilak's Reception Committee.

The Congress at Pune turned out to be a greater success than what even the most sanguine had expected. Unfortunately, however, Tilak's activities had fluttered the doves. The association of Ranade and Gokhale with Pherozeshah and Wacha, besides the jealousy between

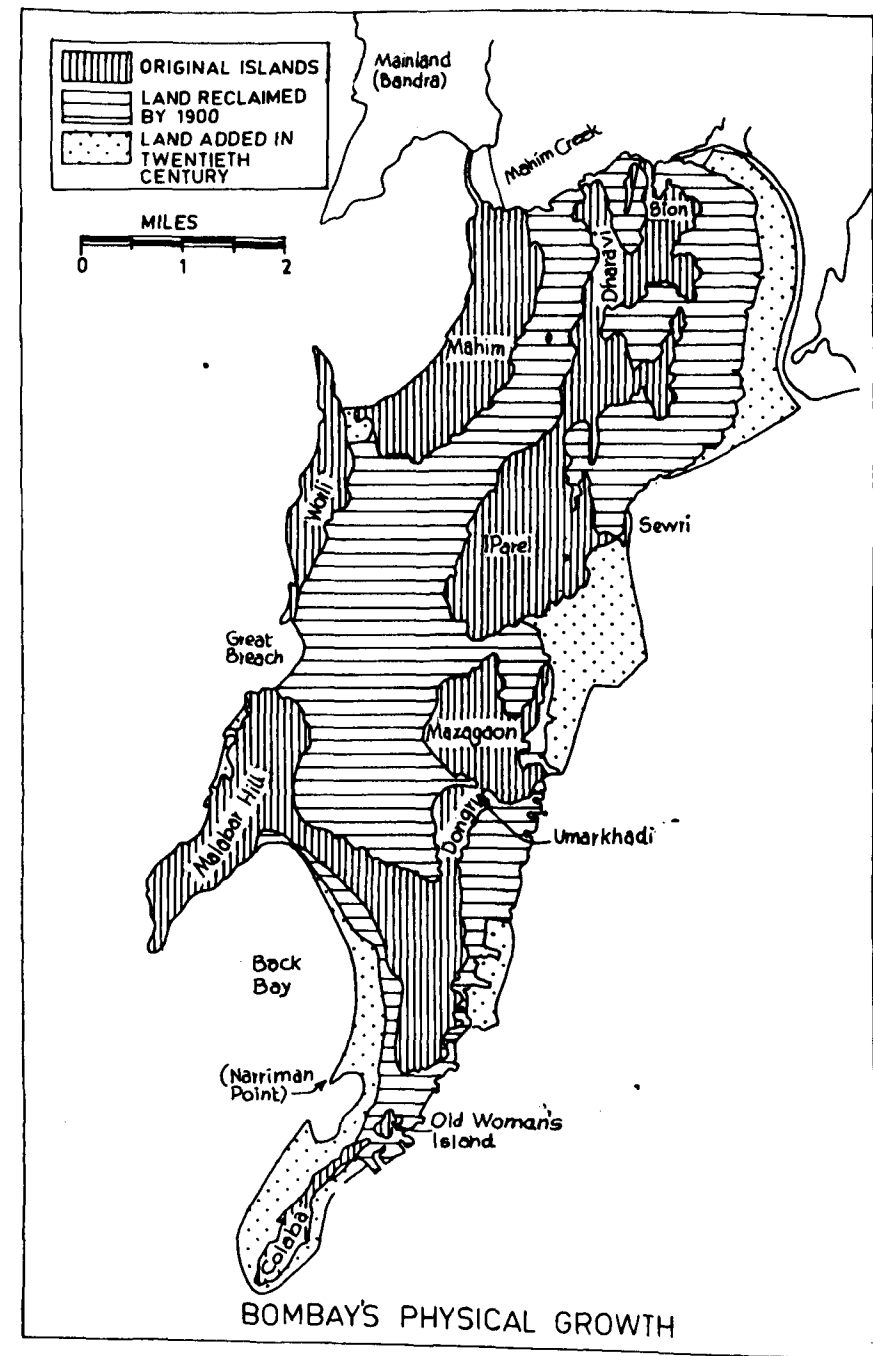
¹ *Mahratta*, 6 November 1892.

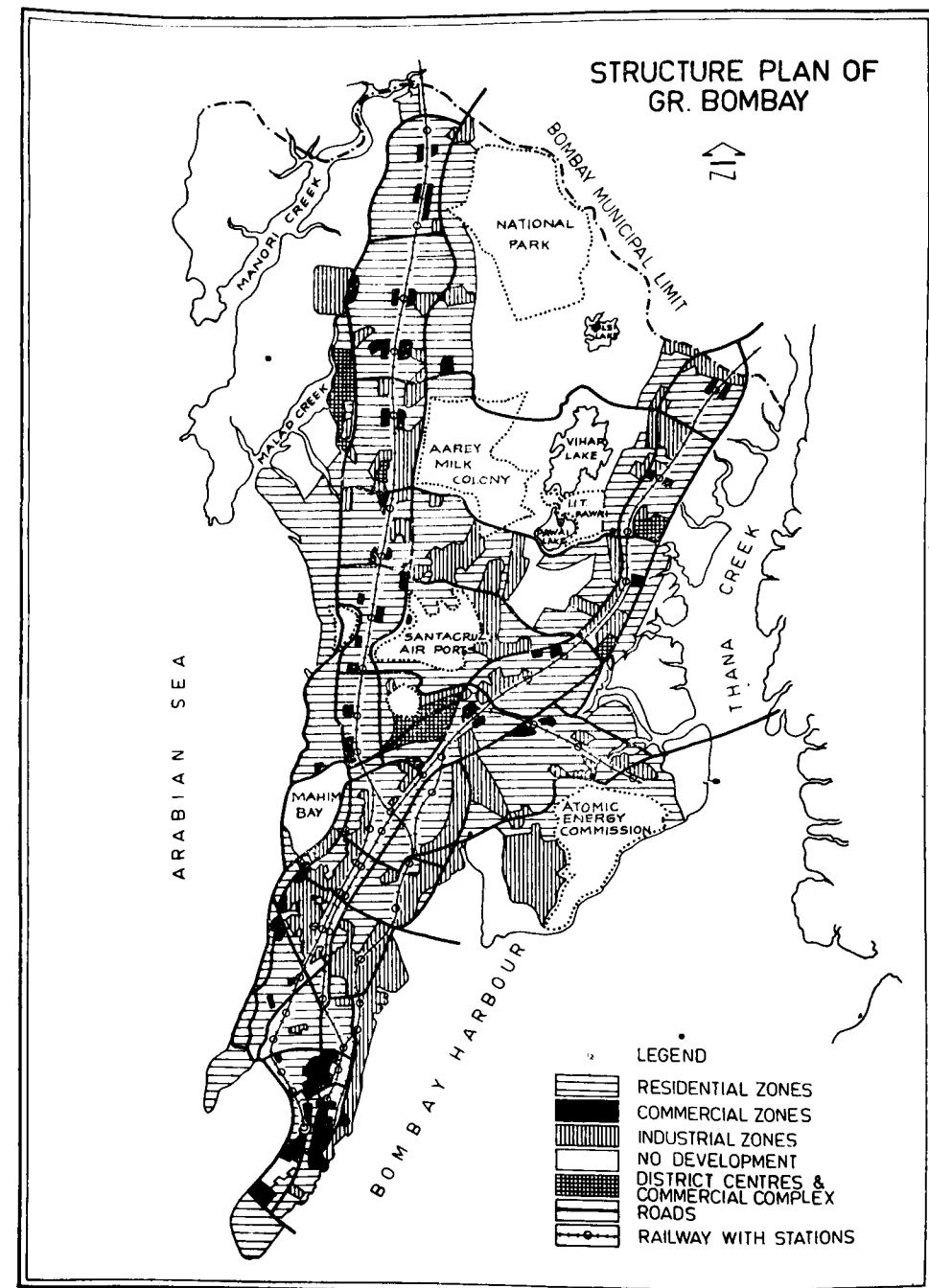
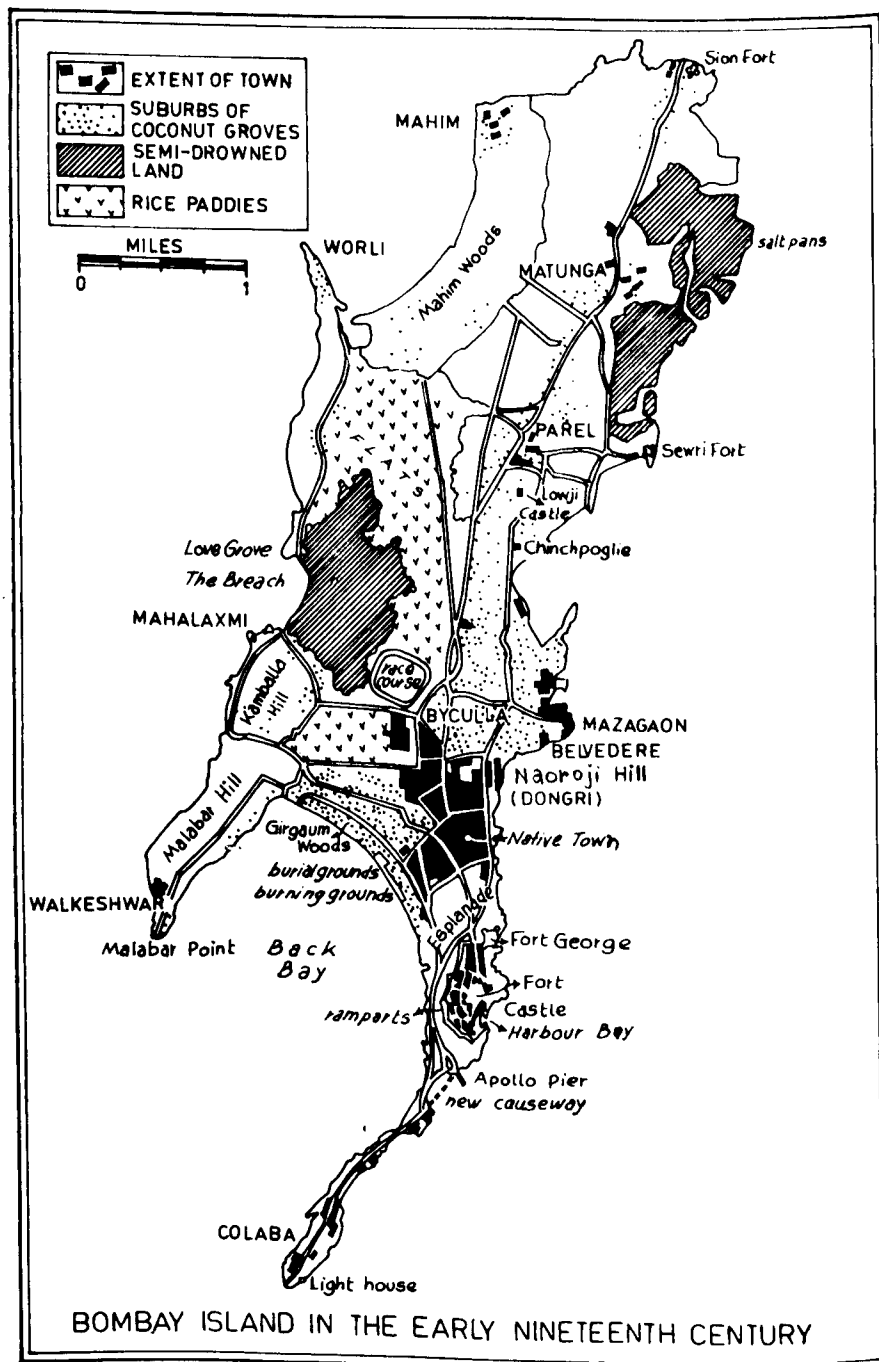
² J. Masselos, op. cit.

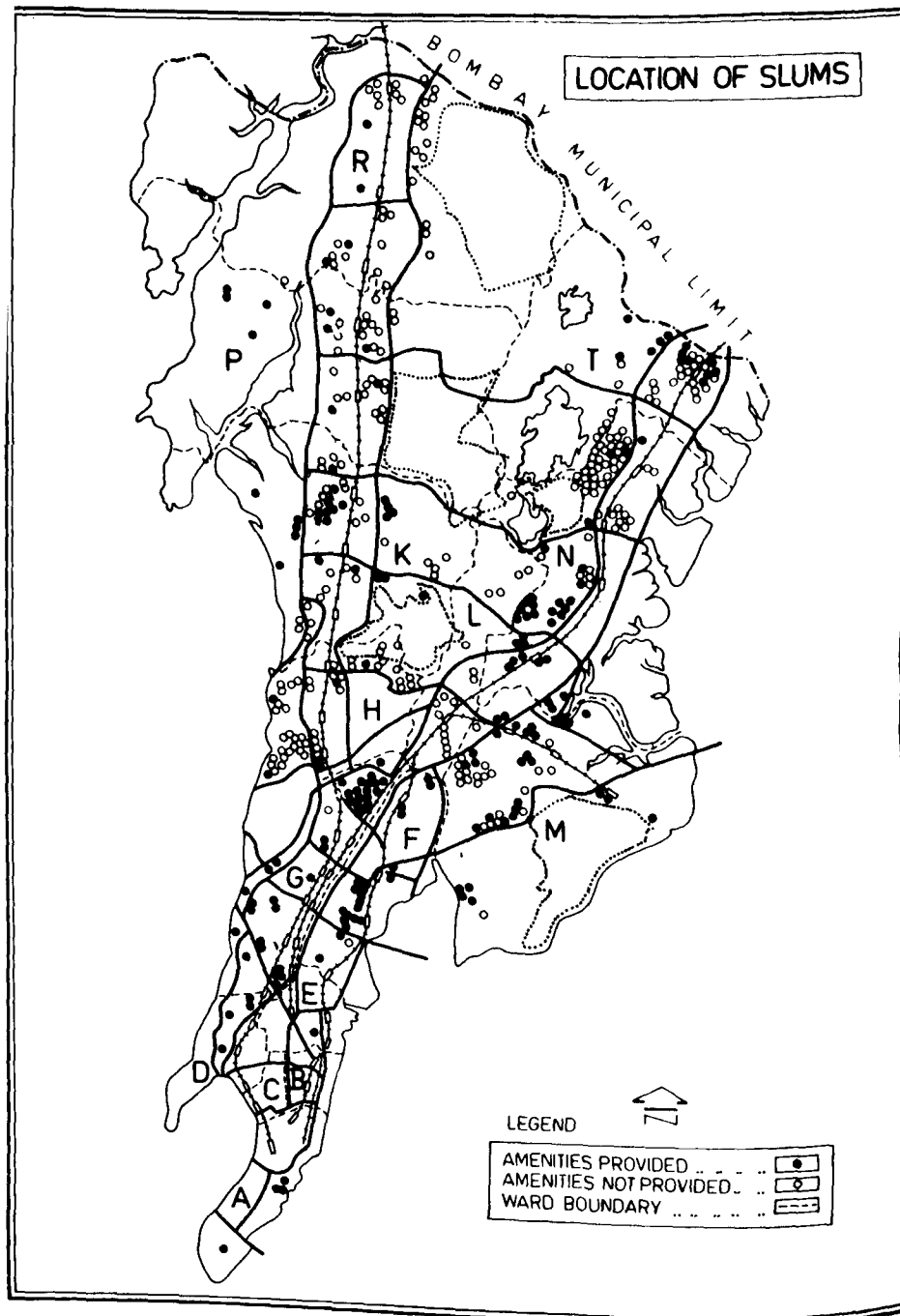
³ Wacha to Naoroji, 12 November 1892, *Naoroji Papers*.

⁴ *Mahratta*, 29 September 1895.

⁵ Gordon Johnson, op. cit., p. 121. The author has dealt with the discordant views between Tilak and other Congress leaders.







the politicians in Bombay and Pune automatically drew the Congress Committees into the quarrel. Tilak wanted the Social Conference to dissociate from the Congress. His much publicised conduct and utterances in Pune embarrassed the Congress in many ways. These aspects are, however, beyond the scope of this study.

Mr. R. M. Sayani, a popular enlightened citizen of Bombay who belonged to the school of thought of Pherozeshah Mehta, adorned the presidentship of the Calcutta Congress session of 1896. He gave quite a good impression as a leader of the party and as president. The success and excitement of the Poona Congress was followed by a sort of disinterest and languidness in the organisation. Attendance at the annual sessions dropped, and the proportion of local delegates increased. After the 1900 session at Lahore even Dinshaw Wacha lost his enthusiasm and considered giving up his post of joint secretary.¹ He once complained to Dadabhai in England, "Your big leaders now-a-days don't care to attend the Congress, so we have a minor crew most of whom try to boss themselves without judgement and wisdom."²

This period coincided with the unprecedented plague and distress in Bombay which is dealt with above in this chapter.

TWENTIETH CENTURY

Lokamanya Tilak was undoubtedly the embodiment of the spirit of the new school of politics in the beginning of this century. He rebelled against the attitude of prayerfulness and importunity and the method of mendicancy which characterised the Congress. He strove hard to make the movement truly national by bringing into it the mass of people. He and his followers regarded the redemption of the motherland as the true religion, and as the only means of salvation. It was but natural that he came into conflict, very often than not, with the Moderates, as they came to be known later on. The Moderates wanted reforms in administration under the aegis of the British rule, while the Extremists strongly held that 'good government is no substitute for self-government'. Tilak admirably summed up the position in one sentence: "Home Rule is my birth-right and I will have it." He endeavoured to introduce the cult of Shivaji and to organise the Ganapati and Shivaji festivals in Bombay and the rest of Maharashtra.

The revolutionary activities of Tilak in Bombay and the Deccan, and of Swatantryaveer Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, Madama Cama and Shyamji Krishna Verma in England had many ramifications in Bombay.³ The vernacular newspapers disseminated patriotic fervour and incitement to sedition. This had a definite impact on the people of Bombay.

¹ Gordon Johnson, op. cit., pp. 124-25.

² Wacha to Naoroji, 16 February 1901, *Naoroji Papers*.

³ S. M. Edwardes, *The Bombay City Police*, 1922.

Lord Curzon came to India (1899-1905) with a strong determination to stem the rising tide of nationalism. He inflicted one contemptuous measure after another to which the people took strong exceptions.¹ He deprived the universities of their autonomy by forcing the Indian Universities Act (1904), and in the same year, the Official Secrets Act extended a good deal the scope of the term 'sedition'. The climax was reached by the partition of Bengal (1905) which was regarded to be a subtle attack on the growing solidarity of Indian nationalism. Curzon's obstinate refusal to pay any heed to popular views sounded the death-knell of constitutional agitation. Hence amidst unprecedented scenes of enthusiasm, resolutions were passed at a huge public meeting held on 7 August 1905 at Calcutta, to boycott British goods, and adopt swadeshi goods and to spread national education.²

The ineffectiveness of the Congress to change the decision of the Government enabled the Tilakites to make their voice felt in deliberations of the Congress. And it was in the Calcutta session of 1906 presided over by Dadabhai Naoroji that the Congress not only endorsed their plans, but for the first time in its history laid down as its goal, 'the system of Government obtaining in the self-governing British colonies'. This goal was summed up by Dadabhai in one word 'Swaraj'.³

The gestation of the new spirit of swadeshi and boycott had, however, been progressing for some years prior to these events.

The politicians in Bombay were ostensibly moderate nationalists who followed a policy of mendicancy and persuasion. At the dawn of this century the Congress was still under domination of Bombay, particularly Pherozeshah Mehta, D. E. Wacha, Dadabhai Naoroji and Gopal Krishna Gokhale. The latter although from Poona was identified with the Bombay leaders.

At the dawn of the twentieth century the Congress seemed to lose its vitality and enthusiasm. It was, however, in 1903 that the political pendulum in England started swinging in the direction of the Liberal Party. Sir William Wedderburn, a former Bombay civilian, was now a Liberal Member of Parliament and an inspiring spirit of the British Committee of the Congress. He exhorted Indians and his Bombay friends to revitalise the Congress. The most significant results were: firstly, Pherozeshah and his colleagues in Bombay invited the 1904 Congress to Bombay, and secondly, G. K. Gokhale was appointed an additional joint secretary to take over command of the Congress.⁴

¹ *Gazetteer of India*, Vol. II, *History and Culture* (Government of India, Ministry of Education and Culture, 1973), p. 562.

² *Ibid.*, p. 563.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Gordon Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

In the mean time Pherozeshah was persuaded by his friends to attend the Madras session of December 1903 ostensibly to save the Congress from Extremists. Pherozeshah handled the situation adroitly. He, however, did not maintain a close and personal touch with the organisation in subsequent years.¹ But all said and done his influence in Congress sessions in Bombay was absolutely supreme.

Bombay Congress of 1904 : As said earlier, he took the cue from Wedderburn's exhortation and invited the next session of the Congress to Bombay. The three-day session was held on the Oval² ground from 25 December 1904. Sir Henry Cotton, a distinguished personality, presided over the session, Pherozeshah being the chairman of the Reception Committee. William Wedderburn and Mr. Samuel Smith, M.P., graced the occasion by their presence. Henry Cotton was described as a staunch and devoted servant of India. William Wedderburn had always cherished the fulfilment of the aspirations of India. Samuel Smith had quietly and unostensibly, but earnestly, raised his voice in England to further the cause of India. Their presence at the Bombay session of 1904 was, therefore, an important factor. They suggested that Indian delegations be sent to England for gaining support of the British public. The gathering, however, missed the presence of Dadabhai, Hume and W. C. Bannerjee. It was representative in all various ways.³ The delegates represented all strata, the intelligentsia, advocates and persons experienced in Government mechanism.

Pherozeshah's welcome speech, running into 19 printed pages, struck a note of robust optimism calculated to drive away counsels of despair.⁴ He accepted the British rule as a wonderful dispensation, but scouted Lord Curzon's notion that the salvation of India was not to be sought in the field of politics in the existing stage of her development. Achievements of the Congress from 1885 were put on record. Its greatest triumph lay in the awakening of the soul of the nation.

The official report of the Bombay Congress session of 1904 peaks in grateful and eloquent terms of Pherozeshah's share in the success of the session.⁵ The *Times of India* also paid high tributes to him. It was at the Bombay session, however, that a mild revolt against his authority broke

¹ Homi Mody, *op. cit.*, p. 251.

² *Speeches and Writings of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta*, p. 254. According to Homi Mody the vast gathering had assembled in the spacious pandal erected on the site on which the Prince of Wales Museum stands now.

³ *Speeches and Writings of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta*.

⁴ Text is reproduced in *Speeches and Writings*.

⁵ As per D. E. Wacha there was no other Indian who could rival Pherozeshah in the manner and matter of his public speeches on high politics. Two specimens may be discerned in his addresses to the 1889 and 1904 Congress sessions.

out. Lala Murlidhar from the Punjab, in a heated discussion, complained bitterly against Pherozeshah overthrowing all opposition, and carrying everything in his own way.

The Bombay city politicians and their allies gave a firm lead to the Congress in 1904. They strived for widespread support and emphasised the unity of the movement by controlling critics. Besides working in Bombay and Pune, Gokhale visited Bengal, Madras, and the C. P. and Berar to stimulate interest in the Congress prior to the December session. The Bombay session not only marked the reawakening of the Congress, but it also underlined the supremacy of Bombay city leaders in the all-India movement. About 20 per cent of the delegates had been elected by the council of the Bombay Presidency Association at a meeting held at Pherozeshah's chambers. The council had approved 256 names, of whom 202 actually attended the 1904 Congress.¹

The Bombay session of 1904 had endorsed the strategy of putting its main emphasis on campaigns in England in view of forthcoming elections. William Wedderburn had desired Pherozeshah to lead the delegation. The latter, however, did not go. It was therefore decided that G. K. Gokhale and Mr. Jinnah should go as the representatives of Bombay on the Indian deputation. They went to London in 1905 to present the Congress case before the British public and to campaign for the Liberal Party. Gokhale addressed 45 meetings during his 7-week stay in England. On his return to India he was elected president of the Congress at Banaras (1905).

Gokhale was earlier elected to the council of the Bombay Presidency Association on 17 June 1893. His alliance with the Bombay politicians became his great political strength.² It was his Bombay friends on the provincial legislature who decided in 1902 to send him as the Bombay representative to the Viceroy's Legislative Council. The Bombay Presidency Association raised money for his visit to England in 1905, and also supported his next two trips in 1906 and 1908. It was through the Bombay connection that Gokhale not only became recognised by the Government as the main Congress spokesman, but he also became a key figure in maintaining the all-India alliance which constituted the Congress itself.³

As stated earlier, Dadabhai Naoroji was the president of the Calcutta Congress of 1906. This again meant influence of Bombay over the organisation. This session was a notable landmark in the history of the Congress. It placed Swaraj as a goal before the party in distinct terms. It had urged

¹ Bombay Presidency Association papers, cf., Gordon Johnson.

² Gokhale was reported in 1909 saying that he had no supporters among the ignorant masses, but he could count upon the educated in Bombay as his supporters.

³ Gordon Johnson, op. cit., pp. 116-17.

more activity in India and more self-help. National education and Swadeshi were endorsed by the delegates. The Congress had re-affirmed the legitimacy of boycott as a political weapon. This was, however, not much to the liking of the Moderate leaders from Bombay, particularly Pherozeshah and Gokhale, the former having kept the Congress as the undisputed domain of his leadership.

Congress Split: A number of situations developed whereby the wrangles between the Moderates and the Extremists became more and more acute. The Bombay leaders were inclined in the initial stage to hold the 1907 session at Nagpur, relying on G. M. Chitnavis and B. K. Bose to keep it out of difficulties. The Extremists tightened their sinews to elect Tilak as president. There was no possibility of a compromise between the two camps. The neutral negotiators had failed to mediate which led to the conclusion, "no Congress at Nagpur this year".¹

A vexatious wrangle between the Moderates and the Extremists was inevitable. The Bombay leaders decided to shift the venue of the 1907 Congress which was earlier decided to be at Nagpur. The Central Standing Congress Committee was summoned to Pherozeshah's house at Napean Sea Road on 10 November 1907. The following members attended: Pherozeshah Mehta, Wacha, Gokhale, Jinnah, Tilak, Khaparde, Khare, Mudholkar, Kolhatkar, Desai and Parekh.² Pherozeshah carefully arranged to send the Congress to Surat. The Reception Committee at Surat, composed largely of Pherozeshah's followers, set itself to the difficult task to arrange the session within a short time. Throughout December 1907, Mehta, Gokhale and the Moderates worked to secure a majority at Surat. The Bombay Presidency Association elected 219 delegates to go to the Congress. Tilak, N. C. Kelkar, Khaparde and the Extremist followers were also tightening their sinews. Pherozeshah had already made attempts to fill the 25 Bombay seats on the Subjects Committee. Tilak was outnumbered in the Bombay delegation on the Committee.³ Rash Behari Ghosh of the moderate camp was chosen president. Tilak felt that the Bombay leaders were retreating from the Calcutta resolution, which had adopted Swaraj as a goal on the lines of self-governing colonies, and had endorsed for Swadeshi, boycott and national education. Tilak denounced such retrogression on the part of the Bombay leaders as suicidal for India. The draft resolutions were reactionary. Tilak's willingness to negotiate was spurned. He was left with no alternatives. His attempts for leadership at Surat were all foiled.⁴

¹ Gordon Johnson, op. cit., p. 164.

² *Khaparde Diary*, 10 November 1907, Khaparde papers, National Archives of India, New Delhi.

³ Gordon Johnson, op. cit., p. 168.

⁴ Ibid.

The Bombay leaders and Gokhale were in a majority, but they had also an unnerving experience. The Surat meets on 27-28 December were tumultuous, tempestuous and ended in pandemonium.¹

Tilak alleged that Pherozeshah and Gokhale sought to pervert the Congress from a national into a sectional movement. He had hoped that his popularity in Maharashtra could be utilized to capture the Congress from the Bombay city leaders and Gokhale. However, it was he who was to be excluded from it in future.²

The split of the Congress and the desire for reunion were almost simultaneous.³ The desire for reconciliation was initially stronger amongst the Extremists than the Congress leadership. Bombay city leaders saw no point in patching up with Tilak. They felt that Tilak and his followers had to be excluded from the Congress once for all. The Bombay Presidency Association⁴ was in a stronger position and there were no signs of rapprochement.

In the first quarter of 1908, several things happened which changed the political situation completely. The summer of 1908 saw the disintegration of the extremist leadership. After Bipin Chandra Pal's going to London, the severest reversal in fortune rapidly followed. Tilak was arrested on 24 June 1908 and charged with sedition for writing an article in the *Kesari* of 12 May 1908. The article headed "The Country's Misfortune" relating to the Muzzaffarpur murders, was construed by Government to justify terrorism. He was placed before the Chief Presidency Magistrate, Bombay, on 25 June and remanded to jail till the 29. On 27 June he was again placed before the above court for a similar offence in respect of an article headed "These remedies are not lasting" which had appeared in the *Kesari* of 9 June 1908. Tilak was convicted and sentenced by the Sessions Court to six years transportation and to pay a fine of Rs. 1,000, on 22 July 1908.⁵

TILAK'S TRIALS

During the trial of 1898 the judicial authority had agreed to release Tilak on bail on a security of one lakh rupees. It was Dwarkadas Dharamsi,⁶ a millowner of Bombay, who ventured boldly to deposit security of the amount to secure release of Tilak on bail. He had many friends among the rich, but the fear of government wrath prevented them from the

¹ A Deccani shoe was hurled on to the dias which struck Surendranath Bannerji and Pherozeshah. See Homi Mody's *Pherozeshah Mehta*, op. cit.

² Gordon Johnson, op. cit., p. 172.

³ *Mahratta*, 23 February 1908.

⁴ The Allahabad Convention where the Bombay men were stronger ended all hope of an immediate rapprochement.

⁵ According to some sources the date was 23 July 1908.

⁶ He was father of the famous Home Rule Leader, Jamnadas Dwarkadas.

venture. Hence the importance of Mr. Dharamsi's action which secured the release of India's great patriot. It will be interesting to note that Tilak's advocate in this trial was Mr. Davar,¹ who later sentenced Tilak to six years rigorous imprisonment in July 1908.

A brief narration of Tilak's trial of June-July 1908 may not be out of place as it is an important event in the history of India's freedom struggle. During this protracted trial he stood towering in the box of the accused. He delivered his extempore memorable address to the Judge and the Jury which lasted for six days.² The Jury returned the verdict of 'guilty' as was expected, and Justice Davar pronounced the sentence with strictures that were unwarranted and in bad taste. Tilak said to the Judge, "Despite the sentence passed on me, I feel and know that I am innocent, but I believe that there are higher powers who rule the destinies of nations, who feel that the cause I represent may prosper more by my suffering than by my remaining free. Swaraj is my birthright and I shall have it."

The impact of Tilak's imprisonment on the people was greater than ever had been the case at any moment in the past. The workers, students and the entire middle class society were all galvanized into displaying sympathy to him and expressing their angry protests against Government. For the first time in the history of India students deserted their schools and colleges and refused to attend them.³ There was a massive hartal. The rich in Bombay, completely cowed down, helped the Government in restoring order.⁴

Tilak's trial was received as an electric shock in Bombay as in rest of Maharashtra. The *modus operandi* of the trial was condemned with indignation and public fury. The newspapers with nationalist views reacted very sharply. The *Dnyan Prakash* of 24 July 1908 wrote, "This is an occasion for greater sorrow than that felt for the death of Ranade. It is greatly to be lamented that we have lost the services of such a talented and heroic man at his age Government wanted to see Mr. Tilak out of the country in the present political situation and preferred to resort to the law court to accomplish that end to deporting him outright."⁵ The staunch *Kal* of 31 July 1908 wrote, "There was a mockery of justice, not justice. It is sheer madness to argue that there was a possibility of obtaining justice where everything was going on according to a pre-arranged plan The present crusade undertaken by government is very dangerous, and we should meet it in a becoming

¹ Jamnadas Dwarkadas, *Political Memoirs*, (United Asia Publications, Bombay, 1969), pp. 29-30.

² *Ibid.*, p. 31.

³ Dwarkadas Jamnadas, op. cit., p. 32.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Report on Native Papers* for the week ending 25 July 1908, p. 31.

spirit. Government are enraged at the Swadeshi and Boycott movement, but cannot oppose it publicly. They want to kill the agitation by having recourse to subterfuges and by removing the renowned leaders of it from our midst Mr. Tilak was sent to Mandalay not because he caused any personal loss to the Governor, but apparently because the Swadeshi movement which he organised so successfully made the Manchester mills work half time."¹

It may be of great interest to give here a brief account of the intense disturbances incidental to Tilak's trial in Bombay. The account is mainly based on the report of Mr. H. G. Gell, Commissioner of Police, Bombay, to the Secretary to Government.²

Mr. S. M. Paranjape, Editor of the *Kal*, a supporter and admirer of Tilak, was arrested in Pune on 11 June 1908, and convicted in the Bombay High Court and sentenced to 19 months rigorous imprisonment on 8 July 1908. This caused a good deal of excitement in the city. Meanwhile Tilak was arrested in Bombay on 24 June.

From the moment of Tilak's arrest many nationalists descended upon the mill area in Bombay. The working class understood that Tilak had been arrested because he was the friend of the industrial workers, and had tried to obtain better wages for them. The probability of a disturbance was foreseen by the authorities. British regiments, Indian infantry and cavalry were held in readiness, while the Commissioner of Police took all precautions to circumscribe the area of the outbreak. Several officials and non-officials were appointed Special Magistrates and were posted at important points to watch the progress of events, assist the police, and take all feasible measures for securing peace in the city. However, some of the precautions were superfluous.³

The first hearing of Tilak's case came on in the Chief Metropolitan Magistrate's Court on 29 June which was greeted by disorderly and turbulent crowds. There was also desultory stone-throwing on Europeans. The High Court refused Tilak's application for bail. This caused as much consternation as his arrest, and demonstrated the animus of Government against him. There was a feeling that Tilak's gospel of Swadeshi and boycott had antagonised the rulers who were for protection of the interests of England. Tilak's sympathizers and nationalist papers stirred up the feelings of the people, and particularly the millhands in Bombay.

There were 85 mills employing about one lakh workers in the city. This was a formidable mass of people which could be fomented against the Government. Just before his arrest, Tilak had addressed meetings at

¹ *Report on Native Papers* for the week ending 1 August 1908, p. 33.

² The report is published in *Source Material for a History of Freedom Movement*, Vol. II.

³ S. M. Edwardes, *The Bombay City Police*, 1922.

Chinchpokli on 15 December 1907, and 6 and 7 June 1908, to educate the millhands in his gospel of Swadeshi and evils of drinking. He had won their admiration.

The trial began on 13 July before Justice Davar and a special Jury. Tilak was removed from the common Jail and was kept in the High Court lock-up. During the trial 20 European police officers, 11 armed, 190 unarmed, 30 mounted native officers and men were on duty in and around the court. There was also a military detachment posted in the University hall. The millhands were dispersed away from the court. On 16 July, workers from the Queen and Lakmidas Mills and four other mills struck work as a protest against the trial. On 17 July, about 35,000 workers from 28 mills stopped working, and the spirit of unrest seemed to seize them. There were unruly incidents at DeLisle Road. Europeans were mobbed and assaulted at Currey Road by a mob of 6,000. The Commissioner of Police who arrived was greeted by a volley of stones. The cavalry had to take action. All mills were closed on 19 July, but every thing was quiet.

There was violent stone throwing and a turbulent situation arose on 20 July. The workers from the Jacob Sassoon Mill prevented the working of the Motarji Goculdas Mill by violent methods. Police officers including the Commissioner had to take recourse to firing revolvers. Casualties were not known. Arrival of the military dispersed the crowd. The next day witnessed closure of four mills. The coolies in the grain bazar obstructed and over-turned carts carrying goods belonging to the Englishmen, along Frere Road.

Tilak was convicted and sentenced to six years transportation, and was immediately sent away to Ahmedabad by a special train on 22 July 1908. The employees in the Mulji Jetha Market held a meeting and decided to observe strike for six days as a protest against rigorous imprisonment of Tilak. The news of conviction spread in the city on 23. Nine mills struck work, while the cloth, grain, freight and share markets and Cotton Exchange also closed their business out of sympathy for the leader. A crowd in Girgaum and Princess Street area forced shops to be closed. Two persons were convicted.

As many as 70 mills stopped work on the 24th morning. A crowd at Kala Chowki stoned the Bombay Cotton Mill which had commenced work, and forced its closure. The crowd then proceeded along Chinchpokli road, and forced the workers of Rachel Sassoon Mill and E. D. Sassoon Mill to come out, by stoning the mills. The City of Bombay Mill was similarly closed. The police and the cavalry had to fire revolvers, killing three and wounding others. There was another confrontation between the police and rioters at the junction of Gholupdeo and Connaught road. The police force was stoned savagely. Meanwhile the military had been

sent for from the Byculla Bridge, where a detachment of 50 Royal Scots had previously been stationed, and while they were coming by train the crowds along Parel road stoned them. The mob not daunted by the approaching military force stoned it, and further continued to do so in spite of the Magistrate's (Mr. C. H. Setalvad) orders to disperse. Seven rounds were fired, one person being injured.

About 9 a.m. on 24 July there were encounters between the cavalry and the rioters in the Gholupdeo area. Further in the neighbourhood there was a skirmish between the military assisted by police and millhands armed with sticks. One man was found dead. At noon, 1,400 employees of the G.I.P. Railway workshops at Parel repudiated orders and struck work. They went away peacefully. A dye works at Mahim was attacked, and the care-taker was brutally assaulted. The manager had to use his gun in defence. The police and military had to intervene. The latter on their way to headquarters were confronted by mill workers at Pipe road. The military opened fire, killing two and injuring one. The Currey Road railway station was partially wrecked. The military was ordered to fire again which killed five and injured 15 persons.

On the morning of 25 July the mills began to work satisfactorily. This was disturbed by a hoard of workers in the Standard mill. There was firing, but the crowd was still hostile. Ultimately a fresh military detachment, which arrived, could avert a further calamity. Seventy-six mills struck work this day.

The Governor, George Clarke, arrived at Bombay from Pune on 26 July, which was a day of strike. It was rumoured on 27 July that the Governor intended to drive through the native town via Shaikh Memon street for assuaging the feelings of the people. This was at once seized upon as a good opportunity to make a demonstration in favour of Tilak. The Shaikh Memon street was densely crowded by hostile and demonstrative people. There were confrontations with the police. The military was also stoned. Four rounds were fired, and four persons were found to have succumbed to bullets. The military and police had to attend many calls for action.

On 28 July 1908, workers in Maneckji Petit mill struck work after commencing work. They shouted slogans in favour of Tilak and became turbulent. Even the ordinarily peaceful area of Thakurdwar was infested with strife, and military was required to take action. Later on the whole of Girgaum was in a state of disorder intermittently. The police and the military were greeted with stones. Nine rioters were convicted and sentenced to rigorous imprisonment. The feeling against Europeans was most hostile. It was only military action throughout the Island which could avert further troubles.

The presence of George Clarke in the city, for some days, until peace was restored, was much helpful in relieving the situation.

The Bombay National Union with its mouthpiece, the *Hind Swarajya* popularised Tilak in Bombay. This newspaper was produced under support of the revolutionary, Shyamji Krishna Varma. The *Vihari* and the *Arunodaya*, Marathi newspapers, preached Tilak's philosophy.¹ Besides newspapers, many Tilakites harangued audiences on Chowpati sands in favour of his preaching.

Mr. Gell had opined that if Tilak had been tried elsewhere than Bombay, the agitation would not have been carried on in the city to the extent it was. The agitation was engineered, in his opinion, by Brahmin clerks in mills. More than anything else Tilak's address to the Jury gained him sympathy. This address, which occupied 21 hours, "was made not so much to the jury as to the gallery and he seized this opportunity to make what was a vehement political attack on British administration".

The Bombay Millhands Defence Association was formed after Tilak's inspiration. The mill workers were the chief instrument used for disorder. "But they had no organisation, no leader, no common object and no weapons other than stones. They broke the windows of mills..... but that was because some of their number stuck to their work and they wanted them to come out. Had all the mills closed down simultaneously, the probability is that the millhands would have been at a loss as to what to do."

The police force in Bombay, in 1908, consisted of 85 Europeans armed with revolvers, 2,038 native constables armed with batons, 100 native sowars armed with sabres and 70 native constables armed with breech loading, smooth bore, 476 rifles firing buck shot. The Bombay Garrison was comprised of three companies of the Royal Garrison Artillery, half a battalion of British Infantry, one regiment of Native Infantry and a force of 1,274 volunteers.²

The *Mahratta*³ of 2 August 1908 gave a plausible analysis of the riots in Bombay. According to the newspaper, in the initial stage the disturbances were a mere passive expression of sympathy, sorrow and respect for Tilak by the workers. This assumed the form of a temporary cessation of work. But the imprudent authorities and the Anglo-Indian Press took umbrage at it. Some mills were kept going in spite of the unwillingness of the workers. A kind of coercion was also used to keep them

¹ The editors of these papers were prosecuted and sentenced to rigorous imprisonment. (see *Source Material for a History of Freedom Movement*, Vol. II, p. 269).

² The Commissioner suggested to Government a thorough reorganisation of the police force in Bombay, after this event.

³ From *Report on Native Papers* for the week ending 1 August 1908, p. 26 cf. *Source Material for a History of Freedom Movement*, Vol. II.

working. The consequence was that with one class of workers clamouring outside, and another coerced to work inside, the passive expression of sympathy at once assumed the form of a disturbance. The same thing happened in the case of markets in Bombay due to unwise meddling officers.

The effects of the prosecution and conviction of Tilak were great and enduring. Some months later, the *Rashtramat*, an organ of Tilakites, admitted that the sudden removal of Mr. Tilak's towering personality threw the whole province into dismay. It not only dampened extremist political activity, but also affected the Moderates. G. K. Gokhale was shocked at the severity of Tilak's sentence, and saw in it a great blow to the party and a threat to other nationalist leaders. The *Hindu Punch* went so far as to suggest that Gokhale had instigated Tilak's arrest. Gokhale, however, denied the allegation and prosecuted the editor of the newspaper.

It is also asserted that "the agitation that followed the passing of the sentence on Tilak was to a large extent responsible for the Morley-Minto Reforms initiated in 1909. The letters that passed between Lord Minto, the then Viceroy, and John Morley, the then Secretary of State, throw a flood of light on the reaction of the agitation on both of them, especially on Lord Morley The cumulative effect, however, was that the British cabinet was bestirred into facing and trying to solve the problem."¹

MISCELLANEOUS EVENTS

A number of important schemes were taken by the City Improvement Trust and the Municipal Corporation, which were changing the face of Bombay at this time. With the enormous growth of population, the need for wide roads to disperse the population northwards was becoming increasingly apparent. A broad road known as Mahomed Ali road was cut right through the heart of the bazar from north to south. The Improvement Trust was endeavouring to make Bombay a model city. People were beginning to look towards Back Bay as a site providing "the most unique opportunities for reclamation which it has ever been the lot of any city to possess". Another important project was that for an overhead railway between the Victoria Terminus and the Mazagaon-Sewri area which was being reclaimed, to provide additional transport accommodation and facilities for storing cotton, grains, oil-seeds and manganese ore.² The construction of the Harbour Branch of the G. I. P. Railway from Kurla upto Reay Road station was completed in 1910. The work of

¹ Jamnadas Dwarkadas, op. cit., p. 32.

² Raymond J. F. Sullivan, *One Hundred Years of Bombay: History of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce 1836-1936* (Times of India Press, Bombay, 1937), p. 136.

construction of the permanent way and bridges for this railway was done by the great contractor, Mr. Walchand Hirachand. The overhead railway between Reay Road and Masjid Road railway stations opened a new chapter in the history of transport and commerce of Bombay. It facilitated transport of goods to and from the business quarters in the Fort area as also from the Bombay Harbour.

The completion of the Nagda-Muttra railway section on the B. B. and C. I. Railway in 1909 fulfilled the long cherished ambition of securing for Bombay a direct-trade route with North India.¹

The Alexandra Dock was opened by the Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, on 21 March 1914,² which was to prove a great boon during the First World War, broken in August 1914. It doubled the dock area of the port. Attached to the Alexandra Dock was the Hughes Dry Dock, built to accommodate the largest battleships. The total expenditure on these and other related works amounted to 6½ million pounds.

The *Bombay Chronicle* which was to play an important role in the national movement till Indian Independence, saw the light of day in April 1913 after tireless efforts of Pherozeshah and his friends in Bombay. Within a short time, it began to exercise an enormous influence over public affairs. Under the able editorship of B. G. Horniman, it became a very powerful organ of satyagraha, non-co-operation, civil disobedience and every other facet of the Gandhian movement.

One of the most memorable events of Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty was the controversy which raged over the question of University autonomy under the guise of reforms. Lord Curzon's Universities Commission of 1902 recommended a raising of college fees and examination standards, a reconstitution of the Syndicate and the Senate, the imposition of stringent conditions with regard to the recognition of affiliated institutions, and a general discouragement by various devices of private enterprise in the field of education. As per the Commission, it was "better for India that a comparatively small number of young men should receive a sound liberal education, than that a large number should be passed through an inadequate course of instruction leading to a depreciated degree". Pherozeshah Mehta delivered heavy indictments against the report of the Commission and the Bill in the Senate of the Bombay University, while G. K. Gokhale combated against the infringement of university autonomy in the debates in the Imperial Legislative Council.³ Despite powerful opposition the Indian Universities Bill was passed into an Act in 1904 which enabled the Government to interfere with university autonomy and to curb proliferation of education.

¹ Ibid., p. 128.

² Ibid., p. 138.

³ Also see the account given under University Education, for their work.

Whilst Lord Curzon had excited bitterness, disaffection and alarm heedless of the currents of national life and thinking, the Prince of Wales (later King George V) was to visit Bombay. The announcement of the Royal visit created limitless enthusiasm and preparation. The Bombay Government, however, out of obduracy announced that the Royal pair will be accorded reception by the Government in disregard to the privilege of the civic body. This created a wild indignation and uproar in the city. While the Extremists among the nationalists including Tilak were opposed to any type of reception to the imperial heir, many sections of the people in Bombay were also either hostile or indifferent to the same. In the Corporation the obduracy of Government created fury. The Chief Secretary to Government of Bombay was given to understand the consequences of disregarding the right of the Corporation. Consequently Lord Lamington, the Governor (1903-07), saw an alarm, and conceded the privilege to the Corporation of which Pherozeshah was the president. The incident left no bitterness mainly due to the tactfulness of the latter. The Prince of Wales and the Princess were greeted at the Apollo Bunder on 9 November 1905, and an Address, drafted by Pherozeshah himself, was presented by him in a gaily-decorated *shamiana* in the presence of the Viceroy. Hundreds from the Presidency had attended the gay ceremony. The Prince expressed his thanks for the magnificent preparations made by the city in his honour.¹

In 1906-07, there arose an excitement and bitterness known as 'the battle of clocks' in the city. Bombay was thrown into the controversy after Lord Curzon's proposal of adopting a standard time. Bombay clocks were to be put 39 minutes in advance of the local time. This gave rise to unfortunate controversy in the civic body and outside.² It was decided on the motion of Sir Bhalkhandra Krishna in the Corporation that the municipal clocks should not be altered. The issue, however, had not been upon the merits of the standard time, but upon personal issues. The controversy was shelved after sometime.

Caucus³: Bombay was convulsed, and her harmony was seriously impaired by a discreditable movement relating municipal elections, by Mr. Harrison (Accountant General, Government of Bombay), Mr. Lovat Fraser (*Times of India*), Mr. Gell (Commissioner of Police) and Mr. Hatch (Collector of Bombay). Mr. Harrison began a series of manoeuvres, unparalleled in the history of municipal elections, to put an end to the powerful regime of Pherozeshah and to undermine his unquestionable domination over the Bombay municipality. The organisers of the Caucus issued a "ticket" containing the names of 16 nominees of their choice

¹ Homi Mody, op. cit., pp. 277-79.

² Ibid., pp. 281-84.

³ Account is based on Homi Mody's account in *Sir Pherozeshah Mehta*, pp. 284-94.

for the 16 seats allotted to the Justices of Peace, for the general elections to the Corporation in February 1907. The nominees were from different communities, and were dubbed as 'Independents'. Pressure and persuasion were employed by the high officials to get all the Justices who hung on their favours, or were afraid of their frowns, to vote for the 'ticket'. Mr. Fraser¹ sought the help of Aga Khan also for influencing his followers.

The Caucus was the talk of the town. A violent wave of feeling swept over Bombay, and even distant parts of India. A majority of the newspapers expressed public indignation against the Caucus. The election took place among scenes of wild excitement on 22 February 1907. The citizens raised eloquent slogans, such as, "Pherozeshah means the Corporation and the Corporation means Pherozeshah". However, the Caucus was successful. The only outsider elected was Dinshaw Petit, Pherozeshah being the 17th on the list. This was received with deep resentment and anger throughout India. Newspapers gave a full vent to public opinion against the Caucus. The observations of the *Madras Standard* and the *Indian Patriot* were quite representative of the public feeling for Pherozeshah and against the Caucus. Pherozeshah was, however, inducted into the Corporation due to the disqualification² of one of the candidates of the Caucus.

The unfair election was challenged by a petition in the Small Causes Court. There was a long and protracted trial. "Some dramatic incidents were witnessed, some damaging disclosures were made, and many people were witnessed, some damaging disclosures were made, and many people had to look foolish in the course of the inquiry."³ The petition however failed in the court as also at Government level, as the Caucus had the support of people in high places.⁴

A mass meeting was held at Madhav Baug on 7 April 1907 to give expression to the universal feeling of condemnation of the unconstitutional action of Government officials in interfering in the purity and freedom of the election. G. K. Gokhale who was in the chair referred to Pherozeshah's position in Bombay Corporation as without any parallel in India. Thousands from all communities attended the demonstration. As decided in the meeting a memorial was addressed to the Government of India.

Although the Caucus had won the elections, its candidates could not undermine the position of Pherozeshah, because they had no policy, no programme of their own. He still held sway. The ranks of his supporters had been thinned, but the civic body continued to be dominated by him.

¹ He was subsequently fined by the Chief Justice of the Small Causes Court for not disclosing the correspondence.

² Mr. S. A. Wahed had contracts with the Municipality, and was hence disqualified.

³ Homi Mody, op. cit., p. 290.

⁴ Lord Lamington was the Governor then.

As Homi Mody observes, "The Caucus had triumphed, the Caucus had failed."¹ "The Caucus forms a sad chapter in the civic annals of Bombay."²

There was another controversial issue mentioned earlier which occupies an important chapter in the annals of Bombay. This was over the constant vexation over the cost of maintenance of the police force, between the Corporation and Government. By the Municipal Act of 1865, the entire cost of police force in Bombay was charged on the municipality. There was a vague proviso under which a proportion of the cost was to be borne by Government under some conditions. This led to many petitions by the municipality to the Government of India and the Secretary of State in London. Lord Ripon's resolution on local self-government which sought to relieve municipal bodies of the police charges in exchange of the expenditure on primary education and medical relief, was not implemented by the Bombay Government in its spirit. Hence the vexation continued in a protracted manner. The Bombay Municipal Act of 1888 also did not strike out a definite line of policy. It provided that a certain proportion of the charges of the police was to be borne by the Bombay civic body, and the cause of the friction continued further.

Several petitions were sent to Government. During his speeches in the Legislative Council, Pherozeshah appealed to Government to remove the obnoxious cost of police. The question became acute when it was decided to increase the police force after the Hindu-Muslim riots of 1893. The hostility of the Corporation against Government on the question of police charges grew constantly. This also affected the settlement of the policy with regard to primary education and medical relief, which was another cause of friction. After a protracted wrangle, Lord Lamington's Government showed its willingness to solve the question relating to transfer of liabilities. It proposed to hand over to the Corporation the liability of primary education and medical relief in the city, and to relieve that body of the police charges. The Bill to that effect was introduced in the Council in July 1907 which was enacted two months later. The protracted vexation was thus put to rest. The Act may be regarded as one of the most constructive achievements of Pherozeshah's career.³

SWADESHI AND BOYCOTT MOVEMENT

The agitation against the Universities Act (1904) was but a prelude to the massive Swadeshi Movement which followed another spurious measure of Lord Curzon, viz, the partition of Bengal. The anti-partition protest led to the Swadeshi Movement, and its "right hook" the boycott

¹ Homi Mody, op. cit., p. 292.

² Ibid., p. 294.

³ Ibid., p. 319-21.

of foreign goods. This political and economic campaign in Bengal made a tremendous impact on Bombay. The gestation of the Swadeshi was initiated first by Lokahitwadi Gopal Hari Deshmukh.¹ In 1905-06, however, it was attempted to widen the Swadeshi Movement from a mere boycott of British goods to a boycott of everything British. After the emergence of Mahatma Gandhi, the Non-co-operation Movement was essentially a revival of the Swadeshi on an all-India scale.² It urged the people to resign from government jobs, shun the British law-courts, withdraw from schools and colleges and boycott the elections. But we shall turn to these events afterwards.

Tilak was the principal advocate of the Swadeshi in Bombay. The Swadeshi Wastu Pracharini Sabha, Bombay, comprising patriotic mill owners, businessmen and political workers in the city was quite active. In September 1905 Tilak exhorted the Bombay millowners to extend their helping hand to the movement by supplying *dhotis* produced by them at moderate rates. Their response, however, was in the negative. Tilak presided over a large public meeting in the city on 15 October 1905 in which it was resolved to encourage indigenous goods and to request the mills of Bombay to stop the price rise. His speech was eloquent and bristling with political suggestions, and he vehemently attacked the *Times of India* for reactionary views. Tilak was on the platform in Bombay often and on for the same mission.³

The Swadeshi Wastu Pracharini Sabha organised a meeting in September 1906 under Tilak who exhorted his audience to the cause of swadeshim. He also expressed his sympathy for the employees who participated in the postal strike.⁴ The Sabha organised another meeting on 7 October 1906 presided over by Tilak who deprecated the extension of railways with British capital investment on the score of its facilitating the export of Indian goods which was to the advantage of England's economy. Tilak also advocated the anti-free trade policy, and asserted that swadeshim and boycott were inseparable.⁵

On 21 October 1906, Tilak explained to the Bania merchants at the meeting of the Swadeshi Wastu Pracharini Sabha that the essence of swadeshim did not lie so much in boycotting foreign articles as in making efforts to reduce foreign imports and to increase exports of India. He advised them to transact their business direct and not through foreigners. Tilak was reported to have interviewed the Russian, German and Austrian

¹ *Gazetteer of India*, Vol. II (Government of India, 1973), p. 540.

² The idea was expounded with its economic implications in the 1840s by Lokahitwadi, and in the seventies by M. G. Ranade.

³ *Source Material for a History of Freedom Movement*, Vol. II, p. 213.

⁴ Ibid., p. 214.

⁵ Ibid., p. 215.

Consuls ostensibly to obtain letters of introduction to commercial firms in those countries with a view to purchase goods and machinery in furtherance of the Swadeshi Movement.

During the Governorship of George Clarke, later Lord Sydenham (1907-1913), a number of controversial issues ruffled Bombay. He, as it appears, decided to put the coping stone on Lord Curzon's work, and lost no time in formulating his ideas and setting things in motion for carrying them into effect. Hostilities commenced with a letter from Government to the University, dated 18 December 1908, stating that radical reforms were necessary if the teaching of science and higher education generally were to be brought into harmony with modern requirements.¹ It was an attempt by Government towards infringement of university autonomy in academic matters. The issue came before the Senate for the first time in January 1910, and subsequently in 1910 and 1911. The bureaucratic imagination had taken fright at the idea of the young students being fed on the noble story of the struggle for freedom which enriched the pages of English history. Pherozeshah was vehemently opposed to the change,² while the Vice-Chancellor, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar took a complacent attitude towards Government machinations. Even Sir R. G. Bhandarkar unfortunately charged Pherozeshah with employing obstructive tactics.³ The machine-made majority had gathered obedience to carry out the behests of the reactionary Governor.⁴

With the retirement of Lord Sydenham and the advent of Lord Willingdon, a Governor with liberal tendencies, in 1913, there came a change over the spirit of the Secretariat. The new Governor, brought up in the vivifying atmosphere of the House of Commons,⁵ had the sagacity to recognize critics of Government as valued assets. During the last two years of his career Pherozeshah wielded a great influence over the intelligentsia as well as in the Legislative Council.

The First World War broke out in August 1914, and it was on 13 August that the citizens in Bombay held a meeting in the Town Hall to give expression to the feelings of loyalty which the war had aroused among large sections of the people. Pherozeshah presided and delivered one of the most memorable speeches he ever made.⁶ According to a newspaper report, it was "a great resolve expressed in noble words; it found an echo in every speaker who followed and it was greeted with unparalleled enthusiasm by the audience which crowded the historic Town Hall".

¹ *Source Material for a History of Freedom Movement*, Vol. II, p. 216.

² Homi Mody, op. cit., p. 332.

³ Ibid., p. 335.

⁴ Ibid., p. 332.

⁵ Ibid., p. 359.

⁶ Ibid., p. 361.

Mahatma Gandhi's Home-Coming: The most important event in Bombay early in 1915 was the home-coming of Mahatma Gandhi. During his earlier career he had sojourned in the city for an aggregate of about five years at intervals. On arrival in Bombay Gandhiji and Kasturba were accorded a most cordial welcome at the Apollo Bunder by a large concourse of distinguished people including J. B. Petit, Sir Bhalchandra Krishna, B. G. Horniman, Bahadurji, Narottam Morarji, Narandas and Revashankar Jagjivan (Gandhiji's host). Gandhiji had a meeting with Gokhale who gave him appropriate counsels, and also saw the Governor at the latter's desire. A series of receptions were arranged in Gandhiji's honour in the city, the most grand of which was organised at J. B. Petit's residence¹ on 12 January 1915 by an influential committee comprising Pherozeshah, M. A. Jinnah, Dinshaw Wacha, J. B. Petit, Sir Richard Lamb, Sir Claude Hill, Pattani and K. M. Munshi. Pherozeshah as president of the meeting, said that for the last few years the whole country had resounded with the tale of Gandhi's great deeds, his courage and great moral qualities, his labours and his sufferings in the cause of the Indians in South Africa. In a welcome accord to Gandhiji by the Gujarat Association, Girgaum, Jinnah recounted Gandhi's illustrious services, and expressed an absolute unanimity of the Indians in presenting a united front to the enemy of the Bombay Empire at war and the Indian loyalty to British Government. The Branch of the Servants of India Society under Gokhale gave a befitting reception to the newly arrived hero. The Bombay National Union at Hira Baug with Tilak, the citizens of Ghatkopar and the women of Bombay at an assembly at Madhav Baug² also arranged for warm receptions in honour of Gandhiji and Kasturba.³

G. K. Gokhale passed away on 19 February, 1915 within six weeks of Gandhiji's return to India, while he was engaged in a solution of the momentous problems that confronted India at one of the turning points in her history. His death seemed to be nothing short of a national calamity. Bombay gave fitting expression to her sense of loss at a very impressive gathering in the Town Hall on 5 March 1915. Lord Willingdon was in the chair, and "in a singularly felicitous vein paid a tribute to the departed leader. The pathos of the situation struck the audience."⁴

During his visit to Bombay the Viceroy, Lord Hardinge desired Pherozeshah to accept the vice-chancellorship of the Bombay University, which he accepted in March 1915, but did not live long to enjoy the chair. His services to the august body were distinguished and highly meritorious.

¹ Mount Petit at Malabar Hill.

² The speakers included Ramabai Ranade, Lady Pherozeshah Mehta, Lady Cowasji Jehangir and Lady Tyabji.

³ The account of receptions is based on K. Gopalswami's *Gandhi and Bombay* (Gandhi Smarak Nidhi and Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1969).

⁴ Homi Mody, op. cit., p. 361.

The Municipal Corporation of which he was the creator and uncrowned king, celebrated its Golden Jubilee on 2 March 1915, under the presidentship of Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy.¹

Pherozezshah Mehta, the towering figure which had dominated the stage for more than a generation, died at Napean Sea road in Bombay on 5 November 1915. Public sorrow over the event was profound and universal. The Municipal and University offices as great many institutions observed mourning. Rich tributes were paid even by bitter political opponents like Tilak and Lord Harris, Lovat Fraser and Bhavnagari in a memorial meeting in London presided over by Aga Khan. The remarkable memorial meeting of the citizens of Bombay, which took place a little later, provided a befitting culmination to the demonstration of popular feeling which marked the great Bombay citizen's death. It was held on 10 December 1915, in a *Shamiana* erected for the forthcoming session of the Congress, as the Town Hall would have been too small for the occasion. The meeting of over 10,000 was presided over by Lord Willingdon, the speakers being Chandavarkar, Mr. Birkett,² Ibrahim Rahimtulla, Dr. Mackichan and many others.³

The first number of the *Young India* was published on 17 November 1915 under editorship of Jamnadas Dwarkadas in Bombay.⁴ This paper was destined to become the mouthpiece of the freedom movement.

COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY (1825-1915)

Enormous fortunes were reaped on imports and exports and the large princely merchant houses had become established in Bombay in the first half of the nineteenth century. The wealth of Bombay's leading merchants gave them power and social prestige. It also earned them the title of *shetia*. By about 1840 the *shetias* had assumed a distinct public role in the city's life. Many of them regarded Bombay as their home and were concerned for its embellishment. The Parsis were in the forefront in this respect. Sir Jamshetji Jijibhai Batliwala, the first Baronet (1783-1859), Framji Cowasji, Cowasji Jehangir, Jagannath Shankarshet, Goculdas Tejpal and Roghay were among the business magnates and public spirited philanthropists of the day. They were deeply involved not only in the nexus of the economy of the city but also in its public life. The Government associated the *shetias* with significant official positions and committees in Bombay. Many of them were appointed as Justices of the Peace and as members of the Board of Conservancy. A good many *shetias* functioned

¹ Homi Mody, op. cit., p. 369.

² Representative of British mercantile community.

³ Homi Mody, op. cit., pp. 377-82.

⁴ Jamnadas Dwarkadas, op. cit., p. 90.

as Commissioners of the Court of Requests and as members of the Board of Education. They were acclaimed to be the representatives of the natives as a whole. They had developed a sense of corporate identity and a certain public role as leaders of society.

As early as 1829, leaders like Shankarshet, Jamshetji Jijibhai and Framji Cowasji, had urged the House of Commons, through a petition, that Indians be included in the hitherto solely European Bench of Justices, a body which was responsible for the functioning of municipal affairs and for raising revenues. The *shetias* had also requested the Government for induction of natives in the Grand Jury and positions of office. When Indian Justices were finally appointed in 1834, twelve of the thirteen were *shetias*.¹

A great deal of wealth and public influence in Bombay in the early nineteenth century was concentrated in a few families such as, the Jamshetji Jijibhais, the Banajis, the Readymoneys, the Wadias, the Camas, the Dadyshets, Varjivandas Madhavdas, Mangaldas Nathubhai, the Tyabjis, the Roghays, the Ghatays, etc. Dadaji Dhakji was an eminent Prabhu millionaire of the forties. Jagannath Shankarshet (1802-65) was the most prominent Maratha *shetia* who had inherited money-lending business from his grandfather and trading from his father. His own banking activities ensured that he remained a wealthy man. However, his status was based not so much on the vast riches typical of the Gujarati *shetias* but more on his own force of character, his unique position in the Marathi speaking population and the respect with which his advanced ideas were regarded by Government.²

With the opening of the China trade and the rise in the price of American cotton after 1833, there was a large increase in the number of independent European mercantile firms in Bombay. Nearly all these firms had Parsi guarantee-brokers,³ who guaranteed the solvency of the constituents and advanced huge capital to enable them to carry on trade. The families most closely associated with the China trade comprised the Readymoneys, the Petits, the Camas, the Banajis and the Jamshetji Jijibhais. The Ready-money family owned several ships and their prosperity was assured by the association of Cowasji Jehangir Readymoney with the prosperous ship-building family of Roghay. The Readymoneys had come to Bombay from Navsari in the eighteenth century. Upon arrival they established the China trade, and Sir Cowasji Jehangir acquired a slight knowledge of English

¹ Of them 9 were Parsis, 2 Marathi and 1 Muslim, cf. J. Masselos, op. cit., p. 18.

² *Bombay Gazette*, 1 August 1865, cf. Christine Dobbin, op. cit.

³ H. B. Wadia, B. H. Wadia, Jijibhai Dadabhai, Dadabhai Pestanji Wadia, Manakji N. Petit, Cowasji Jehangir, etc. were the leading guarantee brokers of many European firms. Dadabhai P. Wadia was regarded as the greatest Parsi house in Bombay until it collapsed in the early fifties, Dinshaw Wacha, *Shells from Sands of Bombay* (Oxford, 1972).

at the Sykes' School. At 25 he was appointed guarantee broker of two European companies and eventually became one of the richest persons.¹ The Petits, one of the first mill-owning families in Bombay, were the early migrants from Surat. Sir D. M. Petit was an agent for French vessels (hence the name), and his son Sir Dinshaw Petit began his career in 1840 as a clerk in a European concern and afterwards a manager for other European firms. Meanwhile, the family had become very wealthy on its own account and had opened textile mills in the city.² The Wadia family, the most successful and forward-thinking of the Bombay millionaires, was well-established as shipwrights to the East India Company during the heyday of the Bombay Docks in the eighteenth century. It was in 1735 that Lavji Nasarvanji Wadia was brought down to Bombay from Surat, and was actively engaged throughout the whole period in building new vessels for the Company. The family continued a tradition of shipbuilding till about 1880.³ K. N. Cama (1815-85), the founder of the Cama family, became one of the most successful merchants trading between India and China. They built ships and were the first Indians to establish a mercantile firm in London in the mid-1850s. The Banajis owned many ships and had extensive trade with China and Burma. Sir Jamshetji Jijibhai (1783-1859), the first Baronet, was, however, the most prominent among them all. He built his own fleet of ships and was by far the greatest trader with China. He earned huge profits in cotton exports and also a reputation for being the most enlightened philanthropist in Bombay. By virtue of his being the head of the Parsi Panchayat the title of "Sir Jamshetji Jijibhai" was continued on the head of the family for generations ahead. The Tatas migrated to Bombay early in the nineteenth century and by 1859 they were general merchants, contractors for the British and China traders. Jamshetji, the future giant of industry, received English education in the Elphinstone College and had gained experience of the Lancashire cotton industry.⁴

The Thackerseys, a Bhatia family from Kathiawar, had their fortune founded by Damodar Thackersey Moolji who began to establish intercourse with the European export-import houses of Bombay in about 1866 and acquired wealth power through trade and industry.⁵ The Currimbhoy house was established in the city prior to the advent of industry, and was mainly engaged in trade with China. This Khoja family hailed from Cutch where they used to ply country crafts between Mandvi, Arabia and Zanzibar. They acquired mill agencies, and in 1888 started

¹ Anon, *Representative Men of the Bombay Presidency* (Bombay, 1900), p. 73.

² *Ibid.*, p. 70.

³ R. Wadia, *The Wadia Dockyard and the Wadia Master Builders*.

⁴ F. Harris, *Jamshetji Nusserwanji Tata : A Chronicle of his life* (Bombay, 1958), pp. 1-10.

⁵ Anon, *op. cit.*, pp. 114-15.

their own mills, and eventually built an empire of their own in Bombay.¹ The Sassoons were another successful family, the largest millowners in Bombay. These Baghdadi Jews who had come to Bombay in 1832, entered the Gulf trade and opium business.² They were a westernised family enjoying important positions and contacts with Englishmen.

Many of the Banias of the 1850 period were equally prosperous as the Parsis. They were cotton traders, bankers and guarantee brokers.

The decline in China trade in the middle of the nineteenth century was instrumental in the economic decline of the Parsis and the Muslims who, besides being traders, were also shipbuilders. This period witnessed the emergence of David Sassoon³ and other Jews as men of wealth.

The decline in old spheres of influence, was, however, partially compensated for by the rise of new ones. There was an enormous increase in cotton trade. The outbreak of American Civil War in 1861 and the consequent spurt in export of cotton to England contributed enormously to the economic growth of Bombay. The Parsis, Banias and Bhatias amassed huge fortunes in cotton trade.⁴ All sorts of ingenious schemes were devised for channelising the money earned. The economic situation was characterised as the *Share Mania* of 1861-65. The economic life of the city was electrified during the Share Mania. The super abundance of wealth stimulated investments in shipping, banking, trade and land reclamation. Enormous money was injected into the city which transformed Bombay into the most important mercantile centre, the *Urbs Prima in Indis*. The cessation of the war in 1865, however, brought a general disaster on the economy of the city and the textile industry was overwhelmed by a stagnation.

It was between 1818 and 1860 that road and railway communications were established between the city and the mainland. The opening of the first railway ever constructed east of the Suez Canal (16 April 1853) was one of the most important landmarks in the annals of Bombay as well as of India. The railway was extended from Thane to Kalyan on 1 May 1854. The railway sections upto Igatpuri were opened from time to time until 1 January 1865.⁵ The cherished goals of the public spirited men in Bombay to link the cotton producing tracts of Khandesh and Berar with the city by railway were fulfilled in 1865. The rail link from Kalyan to Khandala was opened on 14 May 1863, and was extended further

¹ S. M. Rutnagar, *op. cit.*, pp. 697-732.

² S. Jackson, *The Sassoons* (London, 1968), pp. 17-22.

³ Bartle Frere, Governor of Bombay, described him as 'the first of our non-European merchants in wealth and respectability'.

⁴ The value of cotton exports increased from 5.25 millions in 1860 to 80 millions in 1865.

⁵ For details see Chapter 7—Communications in *Greater Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. II.

to Pune. Bombay, thus, became the nerve centre of trade and industry. Its fine natural harbour, and the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, made it the most important international port in India.¹ The opening of the sub-marine cable to England in 1870 provided a sensitive link with the markets of the world.

Besides the several changes in physical infrastructure, the administration of commerce was improved by trade regulations, and new joint-stock legislation. There was a change over to the joint-stock principle. The growth of trade and the collapse of many houses of agency, stimulated the establishment of many banks. In 1840 the Government-sponsored Bank of Bombay was established. This was followed by the Bank of Western India in 1842 and the Commercial Bank of India in 1845.² Shankarshet was a director of both the latter banks. Dadabhai Pestanji Wadia, Framji Cowasji Banaji, Jamshetji Jijibhai, Jijibhai Dadabhai, B. H. Wadia and Cowasji Nanabhai Davar, were all connected with the banks. The mercantile magnates, headed by Framji Banaji, took up shares when the G. I. P. Railway Company was projected. Insurance companies were beginning to attract attention. The establishment of banks opened up new opportunities in the field of brokerage in stocks and shares. Premchand Raichand was by far the greatest name in this sphere.

These developments paved a way for the pioneering of the cotton mill industry in Bombay. The first mill in the city, the Bombay Spinning and Weaving Company was floated by a shareholders agreement on 7 July 1854. It was ventured by Cowasji Nanabhai Davar (1814-73). The profits of the same exceeded all expectations, and many mills followed. The Oriental Spinning and Weaving Company, floated in 1855 under the leadership of M. N. Petit, Beramji Jijibhai, Varjivandas Madhavdas, E. Sassoon and two Europeans, started functioning in 1858. M. N. Petit's entry into the mill industry marked the transition of his family from trade to industry. Prosperity of the industry attracted a number of *shettias*. Mangaldas Nathubhai floated the Bombay United Spinning and Weaving Company in February 1860. B. H. Wadia and Kesowji Naik promoted one mill each in the same year. There were ten mills with 6,600 employees in the city in 1865.

A good many mercantile magnates were close personal friends by virtue of their business partnerships. They promoted not only trade and industry but also were munificent in their charities. The total sum donated by Jamshetji Jijibhai in his lifetime amounted to Rs. 25 lakhs. Cowasji Jehangir Readymoney, likewise, became famous for his charities, which

¹ Development of the Bombay harbour was commenced in 1736. The history of railways, harbour, docks and roads is furnished in Chapters 7 and 9 in *Greater Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. II.

² Christine Dobbin, op. cit., p. 18.

included large donations for the University and for hospitals, amounting to Rs. 14 lakhs.¹ Other philanthropists included Jagannath Shankarshet, Mangaldas Nathubhai, Goculdas Tejpal, Framji Banaji, F. N. Patel and M. N. Petit.

The Bombay Chamber of Commerce was established by Europeans, inducting three Indians on its first committee, in 1836. Although not a political body, many complaints made by the Chamber to Government had attracted Indian political associations in subsequent years. It showed its concern for development of communications in the Presidency and growth of Bombay. Its members, including Framji Banaji and Jamshetji Jijibhai established the *Bombay Times* in 1838.

Besides the men of amazing commercial career mentioned above, the other pioneers of industry in Bombay included, Dinshaw Petit, Nusserwanji Petit, Bomanji Wadia, Dharamsey Punjabhai, David Sassoon, Merwanji Pandey, Khatau Makanji, Tapidas Varajdas, James Greaves, George Cotton, Morarji Goculdas, Mancherji Banaji, Mulji Jetha, Thackersey Moolji, Jamshetji Tata and many more. They were said to be men of initiative and integrity. Jamshetji Tata emerged as an enterprising industrialist who was the first to introduce economies in cotton mills, a fair deal to workers and a system of bonus and provident fund to employees. He went to England to study the Lancashire mill industry in 1865, and started the Alexandra mill in 1869 and the Swadeshi mill in 1886, while the Tata mills was established after his death in 1915.

Morarji Goculdas established a mill which bears his name even today, in 1870. Thackersey Moolji floated the Hindoostan Spinning and Weaving Company in 1873. This was followed by the mills of David Sassoon in 1874 and of Khatau Makanji in 1875. The progress of the industry was particularly rapid from 1875 to 1885. The Greaves Cotton and Company and the firms of D. M. Petit and the Thackersey family expanded their textile ventures by establishing many new mills. The number of mills in the city increased to 70 in 1895. The new mills which saw the light of the day during 1885-95 included those floated by Currimbhoy Ibrahim and Sons, Sassoon J. David and Company and E. D. Sassoon and Company.

The progress of the industry was, however, retarded by a depression, an unprecedented plague and famine. Many inefficiently managed companies went into liquidation or changed Agents.

The outbreak of the First World War and the stoppage of imports of machinery from Lancashire hampered establishment of new mills in Bombay for many years to come. While Bombay had been exporting yarn to China on a large scale upto 1914, the exports slumped rapidly due to Japanese competition. Surprisingly, Japanese yarn and piecegoods

¹ Christine Dobbin, op. cit., p. 21.

The role of the Bombay Millowners' Association in the pre-Independence period was particularly beneficial to the industry. It is one of the oldest trade organisations in the country, established on 1 February 1875. It advocated the cause of the industry in regard to its advancement, safeguarding of interests and arbitration with Government, in matters of commercial and fiscal policies. The mills owe a debt of gratitude to this body which functioned as its mouthpiece. Increasingly the mills became the predominant source of wealth and investment. It was on this basis that the owners and their Association built up their social position and standing in the public life of Bombay. They financed the charities which earned them influence and esteem.

The Bombay Millowners' Association welcomed and supported the Swadeshi Movement in so far as it suited industrial interests. The ideas of Swadeshi were kept alive and brought to every door by articles in newspapers, processions and enrolment of volunteers to keep vigilant watch and by occasional bonfire of foreign cloth. The British interests complained that the Bombay millowners made huge profits on account of the Swadeshi sentiment for buying indigenous cloth. Undoubtedly the movement supplied a momentum to the cotton mills in Bombay.

The formation of the Bombay Port Trust in June 1873 was one of the most important landmarks in the history of economic development of Bombay. It originated in the apprehension of the Bombay Government that trade interests were seriously endangered by the monopoly of private companies in regard to landing and shipping facilities at the port. The properties vested in the Port Trust included the Elphinstone Estate, the Mody Bay reclamation, the Apollo Bay reclamation, the Wellington reclamation, the Apollo Pier, the Tank Bunder Estate, the Customs bonded warehouses, the Kasara Bunder, and the whole of the property of the Harbour and Pilotage Board, the Mazagaon Pier, etc. During 1873-83 it mainly executed the works on the Elphinstone Estate, including construction of the Prince's Dock which was opened on 1 January 1880. The Frere road was also completed. During 1883-93, the Victoria Dock and Merewether

The most spectacular work of the Bombay Port Trust was, however, the construction of the Port Trust railway in 1915.¹ The post-war boom gave a burst of energy to the budding cotton textile industry of Bombay. By 1917-18, Bombay had 43·7 per cent of the total number of spindles in India and 50·5 per cent. of the looms.² Although cotton textile was the principal industry, there were also the railway workshops and engineering works which prospered during the period. The railway workshops were the second largest employers of labour. Between 1860 and 1920 the entire market economy of the city grew apace in association with the growth of the mill industry.

The Parsis (84,868 in 1921) had a powerful central organisation, the Parsi Panchayat whose traditional leader was Sir Jamshetji Jijibhai. Although they were a more or less homogeneous group there were some recalcitrant elements and nationalists like Mr. K. F. Nariman who had shown their resentment at the Parsi merchant princes. For example, middle class Parsis boycotted the address arranged in honour of the Prince of Wales who had come to Bombay in 1921.² Besides the Parsis, the old merchant communities of Bombay included the orthodox Surati Baniyas, the Bohras and the Jains. The Marwaris arrived in substantial numbers during the 1916-21 boom. In the 1930s they moved into the

² A detailed account of the Bombay Port Trust and Docks is given in Chapter 7 of the revised *Greater Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. II, and the *Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island*, Vol. III, 1910, pp. 66-81.

² A. K. Baschi *Private Investment in India, 1900-1939* (Cambridge, 1972), p. 234.

³ *Census of India, 1921, IV, p. 15.*

mill industry in substantial numbers, buying up the Currimbhoy empire, and later, the Sassoons.¹

By the dawn of the twentieth century, Bombay exhibited a division between the old native town housing the bustling markets and the masses of the proletariat, and the modern section housing fashionable establishments and the westernised gentry. As Joseph Baptista, later Mayor of Bombay, said in 1913, "Bombay was the graveyard of the poor, although its rapid rise was remarkable, although it was then the first city of India, the second in the British Empire and the tenth in the world and although its potentialities were prodigious." By 1921 Maharashtrian labourers from the Konkan and the Deccan constituted more than half of the recently arrived manual workforce of 2,30,000.² The labour force was, at this time, highly volatile and lacking in a definite leadership. The growth of modern industry as a result of the boom of 1916-21 attracted educated middle-class professionals and clerks, mainly from Kanara, Cochin, Goa and Madras. In 1921, Bombay supported 3,709 lawyers, 6,651 doctors and 2,450 teachers. A high percentage of doctors were Parsis and South Indian Christians.³

By the end of the World War I it was overwhelmingly those industrial or business houses, with a few notable exceptions, which were well-established in Bombay prior to 1850 that were able to capitalise on the new mill industry. The prominent industrial or business houses included the Petits, the Wadias, the Readymoneys, the Thackerseys, the Currimbhoy family, the Sassoons, and the Tatas. All of them owned several mills and huge wealth.

The Sassoons were however, the largest millowners in Bombay in the 1920s. The Currimbhoy house owned the second largest number of mills in this period.

These business houses constituted an "inner circle" among the mill-owning companies in the city. They were highly westernised and adept in modern business methods. There was a close liaison on the social and business levels between them and Europeans. The Willingdon Sports Club at Hornby Vellard was founded by Lord Willingdon during his Governorship with the specific objective of promoting harmony between Indians and Europeans, and it served an admirable venue for meetings and rapprochement between the bureaucracy and the industrialists till Independence.⁴

¹ A. D. D. Gordon, *Businessmen and Politics: Rising Nationalism and a Modernising Economy in Bombay, 1918-1933* (Australian National University Monograph, Manohar Publications, New Delhi, 1978), p. 50.

² Burnett Hurat, *Labour and Housing in Bombay* (London, 1925), pp. 3-4.

³ A. D. D. Gordon, op. cit., p. 47.

⁴ After 1947 it, however, became more of an entertainment club for the rich than anything else.

Most of these families sent their sons to England, and were the members of several westernised clubs. The cultural affinity between the Englishmen and the Bombay industrialists was so close that the Willingdon Club and the Bombay industrialists were so close that the Willingdon Club was treated with scorn. Many of them were members of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce and the Indian Merchants' Chamber which were under European domination. Men like Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas and Sir C. V. Mehta and many others were closely associated with European firms.¹

The industrialists in Bombay also enjoyed Government patronage and substantial representation in various institutions ever since the mid-nineteenth century. After the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms of 1919 both the Indian Merchants' Chamber (hereafter called IMC) and the Bombay Millowners' Association (BMA) were granted representation on the Bombay Municipal Corporation, the Port Trust, the Bombay City Improvement Trust and the Bombay Legislative Council. Besides, many industrialists were either elected or nominated to the legislatures on independent basis because of their economic power, while some of them sat on the Governor's and Viceroy's Executive Councils. Victor Sassoon, Currimbhoy Ibrahim, Lallubhai Samaldas and Manmohandas Ramji, all sat in the Legislative Assembly during the 1920s, while C. V. Mehta, Cowasji Jehangir Jr., D. M. Petit, Vithaldas Thackersey and others were members of the Bombay Legislative Council. Ibrahim Rahimtoola, C. V. Mehta and Cowasji Jehangir Jr., were on the Bombay Governor's Council, and Husenbhai Lalji was a member of the Viceroy's Council.²

The industrialists as a group could also exercise influence because of their economic power, and the Government was dependent upon them for political support. Many of the Governors of Bombay impressed upon the Viceroy or the Secretary of State about the importance of maintaining the friendship of the Bombay interests. The industrialists had extended financial support to the War Loans. Naturally many times the Governors were compelled to persuade the British Government not to offend them on tariff and fiscal matters. Sir Leslie Wilson (Governor, 1923-28), was faced with such a predicament in 1927 when he wrote to Lord Irwin³ to do something to retain the goodwill of these people. Sir Frederick Sykes (Governor, 1928-33), had similarly to urge to Lord Irwin⁴ on several occasions that the Bombay industrialists should not be alienated by Government fiscal policy. Besides, the powerful industrialists such as Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas and Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola

¹ Frank Moraes, *Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas* (Bombay, 1957).

² A. D. D. Gordon, op. cit., Notes on p. 265.

³ Wilson to Irwin, 22 June 1927, MSS. EUR. D. 703 (15).

⁴ Sykes to Irwin, 16 April 1930, MSS. EUR. F. 150 (2).

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and Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy could influence bureaucrats in the Presidency as well as at New Delhi. Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola was in close association with Lord Willingdon and Sir George Lloyd. Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy had the ear of Sir Leslie Wilson, and Sir Ness Wadia was almost an adviser of Frederick Sykes in the matters relating to cotton industry and trade.

The entire mill industry and other industries owned by Indians, as well as most of the Indian-owned modern financial institutions, were controlled by about 50 individuals. Five great family-based managing agencies, namely Currimbhoy Ibrahim and Company, E. D. Sassoon and Company, Nowrojee Wadia and D. M. Petit and sons, controlled over half the spindles and looms in Bombay mills.¹ A small core of 18 men, two of whom were Europeans, between them controlled 77 companies registered on the Bombay Stock Exchange in 1924, and four giants, Sir Sassoon J. David, Sir Jamsetji Jijibhai, F. E. Dinshaw and Purshottamdas Thakurdas sat each on the boards of more than 22 companies. In fact F. E. Dinshaw, at one time, was on the boards of 65 companies. This shows the oligopolistic control of Bombay industry by a few magnates. This concentration was partly due to the dearth of managerial talents, but largely due to the managing agency system which was imported to Bombay by the Petits in 1860.² Agencies such as the Tatas, Currimbhoys, and later Walchand Hirachand, spawned great conglomerates which handled all stages of production.

The mill ownership in Bombay was overwhelmingly in the hands of Indians. Between 1912 and 1935 the estimated gross assets of the British in the city fell from 43 per cent of the total to 10 per cent and the European paid-up capital decreased from 30·8 to 21·6 per cent. This decline was mainly due to the withdrawal of capital by the European entrepreneurs during the Civil Disobedience Movement and the depression. This was coincident to the general withdrawal of British capital in India. Even among the mills controlled by the Europeans a large portion of the share capital was held by Indians. In seven of the eleven European-owned mills in 1930, for which data is available, there were 5,356 Indian shareholders holding shares worth Rs. 72·11 lakhs.³

Among the Parsi millowners, the Wadias were the most successful. They controlled the Bombay Dyeing, Spring and Textile mills with a total of 180,296 spindles and 4,810 looms. Sir Ness Wadia was the most prominent among them, and was adept in gaining political concessions for the millowners. The Tatas under Sir R. D. Tata, controlled four mills in Bombay with 211,996 spindles and 5,708 looms in 1925-26.

¹ A. D. D. Gordon, op. cit., p. 62.

² Ibid., p. 63.

³ Ibid., p. 64.

R. D. Tata and F. E. Dinshaw were in league with the conservative elements in the Congress on the one hand and the anti-nationalist elements in the Government on the other.¹ Sir D. M. Petit, a mill magnate, was a supporter of the Non-co-operation Movement, although he later changed sides.

Bhatias and Marwaris were prominent among Hindu millowners. The Thackerseys controlled 124,144 spindles and 3,104 looms² in the 1920s. Sir Vithaldas Thackersey, the most noteworthy among them, had a distinguished career as a member of the Municipal Corporation, City Improvement Trust, Imperial Legislative Council and the All-India Home Rule League. He died in 1922. Hansraj Pragji Thackersey was also a noted nationalist, member of the Municipal Corporation as well as the All-India Home Rule League, and a treasurer of the Satyagraha Sabha. "Of the millowning families, the Thackerseys along with the Morarjis,"³ were the least paradoxical in their relations with the nationalists.⁴ Walchand Hirachand was another nationalist industrialist who advocated the doctrine of economic nationalism. By and large the Hindu millowners as a group were more involved in marketing than in industry.

The Muslim and Jewish mills were owned by a few families. The Sassoons controlled 513,850 spindles and 11,400 looms in 1924.⁴ The Sassoons controlled 513,850 spindles and 11,400 looms in 1924.⁴ Sir Victor Sassoon, the most prominent Jew millowner, was a member of the Legislative Assembly. The Sassoons, however, gradually shifted from industry to trade with China in the 1920s, and were international bankers. The Currimbhoys controlled 509,458 spindles and 9,744 looms, and enjoyed government favour through an unswerving loyalty to the British. Sir Ibrahim Currimbhoy was a longtime member of the Bombay Legislative Council, while he and Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy were members of the Municipal Corporation.

In the 1920s there was, surprisingly, a good rapprochement between the industrialists and the intelligentsia in Bombay, who were opponents formerly. The leading Advocates, for example, had a close political and economic relationship with the millowners through the National Liberation Federation and the Independent Party, and through the induction of the former into the latter due to the paucity of managerial talents and the exigencies of company law. Eminent persons such as Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Barrister Jinnah, M. R. Jayakar, F. E. Dinshaw and Sir Lallubhai Samaldas, became rich in the practice of company law. Samaldas was on the boards of 12 companies. Sir Homi Mody, Samaldas and Dinshaw were inducted into industry at management level and Mody

¹ A. D. D. Gordon, op. cit., p. 66.

² S. M. Rutnagar, op. cit.

³ A. D. D. Gordon, op. cit., p. 66.

⁴ S. M. Rutnagar, op. cit., p. 59.

eventually came to be totally identified with the millowners. He became head of the Tatas, and in 1927 the permanent chairman of the Bombay Millowners' Association. Mody was a disciple of Pherozeshah Mehta. The industrialists and the intelligentsia also became composite as an elite class, and they mixed socially in clubs and on the racecourse as well as in business.¹

The marketeers who arrived in the later waves of migrants to Bombay were the antithesis of the industrialists. They were not represented in the Bombay Legislative Council and the Municipal Corporation, and were excluded from positions of authority in the city. Their inability to speak English was also their great handicap. For example, they were unable to influence the Indian Tariff Board of Inquiry into the cotton textile industry or the Cotton Contracts Bill of 1918 in the Bombay Council due to lack of knowledge of English. They did not rely on lateral business organisations like the Millowners' Association. They were fragmented into myriads of small associations dealing in one specific commodity. This also contributed to their political weakness in contrast to industrialists.²

The Bombay cotton market was the largest in the East, with an annual turnover of about three million bales.³ The ready cotton market was shifted from Colaba to the open space at Cotton Green (Sewri) in 1924, due to the dearth of adequate space at Colaba for the ever growing market. The future market was located at Kalbadevi, and attempts to shift it were defeated by the stalwarts of the Marwari Bazar, as it was called. Cotton exports were dominated by European firms such as the Bombay Company, Forbes Forbes and Campbell, Ralli Brothers and Volkarts.

The Bombay Cotton Trades Association founded in 1875 was a joint-stock company, which admitted very few Indians and that too, only millowners and exporters. The Indian merchants had, therefore, founded the Bombay Cotton Exchange in 1890. In 1913 the muccadams and importers of cotton founded the Bombay Cotton Merchants' and Muccadams' Association under impetus from one Mr. Breul, an anglicised German in Bombay. The Bombay Cotton Brokers' Association was founded in 1915 in opposition to the Bombay Cotton Trades Association and the Bombay Cotton Exchange which were dominated by millowners.⁴ Anandilal Poddar, Begraj Gupta and Mathurdas Vassanji were the leading lights of the Cotton Brokers' Association. Anandilal Poddar held nationalistic views and had gifted Rs. 2 lakhs to the Tilak Swaraj Fund in 1921.⁵

¹ A. D. D. Gordon, op. cit., p. 67.

² Ibid., pp. 69-70.

³ One bale = 2/3 ton.

⁴ A. D. D. Gordon, op. cit., p. 75.

⁵ Ibid.,

The end of the First World War left the Bombay cotton market in a state of flux. The Bombay share market which had received an unprecedented impetus during the Share Mania of 1861-65 was the largest of the indigenous money markets. After the towering influence of Premchand Raichand had ebbed, it was formalised into the Bombay Native Share and Stock Brokers' Association (BNSBBA) from about 1887. Sir Shapurji Broacha held sway over it till about the end of the First World War. However, the market was hardly well-organised upto the period under review.

There were three main piecegoods markets in the city in the 1920s viz., the Mulji Jetha Market (Shaikh Memon street), Morarji Goenidas Market (Kalbadevi) and Lakhmidas Market (Shaikh Memon street). The Mulji Jetha Market was, however, the largest and the most important. It housed the Bombay Native Piecegoods Merchants' Association (BNPMA) and about 374 shops. This as well as the other two markets were politically important because throughout the Non-co-operation and Civil Disobedience Movements the merchants extended their full support to the Congress and Gandhiji. Their participation in the freedom struggle was all the more important because the millowners very often changed sides between the nationalists and Government. This point will be illustrated later on.

Bombay dominated the bullion trade of India, and most of the bullion entering India came through the city.¹ The Bombay Bullion Exchange played an important role in the market, the leading brokers being G. D. Birla, a great nationalist, C. B. Mehta and Somani. G. D. Birla always supported the nationalist movement and was a close associate of Gandhiji.

The groundnut and oil-seeds market was another large market in the twenties, situated at Dana Bunder, near Masjid railway station. However, it was not very significant politically. Perhaps the most influential of all the Bombay markets was the traditional money market. This is because of the close financial relationship that existed between the shroffs and traders, and because most of the shroffs were also themselves traders in commodities.² The shroffs were known, in the nineteenth century, even to have financed Government. They continued to finance crops in the Presidency, share dealings and bullion trade till about Independence. They were jealous of the encroachment of modern financial institutions on their sphere of activity. They were represented by the Marwari Chamber of Commerce which assumed great political importance during the Civil Disobedience Movement.

¹ A. D. D. Gordon, op. cit., p. 79.

² Ibid., p. 81.

The War, the reforms of markets by statutory provisions and growth of industrialisation, wrought great economic changes in Bombay during the twenties. On the one hand rapid industrialisation created enormous physical and social problems in the city, while on the other the economic reforms and the war cost the Government of Bombay good many financial resources, which it might have used to overcome these problems. The failure of Government to solve the problems of Bombay contributed to the political response of the city businessmen to the Congress agitations.

BOMBAY CITY IMPROVEMENT TRUST

The municipal politics in the city by the last decade of the nineteenth century revolved around three interest groups, namely, the landlords, large merchants and industrialists. The working class was still a minor group. There were conflicts between the three groups about the development strategy as well as about the question who should pay for the development. The ravages of the bubonic-plague of 1896 which persisted for quite long, were an eye-opener to all. About one quarter of the population fled away the horrors of plague. The city was faced with commercial extinction. This prompted the European dominated Bombay Chamber of Commerce, by itself an interest group, to urge upon the Government the necessity for proper drainage, reticulation of clean water and planned reclamation in the city. It was against this background that Lord Sandhurst, Governor, created the Bombay City Improvement Trust (BCIT) in 1898, on the pattern of the Glasgow City Improvement Trust. It was intended to be a parallel organisation, if not actually a rival, to the Bombay Municipal Corporation. It is said that the Municipal Corporation was not so much amenable to the will of Government, and sometimes confronted the latter. The Government could not easily renege on civil freedoms.¹ This prompted the Governor to introduce an additional element into local politics, a parallel organisation to the Corporation. It was established with the express purpose of developing the city in a planned way. It was charged with the laying of new roads, improvement of crowded localities, construction of sanitary tenements for the poor, reclaiming of further lands and providing accommodation for the police.² Its constitution and powers were similar to the Bombay Port Trust. In keeping with Government's reliance on millowners and business magnates, it was dominated by these interests throughout its existence. The scheme, having been generally approved by the Municipal Corporation, the Port Trust and the Chamber of Commerce, was finally legalised by enactment of Act IV of 1898, and the Trustees commenced work from 9 November 1898. The Trust started quite well and effected clearance at several localities such as Nagpada,

¹ A. D. D. Gordon, op. cit., p. 121.

² Ibid.

Mandvi, Koliwada, Naoroji Hill, Kholbhatwadi and Bhatwadi. Besides, the congested localities of Guzari Bazar, Memonwada, Tulsirampada, Anantwadi, Pathakwadi and Vithalwadi, were improved and provided with important arteries such as Mohammed Ali road, Princess street and Sandhurst road. Further clearance of Kamathipura, Nagpada, Sewri and Worli-Koliwada could not be undertaken due to financial constraints, although the same was proposed.¹

The road schemes of the Trust were primarily designed to maintain a north-south thoroughfare for speedy transport. Schemes were also prepared for opening out areas of congestion. The broad road from Carnac road to Sewri was constructed. A road section from Carnac road to its junction with Parel road was newly laid out, opening out the Memonwada, the worst congested locality.

Hughes road was cut through Malabar Hill. Areas lying between Malabar Hill and Gowalia Tank road were thus made suitable for residential purposes. Hughes road was developed into a western artery connecting Peddar Road. The Princess street opened areas around Dhobi Talao, Crawford Market, Chandanwadi, Vithalwadi, etc. Sandhurst road was another east-west link between Chowpati to the Dock area. The Chunam Kiln lane and the Gilder road on the north were widened into the present Lamington road. The Cuffe Parade was developed into another grand promenade on the reclaimed land.

The BCIT had all along conceived the reclamation of the low-lying northern areas for accommodating the poorer sections, thereby decongesting the central parts of the city. The scheme did not achieve the desired end as the cost of reclamation placed the value of plots beyond the reach of the poor. It included the Dadar, Matunga, Sewri, Wadala and Sion areas. Agripada was similarly reclaimed and made available for residential development.²

The accommodation schemes of the BCIT were two-fold, rehabilitation of those displaced by clearance schemes and residential accommodation for the police. The tenements were constructed by the BCIT at Agripada, Princess street, Chandanwadi and Mandvi and Koliwada. The Kohinoor mill and the Century mill constructed chawls for their workers at Naigaum and Worli, respectively, in consequence of amendment to the Trust Act.

The development of Bombay was being done by different public and private institutions without any co-ordinating link and without any regard to the interests of the masses. The Railways were acquiring valuable lands on the eastern and western parts of the city although it was felt that they

¹ *Municipal Corporation of Greater Bombay : Monographs on the occasion of Centenary Celebrations*, 1973.

² Ibid.

should have concentrated on the eastern fringe alone to serve the harbour and the large population around. The B. B. and C. I. Railway, however, had extended to Colaba in the interest of the cotton merchants at Cotton Green. This involved heavy bullock cart traffic between the Harbour and Colaba. Hence the Cotton Green was removed from Colaba to the Sewri reclamation. Consequently, there was no apparent justification for the continuance of the rail link to Colaba.¹

Whilst the several schemes were still on the anvil, Government issued a questionnaire on 9 December 1907 relating to (i) segregation of areas according to income groups, (ii) co-ordination and improvement of different channels of communication and (iii) a mode of travelling suitable for the displaced population. However, in this instance too, it was the industrial and business magnates who had the final say, and most of the replies received had a bias in favour of the replier's respective interest. Based on the replies received Government embarked upon a policy in 1909 which was to govern Bombay for the next 20 years.² It was recommended that the western shores should provide accommodation for the wealthy class (as they already did); that Salsette should provide accommodation for the middle class; that broad arterial roads should be knocked through the congested areas of the middle island; and that the Back Bay reclamation was the only solution.³ It was decided to transfer the right of Back Bay reclamation from the Trust to Government by a suitable legislation. No specific areas were earmarked for the middle class except for the land rendered vacant by the shifting of the rich class. The northern areas were being developed for those who could afford. Factory workers were "benevolently" to be accommodated near their place of work.⁴ The road system was also sought to be improved. The suggestion to terminate the B. B. and C. I. Railway at Grant Road was dropped as it was necessary to serve the reclamation areas. So also suggestion to terminate the B. B. and C. I. Railway at Victoria Terminus via Parel was dropped on the grounds that it would cause serious congestion of traffic and would prevent expansion of the G. I. P. Railway.⁵

In 1913 Government decided to review the progress made with a view to ascertain if any change was necessary in the order of priorities. It, therefore, appointed a Development Committee which submitted a plan known as the *Report of the Bombay Development Committee* in 1914. The Committee did not suggest substantial changes in the policy of 1909. It held that mills should not be moved from their present situation, and

¹ Ibid.

² A. D. D. Gordon, op. cit., p. 122.

³ Ibid.

⁴ *Municipal Corporation of Greater Bombay: Monographs on the occasion of the Centenary Celebrations*, 1973.

⁵ Ibid.

that new mills should be concentrated in the north-east of the island. The Committee advocated land reclamation, particularly the Back Bay scheme, which, it was claimed, would fulfil the twofold purpose of providing middle class housing and offices as well as a thoroughfare between the wealthy residential areas on the western foreshore and the offices at the Fort.

The industrialists and magnates including Vithaldas Thackersey, Dinshaw Petit and Sassoon David favoured the reclamation, while Ramji Manmohandas and Purshotamdas Thakurdas, on behalf of the IMC, and Ibrahim Rahimtoola on behalf of the landlords, opposed the scheme. The IMC felt that the emphasis of expansion should be to the north, to the Mahim Woods. The landlords opposed the scheme due to their fear that additions to the area of the island would reduce rents and land values. Most of the supporters of the reclamation were guided by a desire to enhance the prestige of Bombay as a mercantile centre as well as by personal interest as contractors. These interests gave rise to a syndicate involving R. D. Tata, his contractor lieutenant Walchand Hirachand, Shapurji Broacha, Lallubhai Samaldas, Sassoon David, Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy and Vithaldas Thackersey.¹

The Trust in adherence of Government policy followed a policy suited to the magnates, and not to the Corporation. It concentrated on activities such as widening of streets, probably its most valuable activity, and reclamation. By 1920 it had provided 21,387 new tenements in slum areas, which had involved demolition of old dwellings of an equal number. By 1918 it had accumulated 11 per cent of the total area of the island although two-third of this land had remained undeveloped. On the other hand, by 1924-25 it successfully undertook a large reclamation at Colaba, and fully drained, paved and lit 29 kilometres of roads, while a further of 47 kilometres of roads were in the process of improvement.² The following quotation gives a fairly accurate assessment of the BCIT's working in 1925: "That body has followed a cautious policy by paying attention rather to the widening and bettering of streets, and in a measure, to the improvement of the actual structure for human habitation, than to the problem of over-crowding, and the insanitation which results as a consequence of it the evil of overcrowding remained as acute as ever."³

While the Government was trying to circumvent the Corporation unsuccessfully, that august civic body had done little since 1898 to alleviate conditions in the city. The expenditure of the Corporation on

¹ A. D. D. Gordon, op. cit., pp. 125-26; *Back Bay Inquiry*, 1926, I, p. 346.

² A. D. D. Gordon, op. cit., p. 126.

³ K. Shah and Bahadurji, *Constitution, Function and Finance of Indian Municipalities* (Bombay, 1925), p. 221.

public works increased by 88 per cent, while that on public health only by 14 per cent over 15 years from 1900 to 1915. "On the eve of the war time inflation and influx of people and the attendant social disorder, there was no public body prepared to handle the enormous physical problems faced by Bombay, and that these problems were largely the result of years of empire-building on the part of government and the large business magnates, and of obstruction on the part of landlords."¹

Sir George Lloyd, a personal friend of Lord Montagu (Secretary of State), a clear-headed and hardworking man, but an imperialist, assumed the office of Governor in late 1918. He could execute his massive schemes in spite of the apathies of the bureaucracy of the Government of India because of his friendship with Montagu.²

George Lloyd believed that the housing problem contributed to political unrest in the city. He wrote to Montagu that the situation was so acute that the only solution was a combination of a northward expansion of the city and reclamation of Back Bay. He designed a massive scheme for housing and development, and decided to undertake the same on behalf of Government rather than entrusting it to the Improvement Trust or the Corporation. He formed the Bombay Development Department (BDD) in 1920 as a specially formed organisation under a civil servant. The department was financed from a development loan³ and a one-rupee town duty levied on each bale of cotton entering the city.

George Lloyd had, thus, brushed aside the business magnates, the members of the 1918 syndicate, and usurped their right to 'develop' the city. This was bound to have ramifications in the local politics of Bombay.

In 1920 there were three authorities engaged in the development and improvement of Bombay, viz., Municipal Corporation, Bombay City Improvement Trust and Bombay Development Department. The Corporation under the domination of industrialists was jealous of the BCIT and the BDD, while Lloyd himself was frustrated by the civic body denigrating it as a "wisp of Landlords".

Municipal Reforms: It may be necessary at this stage to examine the movement for municipal reforms as it developed after 1918.

The reforms movement was led initially by the Municipal Reform Association under the leadership of Joseph Baptista and the European Association. The former wanted a wholly elected civic body and a wholly elected standing committee. A Franchise Sub-Committee was appointed to go into the problem of enlarging franchise. The sub-committee comprised eight nationalists, i.e., the followers of the Congress and

¹ A. D. D. Gordon, op. cit., p. 128.

² See Lloyd to Montagu, 20 Dec. 1919, MSS. EUR. D. 523 (24).

³ The loan was mounted under the catchword, "By Bombay for Bombay".

the Home Rule Leagues. Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola, a member of the Governor's Council, had aligned himself with the landlord faction. In the end, Bombay Act IV of 1922, which established the new Corporation, fixed the franchise at Rs. 10 and the total number of corporators at 106, 80 elected by the ratepayers, the Chambers of Commerce and the University, 17 nominated by the Government and 10 co-opted.¹

As a result of the Reforms, there was a surge of nationalists into the Corporation in the 1923 civic election. They, however, could not capture the Corporation, which came under domination of the Progressive Party of Homi Mody. In fact V. J. Patel, leader of the Municipal Nationalist Party (MNP), lost the 1923 mayoral election to Mody. The MNP represented professionals, millowners, merchants and landlords in the 1923 and 1926 elections.

The important members in the Corporation at the time included Jamnadas Mehta, V. J. Patel, Homi Mody, K. F. Nariman, Bhulabhai Desai, S. H. Jhabwalla, L. R. Tairsee, Ranchhodas Gandhi and Dinshaw Petit (2nd Bart.). An overtly communal element was introduced into municipal politics for the first time in the 1926 elections.² The Corporation ostensibly represented millowners, business magnates, landlords and professionals, while Maharashtrian workers, non-Brahmins and the middle class were totally out of municipal politics.³ This situation was voiced by R. V. Vandekar, a leader of the Peoples' Union in 1925 saying that the Corporation was dominated by powerful "monied interests" representing less than half the population of the city.⁴ The MNP was also said to be representative of Gujarati interests. The Maharashtrians pleaded Government to nominate more members of the working class and Maharashtrians to the Corporation. "In a sense it is true to say that Maharashtra separatist movement of the late 1950's can be found in embryo in this upsurge of the mid 1920s."⁵

It is noteworthy that throughout the period there was an intense conflict in the city between different groups over the question, who was to pay for the increased revenue needs of the Municipal Corporation, the Bombay Development Department and City Improvement Trust. Mill-owners, merchants and landlords vied to thrust the burden of the new taxes necessitated by the crisis onto each other. The BMC had a desire to wrest the BDD and the BCIT. Another area of conflict developed over the amount and type of municipal expenditure.

¹ A. D. D. Gordon, op. cit., p. 137.

² Ibid., p. 146.

³ Ibid., p. 148.

⁴ General Department, Bombay Government, 28 Feb. 1925.

⁵ A. D. D. Gordon, op. cit., p. 149.

This conflict concerned which development projects were essential. Projects like the East-West road were costly, and the MNP was opposed to them. Bhulabhai Desai moved that a retrenchment committee be appointed to see if certain development schemes, and those involving compulsory acquisition of land for roads in particular, could not be dropped.¹ The committee suggested drastic reductions, but there was disagreement as to the cuts and who was to decide them.

The manner of Government spending invited acute discontent. The Municipal Commissioner, a Government Officer, very often awarded contracts to patrons of Government, Europeans and Muslims.² Hence, there was a feeling that the Corporation should be given the right to appoint the Commissioner.

It was in 1917 that Ibrahim Rahimtoola made the first demand to transfer the BCIT to the Corporation on the plea that its work was entirely a local self-government function, and that the Trust was originally intended to be a temporary body. Now the Corporation overwhelmingly supported Rahimtoola. The Trust invited opposition partly due to its limited achievements in the matter of housing schemes, but mainly because the Corporation had no control over its functioning in spite of contribution to the Trust funds. The landlords and contractors were also opposed to the Trust because it controlled 19 per cent of the land of Bombay Island.³

The Bombay Government, however, resisted stubbornly the transfer of the Trust on the belief that the Corporation was a stronghold of landlords. The struggle of the Corporation towards this end was joined by the Swaraj Party which challenged the Government in the Bombay Legislative Council on the issue in 1925, but was defeated. The Trust was ultimately dissolved in 1926, and the bulk of its work was then entrusted to the Corporation under the Bombay Improvement Trust Act of 1925. The same Act was repealed in 1933, and its main provisions were incorporated in the Bombay Municipal Corporation Act of 1888.

BOMBAY CONGRESS OF 1915

To recapitulate the story of the Congress, in 1910 it was the turn of the Moderates to initiate moves for reunion after the split at Surat. Gokhale got the impression that the time was ripe for a move toward reunion. Efforts were made in that direction. Unfortunately, however, the gulf between the secessionists and the Moderates remained unbridged for various reasons. Lokamanya Tilak after his imprisonment at Mandalay was released in Pune in the early hours of 17 June 1914.⁴ His political

utterances, after the release, suggested his eagerness for unification of the factions. Gokhale also felt encouraged. Mrs. Annie Besant and N. Subba Rao, among a few others, campaigned for reunion. Mrs. Besant argued that Tilak if he was persuaded to return, could be adequately kept under control by constitutional safeguards in the Congress constitution. But a trail of events made the Bombay politicians adamant. Pherozeshah, Wacha and Gokhale opposed the entry of the Nationalists into the Congress at this juncture. Sir Vithaldas Thackersey invited the next Congress of 1915 on behalf of Bombay.¹ It seemed as though once again Tilak had been outmanoeuvred. However, several changes occurred in Indian politics which rapidly brought an end to the Maharashtra quarrelling, as it was called. Gokhale died in Pune on 19 February 1915. Pherozeshah, the most obdurate of the Bombay men, also passed away on 5 November 1915. The death of the two opponents greatly weakened the opposition to Tilak. Infirmities of advancing years were creeping upon Wacha. Sir Narayan Chandavarkar was already a spent force in politics. Surendranath Bannerji was not quite in tune with the new thought. In 1915 Tilak should have been the uncrowned king not only of Maharashtra, but of the whole of India.² But the hostility towards him was still strong enough, and he himself preferred not to attend the Bombay Congress of 1915. The reconciliation between him and the Congress in the following year, however, went almost unnoticed, for there were more important things to consider. It was against this background that the Congress session was held in the Christmas of 1915 in Bombay. It was essentially a moderate Congress. The president chosen for the year was Sir Satyendra Prasanna Sinha, an ex-Law Member of the Government of India, who had left office in favour of the freedom movement. He was an eminent learned man largely influenced by the elderly Congressmen. Dinshaw Wacha was chosen chairman of the Reception Committee due to the demise of Pherozeshah.

The session opened with great interest as there were high hopes for reunification after the Surat imbroglio. Not less than 2,259 delegates attended the Bombay gathering and the resolutions that were passed covered a large variety of subjects,³ some of which were quite important.

Gandhiji attended the session, although he played an unconvincing and minor part in the proceedings. He was nominated to the Subjects Committee by the president as he was not elected. Among the distinguished leaders at the session were : Sir S. P. Sinha, Surendranath Bannerji, Malaviya, Jinnah, Annie Besant, Wacha, Vithaldas Thackersey, Mazharul

¹ *BMC Proceedings*, 1923-24, I(A), p. 705.

² A. D. D. Gordon, op. cit., p. 150.

³ Ibid., pp. 150-51.

⁴ Gordon Johnson, op. cit., p. 185.

¹ Ibid., p. 190.

² Pattabhi Sitaramayya, *The History of the Indian National Congress*, Vol. I. (Madras Publications, Bombay, 1946), p. 120.

³ Ibid., p. 122.

Haq and many others. The Congress was certainly poorer for the loss of Gokhale and Pherozeshah.

One achievement of the session was that the constitution of the Congress was suitably amended to enable the entry of the Nationalist delegates, who were allowed to be elected by public meetings convened under the auspices of any of the associations having the object of attainment of self-government within the British Empire by constitutional means. This paved the way for Tilak's entry into the Congress.¹

HOME RULE MOVEMENT

Mrs. Annie Besant had been making stout attempts for formation of the Home Rule League. She propounded that the Congress was, at best, a deliberative body, and hence the Home Rule League would become the executive arm of that body. She convened a conference at China Baug in Bombay soon after the Congress session. It was attended by Bannerji, Malaviya, Srinivasa Sastri, Motilal Nehru, Jinnah, Sapru, Jehangir Petit and Chimanlal Setalvad. Tilak was not invited at his own suggestion. The conference proved abortive mainly because the Congressmen were suspicious that Annie Besant wanted to start a rival organisation and "they abhorred the very idea of others taking up political activity."² The influence of Government in those days was so appalling that the leaders were susceptible to its malevolent effects.³ They advised Mrs. Besant to refrain from starting another organisation for the time being. Later on the All-India Home Rule League was inaugurated by Mrs. Besant at Madras in September 1916.⁴ Meanwhile Tilak had already started his own Home Rule League in May 1916, the activities of which were mainly restricted to Maharashtra. So after the Madras inaugural, seven persons from Bombay, namely, Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Dr. V. S. Trilokekar, Ratansi Morarji, Umar Sobani, Shankarlal Banker, L. R. Tairsee, and Kanji Dwarkadas, met formally in China Baug and inaugurated the Bombay Branch of the Home Rule League.⁵ They engaged themselves in vigorous pamphleteering and propaganda activity educating the people on the evils of British rule and the urgency of securing home rule for India. Their hands were strengthened by the starting of the *Young India* by Jamnadas Dwarkadas. The reactionary elements in Bombay scoffed at first. For example, Mr. F. E. Dinshaw, a financier and industrial magnate made a fun of the Home Rulers.⁶

¹ Pattabhi Sitaramayya, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 124.

² Jamnadas Dwarkadas, *Political Memoirs*, (United Asia Publications, Bombay, 1969), p. 92.

³ Ibid., p. 93.

⁴ Ibid., p. 105.

⁵ Ibid., p. 106.

⁶ Ibid., p. 107.

In the mean time the repressive Press Act of 1910 spread its tentacles far and wide, and the process of unprecedented repression was helped by the unjustified use of the Defence of India Act. There was a great resentment in the vernacular press in Bombay and Pune. The Government launched a prosecution against Tilak in the High Court for certain articles he had written. Jinnah was Tilak's counsel and he fought so competently that the Judge Mr. Batchelor was compelled to dismiss government plea. B.G. Horniman, President of the Journalists' Association and some of the stalwarts of the Congress and Jamnadas Dwarkadas took a deputation to the Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford, in March 1916, against the abuse of the Defence of India Act. Though the latter's response was not favourable, this and several other occasions were exploited to give wide publicity to the misdeeds of Government.

The incarceration of Annie Besant in June 1917 was greeted with hostility in Bombay, particularly by the Home Rulers. They organised a public meeting in Bombay, wherein Gandhiji also spoke. By this time the younger generation had taken hold of Bombay and the Moderates realised that their power was almost gone.¹ Besides the Home Rulers mentioned above, Joseph Baptista was also a staunch protagonist of Mrs. Annie Besant, in Bombay. He was elected president of the League, and led it for several years.

Mrs. Besant's internment brewed a storm, and many started to identify themselves with the League. In Bombay, Jinnah, M.R. Jayakar, Horniman, K. M. Munshi, Vithalabhai Patel, Bhulabhai Desai, Jehangir Petit, D. N. Bahadurji, M. S. Captain, S. R. Bomanji, and several other persons enrolled themselves as members. Eventually Jinnah became the Bombay Home Rule League's president. They held many meetings for the release of Mrs. Besant. A whirlwind propaganda campaign was started in the city. Bhulabhai Desai, K. M. Munshi, Jamnadas and Indulal Yajnik used to address public meetings. Gandhiji supported and guided the movement, although Annie Besant did not always agree with him. Government was forced to release her and her companions three months later.

The conclaves at Shantaram's Chawl led by Horniman, Umar Sobani, Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Dr. M. B. Velkar and Dr. D. D. Sathe, and occasionally Baptista and Jinnah, were inaugurated during the agitation over Annie Besant's internment. They dominated all district organisations throughout the Presidency.²

The Home Rule Leagues were the first of the post-war movements to bid for support of the mill workers in Bombay. The Leagues were

¹ Ibid., p. 111.

² *Source Material for a History of Freedom Movement*, Vol. II p. 693.

mainly middle class in character, and provided a political outlet for the young professional persons who were disgusted with the leadership of the Bombay Presidency Association.¹ Besides the Bombay Branch of the All-India Home Rule League, the other League was the Indian Home Rule League. It was mainly Maharashtrian with a few Marwaris. Its leaders in Bombay were Joseph Baptista, Dr. M. B. Velkar and Dr. D. D. Sathe, its outstanding figure being Tilak. Relations between the two Leagues were generally harmonious as their aims were similar. Some of the followers of Dr. Annie Besant like the Dwarkadas brothers took a warm and paternalistic interest in the lot of the workers. They had friends among the millowners and drew a large proportion of its membership from mill clerks, cloth brokers and other people on the fringe of the workforce.² Naturally they sought to extend their influence among the millhands. However, their connection with millowners, and the barrier of language did weaken their position among the Marathi speaking workers. Tilak's position among the workers was hardly better. The spirit of the 1908 millhands' strike on Tilak's imprisonment had almost withered away.³ Tilakites, in fact, engaged a Maratha lawyer, V. M. Pawar to organise the Bombay labour and to launch pro-League newspapers in English and Marathi.⁴ Tilak also encouraged Vithal Ramji Shinde, the leader of the Depressed Classes Mission, to establish Maratha Leagues in Bombay and to harness them for propagation of the Home Rule gospel.⁵ Tilak, of course, did organise the meetings of the Bombay labour with success. His vast reputation was another asset for him. However, Tilak had no time at his disposal for linking his political tactics with the economic grievances of workers.

The world-wide influenza epidemic raged through Bombay from September to December 1918, causing hundreds of deaths per day. Many charitable organisations extended a helping hand, and started enrolling volunteers for supplying medical relief to the victims and cremating the dead. The Home Rulers wanted to organise relief services under their own auspices with an eye on winning away labour support. However, they were handicapped due to the paucity of a cadre of volunteers. On the contrary the Social Service League of N. M. Joshi did an excellent job which earned the organisation and her leader an immense popularity

¹ Richard Newman, *Workers and Unions in Bombay: 1918-1929, A Study of Organisation in the Cotton Mills* (Australian National University, Canberra, 1981), pp. 92-93.

² Ibid., pp. 93-94.

³ R. L. Cashman, *The Myth of the Lokmanya: Tilak and Mass Politics in Maharashtra* (University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1974).

⁴ Richard Newman, op. cit., p. 94.

⁵ AITUC—Fifty Years, Introduction by S. A. Dange, All-India Trade Union Congress, 1978.

among the working class.¹ The Home Rulers were at a loss, and could not make inroads into the working class in Bombay.

Another episode in December 1918 showed the handicap of the Home Rulers in Bombay. The occasion was the Lord Willingdon Memorial incident. Several prominent mercantile magnates and citizens requisitioned the Town Hall for a public meeting to present the outgoing Governor, Lord Willingdon, with a memorial extolling his services to Bombay. The requisitionists comprised leading industrialists and professional men, and the moderate politicians. The Home Rulers took this as a challenge to their principles and influence. A joint committee of the two Leagues was framed for disruption of the Memorial meeting in the Town Hall and its environs. The mill workers were highly useful for such a manoeuvre. A rally of workers was arranged in Lower Parel area, and famous Marathi journalists were called from Pune to address the rally. Umar Sobani declared a holiday in his mills to enable the workers to participate in the rally and achieve the disruption of the Town Hall meeting.² However, the cloth merchants and their servants, led by Mavji Govindji were heavily in evidence among the anti-requisitionists at the meeting. The Mulji Jetha and the Morarji Goculdas cloth markets observed a total hartal.³ The bulk of the support to the anti-requisitionists came from the cloth markets and the personal followings of the Home Rulers. However, the requisitionists succeeded in gathering a large throng of mill workers from their own mills. "To some extent the hands came out of loyalty to the social workers, most of whom belonged to the requisitionist camp, but the crucial factor was the requisitionists' ability to mobilise them It is difficult to tell which crowd was the larger and whether the carrying of the memorial resolution in the midst of the uproar was a victory for the requisitionists or their opponents. What is certain is that the Home Rulers had not demonstrated their authority over the mill area."⁴

War Conference at Bombay, 1918: The Governor, Lord Willingdon, convened the Provincial War Conference at Bombay on 10 June 1918. The object of the Conference was professedly to seek the co-operation of the people in the war measures which Government thought it necessary to take in the Presidency. A similar conference had been called by the Viceroy at Delhi a little earlier. Lord Willingdon had designed it to be a Conference rather than a public meeting for fear of Lokmanya Tilak's attacking stance. The eminent invitees to the Conference included Tilak,

¹ V. B. Karnik, N. M. Joshi—*The Servant of India* (United Asia Publications, 1972), pp. 29-30.

² Richard Newman, op. cit., p. 95.

³ A.D.D. Gordon, op. cit., p. 167.

⁴ Richard Newman, op. cit., p. 95.

Gandhiji, N. C. Kelkar, Horniman, Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Jinnah, S. R. Bomanji, Narayan Chandavarkar and Ibrahim Rahimtoola. The whole procedure and resolutions before the Conference were prepared in the Secretariat and no sub-committees were formed as it was done at the Delhi Conference.¹ Consequently, the participants in the proceedings, were prompted to move amendments to them in the Conference. But Government had decided before hand that no amendments were to be allowed, nor even changes of wording were to be suggested in speeches. Some of the Home Rulers, Messrs. Tilak and Kelkar, proceeded to make speeches by way of explaining their position as non-officials invited to co-operate with Government in recruiting man-power and carrying out other war measures. Tilak protested that the loyalty resolution had an addendum which deserved his criticism. Lord Willingdon peremptorily stopped him before he had uttered a few sentences, on the ground that no political discussion was to be allowed on the resolution expressing loyalty to the Crown.² Kelkar followed and shared the same fate. The only self-respecting course for Tilak and his followers was to refuse to take further part in the Conference and to retire from it. Accordingly Tilak, Kelkar, Jamnadas Dwarkadas, S. R. Bomanji, Horniman, Gandhiji, Jinnah and R. P. Karandikar left the Conference Hall.

The contention of the leaders was : "The entire procedure at the Conference was peculiarly inequitable and unfair But to a hide bound programme of resolutions and procedure, prepared in the Secretariat, His Excellency added a high-handed and indefensible exercise of his authority as Chairman The resolution was more than a mere expression of loyalty to the King Emperor (It) invited the fullest discussion in regard to the whole of the proposals and methods adopted by the Government for the purpose of translating into action the loyal determination of the Presidency to do her duty, methods and proposals to which we were unable wholly to assent."³ The Home Rulers had in fact expressed their full loyalty to the Crown. "But they desired to point out why the Presidency could not possibly do her duty 'to its utmost capacity' so long as certain existing conditions were not altered."⁴

The main ground of objection on the part of the Governor was that of political discussion. He impugned the speeches of Tilak and Kelkar as out of order, and stopped them. This was taken as an insult. Hence the outcry on the same. Gandhiji had not spoken on the advice of Tilak,

¹ Home Department Special, File No. 398-J, Cutting from the *Bombay Chronicle*, dated 12 June 1918.

² Ibid.

³ Letter by Tilak, Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Bomanji, Kelkar and Horniman, published in the *Bombay Chronicle* of 12 June 1918.

⁴ Ibid.

although he fully endorsed the great patriot's stance, both in a straight forward personal letter to Lord Willingdon and in the huge public demonstration which followed. Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, who spoke last in the Conference, entirely endorsed the Governor's ruling and dissociated himself from the action and sentiments of Tilak.¹

This episode was followed by a huge outcry against Willingdon's bungling and insulting behaviour at the War Conference. It developed into an anti-Willingdon agitation. A huge rally of 10,000 was organised at the Shantaram's Chawl (Kandewadi) to protest against the Governor's provocative remarks about the Home Rule League. The meeting was presided over by Gandhiji. It was the culmination of the Home Rule Day.

It was contended in the public meeting that the Governor's aspersion upon the Leaguers was a tactical blunder, and Tilak was the idol of the people. India was willing to co-operate with Britain's war efforts, but is bound to strive for Home Rule in the quickest possible time.

This public meeting on 16 June 1918, which was also observed as the Home Rule Day anniversary, passed two resolutions which were cabled to the British Prime Minister. The first resolution purported that the distrust toward Indians, discrimination, delay in the amendment of the Arms Act, the prohibition of Indians in the commissioned ranks in the Indian Army, and their admission to military colleges, were the factors making it difficult for the leaders to secure whole-hearted support of the people in regard to military service. The second resolution related to the condemnation of the Governor's treatment and aspersions cast on the Home Rule leaders.

There were some differences of opinion among the Congress and Home Rulers about the support to Government in the matter of recruitment to the Indian Army, in the following days in Bombay. But that need not detract us.

Another important event of the day was the War Loan public meeting held in the Town Hall on 12 June 1918. It was summoned by the Sheriff of Bombay on a requisition of the leading citizens. Actually it was inspired by the Governor who presided. The Home Rule leaders not only abstained from it but also opposed it. The millowners were quite active in supporting the Governor's appeal. Chandavarkar appealed to the Bombay men to contribute to the War Loan, which was readily responded to by the mill-owners and mercantile magnates. There was an expression of support to the Government in the hour of need. The Bombay Government viewed the results of the two meetings (of 10 June and 12 June) with cheerful

¹ *Source Material for a History of Freedom Movement*, Vol. II, p. 710.

equanimity. The striking demonstration on the occasion of the War Loan meeting constituted a success for Government.¹

Labour Activities : The first important strike in the textile industry began rather unobtrusively² in January 1919, although the ground for it was being prepared in December 1918. On 9 January, several thousand strikers and crowds assembled at the mill gates and succeeded in bringing the workers out to join them. Police and troops were quickly deployed, but they made no serious attempt to prevent the strike from spreading, because it was clear that no show of force could stem the tide of discontent.³ During the next few days the strike spread southwards to Madanpura and Tardeo, and finally to the Bombay United mill at Girgaum. Only a few mills were unaffected. "The scale of the dispute was unprecedented, as was the driving force behind it. So heavily did the cost of living weigh upon the millhands that the slightest protest from one group of workers was capable of creating a general revolt."⁴ Prices had risen sharply in Bombay, which was accompanied by drought in the Deccan. It was at this stage that the idea of bonus, as a boost to wages, emerged as the strikers' aim. Although the workers were not educated, they had definitely some economic intelligence.

The official correspondence suggested that the Home Rule Leagues were the driving force behind the strike.⁵ Mr. H. B. Mandavale, an advocate and a member of the All-India Home Rule League, approached the workers and encouraged them to form the Girni Kamgar Sangh. The Home Rulers addressed meetings of workers, and a plan of arbitration was endorsed. However, the intervention of the Home Rulers was a failure. The Government was happy that the Home Rulers could not make effective inroads among the work-force, and attempted a solution through the Commissioner of Police, Mr. Vincent,⁶ who played the most important role not only in maintaining law and order but also in settling the industrial dispute. Mr. Vincent summoned the most influential millhands, rather than non-worker leaders, to his office and arranged for negotiations with the Governor, Sir George Lloyd. Mill-owners like Jamshetji Jijibhai also responded to the Governor's call, and their concessions were posted on the mill gates over Vincent's signature on 22 January.⁷

¹ Ibid., p. 707.

² Richard Newman, op. cit., p. 120.

³ Ibid., p. 121.

⁴ Ibid., p. 122.

⁵ Sir George Lloyd to Lord Montagu, 10 Jan. 1919.

⁶ Mr. Vincent had been commemorated by naming the long and broad road from Byculla to King's Circle after him. This road was recently renamed Dr. Ambedkar Road.

⁷ Richard Newman, op. cit., p. 126.

Mr. N. M. Joshi, rightly honoured as the father of Indian labour movement and a great servant of India, was appointed India's delegate to the first International Labour Conference. This invited criticism of Government by union leaders in Bombay. In a neat accommodation of the claims of the two groups, Tilak and B. P. Wadia, the Madras labour leader and supporter of Annie Besant, were put forward as the peoples' nominees to the Conference. Unhappily, their credentials were immediately disputed by the Kamgar Hitwardhak Sabha, which objected equally to Tilak and Joshi on the grounds that both were Brahmans and were connected with the millowners as friends or clients.¹ The Government, however, clung to its decision to send N. M. Joshi as India's representative.

Tilak exhorted the Bombay millhands to foster communal harmony and to form trade unions. He was chosen the workers' representative for the Washington Labour Congress. The labour leaders convened a large public meeting behind the Elphinstone mills on 29 November 1919 for presenting an address to Tilak. Mawji Govindji presided.² The Tilakites in Bombay continued to influence the millhands. The Gujarati leaders, however, lost their influence. The sporadic violence during the general strike and the Rowlatt Satyagraha had shocked them. They were, therefore, prompted to rebuild their relations with the workers on the basis of welfare work. At the end of 1919, the future of labour organisation in the mill area mainly lay with Maharashtrians, among whom the Tilakites and the Hitwardhak Sabha were the most prominent. In practical terms, the leading organisers were S. K. Bole, H. A. Talcherkar, S. B. Gavade and D. G. Pandit.³

The second general strike in Bombay occurred in January 1920. It started spreading from 2 January, and by the 12th instant all mills had been caught up in the dispute. The grievances of workers related this time, as in the case of the 1919 strike, to hours of work, payment of bonus and increase in wages by 60 per cent. This time, however, there was no able negotiator like Mr. Vincent, who had retired, and the new police chief was neither able nor willing to intervene. Into this vacuum stepped the trade unions. The Girni Kamgar Union and the Bombay Labour Association then emerged into the picture. This provided an opportunity to leaders like L. R. Tairsee, Joseph Baptista, and F. J. Ginwala to make their mark in the trade unions in the city. The Social Service League which hitherto was mainly a social service organisation, crystallised its thinking, and joined the two unions in the strike. A united Labour Settlement Committee had been established with a strange combination of forces such as Baptista, a Home Ruler, and Sir Narayan Chandavarkar,

¹ *Bombay Police Secret Abstract of Intelligence*, 25 Aug. and 8 Sept. 1919.

² *Source Material for a History of Freedom Movement*, Vol. II, p. 317.

³ Richard Newman, op. cit., p. 130.

an eminent liberal supporter of Government. But the Home Rulers needed to use the contacts of the liberals with employers and officialdom.¹ Chandavarkar continued his exchanges with the millowners, and prompted the Governor to intervene. However, the strike ended on 2 February 1920 very suddenly. Joseph Baptista emerged as a respectable labour leader during this strike. He was an able barrister and an intelligent politician. His circle of friends was as wide in politics as it was in club rooms. In his six-year term as chairman of Municipal Standing Committee, he steered every proposal in the committee to a successful conclusion with diplomatic skill. He was later elected to the Legislative Council in 1924, the Mayor of Bombay in 1925, and to the Central Legislative Assembly in 1926. After this he did not enjoy good health and faded quickly from public life, to die in 1930.²

GOVERNMENT UNDER THE NEW CONSTITUTION

The Montagu-Chelmsford reforms of 1919 divided authority between Governments of the Provinces and the Government of India at New Delhi. The latter was comprised of the Viceroy's Executive Council and a bicameral legislature with a majority of non-official members, but a minority of elected members in both the houses. The Central Government controlled all important subjects such as external affairs, civil and criminal law, industry and commerce, customs and excise, and the subjects not specifically allotted to the Provinces. The Viceroy had many special powers in reserve. Bombay's commercial interests were represented in the Council of State where there was a reserved seat for European businessmen, and in the Legislative Assembly where there was a seat for the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau and another one occupied in rotation by the Bombay Millowners' Association and its counterpart in Ahmedabad. There were two nominated seats for labour in the Assembly, one of which was occupied almost continuously from 1921 to 1947 by N. M. Joshi, the most celebrated of Bombay's labour leaders and social workers.

The Bombay Government consisted of a Governor, an Executive Council and Ministers responsible to a Legislative Council with a majority of elected members. Government administration was divided into two categories. The Executive Council controlled 'reserved' subjects, such as, police, justice, industrial disputes and labour welfare, and it could override the legislature across all matters through the exercise of emergency

¹ *Bombay Chronicle*, 14 Jan. 1920.

² K. R. Shirat, *Kaka Joseph Baptista : Father of Home Rule Movement in India* (Popular Prakashan, Bombay, 1974); S. P. Sen (ed.), *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. I (1972), pp. 136-38.

powers of the Governor. Ministers in the Legislative Council were allotted 'transferred' subjects such as local government, education, agriculture and public works. Bombay city and its businessmen were well represented in the legislature by virtue of the system of franchise based on ownership of property. The city elected nine members in the triennial elections: one European, two Muslims and six non-Muslims, of whom one had to belong to the Maratha caste. In addition there were special electorates for the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, the Bombay Millowners' Association, the Bombay Trades' Association, and the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau, and there was also a seat for a nominee of the cotton trade. There were three nominated members to represent labour and two nominees of the backward castes.¹ Labour originally had only one seat, but its representation was raised to three in 1926. Among the nominees were S. K. Bole, Kanji Dwarkadas and Syed Munawar, who were all prominent in the cotton textile unions in Bombay.

The publication of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report raised an angry outcry from the extremist organs. Tilak and Annie Besant had denounced it strongly. A special session of the Congress, held at Bombay in 1918 under the presidency of Hasan Imam, had condemned the proposals as 'disappointing and unsatisfactory' and had suggested some modifications as absolutely essential to constitute a substantive step towards responsible government. It also decided to send a deputation to England, to press the Congress views on the British democracy. These reforms were, however, acceptable to the Moderates, who formed an organisation distinct from the Congress, known as the Indian National Liberal Federation.²

Gandhiji was at first in favour of giving a fair trial to the new constitution. The Congress had also decided accordingly in 1919. But certain factors soon caused considerable excitement in India. Economic troubles, due to additional taxation and rise in prices, produced extreme hardships for the people and accentuated discontent everywhere. Muslim sentiment in Bombay was deeply stirred by the Khilafat Movement on the question of the dismemberment of Turkey after her defeat in the World War I. Shaukat Ali and Mohammed Ali, and Abul Kalam Azad, organised the Khilafat Movement. India's hopes for a true responsible government were soon belied in the face of unmitigated governmental repression. The Rowlatt Bills were calculated to perpetuate the extraordinary powers given to the Government during the War for suppressing political activity and depriving Indians of the ordinary rights and privileges of trial and defence provided by law. As a protest against this, Gandhiji organised a great movement and emerged as a great force.

¹ Richard Newman, op. cit., p. 86.

² *Gazetteer of India*, Vol. II, *History and Culture* (Govt. of India, 1973), p. 570.

DAWN OF GANDHIAN ERA

Prior to 1919 Mahatma Gandhi was merely a peripheral figure in the national politics. He had joined the ranks of the politicians in the pursuit of great causes. As a matter of fact he was not prompted by any political ambition, and was content with smaller dints of limited leadership. He did not make any effort at wresting leadership even though he disagreed with the stalwarts of Indian Nationalism. The Great World War had just ended in November 1918, and consequently, the British bureaucracy had cast off its velvet glove and came out with a massive dose of repression calculated to scotch every form of patriotic activity. After preparation of the ground for four years, Gandhiji made a bid for leadership. The Home Rule agitation, the anti-Willingdon outcry in Bombay and the Kaira episode, had already enthused the people, who found in him a promising leader. And now the occasion for a transition from peripheral to committed leadership, from local to national leadership, was furnished by the satyagraha against the repressive Rowlatt Bills.

Bombay was the centre of his activities for the next three years, till his incarceration in 1922, indeed till his release in 1924. Civil disobedience against the Rowlatt Bills was followed by a movement against the deportation of B. G. Horniman, the Khilafat Movement, the Tilak Swaraj Fund, the Non-co-operation Movement, and the visit of the Prince of Wales. All these acts of the national drama were played on the Bombay stage under the inspired directorship of the Mahatma.

ROWLATT SATYAGRAHA

The Rowlatt legislation was a sequel to the war-time British policy of conciliation and repression. Before the lapse of the Defence of India Act after the War, the British were gravely concerned with the loss of coercive power against conspiracy and political agitation, which they had anticipated. The Government, therefore, appointed a committee under Mr. Justice Rowlatt to review the situation, in December 1917. The Committee recommended that the Government should have emergency powers to deal with subversion and political agitation. The Bill received the assent of the Viceroy on 21 March 1919. It threw a wave of indignation throughout the country as it meant a determined policy of repression.

"Once the bill became law verbal protest was useless and the politicians' unanimity disintegrated. The episode had showed up the poverty of their limited politics, built on the assumption that the raj and the politicians could best serve their interests by coming to a mutually acceptable agreement about the division of power. On the rare occasions, such as this, when the raj was adamant, the politicians had no leverage, and they were at a loss to know what to do. Protest in Council and

public meetings had got them nowhere, and they could not take to violence, even if they had countenanced such methods, without inviting more repression and proving to the government that the Rowlatt legislation was indeed necessary. They had reached a political impasse, and the man who stepped forward to offer them a way out was Gandhi."¹

Gandhiji saw a national wrong which could possibly be set right only by his methods, and a way of bringing the entire country nearer to his ideal of Swaraj through the strategy of Satyagraha.

The first phase of the Satyagraha, the phase of deliberations and preparations, lasted from February to the observance of hartal at the beginning of April 1919. Bombay city and Ahmedabad were the main centres of the movement. Jarnadas Dwarkadas, Sarojini Naidu, B. G. Horniman (editor of the *Bombay Chronicle*) and Umar Sobani from Bombay, were joined by Vallabhbhai Patel, Chandulal Desai, K. Thakoor and Anasuya Sarabhai from Ahmedabad. From the meeting there emerged Gandhi's Satyagraha Sabha, a majority of whose members were from Bombay, and the city, therefore, became its headquarters.² Gandhiji prepared a manifesto containing a satyagraha pledge for its members. He wrote to the Viceroy about his intentions on 24 February 1919 and also to the Satyagraha Sabha canvassed actively politicians and newspapers. The Satyagraha Sabha responded and expounded the principles of satyagraha. Bombay responded enthusiastically and within a few days 100 signatures were obtained.³ Earlier the Home Rule League had held a large public meeting in the mill areas of Bombay. It was emphasised that the Rowlatt Bills would deprive them of personal liberty and enable officials to rule despotically.

As observed by the Commissioner of Police, on 3 March 1919, the Rowlatt Bills were the talk of the town, and since Gandhi's return to Bombay on 1 March, he was constantly visited by the Home Rule leaders of the city. Speculation was rife as to the manner in which the passive resistance movement would be effected. The younger generation was profusely enthused, and the cloth merchants were determined to follow Gandhiji at any cost. The people were agitated, and they expressed that such a legislation after the armistice was unwarranted. The agitators successfully campaigned that Government machinery would collapse in the face of this movement. Posters printed by the Dnyansagar Litho Press, Girgaum Road, were exhibited in all parts of the city. The signatories of the satyagraha pledge, in a meeting held in Bombay in March, appointed the Executive Committee with Gandhiji as president and Horniman as

¹ Judith M. Brown, *Gandhi's Rise to Power, Indian Politics 1915-1922* (Cambridge University Press, 1972), p. 163.

² K. Gopalswami, *Gandhi and Bombay* (Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, Bombay, and Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1969), p. 67.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

vice-president. Dr. Sathe, Shankarlal Banker and Umar Sobani were secretaries, the other members of the committee being Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Sarojini Naidu, Dr. Erulkar, Manu Subedar, L. R. Tairsee, Azad, Dr. Velkar, Jamnadas M. Mehta, L. G. Khare, V. A. Desai, Mrs. Avantikabai Gokhale, Chunilal Ujamsi, R. N. Mandlik, Jethmal Narandas, Hansraj Pragji Thackersey and Vithaldas Jerajani with the later addition of Pandharinath K. Telang, Dr. C. M. Desai, and Kanji Dwarkadas.¹

In spite of Mrs. Annie Besant's dissuasions to Gandhiji from his plan of a mass civil disobedience and her later opposition to the movement, Gandhiji's main lieutenants were the Home Rulers in Bombay. They dominated the Executive Committee of the Sabha, actively campaigned for the satyagraha pledge, and their local branches held meetings in support of a satyagraha in provincial towns and villages.² They were, however, not experienced in guiding a movement of the Bombay working class. Gandhiji also was not interested in winning over the factory workers or to involve them into his movement for many a long day.

The news of passing of the Rowlatt Act reached Bombay on 19 March 1919, and the merchants at the Mulji Jetha Market, the Lakhmidas Khimji Market and the Morarji Goculdas Market, observed a hartal on 21 March spontaneously. The Bombay Native Piecegoods Merchants' Association took a very active part in the hartal.

Gandhiji had, however, to face opposition on several fronts from established political leaders. His opponents included Sir D. E. Wacha, Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy, S. N. Bannerji, T. B. Sapru, M. M. Shafi, Srinivasa Sastri and G. S. Khaparde.³ Mrs. Besant created trouble for Gandhiji throughout, because she believed he was stealing away her followers in Bombay. She visited Bombay in Gandhiji's absence, and tried to wean her men from the satyagraha.⁴

The second phase of the satyagraha started with Gandhiji's decision of a hartal as a novel form of protest and self-purification. The hartal was scheduled on Sunday, 6 April 1919. Gandhiji arrived in the city a couple of days earlier. He, along with Mrs. Naidu, Horniman, Dr. Savarkar and others, organised meetings in Bombay. The 6 April was observed as a "Black Sunday". The *Bombay Chronicle* of Horniman gave a vivid account of the same as under.⁵

Bombay presented the sight of a city in mourning on the occasion of the day of national humiliation, prayers and sorrow at the enactment of

the Rowlatt Act, and observed 24 hours' fast. The Back Bay foreshore was humming and throbbing with life much before sunrise. The people had come to Chowpati to bathe in the sea before the day's programme. The women of Bombay came out of their seclusion to join in the demonstration. They fasted and marched in procession to Chowpati, clad in black saris symbolising the nations's sorrow. Gandhiji was one of the first to arrive, and was joined by Sarojini Naidu, Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Horniman and others. The crowd swelled to one and a half lakh, and represented Muhammedans, Hindus, Parsis, and even one Englishman.¹

Gandhiji's speech, read for him by Jamnadas,² was a stirring one. Gandhiji's two resolutions, charity for the bereaved in the Delhi hartal and prayer for repealing the Rowlatt Act, were passed amidst silence. After the meeting the procession went to Madhav Baug temple to offer prayers. Gandhiji addressed a meeting in a mosque at Grant Road which stirred the 5000 Muslims as well as Hindus present. He made a strong plea for emotional integration and eternal friendship of the two communities. Mrs. Jayakar organised a ladies' meeting.

"The hartal in Bombay was a complete success. Full preparation had been made for starting civil disobedience."³ Two of Gandhiji's books, *Hind Swaraj* and *Sarvodaya*, which had been proscribed were sold out within no time. The police admitted that the whole effect was a strategic success for Gandhiji.

On 7 April Gandhiji issued, from the hallowed Mani Bhavan, an unregistered newspaper, the *Satyagrahi*, in open defiance of the Indian Press Act. Its copy was sent to the Police Commissioner. The principles of satyagraha and civil disobedience were explained 'through it. The Satyagraha Sabha issued a statement regarding the scope and limitations of civil disobedience. Proscribed literature was disseminated, and a few laws were selected for disobedience.

The Bombay Government did not deem it fit to arrest Gandhiji for his illegal newspaper as it would involve cumbersome proceedings. But he was prohibited from leaving Bombay Presidency as it was feared that his entry into Delhi or the Punjab would precipitate the agitation. Gandhiji, however, left Bombay on 8 April to promote satyagraha in Delhi and Amritsar on receipt of a telegram from Delhi. Near Delhi he was served with an order prohibiting his entry into the Punjab. Hence, on 9 April he was removed from the train near Delhi, and sent back to Bombay, to be set free. The news of his "arrest" became public on 10 April which precipitated the events in Bombay, and excited the masses.

¹ Bombay Government records.

² *Bombay Police Secret Abstract*, 1919, para. 378 (b) f (g).

³ Judith M. Brown, op. cit. (Referred to hereafter as J. M. Brown).

⁴ J. M. Brown, op. cit., p. 169.

⁵ *Bombay Chronicle*, 7 April 1919.

¹ K. Gopalswami, op. cit., p. 73.

² As Gandhiji was ill it was read out by Jamnadas.

³ K. Gopalswami, op. cit., p. 76.

The Police Commissioner, Mr. Griffiths' own version of what happened in Bombay is quite suggestive. "There were unmistakable signs of trouble brewing. Shops were closed and crowds were seen loitering about in the neighbourhood of Pydhonie, Bhuleshwar and Abdul Rehman Street. Trams were being stoned and passengers forced to alight on Kalbadevi Road and at Bhuleshwar, and shops which had been kept open were being stoned at Mahabourie Reports came from Pydhonie that the temper of the crowds in that locality was extremely ugly and that they were getting out of hand. The Mounted Police were compelled to charge on four or five occasions, but the effect of this manoeuvre was very transitory. I proceeded to Pydhonie with 2 platoons of Indian Infantry, while 2 platoons marched up Abdul Rehman Street to the same point The mob steadfastly refused to obey the orders of the Magistrates to disperse The Mounted Police made a few more charges but the result was very evanescent. Matters culminated at about 3 p.m. when the stoning became very violent At this juncture the Cavalry patrol arrived. Their appearance was the signal for a fresh outburst of stone-throwing and a number of troopers were hit. The Cavalry continued to patrol the streets for some 2 hours and were on occasions compelled to charge the mob particularly when they were belabouring a British officer and two troopers who had been de horsed."

Gandhiji was very much upset at the brutal action of the police, and addressed a mass meeting at Chowpati in the evening. He expressed deep agony at mass violence and breach of the principles of satyagraha. He said, "I do not see what penance I can offer excepting that it is for me to fast and if need be, by doing so, to give up this body and thus prove the truth of satyagraha. I appeal to you to peacefully disperse and to refrain from acts that may, in any way, bring disgrace upon the people of Bombay."

The situation in the Punjab had already assumed dangerous proportions. At Amritsar, on 10 April, mob violence, burning and looting ensued, and four Europeans were murdered. This culminated into the tragic Jallianwala Bagh massacre by General Dyer's troops. The atrocities at Jallianwala Bagh inflamed the Bombay workers. Jawaharlal Nehru, who had come to Bombay to consult Gandhiji, suggested that Gandhiji should defy the prohibitory order and go to the Punjab. Gandhiji saw that his defiance of the order would lead to his arrest and further tensions. He, however, went to Gujarat to study the grave violent situation at Ahmedabad, Nadiad and Viramgaum. He was filled with remorse at his failure to enthuse the masses with the true principles of satyagraha, and returned to Bombay on 18 April. He was deeply distressed at what he discovered, and admitted publicly the "Himalayan miscalculation" in offering civil disobedience to people insufficiently prepared by the discipline of satyagraha to

practise it.¹ He underwent a three day fast in penitence, and suspended the civil disobedience part of the satyagraha programme on 18 April 1919. However, the really operative part of the movement, namely, preaching and practice of truth and non-violence continued through leaflets published in Bombay by Shankarlal Banker. At this point Gandhiji also acquired the *Young India* (English) and the *Navajivan* (Gujarati) newspapers, which he very effectively used for preaching satyagraha.²

The All-India Congress Committee met in Bombay on 21 April 1919, and condemned the Government action in preventing Mahatmaji from proceeding to Delhi. It drew attention of Government to the fact that had he been allowed to proceed to Delhi, the situation in Delhi and the Punjab would not have deteriorated to that extent. There was an informal conference of satyagrahis from different parts of the country on 28 May 1919. Gandhiji suggested that, if the Government would not appoint a commission of enquiry into the Punjab disturbances, the administration of martial law and the sentences imposed by martial law tribunals, civil disobedience should be resumed, but only by individual satyagrahis chosen from Bombay, in order to avoid violence. All present, with the exception of Jamnadas,³ agreed. While the preparations for renewal of civil disobedience were going on, Gandhiji was attempting for some kind of agreement with Government. He told the Police Commissioner of Bombay on 1 July 1919 that he intended to violate the orders restraining him within the Bombay Presidency, but said that if Government showed signs of relaxing its attitude on the Rowlatt legislation, he would postpone civil disobedience indefinitely.⁴ The Governor of Bombay, Sir George Lloyd, took Gandhiji's hint. After the interview with the Governor on 12 July, Gandhiji thought that there was a hope of withdrawal of the Rowlatt Act, and said that he would postpone civil disobedience, if the Viceroy so desired. The Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford, announced that this was his desire also, and issued a warning of the consequences of the resumption of the movement. In response to this and the desire publicly expressed by many persons, Gandhiji informed the press on 21 July that he had decided to suspend civil disobedience as a practical way, although it could be resumed, if the Rowlatt Act was not repealed.⁵

The important assumption of Government policy towards Gandhiji was that it must avoid making him a martyr. Officials admitted that

¹ M. K. Gandhi, *An Autobiography*, pp. 391-92.

² Ibid., p. 395. The *Young India* was upto that time controlled by Sobani and Banker, and the *Navajivan* by Indulal Yajnik.

³ Jamnadas felt that violence would take place if Gandhiji or any other prominent satyagrahi was arrested. He formally resigned the Satyagraha Sabha on 3 June 1919.

⁴ *Bombay Police Secret Abstract*, 1919, para. 901.

⁵ *Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*. Vol. 15 (Government of India), pp. 468-71.

Gandhiji had done his best in restoring peace in Bombay and Ahmedabad in April, and even the police noted that he had done his utmost to prevent outburst, when B. G. Horniman was deported in late April by the Bombay Government.¹

Aggrieved satyagrahis, mainly from Bombay, felt abandoned by Gandhiji's suspension of civil disobedience, and blamed him for stopping it, just when it had assumed enough momentum to be productive, and argued that nothing could be achieved without bloodshed. Such hostility increased when Gandhiji refused to permit demonstrations against Horniman's deportation. Gandhiji said that he had received a number of letters protesting against his inaction, some of which threatened him with poison and murder.² After his second suspension of civil disobedience the satyagrahi critics became more vehement, and in a Bombay meeting of about 200 of them on 26 July, he was mercilessly cross-examined on his decision.³ Gandhiji was publicly and unfavourably compared with Tilak, who suffered 'martyrdom' in jail, and even in the cloth market, people were known to be calling him a murderer.⁴ The *Hindu*, a Gujarati newspaper of Bombay, styled Gandhiji as a murderer. The Police Commissioner reported that at a subsequent meeting of satyagrahis, Gandhiji was severely heckled. They questioned him whether he had received any definite promise from the Government that the Rowlatt Act would be repealed, if civil disobedience was suspended. Some argued that his policy had interfered with the good work that was being done by the Home Rule League and other associations.⁵ Such was the violent reaction of some of the satyagrahis.

Gandhiji's opponents, on the other hand, vehemently criticised him for undertaking the civil disobedience movement. For example, Sir Dinshaw Wacha who represented the Moderates as well as industrialists in Bombay, branded it "as a grave mischief Gandhi has consciously or unconsciously created by his fantastic propaganda, utterly illogical, utterly unconcerned and utterly devoid of an atom of political sagacity."⁶ Srinivasa Sastri and Mrs. Besant had been opposing him from the beginning. Ambalal Sarabhai came down to Bombay from Ahmedabad to persuade Gandhiji to abandon civil disobedience permanently. Surprisingly, even B. G. Horniman, one of his staunchest supporters, and vice-president of the Satyagraha Sabha, urged that all satyagraha activity should be suspended temporarily, because the movement had been utilised and corrupted by unscrupulous

elements, with objects totally opposed to our own, and calculated to defeat our ideals, resulting in the recent deplorable revolutionary outbreaks.¹

Gandhiji had considered Umar Sobani, Shankarlal Banker, Horniman and Jamnadas Dwarkadas as the main props of satyagraha in Bombay City. Unfortunately Horniman was deported and Dwarkadas yielded to renewed pressure from Annie Besant and even resigned from the Satyagraha Sabha (29 May 1919) on the ground that the resumption of civil disobedience and its extension to the Punjab, would precipitate violence further. Gandhiji had no popular appeal in the rest of Maharashtra. Tilak was for Maharashtra what Gandhiji was becoming for Gujarat. Khaparde's adherence to Tilak blocked the way for Gandhiji's satyagraha in the Marathi speaking C. P.² The satyagraha disintegrated in all other parts of India also.

"The Rowlatt Satyagraha, as a political campaign on the lines which its author conceived, was a manifest failure. It did not obtain its object, the repeal of the Rowlatt Act. It erupted into violence, though its essence was intended to be non-violence. It petered out miserably in the summer months of 1919 instead of becoming the constructive campaign laying the foundations of true Swaraj which Gandhi had envisaged. Nonetheless, as Gandhi's first essay in all-India leadership, it was remarkably instructive to those who could read it correctly, since it showed both the strengths and the weaknesses of the Mahatma in politics."³ The Rowlatt Satyagraha showed Gandhi as an all-India leader of immense potential. His personality, his ideology, his novel approach to politics, and his technique of satyagraha enabled his campaign to become the focus for multifarious local grievances and gave him access to the power they generated.⁴

The ban on Gandhiji's entry into the Punjab was lifted on 15 October 1919. The Royal Proclamation of December 1919, which accompanied the Reform Act better known as Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, was one of the most important landmarks in the constitutional history of India. In the 34th session of the Congress at Amritsar from 27 December 1919 to 1 January 1920 Gandhiji, Jinnah, Pattabhi Sitaramayya and Malaviya welcomed the reforms, although they thought them to be inadequate, while Tilak, C. R. Das, and others condemned the reforms.

An all-party public meeting was held in Bombay to demand the repeal of the Press Act on 5 March 1920. In the same month Gandhiji was persuaded successfully to accept the presidentship of the All-India Home Rule League.

¹ *Bombay Police Secret Abstract* 1919, para 598.

² *Bombay Police Secret Abstract*, 1919, paras, 574, 598 and 625.

³ Bombay Police Commissioner's note, *Source Material for a History of Freedom Movement in India*, Vol. II, pp. 788-89.

⁴ *Bombay Police Secret Abstract*, 1919, para. 1063.

⁵ *Bombay Police Secret Abstract*, 1919.

⁶ Sir D. E. Wacha to G. A. Natesan, 12 April 1919, G. A. Natesan Papers.

¹ *Bombay Police Secret Abstract*, 1919, *Source Material for a History of Freedom Movement in India*, Vol. II, p. 777.

² Fortnightly report from C.P. for the second half of April 1919, Home Political, Deposit, July 1919, No. 47.

³ J. M. Brown, op. cit., p. 185.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 187.

NON-CO-OPERATION MOVEMENT

Before 1919 Mahatma Gandhi was merely a peripheral figure in the politics of nationalism. It was the Rowlatt Bill agitation which furnished him with an occasion for a transition from peripheral to committed leadership, and from local to national leadership. The enactment of the Rowlatt Bill had cast a spell of helplessness among the established stalwarts. "They had reached a political impasse, and the man who stepped forward to offer them a way out was Gandhi."¹ Although the Rowlatt Satyagraha was a manifest failure, as it deflected into violence in the Punjab as well as in Bombay, Gandhiji's campaign became the focus of interest.

It were, however, the leadership of the Khilafat agitation and the inauguration of Non-co-operation which hastened Gandhiji's rapid emergence as an all-India political leader who was markedly different from the politicians, who had previously dominated India. The pre-eminence of satyagraha as a method of resolving conflict, the Hindu-Muslim unity as a prerequisite for India's peace and the assertion of the people's rights, were the three aims which propelled Gandhiji to assume control of the Khilafat and Non-co-operation Movement. He maintained that his sense of moral responsibilities made him take up the Khilafat question.² And it was Bombay city which provided a congenial home for the growth and blossoming of Non-co-operation. As a matter of fact, the events of 1920 in Bombay centred round the Non-co-operation and Khilafat Movement. It is, therefore, essential that a narration of the movement in the city, in details, should be furnished here.

The first phase of the Khilafat Movement lasted until December 1919, by which time the sympathy for the Muslim cause had received institutional expression in the Central Khilafat Committee. The leaders of the Committee were a middle group within the Muslims, mainly prosperous Bombay merchants. It was only in March 1919 that the Bombay Khilafat Committee, with Mia Mohamed Chotani as president, was elected in a public meeting in the city on the 19th. Meanwhile the Muslim League despatched to London a deputation consisting of M. A. Jinnah and G. M. Bhurgri from Bombay along with two others. In Bombay the non-Muslim press, rather than Muslim papers, were busy rousing opinion on the Khilafat issue.³ The Khilafat Day was observed in the city, as in India, with the persistence and the purses of Bombay men, on 17 October. A majority of Muslims in the city were, however, averse to any plan of boycott of foreign goods, because over three-quarters of the city's

¹ J. M. Brown, op. cit., p. 163.

² *Young India*, 28 April 1920.

³ Fortnightly report from Bombay, 1 October 1919, Home Political, Deposit, Nov. 1919, No. 15.

Muslim merchants dealt in British goods. They were content with expression of disapproval of the British policy throughout this deliberative phase.

The second phase of the movement was inaugurated with the release of the Ali brothers at the end of December 1919. Bombay remained the seat of the Central Khilafat Committee of India. Late in January, the Alis were accorded a grand welcome in the city in a public meeting organised by the Home Rule League and the Bombay National Union, at which Tilak pledged the Hindu's help on the Khilafat issue.¹ The next policy discussion occurred at the All-India Khilafat Conference from 15 to 17 February 1920 in Bombay. No definite line of action emerged from this meeting. Gandhiji, however, saw the signs of restlessness among some Muslims, and organised the observance of the Khilafat Day with a hartal on 19 March. The threat of Non-co-operation was mentioned for the first time in a mass meeting of all communities in the city. The Bombay men still carried considerable weight because of their financial support and because they still had the benefit of Gandhiji's alliance.² When the Central Khilafat Committee met in Bombay from 11 to 14 March, Gandhiji suggested that the ground for Non-co-operation should be prepared thoroughly before it is attempted.³ Meanwhile discussion of Non-co-operation began in earnest among Hindu-Muslim leaders.

The first National Week was organised by Gandhiji in Bombay from 6 to 13 April in commemoration of the first anniversary of the Rowlatt Satyagraha and the tragic Jallianwala Bagh massacre. The entire week was devoted to the collection of funds for the Jallianwala Bagh memorial. Bombay responded generously. Gandhiji addressed three meetings in Bombay. A mammoth public meeting of the citizens of Bombay was held under the joint auspices of the Bombay Presidency Association, the Provincial Congress Committee, the Bombay branches of the Home Rule Leagues and the National Union, at the open space near the French Bridge, on 6 April 1920. In response to Gandhiji, Jinnah, Dinshaw M. Petit⁴ and Annie Besant, a sum of about Rs. 5 lakhs was raised in the city with the active co-operation of the Bombay Native Piecegoods Association, the Stock Exchange Association, the Bombay Bullion Merchants' Association, the Bombay Millowners' Association and the Indian Merchants' Chamber.

Another public meeting of the citizens of Bombay was held under the auspices of the Central Khilafat Committee of India by Gandhiji under

¹ Bombay Police, File No. 4044/M/I. However, the Bombay Tilakites stayed away from many other Khilafat meetings.

² J. M. Brown, op. cit., p. 207.

³ Ibid.

⁴ K. Gopalswami, op. cit., p. 105.

the presidentship of Mia Mohamed Chotani. Mahatmaji moved the following resolution: "This meeting of the Hindus, Mohammedans and other inhabitants of Bombay, trust that the Khilafat question will be solved consistently with the just demand of the Mohammedans of India and with the solemn pledges of His Majesty's Ministers, and this meeting records its opinion that in the event of adverse decisions being arrived at, it will be the duty of every Indian to withdraw co-operation from the Government until the pledges are fulfilled and Muslim sentiment conciliated."

The National Week was concluded by another public meeting near French Bridge under the auspices of the Home Rule League and the Bombay National Union, Jinnah presiding. It was resolved that whilst mob excesses at Amritsar, although committed after grave provocation, were worthy of condemnation, the deliberate and calculated massacre, without warning, by General Dyer, of the innocent and defenceless people at Jallianwala Bagh, was an unexampled act of barbarity. The Bombay Home Rule League and the National Union under leadership of Gandhiji and Jinnah, demanded, in another meeting on 26 June 1920, for the impeachment of Sir Michael O'Dwyer and an appropriate punishment to General Dyer for the barbaric massacre at Jallianwala Bagh. The Hunter Committee's Report also came in for condemnation. Throughout this period Gandhiji persistently harped on the people's grievances against the Rowlatt Act, the Punjab episode and the Khilafat wrong, and built up the spirit of Non-co-operation¹, which was later formally sanctioned by the Congress at the Calcutta special session in September 1920.

The third phase of the Khilafat movement lasted from mid-May to 1 August 1920, when it merged with the agitation over the Punjab, into a single movement of Non-co-operation.² The publication on 14 May of the proposed allied peace treaty with Turkey was 'a staggering blow to the Indian Mussulmans'. At this stage Gandhiji advocated that Non-co-operation was the only way to secure justice and avoid violence. M. M. Chotani was reported to have moved away from his original moderate stand. The Central Khilafat Committee also decided to vigorously take up Non-co-operation.³ Now Gandhiji was the only guarantor of Hindu support to the Khilafat leaders, and they accepted him as a virtual dictator of their movement. The Congress leaders were also forced to rely on him for securing a Muslim alliance and avoiding violence.

The Central Khilafat Committee as well as Gandhiji, sent memorials to the Viceroy to the effect that Hindu-Muslims would resort to Non-co-operation from 1 August if the Khilafat question was not settled

¹ K. Gopalswamy, op. cit., p. 107.

² J. M. Brown, op. cit., p. 216.

³ *Bombay Chronicle*, 18 May 1920.

amicably. Actually many Muslim traders refused to jeopardize their trade by boycott. Even Jinnah and Bhurgri had not come out in favour of Non-co-operation, and the Muslim League had not given its support either. The disciples of Annie Besant including Jamnadas Dwarkadas were not only sceptical but were also opposed to the move. A majority of Hindus were also apprehensive. Gandhiji was searching for a mechanism for a communal alliance between the Hindus and Muslims. The Punjab issue provided the missing link. On 30 June he linked the Punjab and Khilafat issues as twin reasons for resorting to Non-co-operation, including the boycott of the reformed councils, to gain Indian self-respect.¹

"The reluctance of Hindu politicians to commit themselves to non-co-operation before the discussion of it at the Special Congress in September, made Gandhi act on his own authority".² The Non-co-operation sub-committee of the Central Khilafat Committee published instructions for observance of 1 August. Gandhiji was the soul behind. The people were urged to pray, fast and hold meetings approving Non-co-operation, but not to hold processions or commit civil disobedience, and the holders of titles and honorary posts were advised to resign.

Mahatmaji himself inaugurated the Non-co-operation Movement in Bombay by returning his Zulu and Boer War medals and his Kaiser-i-Hind gold medal to the Viceroy with the explanation that the Khilafat and Punjab 'Wrongs' had estranged him from the raj and convinced him that a new type of politics was necessary in India. It was a Sunday. An impressive peaceful hartal was observed in the city. Gandhiji and Chotani went round the town and helped maintenance of peace.

The inauguration of the movement synchronised with the sad demise of Lokamanya Tilak in the Sardargriha Hotel, and the celebration of the third Khilafat day. In accordance with the call of Gandhiji many persons renounced titles, resigned public offices and Honorary Magistrateships. A few Mohammedans also made a start in this direction by renouncing titles and resigning J.P.ship. Vithalbhai J. Patel and Sheriff Devji Kanji, resigned their membership of the Legislative Council. Several candidates belonging to the Congress Democratic Party, while disapproving the boycott of Councils, resolved to withdraw their candidature for the Legislative Council. Accordingly Joseph Baptista, H. P. Thackersey, Dr. M. B. Velkar, Dr. D. D. Sathe, Dr. M. C. Javle, Vithaldas Damodar Govindji, F. J. Ginwala and V. M. Pawar from Bombay, withdrew their candidature for elections.³ M. R. Jayakar (Bar-at-law), Jamnadas

¹ J. M. Brown, op. cit., p. 245. Tilak was frustrated in the face of Gandhiji's stand on Punjab.

² J. M. Brown, op. cit., p. 251.

³ *Non-co-operation Movement in Bombay City*. 1920-25. (Gazetteers Department, Govt. of Maharashtra, 1978), pp. 9-10.

Madhavji Mehta and Jehangir B. Patel, suspended legal practice. About 16 Justices of Peace, 14 of them being Muslims, renounced the office. One Mr. A. H. Mohammed surrendered his title of Khan Saheb. Four teachers and a lecturer in a college resigned their jobs in Government institutions in Bombay. Three distinguished students, namely, R. S. Nimbkar, B. R. Modak and V. G. Sardeshmukh, renounced their college education in favour of the freedom movement, while a scholar J. P. Bhansali renounced his scholarship from the Bombay University.¹ Such was the response to the call of Non-co-operation.

The *Bombay Police Secret Abstract* dated 7 August 1920, furnishes a Government version of the events on the Non-co-operation day in Bombay which is summarised below:

The first of August passed peacefully in Bombay. There was no manifestation of violence and no regrettable incidents occurred anywhere. The suspension of work was complete in the heart of the city and in the business quarters. It was complete during the middle hours of the day, after the news of Tilak's death had become generally known. All the mills and most of the markets were closed. No performances were given in the theatres during the day, but in the evening the cinemas were open. Very few public conveyances were to be seen, though the tramways, like other municipal and public services, worked as usual on Sundays.

Throughout the forenoon large crowds thronged the neighbourhood of the Sardargriha Hotel in the verandah of which the dead body of Tilak was seated in state, in full view of the spectators below. Shortly after the arrival of the special train from Pune, the funeral procession² started from Carnac Road. After traversing for three hours some of the densest parts of the city, the body was finally placed, between 5 and 6 p.m., on a pyre erected on Chowpati foreshore and there burnt in the presence of a large crowd. But for the heavy rain which fell at intervals throughout the day, the mourning crowds would have been larger even than they were. Two more special trains arrived from Pune later in the day. The evening meeting at Mastan Tank was attended by 4,000 persons. As a test of the strength of feeling in regard to Non-co-operation, the day was a failure (?).³ Hindus and Mohammedans participated in normal proportions in all the day's observances.

The hartal was continued as a mark of respect for Tilak throughout 2 August. Though less generally observed than on the previous day, it caused some anxiety and occasioned some minor disturbances. Interference with traffic was reported from Ripon Road, Grant Road, and Frere Road. At Colaba, the Cotton Green employees compelled the stoppage

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

² Gandhiji, Shaikat Ali and Dr. Kitchlew, shouldered the bier turn by turn.

³ This is the version of the Police authorities.

of work in the mill. In the north of the Island a few mills closed down in the early morning, and a larger number after midday. Seven hundred men of the B. B. and C. I. Railway Workshops at Parel refused to work, while all work ceased at the G. I. P. Railway Workshop at Matunga. Throughout the day, large crowds visited the place of Tilak's cremation. During the evening an unruly crowd, several thousand strong, and carrying a large black flag, suddenly appeared at Sandhurst Bridge. However, the police on duty, reinforced by a heavy shower, restored order and dispersed the mob. The day's observances ended with a public meeting presided over by Khaparde to mourn Tilak's death.

In the morning of the 3rd of August, a large crowd of millhands tried, but failed to stop, working mills. The hartal on Tilak's tenth day observances was general and, if anything, more complete than that of 1 August. No previous hartal had evoked so much interest among the millhands, the dock labourers and the railway workmen of Bombay. The mills were all shut, and though the docks and the railway workshops remained for the most part in action the men absented themselves therefrom in large numbers. Crowds streamed down to Chowpati throughout the day for the purpose of visiting the spot where Tilak was cremated. Numerous processions moved through the larger thoroughfares towards the sea or to the public meetings. But the peace was never broken. This Police report, although partial, speaks for the mass involvement.

The Bombay Provincial Congress Committee approved of Non-co-operation with 36 members for and 21 against, but left the actual details to the Special Congress to decide. The Bombay followers of Tilak appear to have calculated that it was better for them to align with Gandhiji than to risk absorption into the ranks of Annie Besant's local faction.

The Special Congress in Calcutta¹ (September 1920) endorsed the Non-co-operation programme, including surrendering of offices, titles and nominated seats, withdrawal of students and teachers from Government owned or aided institutions, boycott of courts and foreign goods, boycott of elections to the Legislative Council which were to take place in November, etc. This enhanced Gandhiji's prestige in Bombay as all over India.

The All-India Congress Committee met at Bombay under the presidency of Pandit Motilal Nehru on 2 October 1920. It reiterated the policy of non-violent Non-co-operation which was to be continued until the Punjab and Khilafat wrongs were righted and Swaraj was established. It further advised adoption of Swadeshi in piecegoods on a vast scale and revival of hand-spinning in every home and hand-weaving on the part of the millions of weavers in the country. The boycott of titles was to be secured through non-violence. Government owned or aided schools were to be

¹ A Congress special train was plied from Bombay to Calcutta.

boycotted because Government was trying to consolidate its power through them. The establishment of the Swaraj Fund was also decided.

During the first week of October, there was a spate of political activity in furtherance of Non-co-operation. Placards had been posted up in large numbers urging the people to have nothing to do with the Council elections. The Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau also decided, at this time, to join the Non-co-operation Movement, and out of its 500 members, one-half signed a requisition asking the Chamber to adopt the boycott of Councils. The arrival of the Khilafat deputation from Europe on 4 October 1920 activated the political workers, and a public meeting was held at Mastan Tank to welcome the deputation. Gandhiji addressed a meeting of millhands and other workers on 3 October¹ so as to seek their participation in the movement.

The Muslim leaders of public opinion guided by Gandhiji and Shaukat Ali, were quite active on the Khilafat issue. They exerted on the Muslim candidates to withdraw from the Council elections. The Bombay Native Piecegoods Association decided, on 10 October 1920, to boycott the Council elections. The propaganda continued for a month by way of holding public meetings. Doctors D. D. Sathe and N. D. Savarkar addressed the millhands persuading them not to vote for candidates to the Council.²

It was late in October 1920 that Gandhiji announced a change in the name of the Home Rule League into the Swarajya Sabha, and its aim was to strive for Swaraj of the people's choice without recourse to violence. The Swarajya Sabha worked as a subsidiary body of the Congress. It had many followers in Bombay, although a few following Jinnah, resigned from the organisation due to differences of opinion. Those who joined Jinnah included M. R. Jayakar, Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Kanji Dwarkadas, Jamnadas Mehta, H. P. Thackersey, Mangaldas M. Pakvasa, K. M. Munshi, H. D. Divatia and Gulabchand Devchand.³

The Bombay Provincial Congress Committee and the Bombay Congress Democratic Party, in a joint meeting on 15 November 1920 under leadership of Dr. Sathe, urged the audience to abstain from elections. On the same day about 500 students of the Wilson College attended a meeting under Mr. Gajwala and protested against the attitude of the authorities.⁴ Gandhiji, Shaukat Ali and Sathe addressed a public meeting of about 5,000 including 1,000 students, on the 14th instant for the propagation of Non-co-operation. There were processions for collection of money for the Swaraj Fund in Bombay. The merchants in the Mulji

¹ *Bombay Police Secret Abstract*, 30 October 1920.

² *Ibid.*, 23 October 1920.

³ *The Times of India*, 11 October 1920.

⁴ *Bombay Police Secret Abstract*, 23 October 1920.

Jetha Cloth Market promised to donate about Rs. 1,25,000 to the Swaraj Fund.¹

As stated earlier, the leaders of the Congress Democratic Party withdrew their candidature for elections to the Bombay Legislative Council. All the staunch nationalists abstained from the elections and 12,000 voters signed the memorandum denouncing the candidates who entered the Councils. However, eight Moderates, namely S. K. Bole N. M. Dumasia, C. A. Fernandez, K. E. Dadachanji, A. M. Surve, S. S. Batliwala, Ebrahim Suleman Haji and M. H. Haveliwala did participate in the elections.²

Non-co-operation and National Education : Soon after the emergence of the Swarajya Sabha, it began to identify itself fully with Non-co-operation activities. It devoted itself to the establishment of national schools in Bombay. Under the auspices of the Young Nationalists League, 300 college students were exhorted in Bombay by Gandhiji, Shaukat Ali and R. S. Nimbkar (26 October 1920) to emulate the students of the Aligarh College. Pandit Motilal Nehru and Gandhiji exploited other venues for the boycott of colleges and propagation of national education in Bombay. In November 1920 the students of Goculdas Tejpal High School started an agitation for severing the school's connection with the Bombay University and for surrendering Government grant. This led to the foundation of the Gujarati National School on 29 November 1920. It was accommodated in the Marwadi Vidyalaya and the Gandharva Mahavidyalaya on Sandhurst Road. This school began to progress after the Nagpur session of the Congress. Within a year its strength rose to 650, although it failed in the subsequent years. The first National Marathi School was founded in the city on 6 January 1921. The Lokamanya Tilak Girls' School, a national school, was inaugurated by Gandhiji on 22 June 1921. Like other national schools, this institution also made remarkable progress but declined from 1924.

The National College, Bombay, founded on 1 February 1921, with S. V. Puntambekar as principal, and about half a dozen nationalist professors, was an important move towards national education. It, however, declined badly in 1925. The most progressive of the institutions established under the movement was, however, the National Medical College which was founded through the efforts of the eminent patriotic doctors like R. H. Bhadkamkar, A. P. Kothare and D. D. Sathe. The phenomenal progress of this college with a strength of 430 students in July 1923, could partly be attributed to the inadequate accommodation at the Grant Medical College and partly to the nationalist zeal among the sponsors and the students. The college secured its own building at

¹ On 13 November 1920.

² *Non-co-operation Movement in Bombay City, 1920-25*, p. 25.

Victoria Cross Road, Byculla, out of funds raised by public subscriptions and the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee's loans. The affiliation of the College to the Bombay University was, however, in contravention to the pledges of Non-co-operation. Hence there were protests and resignations by staunch nationalists like Dr. D. D. Sathe. The management, however, gained the upper hand and went ahead with the affiliation proceedings. This college is now known as Topiwala National Medical College attached to the Nair Hospital.

Antagonistic Movement : While the Non-co-operation Movement was making a strong headway in the city, a counter antagonistic movement was also initiated by the Liberals and Moderates. These vested interests organised a forum in the city, and strongly condemned the Non-co-operation Movement under the auspices of the Western India National Liberation Association which met under the presidentship of Sir Dinshaw Wacha on 23 October 1920. Sir Narayan Chandavarkar was another leading light of the counter movement. Sir Narayan issued a manifesto on behalf of the anti-Non-co-operation Movement, in a pamphlet, appealing to the country against Gandhiji's movement.¹ While trying to dissuade the people from joining the Non-co-operation Movement, Sir Narayan's manifesto said, "Non-co-operation is deprecated by the religious tenets and traditions of our motherland nay, of all the religions that have saved and elevated the human race." The manifesto and the movement naturally gained support from the European mercantile community as well as the Indian industrialists in Bombay. The Bombay Millowners' Association was a great protagonist of this antagonistic movement. Sir Homi Mody, Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas and F. E. Dinshaw, were great enthusiasts of the antagonistic stance, as they were more keen about their business interest, for which they required Government favours. Their opposition to the nationalist movement was also evidenced by their opposition to the All-India Tilak Swaraj Fund.

Mahatma Gandhi very effectively contradicted Sir Narayan's manifesto, and justified the Non-co-operation Movement, both on the grounds of religious tenets and a practical philosophy of nationalist struggle.²

The Liberals led by Dinshaw Wacha and Sir Narayan, wanted to support the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms and the Councils. An anti-Non-Co-operation Committee was elected, its members being industrialists and a few Servants of India.³ Anonymous funds were forthcoming from R. D. Tata through mediation of Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas,

¹ The first part of the pamphlet appeared in the *Bombay Chronicle* of 22 October 1920.

² *Young India*, 4 August 1920 published in his book *Young India* by Rajendra Prasad, 1924 edition.

³ *Bombay Chronicle*, 12 October 1920.

who along with Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, was an honorary secretary.¹ By November 1920 Mrs. Annie Besant and some of her theosophist followers were also supporting the Committee, and Liberals like Sethna and C. V. Mehta were also involved.²

Jinnah, Jayakar, Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Mavji Govindji Seth, Joseph Baptista and many of Annie Besant's followers in the city were also opposed to Non-co-operation, as they were the advocates of Council entry. Some Marathas, of course a few, were also opposed to the boycott of the Council. The polling in Bombay city was, however, only 8 per cent despite these vested interests.

It is noteworthy that during this period, the Marwari and Gujarati traders were fairly consistently pro-nationalists, while the industrialists were consistently pro-Government.³ This issue is dealt with at length elsewhere in this chapter.

After Nagpur Congress : The decisions of the Calcutta Special Congress (September 1920) were confirmed at the Nagpur session of December 1920. The discussion centred round the change in the creed of the Congress and the Congress constitution. The amendment read as under : The object of the Indian National Congress is the attainment of Swaraj by the people of India through "all legitimate and peaceful means", the omission of the qualification within the British Empire being deliberate. It was decided to raise a national fund to be called the All-India Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund for financing the Non-co-operation Movement and the Indian National Service. The latter was organised as a band of national workers for service to the country. A special emphasis was laid on non-violence as an integral part of the Non-co-operation Movement. Swaraj was sought to be attained within an year. Communal harmony was strongly urged and an anti-untouchability movement was launched.

Another important outcome of the Nagpur session was the re-organisation of Congress bodies. The All-India Congress Committee (hitherto referred to as the AICC in this narration) at Nagpur divided the country into 21 different provinces on a linguistic basis, and allocated 356 seats among the various provinces. Bombay city was allocated seven seats in the AICC. Under the new constitution of the Congress, the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee was organised with 150 representatives (three from the depressed classes) elected by the seven District Congress Committees formed in the city. The Committees with the number of their elected representatives, were as under : Fort 14, Mandvi 20, Bhuleshwar 28,

¹ A. D. D. Gordon, op. cit., p. 159.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

Girgaum 26, Byculla 25, Parel 17, Dadar 17, and depressed classes 3.¹ The city was authorised to send 23 delegates to the Indian National Congress including seven members of the AICC.

Boycott of Duke of Connaught's Visit : The Swarajya Sabha in Bombay, in accordance with the Nagpur resolution on S.R. Bomanji and Gandhiji's advice, initiated an agitation for refraining from the Royal functions in honour of the Duke's visit in February 1921. The Bombay Native Piece-goods Merchants' Association decided to close the Mulji Jetha Cloth Market for three days. The New Share Bazar in the city did likewise. Many traders voluntarily suspended their business. Five public meetings were held during the week of the Royal visit expressing popular determination to boycott it.² The boycott was, however, not so very successful.

Tilak Swaraj Fund : The AICC which met at Bezwada on 31 March 1921, resolved to place a constructive programme, commonly known as the Bezwada Programme, before the country, namely (i) collection of one crore rupees for financing Non-co-operation Movement, (ii) enlistment of one crore members, and (iii) introduction of 20 lakhs of charkhas into households, before the end of June 1921. Bombay was the scene of Gandhiji's activities in this respect from April to June. He employed every kind of strategy for building up the Tilak Swaraj Fund. He had budgeted for Rs. 60 lakhs from Bombay and Rs. 40 lakhs from the rest of India. A happy beginning had been made in Bombay. Earnest workers, themselves endowed with riches, were working ceaselessly for the collection.³ Labour leaders like A. B. Kolhatkar, R. S. Nimbkar, D. R. Mayekar and Jamnadas Mehta joined hands with Gandhiji. The drive was mainly for the Swaraj Fund.

The city had given the largest sum for the Jallianwala Fund, and it was capable of giving a large sum to the Tilak Fund. Mandvi Ward contributed Rs. 60,000 through Velji Lakhamsey Napoo. Ghatkopar presented Gandhiji with an address and a purse of Rs. 40,000 for the Tilak fund. He put his trust in the four communities in the city, namely, Bhatias, Memons, Marwadis and Parsis. The citizens of Santacruz, which was Gandhiji's abode when he was practising as an advocate, presented him with Rs. 30,000. Bandra, Vile Parle, Borivli, Malad and other suburbs also made good contributions.⁴ The cotton merchants and workers of the Bombay Cotton Brokers' Association presented Gandhiji with a purse of Rs. 2,50,000.⁵ This was a sign of awakening in the mercantile class in the city.

¹ *Non-co-operation Movement in Bombay City, 1920-25*, pp. 31-32.

² *Bombay Police Secret Abstract*, 1921.

³ M. K. Gandhi, *Young India*.

⁴ K. Gopalswami, op. cit., pp. 149-50.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 150.

According to Mrs. Fatima Ismail, her brother Umar Sobani gave a cheque to Gandhiji for one crore; but Gandhiji insisted that the money must come from the people. Umar underwrote the target amount and left the cheque with Gandhiji in the presence of only Shaukat Ali. Somehow the news reached the Government, which broke the cotton corner created by Umar Sobani by bringing into Bombay special trainloads of cotton by orders of the Viceroy. This measure ruined Umar's mills, and he sustained a heavy loss and paid out Rs. 3.64 crores.¹ Umar Sobani was a staunch supporter of Gandhiji, and a great patriot till his death in 1926. He opposed his father, Haji Yusuf Sobani, who contested the office of the Sheriff of Bombay, simply because he did not want his father to enjoy an office under the British. Umar was successful, and Sultan Chinoy's father became the Sheriff.

Mr. A. B. Godrej, a Parsi merchant prince and staunch nationalist presented Gandhiji with a handsome donation of Rs. 3 lakhs² at the Mani Bhavan, which was throbbing with Gandhian activity throughout the period. One Jainarayan Indumal Dani was, however, the biggest single donor who donated a munificent sum of Rs. 5 lakhs, Mr. A. B. Godrej being the second with three lakhs and Arfandilal Podar, the third, with a sum of Rs. 2 lakhs.³ Bombay city totally contributed about Rs. 37.5 lakhs to Tilak Swaraj Fund at the call of Gandhiji. It was at about 10 p.m. on the last targeted day that the managers of the Fund totalled up an amount of about Rs. 98 lakhs from all over India. News-reporters were frantically telephoning for news whether the target had been reached. Jamnadal Bajaj, Shankarlal Banker and others suggested that the press be told that the one crore mark had been reached. Gandhiji, however, insisted that they must tell the truth. On the next morning a message from Calcutta came that three-four lakhs had already been collected there which had not been accounted earlier. Thus, the Bezwada target for the Fund was more than fulfilled, Bombay's generosity earned for the city the sobriquet, "Bombay the beautiful", at the hands of Gandhiji in the *Young India* of 6 July 1921.

Although Bombay city was the single biggest contributor to the Tilak Swaraj Fund, the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee decided to spend it on constructive programme all over India. A special committee with Raghavji Purshottam, Velji Napoo, Revashankar Jhaveri, Umar Sobani, Jamnadal Bajaj, A. B. Godrej, Shankarlal Banker and L. R. Tairsee, was appointed to control and manage the funds. The Bombay Provincial Congress Committee did an act of self-denial by extending the funds to other regions for spread of khadi, upliftment of depressed classes,

¹ K. Gopalswami, op. cit., pp. 149-50.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Non-co-operation Movement in Bombay City, 1920-25*, p. 59.

national schools and prohibition of liquor. It also made room for the election of two Muslim representatives to the AICC from the city.¹

As a part of the Bezvada programme, about 19,756 Congress members were enlisted, and 1,887 charkhas were introduced in the city upto May 1921. As many as 18 centres for spinning khadi were opened, while arrangements were made for the manufacture of charkhas at Lalbaug, Kalbadevi, Kumbharwada, Khetwadi, Sandhurst Road and Chowpati (at S. G. Banker's house).²

Anti-Liquor Picketing : The anti-liquor agitation in Bombay was first suggested by A. B. Kolhatkar, the editor of the *Sandesh*, in its issue of 19 May 1921. The 'G' Ward Congress Committee took up the issue first in Dadar area on 3 June 1921. By the middle of the month prohibition propaganda was launched in Girgaum, Golpitha and then in Mandvi, Frere Road, Mazagaon, Dhobi Talao, Jacob Circle and Arthur Road. Liquor shops were picketed by volunteers and prohibition education was imparted zealously. The BPCC formed a vigilance committee to weed out bad characters from the agitation. Picketing was, however, temporarily suspended from 14 July 1921 due to rowdyism, and resumed from 20 August under the vigilance of Shaukat Ali and P. G. Sahasrabudhe. Many picketers were prosecuted during the movement. A number of liquor and toddy shops were burnt or damaged during the November riots in the city.³ The agitation was, therefore, suspended.

Currency and Exchange Policy Problems : The currency and foreign exchange policy of the Government of India was highly detrimental to Indian industry and trade. Naturally it roused protests and petitions by the business community in Bombay. The Congress Working Committee also took up the issue so as to enlist the support of businessmen. The Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau, Bombay Native Piecegoods Merchants' Association, Woollen Piecegoods Merchants' Association, Fancy English Bleached and White Shirting Merchants' Association, Fancy Prints Association, Bleached Dhoties and Fancy Goods Association, all from Bombay, were actively seeking the Congress support for their protests to Government. It was advocated that Government interference with the currency and exchange issue was highly detrimental to Indian interests, as it was dictated by Britain's interests.

This issue is dealt more at length subsequently.

Boycott of Foreign Cloth : The AICC met in Bombay from 28 to 30 July 1921 to congratulate the citizens for their splendid response to the Tilak Fund. It resolved to attain a total boycott of foreign cloth by the end

¹ K. Gopalswami, op. cit., pp. 152-53.

² *Non-co-operation Movement in Bombay City, 1920-25*, pp. 48, 60, 61.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 70-73.

of September, and advised people to boycott the visit of the Prince of Wales. The Bombay Native Piecegoods Association had earlier resolved to stop trading in foreign cloth. Gandhiji stayed in the city for the most part of July, August and September, mainly to direct the boycott campaign. He exhorted the millowners to regularise their profits and to manufacture mainly for the Indian market, and the importers to abandon buying foreign goods and to dispose of existing stocks outside India. He appealed the consumers to wear only khadi cloth, mill cloth being retained for the poor. The citizens were also to destroy imported cloth. Narandas Purshottam and Jammalal Bajaj were very active in the campaign, and the latter tried his best to dissuade the Marwadi cloth merchants and commission agents from dealing in foreign cloth. Several public meetings were held. The response from the Mulji Jetha Market was favourable, although the movement in general met with a limited success. Two thousand posters containing Gandhiji's message of swadeshi and khadi were published by Swarajya Sabha. In response, piles of foreign clothes were received. Umar Sobani was reported to have given clothes worth Rs. 30,000.

The Bombay Provincial Congress Committee and the non-co-operators tried their best for the success of the movement. Besides public meetings, house to house propaganda was raised. The discarded foreign clothes were collected Ward by Ward, and processions were organised. Gandhiji lighted a bonfire of a huge pile of foreign cloth, about 20 feet high, in the compound of the Elphinstone mill owned by Umar Sobani, on 31 July 1921. The all-India leaders who were in the city for the AICC meeting also attended the bonfire programme in the presence of over 12,000 people. They addressed public meetings on the Chowpati. The response of the millowners and merchants of foreign cloth was, however, much less than expected.¹

The second bonfire of foreign clothes was held on 9 October 1921 in the compound of the Elphinstone mill in the presence of a vast crowd with boundless enthusiasm. It was impossible to pass along the Elphinstone Bridge. A disciplined meeting was addressed by Gandhiji, Lalaji, Maulana Azad, Sarojini Naidu, Rajendra Prasad and Sobani. Gandhiji's speech was full of pathos and sorrowfulness at the failure of the people. The sight was extremely impressive: the vast audiences, the burning clothes and the passionate speakers under God's sky in the growing night!

This touching event was preceded by the arrest of Shaukat Ali in Bombay on 16 September 1921, and of Mohammed Ali at Waltair, in connection with the Karachi resolution which was alleged to have tampered with the loyalty of army troops. The arrest of the Ali brothers invited the wrath of the mill hands which resulted into a stoppage of work in

¹ *Non-co-operation Movement in Bombay City, 1920-25*, pp. 49, 74, 76, 78.

14 mills in Bombay. Most of the mills were in the Muslim localities, and undoubtedly the strike was intended to demonstrate the political loyalties of the Khilafat rank and file, which included at least, some of the Muslim millhands. Even so, the strike was brief and half-hearted, and was promptly condemned by the Congress and Khilafat Committees.¹

Mr. Chotani suggested that the third bonfire of foreign cloth on the day of arrival of the Prince of Wales should be so big that the flames might be easily seen from Apollo Bunder and that the Prince be impressed by Indian determination for Swaraj and Swadeshi. Accordingly the third bonfire was lighted by Gandhiji in the presence of an impressive gathering of more than 25 thousand in the compound of the Elphinstone mill on 17 November 1921. The bonfire as planned, coincided with the landing of the Prince of Wales at Apollo Bunder. It was accompanied by a general hartal in the city.

All these bonfires were symbolic of India's determination for the Swadeshi and Swaraj. They were all held solemnly with a splendid and spectacular show of discipline and self-denial. Gandhiji's speeches were full of emotional appeals. At the time of the second bonfire, some tears were to be seen in his eyes, the tears of sorrow at the failure of the people to fulfill their duty towards the country.²

Prince of Wales Riots : The Prince of Wales's visit was intended to uphold the prestige of the British Government, although it was most inopportune and uncalled for at the time. The AICC as well as the Congress Working Committee which had met in Bombay from 28 to 30 July and 5 October 1921, respectively, had resolved to boycott the Royal visit and to observe a general voluntary hartal throughout the land. During the six weeks preceding the Prince's visit, 19 public meetings had been held in Bombay for the express purpose of rousing all patriotic citizens against the visit. Accordingly Bombay was to observe a hartal on the day of the Prince's landing at Bombay, and the citizens were directed by Gandhiji to religiously refrain from attending charities, fetes or fireworks organised for the purpose. No ill-will or insult was intended to be shown to the Prince. However, the Prince's visit itself and the circumstances attending the ceremonials arranged and the public money wasted for the royal functions, constituted an unbearable provocation. And yet Bombay had remained self-restrained initially, although the Swarajya Sabha's office was needlessly raided by the police.

The purpose of the bonfire, apart from its obvious symbolism, was also to provide a counter-attraction to the extravagant ceremonies going on in the Fort area, where the Prince was beginning a royal tour of India.³

¹ Richard Newman, op. cit., p. 98.

² *Bombay Police Secret Abstract*, November 1921.

³ Mahatma Gandhi, *Young India* (Date not available).

The mills continued to work as Gandhiji had proposed, but some of them had apparently to close later because their workers slipped away to watch the spectacle. There was no disturbance in the north of the city that day. The focus of events was in the south, where trainloads of Congress and Khilafat volunteers returning from the bonfire, disembarked at Marine Lines and Charni Road railway stations and found themselves face to face with Parsis and Europeans leaving the route of the Prince's procession. Full scale rioting developed across the city from Tardeo and Girgaum in the west to the lower reaches of Parel Road.¹

There was stone-throwing at cars and trams and the decorations were dragged down and burned. Tramway services were totally paralysed. The persons returning home after the Prince's State procession were assaulted. The military had to be summoned and 13 people were killed as a result of firing.

As D. G. Tendulkar records : "The Parsis as a community having joined in the demonstration of welcome to the Prince, in defiance of the wishes of the general body of people, had been the target of attack. When they were returning home from the reception ceremony, the foreign caps and foreign garments on their persons were seized and consigned to flames. A Police station and another building were set on fire. Four policemen had been beaten to death and some sustained injuries. Gandhi arrived and witnessed the scene. A huge crowd had gathered and there was a terrible noise and confusion all around. When they saw Gandhi in their midst, they gave themselves up to frenzied demonstrations and began to shout, *Mahatma Gandhi-Ki-Jai*. He reproved them and ordered them off. Sprinkling water on the faces of the injured policemen, he remained there for some time nursing them. After having made arrangements for their removal to the hospital, he left.

"From every part of the city reports of frightful excesses of murder or rioting continued to pour in till ten in the night. Gandhi had been an eyewitness to such dreadful scenes, and the agony he suffered was unbearable... Weighed down by grief and remorse, he went on recalling the high hopes with which he had been directing the movement. But these hopes had now vanished into thin air....."

"The next morning, November 18, the Parsis, the Anglo-Indians and the Jewish residents, were adequately armed and, frantic with rage, were thirsting for revenge. Meanwhile the Congressmen went round the city, trying to pacify the people. But the situation was hopeless. Reprisals led to reprisals, and there was no knowing how things would end.

"Gandhi felt as if all his strength had vanished..... He was not afraid of sacrificing himself. But what use? 'If I allowed myself to be torn

¹ Richard Newman, op. cit., p. 98.

to pieces by justly incensed Parsis or Christians, I would only give rise to greater bloodshed. Whilst as a soldier I must avoid no unavoidable risk, I must not recklessly run the risk of being killed. Then what was I to do?' At last came the idea of a fast to his rescue..... On November 19 he called back his son Devdas to Bombay and he gave out that Devdas had been brought back on purpose. He was to be sent out as a 'sacrifice' for slaughter by the rioters, should a fresh outbreak occur in neighbouring areas."¹

The millhands, the white-collared gentry and even the intelligentsia, were involved in rioting. Bhendi Bazar was a great scene with not less than 20,000 unwilling to listen to any body, and frantically out on an operation destruction. Gandhiji and Sobani were ultimately successful in restoring peace there. In some areas there were painful events of molestation of Parsi sisters.²

The situation had deteriorated rapidly on the second day. Parsis were hacked to death in the streets, and Parsi youths responded against Muslims and Hindus with equal savagery. Gangs of Muslims moved north from Madanpura along DeLisle Road, intimidating the millhands and closing down the mills, so that by the afternoon, the central part of the mill area had come to a standstill. The millhands, however, did not allow themselves to be caught up in the violence, and went back to work again the next day. Meanwhile the rioting continued in the area south of Grant Road, where it eventually subsided about five days later. "The riots were only the culmination of months of tension between the Congress volunteers and the Parsi community, arising out of the latter's refusal to wear khaddar or close down their liquor shops in response to Gandhi's condemnation of alcohol. Apart from a small number of workers who were drawn into political events by their individual links with non-co-operators of other social classes, the millhands were hardly involved in any of the agitations of the time, and the evidence suggests that the nationalist leadership did not intend them to be."³

The Government openly took sides, and armed and aided the Parsis and Christians in retaliatory madness; and neglected to protect the Hindu and Muslim victims of the former's wrath. The police and the military looked on with callous indifference. Over 50 persons were reported to have been killed and 400 injured in the carnage and insolence which persisted for five days upto 21 November. Gandhiji and others including Sarojini Naidu, Azad, Sobani, Jayakar, Jamnadas Mehta, Dr. Sathe and Mouzam Ali, strived to restore peace. Gandhiji undertook an indefinite fast in penance, from the 19th instant. Ultimately peace appeared to have

¹ D. G. Tendulkar, *Mahatma : Life of Mohanchand Karamchand Gandhi*.

² For details see K. Gopalswami, *Gandhi and Bombay*, pp. 121-38.

³ Richard Newman, op. cit., p. 99.

dawned on 21 November, and leaders belonging to all communities, non-co-operators and co-operators, convened a meeting on that day. There were speeches of goodwill and harmony by a representative of each community.¹ And Gandhiji was persuaded to break his fast. The injuries and wounds of the event were gradually healed.

The Congress Working Committee (henceforth called the CWC) was called at Mani Bhavan on 22 and 23 November 1921. Resolutions were passed deploring the tragic occurrences in Bombay, and inviting Congress workers and Khilafat bodies to be vigilant about violence. The CWC also warned all Provincial Congress Committees against embarking upon Mass Civil Disobedience without first making certain of a peaceful atmosphere.²

The disturbances gave a real setback to the Non-Co-operation, Mass Civil Disobedience and boycott movements, and no material progress towards advancement of the boycott programme was made until at the close of the year.

Gandhiji's success in collection of a crore of rupees for the Tilak Swaraj Fund and other programmes made him more and more popular towards the end of 1921. The people reposed their faith in him, and it was at the Ahmedabad Congress (December 1921) that he was appointed as the 'Dictator' of the Congress giving him all powers to appoint a deputy in case he was arrested. During January-February 1922 the activities of the Congress workers in Bombay were confined to the enrolment of national volunteers.

Boycott of Councils, schools and courts, collection of funds, Swadeshi, had all been tried in succession : each aspect of Non-Co-operation had attracted some support, but none gave the movement more than a temporary momentum. Violence was its worst enemy. By and by a good deal of mutual recrimination developed in the carefully built Hindu-Muslim brotherhood.³ Tension developed between Gandhiji and the Ali brothers. There were many among the Muslims who argued that nothing had ever been achieved by non-violence.⁴ That was a formidable danger to the movement.

By mid-March 1922, the three bases on which Gandhiji had built up the movement, collapsed. Many of the Hindu and Muslim leaders realised that non-co-operation was not a profitable tactic through which they could pursue their own aims. It could neither guarantee a communal

¹ K. Gopalswami, op. cit., p. 132.

² *Non-co-operation Movement in Bombay City*, p. 85.

³ J. M. Brown, op. cit., p. 335.

⁴ Comments of the Bombay Police Commissioner, 25 January 1922, Home Political, 1922, No. 551.

alliance nor secure them the power they sought. Into this ferment, Gandhiji dropped his bombshell of suspending civil disobedience after the Chauri Chaura violence.

Soon after, Gandhiji was arrested on 10 March 1922 and sentenced to six years' simple imprisonment. His incarceration created a general depression and frustration, although the BPCC continued to pursue his constructive programme in the city. There was practically a lull in the city throughout 1922, except for the usual Gandhian programme.¹

NON-CO-OPERATION BECOMES LANGUID

While eminent Tilakites including Jayakar and Kelkar denounced the triple boycott, even Congressmen like Vithalbhai Patel and Jamnadas Mehta clamoured to contest the January 1923 elections to the Municipal Corporation and to seek an entry into the Council in repudiation of the pledge of Non-co-operation. They organised the Municipal Nationalist Party, while pledging their adherence to the Congress creed, both inside and outside the Corporation. As many as 67 members of the Municipal Nationalist Party contested the Municipal Corporation election held on 29 January 1923, of whom 47 were elected. The most important of the elected members included V. J. Patel, Mia Mohammed Chotani, V. L. Napoo, Dr. Velkar, H. P. Thackersey, Sarojini Naidu, B. N. Motiwala, L. R. Tairsee, K. F. Nariman, Jamnadas Mehta, Dr. Sathe, S. L. Silam, A. H. S. Khatri, V. A. Desai, P. G. Sahasrabuddhe, F. J. Ginwala, Avantikabai Gokhale, Joseph Baptista, Dr. G. V. Deshmukh and Umar Sobani.²

However, these 47 members could not capture the Corporation and, except for a few specific issues, the loyalists, Government nominees and members of Homi Mody's Progressive Party, dominated the municipality. Actually, V. J. Patel, the leader of the Municipal Nationalist Party, lost the 1923 mayoral election to Homi Mody, by three votes. Yet the Progressive Party comprising professionals, landlords, rich merchants and millowners, was by no means a homogeneous group with regard to the interest of its members.³

The clash between the Municipal Nationalist Party and Progressive Party was significant in so far as it related to the crucial question which group was destined to bear the brunt of the burden of the rising taxation consequent upon the Municipal Reforms Act of 1922. The nationalists

¹ Khadi propaganda was activated, and the sale proceeds from Khaddar in the city, reached Rs. 1,39,000 during the last months of the year. Bajaj and Chotani were appointed treasurers of the Congress.

² For the names of the ward-wise contestants and the elected candidates refer to *Non-co-operation Movement in Bombay City, 1920-25*, pp. 147-50.

³ A. D. D. Gordon, op. cit., p. 139.

were still dependent upon the support of a number of landlords in the civic body.¹

The nationalists, with the support of professionals and merchants dominated the Municipal Nationalist Party. However, it could not be claimed to be an anti-landlord party. "On the other hand, it might also be termed the party of the traditional Hindu merchants who had hitherto been denied a voice in the affairs of the city."² Many of such merchants found a berth in the Corporation on the support of the Municipal Nationalist Party during the 1923 and 1926 elections. Their leaders, V. L. Napoo, G. G. Nensey and Mathuradas Tricamji (grain and cloth merchants), had come to the forefront as non-co-operators. The conflict between the landlords, millowners and merchants related mainly to taxation and its incidence. This is, however, a very complicated issue which need not detain us.

An important activity of the Municipal Nationalist Party was in connection with its protests against voting an address to Sir George Lloyd on his retirement, in the last quarter of 1923. In spite of their protests, the Corporation did arrange for the farewell address to the outgoing Governor and welcome to the incoming Governor, Sir Leslie Wilson

¹ It may be necessary to review a few past events to understand the role of the Municipal Nationalist Party and other pressure groups in the city. "The Corporation prior to the reforms of 1922 was, in essence, a landlord-millowner-large merchants Corporation and was overtly antinationalist. However, intense agitation for reform of the franchise for municipal voting had been going on since early in 1918. It was led at least initially, by strange bed-fellows—the European Association and the Municipal Reforms Association, the latter being led by the nationalist and future mayor of Bombay, Joseph Baptista. By the end of 1919 these voices had been joined by a group of quasi-worker and lower middle class South Indian associations, including the People's Union, the Clerks' Union and the Tenants' Association." (A. D. D. Gordon, p. 131.) At this stage, the Maharashtrian labourers had not yet begun to take deep interest in municipal reforms, although they were eventually to replace the Gujaratis and the Parsis as the dominating influence in civic government.

The Municipal Reforms Association wanted a wholly elected corporation to avoid the situation wherein the nominated members were servile instruments of the Municipal Commissioner. George Lloyd, the Governor, was also urging for a wide extension of franchise, in 1919, to reform the landlord dominated civic body. The landlord faction in the Corporation received the support of Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola, a member of the Governor's Council in charge of the General Department (A. D. D. Gordon, p. 136). He was one of the biggest landlords in the city and had a great influence over the civic body. At one stage Lloyd was "in constant friction with Sir Ibrahim over the housing scheme."

There was some kind of polarisation of forces in the Corporation, and a more expected result of the reforms was a surge of nationalists into the body. It was against this background that the emergence of the Municipal Nationalist Party was an important factor.

² A. D. D. Gordon, op. cit., pp. 139-40.

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(1923-28). The Municipal Nationalist Party boycotted the functions in the spirit of Non-co-operation, and held protest meetings on the Chowpati sands and other places on the day previous to the old Governor's departure.¹

It was in April 1924 that V. J. Patel succeeded in being elected the Mayor (President) of the Corporation, and K. F. Nariman was appointed leader of the Municipal Nationalist Party. During his regime as mayor the Corporation presented an address to Gandhiji on 29 August 1924. V. J. Patel had the courage to boycott the Viceregal function in spite of the Corporation's resolution to that effect. He resigned the mayorship in repudiation of the Corporation's action. At the next meeting of the Corporation, however, he was allowed to occupy the Mayor's chair and was re-elected as Mayor again on 5 January 1925.

To resume the chronological narration of the Non-co-operation movement, Sarojini Naidu, Vallabhbhai Patel, Jamnalal Bajaj and Vithalbhai Patel continued to strive for the Tilak Swaraj Fund by holding public meetings throughout February 1923.² The *Bombay Chronicle* announced large amounts contributed to the Fund.³ The 18th of every month was continued to be celebrated as a Gandhi Day in furtherance of the Swaraj Fund, enrolment of national volunteers, propagation of khaddar, and a fight against untouchability. The Marwadi Vidyalaya Hall was a favourite venue for meetings of leaders like Vallabhbhai Patel and Sarojini Naidu.

A *Congress Employment Bureau* was formed with a view to helping the non-co-operating young men, who had renounced government services, in securing jobs. This was in pursuance of the resolution of the Congress Working Committee in Bombay in January 1923. The city firms and nationalist employers were exhorted through meetings and columns of the *Bombay Chronicle* to notify vacancies to the Bureau of which Mathuradas Tricamji was the secretary. There was, however, not much progress in this respect in the year.

The labour sub-committee of the Congress under Dr. Sathe, S. A. Dange and L. G. Khare, appears to have become active at this juncture. It approached the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee to allot Rs. 50,000 for the labour movement in Bombay. The fact, however, remains that the nationalists could not make deep inroads in the millhands. This aspect is examined further subsequently.

Nagpur Flag Satyagraha : The courageous Flag Satyagraha under the leadership of Jamnalal Bajaj at Nagpur (May to August 1923), evoked tremendous enthusiasm in Bombay. The Bombay Provincial Congress

¹ *Non-co-operation Movement in Bombay City, 1920-25*, pp. 124-125.

² *Ibid.*, p. 130.

³ *Bombay Chronicle*, 7 Feb. 1923.

Committee sent volunteers to participate in the agitation at Nagpur. Sarojini Naidu was an inspiring force behind the movement in the city. The Bombay Grain Merchants' Association and the Marwadi Bazar appreciated the patriotism of Jamnalal by observing a hartal on 19 June 1923. The Gold and Silver Satta Bazar and the Marwadi Bazar in Bombay protested against the conviction of Jamnalal with a closure of business for the second time on 11 July. Kasturba Gandhi played an important role in activating the ladies in the city by organising meetings and processions on the occasion.

The Nagpur Flag Satyagraha evoked so great an interest in Bombay that the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee and the District Congress Committees in the city, sent a great many volunteers including a member of the Birla family, to Nagpur. Several processions were held and patriotic activities were sponsored. Many youths from Bombay were convicted and sentenced to various terms of rigorous imprisonment.¹

Nabha Abdication : The Bombay Congressmen, and Sikhs in particular, condemned the action of the Government of India in bringing about a forced abdication of the Maharaja of Nabha as being unjust and unconstitutional. The citizens of Bombay congratulated the Akali martyrs, and applauded their courageous stand against the repression by the Punjab Government under the pretext of putting down the Babbar Akalis. The Sikhs in Bombay expressed full sympathy with the gallant struggle of the Akalis (July and November 1923).

Kenya Betrayal : The adverse decision of the British Government on the Kenya question roused indignation in Bombay in August 1923. The Swaraj Party as well as the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee and the Central Khilafat Committee, were active against the Kenya Betrayal. The Bombay Provincial Congress Committee and the Khilafat Committee gave a call for the observance of a hartal on 27 August after the disembarkation of the Kenya Deputation.² The citizens emphatically condemned the betrayal of Indian interest in Kenya by the British.

Swaraj Party : After the Gaya Congress, Chittaranjan Das issued instructions to Jayakar and Jamnadas Mehta for the formation of a Bombay branch of the Swaraj Party, which had accepted the principle of Non-co-operation, but stood for the creation of an atmosphere of resistance making Government by bureaucracy impossible. While accepting Civil Disobedience as a powerful weapon, the party felt that the country was not yet ready for it. Accordingly M. R. Jayakar, J. M. Mehta and K. Natarajan, convened a meeting to form the Bombay branch on 25 March 1923. They, however, decided initially to subscribe to

¹ A list of the convicted is given in *Non-co-operation Movement in Bombay City, 1920-25*, pp. 174-76.

² It consisted of Jinnah, Khaparde, Sastri and Jamnadas Dwarkadas.

the Congress programme and creed, and postponed the formation of the party till the dawn of May. It was on 8 May that the Swaraj Party (Bombay branch) was organised. Its leading lights were : K. Natarajan, Jayakar, V. J. Patel, J. M. Mehta, J. K. Mehta, A. G. Mulgaonkar, Purshottamdas Tricumdas, S. H. Jhabwalla, B. G. Kher, Shantaram N. Dabholkar and M. D. Nanavati. The main thrust of the policy of the party was on carrying on a constitutional fight in the Legislative Council. The manifesto was announced the same day.¹ Although not a rival party, it was undoubtedly a faction bent upon entering the Councils in difference with the programme of non-co-operation and boycott. By the middle of May 1923, it opened four branch offices in different areas in Bombay for collection of funds and enlistment of members. The main plank of their propaganda was that Non-co-operation had been a success in so far as it had caused an awakening among the people, but at the same time Non-co-operation had given the bureaucracy an opportunity to consolidate its powers. The Swaraj Party was founded to undermine those powers. The boycott of the Councils had been a failure as had been the boycott of schools and colleges. Government continued to enact unjust laws in the name of reforms, while undesirable elements found a berth in the Councils. The Swarajists decided upon a policy of obstruction against the bureaucracy. B. G. Kher, who later became the Prime Minister of Bombay State, emerged as a Swarajist at this juncture.

Unfortunately differences of opinion fermented very soon between Jayakar and Natarajan on the one hand and V. J. Patel and Jamnadas Mehta on the other, over the issue of nomination of candidates for the Assembly and the Councils. The differences culminated in the resignations of Jayakar, Natarajan, Dabholkar and eight others.² The unfortunate breach in the party made it imperative for the central leaders to reorganise its hierarchy with V. J. Patel as the president; J. M. Mehta, M. B. Velkar and Bhulabhai Desai as vice-presidents; and J. K. Mehta, R. N. Mandlik, Bhadkamkar and Appabhai Desai as its secretaries in September 1923.

The Bombay Swaraj Party further patched up the internal dissensions and launched a vigorous campaign for elections to the reformed Councils and the Legislative Assembly to be held on 14 November 1923. It is noteworthy that the Congress Party which was opposed to Council-entry as a matter of principle, suspended its propaganda against Council-entry by virtue of the decision in the Special Congress session held in the middle of September. This had undoubtedly a favourable impact on the election results from the point of view of the Swarajists *vis-a-vis* the Moderates.

¹ *Bombay Police Secret Abstract*, 1923.

² *Times of India* of 9 July 1923. The signatories stated that there was a certain section in the party in Bombay (probably referring to Patel and Mehta), from which they were fundamentally and irrevocably separated in principles and methods.

The Swarajists aimed at mending or ending the Councils and the Assembly, if the demands of the Indian National Congress were not conceded. The election results were quite startling and encouraging. Vithalbhai J. Patel, president of the Swaraj Party of Bombay, was elected to the Central Legislative Assembly from the Bombay city non-Muslim constituency, while the other Swarajist candidate from the Muslim constituency, namely, Hussenbhai A. Lalji, lost to his rival. The performance of the Swarajists in the elections to the Bombay Legislative Council was rather spectacular. Of the nine seats from the city, the Swarajists captured six. The successful Swarajists included K. F. Nariman, M. B. Velkar, J. K. Mehta, Punjabhai Thackersey, Jafferbhai Lalji and Jayakar.¹ Mr. Jayakar had contested the election from the Bombay University constituency as a Swarajist after some *rapprochement*. He was elected leader of the Council Swaraj Party in January 1924, which formulated a policy to be adopted in the legislature. The policy contemplated continuous obstruction of bureaucratic high-handedness, abstention from any office or commission and opposition to budgetary demands and grants.²

A General Lull : It can broadly be said that the entire year 1923 was characterised by a wrangle between the Swarajists and the No-change factions of the Congress in the city. The temporary patch up on Council entry was rather a tactical move. The news of Gandhiji's grave illness and his removal from Yeravada prison to the Sassoon Hospital in Pune on 13 January 1924, cast a spell of gloom in the nationalist circles. Sarojini Naidu, president of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, had just left Bombay for Mombassa on 9 January 1924. Consequently there was a general lull in the political activities in the city for about six months.³

Gandhiji's release on 5 February 1924 was greeted with enthusiasm and delight in the city. The entire cloth market, Share Bazar and the Cotton Association, observed closure to celebrate the happy occasion. The month commencing from 18 February to 18 March 1924 was observed as a Gandhi month under instructions of the Congress Working Committee, while the District Congress Committees in the city, carried out the usual constructive programme. Gandhiji, with S. G. Banker and Mrs. Anasuya, came to Bombay on 11 March for a week's convalescence in Narottam Morarji's bungalow at Juhu. The Chowpati Beach was the scene of a very large gathering under K. P. Khadilkar, the journalist,

¹ *Non-co-operation Movement in Bombay City, 1920-25*, p. 160.

² *Ibid.*, p. 156.

³ The Congress Working Committee met in Bombay from 30 January to 2 February 1924 under the presidency of Mohammed Ali and passed resolutions of a routine type.

politician and ardent follower of Gandhiji and famous playwright. Mohammed Ali and Shaukat Ali also became active within the Congress and Khilafat circles in Bombay.

Gandhiji's first reaction to Council-entry was not favourable, but he conceded that it had become a *fait accompli* and gave it the *imprimatur* of the Congress. The talks between Gandhiji and the Swarajists, particularly Motilal Nehru and C. R. Das, continued from March to May 1924. After recuperating his health, Gandhiji left Bombay at the end of May, and toured the country extensively for the rest of the year. "As the year wore on, Gandhi realised in increasing measure the futility and harm of the wrangle between the two wings of the Congress. He struck a bold blow for unity by 'surrendering' to the Swarajists. The gap was eventually closed at Calcutta in November, when a joint statement was issued by him and the Swarajists, which was later endorsed by the All-India Congress Committee."¹

The year was also significant for the nomination of Gandhiji as the president of the Congress to be held at Belgaum. It was the first and the last time that he held any formal office throughout his life.

The Bombay Municipal Corporation, on behalf of the citizens, offered felicitations to the Mahatma on the occasion of his recovery from serious illness and release from prison, on 29 August 1924. It was the second address presented to a national leader by the Corporation, the first having been presented to Dadabhai Naoroji. The brief but brilliant felicitation was offered at the Sir Cowasji Jehangir Hall in the presence of a distinguished gathering. The address was encased in a simple silver casket.

Meanwhile there were communal clashes between Hindus and Muslims in the city and several parts of India. Bombay was deeply moved by Gandhiji's 21-day fast from 18 September 1924 at Delhi,² in self-purification against communal disharmony. The Bombay Provincial Congress Committee and several other bodies in Bombay appealed for communal harmony and prayed for the Mahatma's life. The native Share Bazar closed its activities for a day as a mark of respect for the fast.

All-Party Conference : The All-Party Conference convened by the Congress president, Mohammed Ali, at the Muzaffarabad Hall in Bombay on 21 and 22 November 1924, was one of the most important events of the day. Nearly 275 prominent members of the All-India Congress Committee and about 200 delegates of different political parties graced the occasion. Nearly 50 non-party persons, such as solicitors, doctors and

¹ K. Gopalswami, op. cit., pp. 206-07.

² The fast was undertaken at Mohammed Ali's house at Delhi. The fast brought about a conference of leaders of all communities who took a pledge for communal peace.

merchants also participated. The prominent among those present were: Gandhiji, Mohammed Ali, Shaukat Ali, Annie Besant, Sarojini Naidu, Dinshaw Petit, Sastri, Motilal Nehru, C. R. Das, B. G. Pal, J. B. Petit, Jinnah, Jayakar, Vallabhbhai Patel, V. J. Patel, Natarajan, C. Y. Chintamani, the Dwarkadas brothers, Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas, K. P. Khadilkar, Dr. Ansari, Abul Kalam Azad, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Brelvi and Dr. Savarkar. Sir Dinshaw Petit, a non-party person, was voted to the chair. The Conference was motivated "to unite all parties and induce those who in 1920 felt called upon to retire from the Congress to rejoin it and to meet the recrudescence of repression which is evidently aimed at the Swaraj Party of Bengal".

The main point of discussion was an alteration of the Congress programme in such a manner as to bring on the Congress platform all the parties which had seceded from it.¹ Gandhiji made it clear that he had conceded sufficient concession in the alteration of the programme as laid down in the joint statement issued by him, C. R. Das and Motilal Nehru, and that he would not yield further.

As there were sharp differences of opinion among the delegates on the various issues before India, Gandhiji tried to secure unanimity on the questions on which there was an agreement. It was therefore decided to appoint a committee representing the several parties at the Conference for the preparation of a draft resolution on the repressive measures adopted by the Bengal Government and the Bengal Ordinance promulgated by the Government of India.² The Conference strongly condemned the Ordinance, empowering the Government to invade upon individual liberty and to suppress constitutional political activity. At the same time it disapproved the anarchical terrorist activities, but urged immediate withdrawal of the Ordinance as well as Regulation III of 1918.³

On the other question of achieving unity of all the parties, Gandhiji told the Congress Working Committee, that if they handled other questions such as the creed of the Congress and the spinning franchise, there might arise disagreement which would be prejudicial to the main object of calling the All-Party Conference. "Therefore, a committee representing different shades of ideology was appointed to consider 'the best way of reuniting all political parties in the National Congress, and to prepare a scheme of Swaraj including the solution of Hindu-Muslim and like questions in their political aspects'. The committee

¹ Bombay Police Secret Abstract, Nov. 1924.

² Criminal Law Amendment Ordinance of 1924.

³ See Bombay Police Secret Abstracts for detailed accounts.

included Gandhiji, Mohammed Ali, Azad, Jinnah, Sastri, Chintamani, Purshottamdas Thakurdas and Baptista.¹

The next day after the All-Party Conference (23 November) the All-India Congress Committee met at the Muzaffarabad Hall and ratified the Gandhi-Das-Nehru Pact, which had earlier been arrived at Calcutta. The ratification of the pact² paved the way to political unification of the Congressmen and Swarajists. However, the question of political unity for which the All-Party Conference had been convened, was relegated to the background, and ultimately shelved by the appointment of a committee.³

The entire year 1924 had been one of continual drift marked by paper pacts and compromises, but by no practical achievement. There was also a feeling of uncertainty regarding the future programme of the Congress.⁴

Responsive Co-operation: The Congress had to give further concessions to the Swaraj Party throughout 1925. Ultimately Council-entry was officially recognised by the All-India Congress Committee as part of the Congress programme. Thenceforth elections would be contested not by the Swaraj Party but by the Congress itself. The Non-co-operation organisation was virtually wound up, and the political activity was taken over by the Swaraj Party. The year 1925 also witnessed a sliding back within the latter, slackening of discipline and the first rumblings of 'responsive co-operation'.⁵

The protagonists of responsive co-operation conferred with leaders of other parties in Bombay, and consequently the Indian National Party was born in April 1926. The objective of the new creation was to prepare for establishment of Swaraj of the Dominion type by all peaceful and legitimate means, excluding mass civil disobedience and non-payment of taxes. Gandhiji was all the while a silent spectator.⁶ By and large the millhands were left outside the Non-co-operation Movement. They did not join the Congress organisation in any significant number. "There was, it is true, a minority of members in the Congress Committees, whose imagination had been fired by the possibility of giving the workers an active role and extending the Congress organisation downwards to promote, both social and political reform, but the minority was consistently outvoted by a conservative majority reflecting professional and mercantile interests. The result was a paralysis of Congress labour policy

¹ For names of all members of the committee see *Non-co-operation Movement in Bombay City, 1920-25*, p. 199.

² Two No-changers voted against it.

³ *Non-co-operation Movement in Bombay City, 1920-25*, p. 200.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 201.

⁵ K. Gopalswami, *op. cit.*, p. 229.

⁶ In the meantime the Congress House was inaugurated by Gandhiji on 26 March 1925.

and drift towards socialism and communism among the frustrated radicals."¹

The Khilafat Movement was mainly instrumental in increasing political consciousness among the Muslims in Bombay. Maulana Shaukat Ali commanded influence in Madanpura, and he built a hierarchy of local leaders between the Khilafat Committee and contingents of volunteers.² But the main inspiration of the Khilafat organisation was religious. Hence it also could not make deep inroads among the proletariat.

While the Congress and the Khilafat organisations were preoccupied with Non-co-operation, an organisation of the remnants of the old elite of business and professional leaders, combined with Moderates, emerged in Bombay. It was formalised into the National Liberal Federation. This, rather reactionary body, comprised Sir Dinshaw Wacha, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, Sir R. P. Paranjape (a minister in the Bombay Government), and Sir Homi Mody. They actively opposed Non-co-operation, and regarded the Montagu-Chelmsford constitution as a vindication of their policy of collaboration with the British Government. They played a major part in conciliar Government,³ both in Delhi and Bombay. Their electoral influence was rather diminished by the extensions of the franchise, but they still wielded a substantial share of the reserved and nominated seats in the legislatures. Their source of influence also lay in their informal contacts with the British⁴ bureaucrats, which were strengthened in the clubs and gymkhanas in Bombay. Among the liberal camp, Homi Mody, a lawyer, businessman, an arbiter of municipal politics and international diplomat for the textile industry, emerged as a rising star. It is true that the relations between Government and industrialists were not as cordial after 1922 as they had been before, mainly due to differences over the measures against the economic recession in the city. In fact, some of them extended feelers to the Swaraj Party, as and when possible. Even then these Liberals maintained their ties with the British.

Another political movement of growing importance in Bombay was non-Brahminism.⁵ It was growing up for over half a century in the central and southern districts of the Deccan, partly in Ratnagiri also, against the predominance of the Brahmins. Bombay provided a congenial home to the movement. An interesting feature of the

¹ Richard Newman, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

² R. Kumar, "From Swaraj to Purna Swaraj Nationalistic Politics in the city of Bombay, 1920-32, in *Congress and the Raj: Facets of Indian Struggle, 1917-47*, D. A. Low (ed.) (Arnold-Heinemann, London, 1977), p. 81.

³ Richard Newman, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

non-Brahmin movement was that it was hostile to Congress politicians in the Presidency because of their high caste origin. The protagonists of the movement, therefore, chose to co-operate with the new constitution under the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. They captured many of the elected seats in the provincial council, occupied one of the transferred portfolios in Government and controlled many district boards in the Presidency. Had they not been divided by factionalism, they would have accomplished much more.¹ B. V. Jadhav, Minister of Education, and later of Agriculture, led one group which opposed Brahmins whenever possible, and exploited the rural prejudices of the Bombay workers to win their support. Another non-Brahmin group represented by S. K. Bole and R. S. Asavale collaborated with the Moderates and Liberals to continue the traditions of social reforms and welfare activities in the hope of achieving a shift of power before the dawn of independence.² Bole, Asavale and their associates worked closely with the Social Service League and similar bodies in the furtherance of their objectives. They also occupied the Council seat reserved for Bombay Marathas.³

The politics of the industrial city of Bombay rather tended to emphasise caste loyalties instead of diminishing them. Prior to the World War I men belonging to S. K. Bole's group included both Marathas and untouchables (so called) in the reform movements for the backward castes. By 1930, however, the untouchables had explicitly repudiated such a combination by emphasising their own distinctive interests.⁴ This was mainly due to the large-scale migration of the Mahars to Bombay during the post-war boom and the modernising consequences of urban life and recruitment into the army, mills and railways. The non-Brahmin movement could not reduce the hostility of the Mahars to the Marathas to any appreciable degree. It was at this juncture that Dr. B. R. Ambedkar emerged as the greatest leader of the untouchables. By about 1927, their's had become a self-conscious and much more self-confident protest movement. They published a newspaper of their own, held conferences and used the strategy of satyagraha⁵ for their own good.

Such were the influences working upon the Bombay proletariat at the times. The non-Brahmin movement, the responsive co-operationists and Liberals were all urging the Government for social reforms. The Government had also to subscribe to their kind of reformism because of the pressure of liberal ideas from abroad.

¹ I. Rothermund, *Gandhi and Maharashtra* (1971), pp. 56-73, and Government of India, *Reports on the Working of the Reformed Constitution*, 1927, pp. 137-47.

² Richard Newman, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 102.

⁵ Dhananjay Keer, *Ambedkar* (1971), E. M. Zelliot, *Dr. Ambedkar and the Mahar Movement* (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1969).

Swaraj Party and Industrialists : The economic recession in Bombay in the mid-twenties was attributed to the currency policy of the Government of India. All aspects of the recession were interpreted in terms of the high exchange ratio adopted by Government, following the World War. This state of affairs forged an alliance between the Swaraj Party and the industrialists in Bombay. The Swarajists needed funds for nationalist activities, while the industrialists needed the Swarajists' support in the Legislative Assembly against Government policy. Although men such as J. B. Petit were extending financial support to the Swarajists right from 1924 without any strings, most of the industrial magnates donated on a reciprocal basis. Motilal Nehru's appeal for money through Lalji Naranji was partially responded in 1925 only on a basis of *quid pro quo*. The All-India Congress Committee accounts show that the Tatas contributed through Sir F. E. Dinshaw, a nationalist.¹ The mill-owners, particularly, Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas and G. D. Birla, campaigned for the Congress only to gain the latter's support for their argument that the high ratio had damaged industry, workers and peasants. They also appealed to Gandhiji for his support. The Gauhati Congress of 1926 responded to the deliberations of the industrialists by instructing the Congress Working Committee to decide upon the currency policy the Congress was to support. The Indian Merchants' Chamber, the Bombay Millowners' Association and the Currency League, in their replies to the questionnaire of the Congress Working Committee, emphasised the adverse effects of the 18 *d.* to one rupee exchange ratio on labour and agriculturists. The Congress Working Committee, therefore, decided in favour of the 16 *d.* sterling ratio.²

The position of the millowners within the legislature was further consolidated in 1926 by the establishment of the Indian Nationalist Party of responsive co-operators. This party enjoyed a certain degree of support from the Swaraj Party; and along with the support of Independents like Jinnah, it could form a good opposition during these years. The Swarajists, Nationalists and Independents could secure 69 out of 144 votes in the Assembly.³ Consequently they lost to the Government which had managed to gain the support of loyal Muslims. Government had also played its trump card, the threat of increased taxation in the event of the Assembly opting for 16 *d.* ratio.⁴

The rapprochement between the Swarajists and industrialists was bound to decline as the former had reasons to suspect the motives of the latter in response to Government measures. However, between

¹ All-India Congress Committee Papers, F. 27.

² *Ibid.*, F. G. (2), 1927.

³ B. D. Shukla, *History of Indian Liberal Party* (Allahabad, 1960), p. 295.

⁴ Indian Legislative Assembly Debates, 1927.

certain Swarajists and industrialists friendship lingered on after 1927. For example, during the 1928 Assembly elections and the sitting of the Nehru Committee, industrialists contributed some money to Motilal Nehru for the election funds.¹

BACK BAY SCANDAL

The battle over the Bombay Development Department was the most fierce and long-fought. The most prominent engagement of this battle was fought over the reclamation of the Back Bay. The issue became a rallying point for all the discontent felt over the Bombay Government's "usurpation" of functions of the municipality. Reports from the popular press show that the battle was the concern of the whole of Bombay rather than the specific concern of the Municipal Corporation. Indeed, it was actually fought out in the courts of law and in the Bombay Legislative Council rather than in the municipal forum.

The Back Bay scheme was vehemently attacked after the financial crisis incidental to the post-war slump in the city. Earlier in 1921, landlords and small merchants had been critical of the project. However, they were unable to obstruct the scheme in the Legislative Council where the businessmen and industrial magnates had fully supported it. "Although nationalist merchants were involved at this stage, it was not until 1924 that the nationalist leaders and commercial magnates were actively engaged in criticism of Back Bay scheme and the Development Department in general. When they did, moreover, it was for ostensibly different reasons than the reasons for the involvement of the small merchants."²

It was K. F. Nariman, who was the greatest crusader in the Back Bay engagement. He tenaciously pursued the Bombay Government of Sir Leslie Wilson (1923-28) over the issue, from 1924 onwards, both in the Municipal Corporation and the Legislative Council. It was at his instance that a vigilance committee was appointed by the municipality to watch over the Back Bay project.³ It was alleged that he was prompted to the move by the petitions of disappointed contractors, and the business partner of the Tatas, Walchand Hirachand, was one such contractor who had approached Nariman in 1925.⁴ Walchand Seth had also expressed his bitterness at Government's decision to undertake the work by itself at the time of the Back Bay Inquiry of 1926, when he submitted a joint statement on behalf of the contractors of the city. He was associated with the syndicate of 1918. Other members of the syndicate were equally bitter. The Governor, Leslie Wilson, reported

¹ Nehru to Thakurdas *cf.* A. D. D. Gordon, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

² A. D. D. Gordon, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

³ *Bombay Chronicle*, 23 April 1926.

⁴ *Times of India*, 31 Oct. and 7 Nov. 1927.

to Birkenhead, on 8 October 1926, that the disappointed contractors were behind some of the criticism of the scheme.¹

The substance of Nariman's complaint was as under : (i) development should have been a transferred subject under the head "Public Works" under the Devolution Rules of the Government of India Act of 1919; (ii) although the Municipal Corporation paid a cotton cess towards the chawl building programme of the department, it was not represented in the latter body; and (iii) the Back Bay Scheme was extremely costly. He said, "This mad and chimerical venture has practically mortgaged the resources of the Presidency for at least a generation to come".² The most electrifying accusation, against the Government, by Nariman related to mismanagement and malpractice within the Development Department. Sir Lawless Hepper, the head of the department, was accused of falsehood when he gave a favourable report on the scheme to an interim inquiry conducted in 1925. The department was accused to have favoured specific contractors by illegal gratification, as well as of gross financial bungling.³

The Corporation and the millowners fully supported Nariman at this stage. The Progressive Party and the Municipal Nationalist Party submitted a joint statement when the Corporation testified before the Inquiry of 1926. The Indian Merchants' Chamber expressed the fury of the businessmen of Bombay against the scheme.

"If 1925 was the year of currency issue in Bombay, 1926 was the year of the Back Bay 'scandal', for thus Nariman's accusations had dubbed the scheme. That year the papers were full of it, and when Nariman was sued for defamation for his remarks made before the Back Bay Inquiry Committee, publicity reached fever-pitch Millowners, small merchants and landlords, all sank their differences over the issue because each had been alienated by government in a different way The Back Bay scandal furnished the nationalists with their greatest triumph in city politics of the 1920-30 decade As a result of the scandal the Government was put under a cloud, a cloud that was all the blacker because the scandal was exposed by a nationalist."

"Generally speaking, however, the incursion of nationalists into local city politics in Bombay was not marked with singular success."⁴

If Nariman, later commemorated by the Nariman Point and the Veer Nariman Road in South Bombay, was the crusader in the Back Bay battle, it was also he who was involved in the unfortunate Nariman

¹ A. D. D. Gordon, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

² *Back Bay Inquiry*, 1926, I.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ A. D. D. Gordon, *op. cit.*, pp. 153-54.

episode of 1937 which ousted him from the city's public life. The episode is dealt with separately in this chapter.

BUSINESSMEN AND NATIONALISM (1918-30)

The Congress split of 1918 was not at first absolute in Bombay. It had been setting in for long, and the prestige of the politicians such as Dinshaw Wacha, Sir F. E. Dinshaw, Sir Lallubhai Samaldas and Sir Vithaldas Thackersey was such that their influence in nationalist circles lingered on even after the parting of ways. Whenever an issue affected Bombay in particular, or outraged Indians in general, it was they who chaired protest meetings. Thus, for a time after 1918, the Moderates in conjunction with the nationalists, opposed the Rowlatt Bills. It was only when Mahatma Gandhi launched the passive resistance movement against the Bills that certain moderates like Wacha, Homi Mody, Cowasji Jehangir Jr. and Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy signed a manifesto against passive resistance. They coalesced the Western India Liberal Association into the Bombay branch of the National Liberal Federation. This Association was the main focus of moderate thought during the period under review. A further dividing of ways between the Moderates and nationalists occurred in 1920 when Gandhiji took over the All-India Home Rule League and renamed it as Swarajya Sabha, having complete independence as its goal. A number of members resigned the Sabha, and the Swarajya Sabha split was a completion of a process started with the Congress split of 1918.¹

The Bombay industrialists as a group were overwhelmingly in favour of the moderate line as they enjoyed government patronage. There were, however, several noteworthy exceptions. Both J. B. Petit and Sir Dinshaw Petit maintained their nationalist stance. J. B. Petit was an early associate of Gandhiji and had worked with him on African problems.² Dinshaw Petit, being a big landlord, was opposed to Government's anti-landlord activities. The Morarjis were adherents of economic nationalism. Ratansi Morarji and Tricamdas Morarji were both prominent members of the All-India Home Rule League. Another notable exception was A. B. Godrej, the maker of safes, and, after 1920, of swadeshi vegetable soaps. In 1921, A. B. Godrej gave a munificent sum of Rs. 5 lakhs to the Tilak Swaraj Fund. But the millowners did not support either swadeshim or boycott as they were absolutely loyal to the British rule. They were not active participants in the political agitations between 1918 and 1922. Some, indeed, were active opponents. The Liberals

¹ A. D. D. Gordon, op. cit., p. 157.

² *Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, Vol. XIII (Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, New Delhi).

met in October 1920 under the presidency of Dinshaw Wacha, and resolved that (i) public opinion should be mobilised against non-co-operation, (ii) lecture committees should be formed for the purpose, and (iii) a fair trial should be given to the new Legislative Councils under the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. Afterwards an Anti-Non-co-operation Committee comprising of the Servants of India and industrialists, was elected.¹

In contrast to the industrialists of Bombay, the Marwari and Gujarati marketeers were pro-nationalists quite consistently during the 1918-22 period. The turbulent currency crisis created by the war resulted in the rationing of the sale of Council Bills,² during 1917-18. The sale of the Bills was strictly limited to financing of export articles for use in the prosecution of the war. There was a strong agitation by the merchants against these measures. The nationalists in Bombay such as J. B. Petit, S. R. Bomanji, Hansraj Pragji Thackersey and Manu Subedar³ took up this issue into the December 1920 session of the Nagpur Congress, as also in the columns of the *Bombay Chronicle*. They also ventilated this issue in a public meeting in Bombay. The merchant delegates at the Nagpur Congress expressed their anger against the Government for the post-war readjustment of the exchange rate of the rupee.⁴ The businessmen boycotted financial relations with Europeans and invoked the help of the Satyagraha organisation in the matter of foreign exchange.

The Income Tax Act of 1917 and the subsequent changes were greeted with wide agitation by the Bombay businessmen who regarded any measure of direct taxation with hatred and fear. The traditional accounting system and the pattern of joint-family firm, conflicted with the western mode of business. The new taxation measures were attempts to graft British Taxation Law onto Indian conditions. The administrative changes, necessitated by the war, actually succeeded in bringing many businessmen, brokers and commission agents into the taxation structure for the first time. Consequently several petitions and complaints were sent by the merchants to the Commissioner of Income Tax and the Viceroy. Eminent nationalist leaders and Home Rule protagonists such as Bhulabhai Desai, Velji Lakhamsey Napoo, Lalji Govindji, Goculdas Jivraj Dayal and many others, provided leadership to the agitating businessmen in Bombay. August and September of 1918 witnessed several memorials by about 71 associations, except the Indian Merchants' Chamber and

¹ Kanji Dwarkadas—*Gandhiji Through My Diary Leaves* (K. Dwarkadas, Bombay, 1950), pp. 33-34.

² Council Bills were used for remittances between the U.K. and India, and Reverse Councils for remittances between India and U.K.

³ Expert in exchange matters, a professor of Economics and an industrialist.

⁴ J. M. Brown, op. cit., p. 293. This issue is also dealt with more at length elsewhere in this Chapter.

the Bombay Millowners' Association,¹ which were dominated by industrialists and Europeans. In short, the agitation of the marketeers over the foreign exchange and taxation policy of Government, brought them more closer to the nationalist movement. The industrialists, however, had their own vested interests.

A number of businessmen in the city contributed to the nationalist treasury in the form of the Jinnah Memorial Hall Fund and the Tilak Swaraj Fund, which has been dealt with at length earlier. The Jinnah Hall Fund of 1918-19 had 517 recorded contributions including those who contributed more than once.² Of these, only one, H. P. Thackersey, was an industrialist. In contrast, there were 37 merchant firms and 184 members of merchant associations. Gujaratis, Hindus and Marwaris comprised 45 per cent of the contributors, while 5.6 per cent were Muslims and 30 per cent Maharashtrian Hindus.

Gandhi's ardent appeal for the Tilak Swaraj Fund received a worthy response from the rich merchants from Cotton Green, who gave him four lakhs of rupees, the next largest amount being donated by the jewellers of Bombay. The piecegoods dealers were another group of donors, and Gandhi told them that it was they who had made possible the Bezpada Congress promise (March 1921) regarding the Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund. Gandhi's main followers in this drive were Gulabchand Devchand, who, besides campaigning among the shroffs and jewellers, gave his house (Shanti Bhavan) for the movement, Anandilal Podar (Rs. 2 lakhs), and S. H. Ruia (Rs. 60,000).³

A deep involvement of the marketeers in the nationalist movement is further evidenced by the fact that 680 signatories from Bombay signed the satyagraha pledge at the call of Gandhiji, 74 per cent of whom were merchants or merchant firms.⁴

The merchants responded quite well to the call of Gandhiji and the Home Rulers at several events. The favourite venue for meetings of the Home Rule League was the Shantaram's Chawl in the heart of the cotton speculation area. The Home Rule League's call for boycott of the Willingdon Memorial, which was debated for many days in Bombay, was also responded to by the cloth merchants and their servants. The cloth merchants led by Mavji Govindji conducted an anti-requisitionist movement by observing a complete hartal in the Mulji Jetha and Morarji Goculdas Markets on the day of the presentation of an address to Lord Willingdon.⁵ Invariably the nationalist marches during 1918-22 were

¹ A. D. D. Gordon, op. cit.

² *Bombay Chronicle*, 21 December 1918, and 2, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 13, 14 January 1919.

³ Ibid., 1 and 7 July 1921.

⁴ Ibid., 5 March 1919.

⁵ *Source Material for a History of Freedom, Movement*, Vol. II, p. 719.

organised to pass through the business quarters of old Bombay (i.e. Kalbadevi, Shaikh Memon Street, Girgaum, etc.). At Gandhiji's call, the workers in Mulji Jetha Market and the middle class people signed the satyagraha pledge at the house of S. G. Banker in March 1919. The piecegoods merchants in the Morarji Goculdas and Khimji cloth markets and the share market, observed a complete hartal against the Rowlatt Bills.¹ There was also a complete business hartal in the cotton, cloth and bullion markets along with the Marwari Bazar and Mulji Jetha Market on Gandhiji's arrest.²

With the cessation of agitation in 1919, a Swadeshi Movement was introduced as a substitute which Gandhiji advocated first in Bombay. It was reported that the Swadeshi Movement was being shaped and handled by businessmen, and many of them had taken the swadeshi vow. However, the businessmen involved in this, included all merchants rather than industrialists. Cloth merchants, jhaveri and other commodity dealers, were in the forefront.³ Unfortunately the booming mill industry ridiculed the Swadeshi Movement through its journal, the *Indian Textile Journal*.

In regard to the boycott movement, the "right hook" of Swadeshi, the pattern was similar: the merchants, particularly the cloth merchants, joined it with enthusiasm after its inception in 1920.⁴

Throughout these times the *Bombay Chronicle* was an advocate of economic nationalism.

There was a deep involvement of the marketeers in the agitational nationalist politics in Bombay during 1918-20. There was also a significant co-relation between the leaders of merchants and their associations and the organisers of the All-India Home Rule League and the Satyagraha Sabha. For example, V. P. Shah, Gulabchand Devchand and H. V. Desai, who were close associates of Gandhiji and the nationalist organisers, were also prominent in the Bombay Shroffs' Association. V. P. Shah was later named the Bombay Congress 'Dictator'. The nationalist organisers among the merchants, also included V. L. Napoo (a close associate of Vithalbhai Patel), Manmohandas Ramji, Lalji Vassanji, Vithaldas and Mavji Govindji and Naranji Dayal who were all connected with the Grain Merchants' Association or the Piecegoods Merchants' Association. Jamnadas Dwarkadas, son of the millowner Dwarkadas Dharamsi (who had fallen on bad times), was one of the most prominent Home Rulers in the city and was an importer of textile dyes. The band of activist Home Rulers and Congressmen among the share brokers and cotton brokers in Bombay also included W. T. Halai, Vithaldas Govindji

¹ Ibid., pp. 746-47.

² Ibid., Some of these points have been elaborated earlier in this account.

³ *Bombay Chronicle*, 20 June 1919.

⁴ A. D. D. Gordon, op. cit., p. 168.

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and Mavji Govindji and Narandas Purshottam, who worked in collaboration with the original band of Home Rulers such as Jamnadas Dwarkadas, S. G. Banker, L. R. Tairsee and Umar Sobani.

The rapprochement between the nationalists and the merchants was partly due to the clash between the latter and the industrial oligarchy in the city. The clashes in the Indian Merchants' Chamber which represented both merchants and industrialists from 1907¹ and 1932, were, quite well-known. During the period of agitational politics from 1918 to 1922, the tradition of dominance by the industrialists over the chamber, came under attack for the first time. Although the issues were nominally political, many of them related to economic and social frictions. The Indian Merchants' Chamber was granted a prerogative of electing one member of the Bombay Legislative Council under the Reforms of 1919. The nationalist element in the body, mainly merchants, wanted to boycott the Council in keeping with Congress policy of Non-co-operation.

In 1921 the Indian Merchants' Chamber was split again on the issue of the proposed Back Bay development and other proposals, such as the East-West Road. While the industrialists had supported the schemes, the nationalist members of the Indian Merchants' Chamber had exhorted for a satyagraha, if Government persisted with the scheme.² A similar skirmish between the two factions of the Indian Merchants' Chamber occurred over the decision of the body to present an address to the Prince of Wales at the time of his visit on 17 November 1921.

The Home Rule or Congress organisers made deliberate attempts on several occasions to woo the merchants, often using the political and economic battle between the merchants and industrialists as a focus for their efforts. Conversely, the merchants appealed many times to the nationalist organisations for help against the industrialists and Government. For instance Bhulabhai Desai, S. R. Bomanji and H. P. Thackersey were involved in the anti-taxation agitation, currency agitation, and the call for satyagraha over the Back Bay issue.³

Right from 1917, the Home Rulers such as Jamnadas Dwarkadas, S. G. Banker, Halai, Sobani and Narandas Purshottam used to arouse the merchants against the industrialists and Government. Even Gandhiji himself paid special attention to the cloth merchants, particularly in 1919 and 1921. The involvement of Congress with the economic and political grievances of the merchants, continued throughout the decade 1920-30. It was in 1929 that the nationalists gave additional support to

¹ The Chamber was established in 1907 by Manmohandas Ramji and Purshottamdas Thakurdas.

² A. D. D. Gordon, op. cit., p. 171.

³ Ibid., p. 172.

the cotton brokers when they introduced a Bill into the Legislative Assembly to repeal the hated Cotton Contracts Act of 1922.

"While the nationalists and Bombay industrialists were opposed to each other prior to 1922, later events created a climate in which they achieved a rapprochement lasting until 1930 and which at times was close This rapprochement was largely a case of combined forces to meet a common enemy, in this case the economic policy pursued by government in the climate of a deteriorating economy in Bombay."¹

The collapse of the post-war boom was particularly severe in the Bombay mill industry, which persisted almost upto 1932. There was a slump in demand and a failure of costs to readjust, particularly on account of the rigidity in wage rates. The slump was reflected in a crisis in the share market at the end of 1922. Many industrialists including Sir Chimantlal Setalvad, Ibrahim Rahimtoola and Lalji Naranji faced near ruin, although Tatas and Wadias remained reasonably strong.² Generally the picture was one of extreme gloom. The strike of 1925 gave another blow to the cotton mills in Bombay. By 1926, more than eleven mills or 14 per cent of the total number, besides those closed by the strike of 1925, were closed down, throwing more than 20,000 persons out of employment.³ In addition, seven mills had changed hands and five had been liquidated by 1926. As late as 1929, seven mills were still not working, and the Government of Bombay reported in its *White Book* that the industry had been severely hit by a period of depression.⁴

The invariable concomitance was unemployment, unrest, and political capitalisation by the nationalists and labour leaders. N. M. Joshi, Jamnadas Mehta, V. J. Patel, Manu Subedar, Bhulabhai Desai and S. H. Jhabwalla, entered the fray. There was a series of strikes, and a generation of labour leaders emerged on the horizon of the city.⁵

The Bombay industrialists used the Bombay Merchants' Association, the Indian Merchants' Chamber and the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry as a forum to fight government policy and European influence. The Assembly was also used with success for this purpose. The Bombay press and the nationalist leaders were wooed for support from time to time. Bombay's economic recession came to be attributed to the high exchange ratio, fiscal policy and British protection to Lancashire, after the war. In reply, Government continued to use

¹ Ibid., p. 174.

² S. M. Rutnagar, op. cit.

³ *Times of India*, 9 January 1926.

⁴ *Bombay Merchants' Association Annual Report*, 1930.

⁵ A detailed history of labour movement and its relationship with freedom struggle is given separately in this Chapter.

the arguments adopted by the Babington Smith Committee with regard to inflation, and the need for consumer protection, as well as by the Royal Commission on Indian Currency and Finance, 1926.

In 1925 Purshottamdas Thakurdas, an advocate of the "Bombay point of view", introduced two money bills into the Legislative Assembly, on behalf of the Indian Merchants' Chamber. He was supported in public forums by B. F. Madon, Prof. C. N. Vakil, Prof. K. T. Shah, Prof. P. A. Wadia, Prof. G. N. Joshi and J. A. Wadia. The Government attempted to split the Swarajist ranks which attempt was foiled, particularly by Jamnadas Mehta. The money bills prompted Government to appoint Thakurdas as the Presidency's sole representative on the Royal Commission of 1925-26. The Indian Currency League was founded in 1926 as a synthesizer of the Bombay and Ahmedabad industrialists and the Swarajists with M. R. Jayakar, Mrs. Naidu and Jamnadas Mehta and J. Dwarkadas. Perhaps its most important propaganda activity was the funding of the *Free Press of India* news agency, founded in 1924, and run by a coalition of Bombay industrialists and journalists.¹

The new relationship between the Swarajists and the industrialists was reciprocal—the former needed funds for political activity, while the latter needed support for their point of view in the Assembly. J. B. Petit was donating to the Swaraj Party as early as 1924. The Tatas also contributed heavily towards the Swarajists funds, while the millowners helped Motilal Nehru and Pandit Malaviya to purchase the *Hindustan Times*.²

The Indian National Party was founded in April 1926 in Bombay by way of a coalition of Liberals and other responsive co-operators. It was overwhelmingly liberal in membership, with a few of Jayakar's followers. This party enjoyed a certain amount of support from the Swarajists and Independents like Jinnah.³ Its object was to prepare for establishment of Swaraj of the Dominion type. But it was opposed to mass Civil Disobedience. Gandhiji was not associated with it.

The other government measures which invited the wrath of the Bombay businessmen was an increase in taxation, stamp duties, court fees and excise duty, in the 1920's. The millowners attributed the slump to unfair Japanese competition through the use of cheaper labour, and the higher rate of exchange. The millowners were also disturbed because the Communists began to get a grip on the trade union movement in Bombay from the strike of 1925.⁴

¹ The other spokesmen of industrialists were the *Indian Daily Mail* of J. B. Petit, the *Prajamitra* of the Tatas and the *Indian Social Reformer* of Samaldas, Thakurdas and Jayakar.

² All-India Congress Committee Papers F. 27 (Naranji to Motilal, 22 March 1925).

³ A. D. D. Gordon, op. cit.

⁴ For details see the section on Emergence of the Communists in this Chapter.

The Bombay Government, on several occasions, was influenced by the millowners, and in 1925 the Governor, Leslie Wilson expressed strongly against the cotton excise duty both to the Viceroy and the Secretary of State. On another occasion Frederick Sykes, Governor of Bombay, protested to the Viceroy as well as to the Secretary of State against the exchange rate and tariffs.

BUSINESSMEN AND CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE (1930-34)

Bombay was in the vanguard of the Civil Disobedience Movement launched by Mahatma Gandhi. The salt law was violated in Bombay on the same day (6 April 1930) when Gandhiji broke the salt law at Dandi. Vile Parle was the headquarters of the Salt Satyagraha in Bombay. Although the satyagrahis in the city wanted Gandhiji to lead the movement in Bombay, he had nominated Jamnalal Bajaj to head the agitation. The eminent leaders in Bombay to be sentenced to jail on the occasion were, K. F. Nariman, Gokulbhai Bhatt and Kishorelal Mashruwala, besides Jamnalalji. These events heralded a mass agitation throughout the city.

With the advent of the Congress campaigning of Civil Disobedience, the Bombay industrialists who were ardent campaigners against the British in the earlier years, quickly reverted to the role they had played during the agitation of 1918-22. This could probably be attributed to two principal reasons. Firstly, the Great Depression of 1930 had affected Bombay with particular severity generating acute unemployment. The labour force had become highly volatile, its intransigence being fomented by recession, wage cuts, retrenchment and inflation over the years. Consequently, the workers injected an element of violence in the Civil Disobedience Movement from the beginning. Secondly, the movement was accompanied by the boycott of foreign goods and of European firms.

The industrialists argued that the boycott movement tied up valuable capital, and so deepened the depression in Bombay. It also resulted into retrenchment in the boycotted mills. Further, the hartals and boycott of foreign firms created friction between industrialists and businessmen. The Congress and the businessmen, however, countered these arguments and attributed the depression directly to the fiscal policy of the Government of India. "These two interpretations of the depression in Bombay soon became the central planks of a propaganda battle which raged throughout the course of civil disobedience."¹

Even among the industrialists, persons like G. D. Birla, Naranji and Ambalal Sarabhai, felt that the Government itself had forced the depression on the country, and it was only Mahatma Gandhi's

¹ A. D. D. Gordon, op. cit., p. 201.

movement which had diverted the people from violence to his non-violent methods. However, the supporters of the Congress campaign were in a minority.

The industrialists were alienated from the Civil Disobedience Movement due to two main reasons.¹ Firstly, during the Great Depression, the Government of India maintained a high exchange rate, balanced the budget by merciless fresh taxation, and tied the rupee to sterling after England abandoned the gold standard. The deflationary budget of 1931 raised a storm of protest. Government's rigid approach deepened the crisis. The depression caused closures and liquidation of several mills in the city. The Fazulbhoy, Madhavrao and Scindia mills had been closed in 1929, and in January 1930 the Petits closed four of their mills. At the same time E. D. Sassoon group notified closures of three mills. By August 1930, a total of 12 mills went out of production. By October, 24 mills or over 25 per cent of the total, had closed.² Acute unemployment was the natural corollary, which was further intensified by rationalisation of production. Consequently the average daily employment in the city mills, declined from 154,398 in 1927 to 136,774 in 1930; 129,057 in 1931, 129,534 in 1932 and 119,943 in 1933.³

The Bombay Port also experienced a sharp decline in trade, in spite of the fact that the depression forced a constant stream of valuable "distress gold" which passed through the port, and increased the value of exports. The insurance companies were also hit hard. The cotton merchants were perhaps the worst hit. Although no reliable estimates of unemployment are available, the 1931 Census estimated that 1,50,000 people were forced away from the city due to unemployment, and that 54,694 workers were thrown out by industries between 1921 and 1931.⁴

The Indian Merchants' Chamber informed Government in February 1930: "Trade is at a standstill. The cotton mill industry is in imminent danger of being ruined. Unemployment has been on the increase and is still increasing."⁵

The second factor which alienated the industrialists from the movement was boycott and hartals. The Congress policy of boycott was not clearly spelt, and *ad hoc* expedient measures were adopted, which led to confusion among the rank and file. The Bombay Millowners' Association negotiated with the Congress through Motilal Nehru, who had links with Thakurdas and Birla, in the city. However, with Nehru's arrest, the "disruptive section in the Congress" went ahead with its original criteria of signalling

¹ A. D. D. Gordon, op. cit., p. 203.

² Ibid., p. 205.

³ *Bombay Millowners' Association Annual Report*, 1933.

⁴ *Census of India*, 1931, IX, I, p. 948.

⁵ See *Indian Merchants' Chamber Annual Report*, 1950, p. 234.

non-swadeshi mills. Accordingly, the Congress workers banned 24 Bombay mills which directly affected 51,000 millhands, which formed more than a third of the total. The aggregate investment by Indians in the banned mills was over Rs. 1.8 crores, while 342,000 bales of cotton remained unutilised. This was responded with grave concern by shareholders and millowners. The Bombay Provincial Congress Committee was also embarrassed, and negotiations were opened with all concerned. After negotiations, 15 mills employing 34,000 workers and producing about 25 per cent of the gross production in the city, were kept on the banned list.¹ Even as late as October 1931, many mills were still branded as swadeshi for some days and non-swadeshi afterwards. This state of affairs shook the sense of security in the industry during the depression. Hartals further raised several problems for the mills.²

The foreign cloth dealers also suffered immensely during the boycott. Initially their associations passed boycott resolutions in April 1930. By October, however, they felt the strain of it, as they had to lay off the employees, and large amounts of capital and stocks were blocked. In November, they were forced to approach Vallabhbhai Patel to lift the boycott in their case. The Bombay Provincial Congress Committee also found itself cast in the role of implementing an unpopular central decision.³ Consequently, in March 1931, Gandhiji, Banker and Jawaharlal Nehru, devised a scheme under which a syndicate of millowners under the leadership of Sir Ness Wadia, was created which was to buy the foreign stocks and re-export them. The scheme, however, proved a failure.⁴

The entire Mulji Jetha Market had been closed either by hartals or picketing for four months early in 1932. It was only after four months of continuous closure of Bombay's largest cloth market that Sarojini Naidu was finally able to open a special swadeshi wing at the market. The mills had, therefore, to open retail stores at some places such as the Victoria Terminus.

There were tensions between industrialists and merchants in the Bombay raw cotton market. These added to the intensity of the Civil Disobedience campaign, and there were almost constant hartals after the commencement of the movement. The millowners complained that they were not able to obtain supplies of cotton in order to take advantage of the Swadeshi Movement. The hartals and boycott in the cotton market were initiated by the Bombay Cotton Brokers' Association in concert with the Congress. The matters led to a closure of the market for three days a week, refusal to do forward business and to deal with English

¹ *Bombay Chronicle*, 2 September 1930.

² A. D. D. Gordon, op. cit., p. 210.

³ All-India Congress Committee Papers, F.G.-150, 1930.

⁴ A. D. D. Gordon, op. cit., p. 211.

firms, permission for the Congress to picket the market, and refusal to do future business on the Liverpool Exchange.¹ Thus, the most important market in Bombay was virtually closed, trading being interrupted for 93 out of 159 working days between January and August 1932.

The closure of the cotton market in 1932 was particularly embarrassing to the Bombay Government. It tried every means to reopen the market during 1932. The Governor, Frederick Sykes, urged the Viceroy to solve the problems of cotton traders, and accordingly the Cotton Contracts Bill of 1932 was passed.

The Civil Disobedience campaign also affected almost all other markets to some extent. After Gandhiji's arrest in 1932, the Share Bazar was often closed, and processions of businessmen frequently set out from it.² The Stock Exchange was fairly consistently closed during 1930³ and again after Gandhiji's arrest in 1932, in spite of the efforts of some shroffs to keep it open with Government support. Share prices were closely related to the political situation.⁴

Politics and Economics were closely entwined in the bullion market too. The Marwaris were very active nationalists in the Bullion Exchange. The sale of silver by Government had slumped the price of the white metal, and hence the Government came in for criticism. There was enormous "distress sale" of gold by the people through economic constraints. The distress gold was allowed to be exported on a large scale by Government on the plea that it was necessary to strengthen the rupee. The Congress placed an embargo on the export of gold as there was a cry to save India's gold.⁵

The boycott and hartals engendered uncertainty in business and industry. Even the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee complained to the Working Committee that its position in the matter of swadeshi was hopeless and that the indigenous manufacturers were faced with hardships. The industrialists felt that the ill-effects of the boycott far outweighed the benefit of swadeshi after the initial euphoria had worn off. Purshottamdas Thakurdas, on behalf of the Millowners' Association, wrote: "The continuous Hartals have completely dislocated business and brought about a paralysis of the economic structure if immediate steps are not taken to relieve the situation, it may very soon end in a disaster from which Bombay may not recover for a decade."⁶

¹ Fortnightly Report, 16 February to 4 March 1932 from Home Department of Bombay Government to Government of India.

² *Bombay Chronicle*, 6 May, 21 and 25 June 1930.

³ It was closed for about three months in 1930, *Bombay Chronicle*.

⁴ *Bombay Chronicle*, 11 July 1930.

⁵ *Bombay Congress Bulletin*, II, 247, 17 October 1932.

⁶ Thakurdas to Bombay Millowners' Association, 20 August 1930.

Others who opposed the boycott on economic as well as ideological grounds, included F.E. Dinshaw, Sir Phiroze Sethna, Cowasji Jehangir Jr., Setalvad and Ness Wadia. Dinshaw felt that Civil Disobedience had brought Bombay to the brink of financial ruin.¹

The depression contributed to a noticeable tendency of labour to enter the Civil Disobedience Movement with increasing vigour and violence. Earlier in 1928 the city had experienced a severe riot which was economically triggered, and had killed 298 and injured 739 persons in the city. The 1928 great strike in mills had also wrecked the industry thoroughly. In such an atmosphere there came the Civil Disobedience Movement. The workers began to practise frequent hartals and conduct civil disobedience with increasing violence. The violence was detrimental to the movement as it tarnished its non-violent image. By June 1930 the Congress had not only failed to harness labour as a non-violent cadre in the movement, but also was on the defensive that its campaign had not created unemployment. The Congress tried to gain the allegiance of labour which was rewarded with a little success. The attitude of labour to the boycott and hartals was a very complex affair. This aspect has been separately dealt with elsewhere in this chapter, particularly because the Labour Movement in Bombay has a distinct history of its own.

The millowners felt that their best interests lay in destruction of Civil Disobedience, or in seeking peace between Congress and the Government. In June 1930 the Millowners' Association² issued a statement that the time had come for an unequivocal declaration by the British Government that Round Table Conference was designed to win for India complete independence with Dominion Status. The Government of Frederick Sykes was active in disseminating propaganda linking depression with Congress activities. As early as 1930 the Bombay police distributed a pamphlet, namely, *Boycott on British Goods*, tarnishing the Congress movement. Sir Sykes in a speech in the Bombay Legislative Council, in March 1932, pointed out the signs of trade migrating elsewhere and the danger of "Bombay being passed by in the returning flood of prosperity". Homi Mody adopted a similar line of argument.

The *Times of India* and the *Indian Daily Mail* disseminated government propaganda and published series of interviews with industrialists attributing Bombay's economic recession to the Civil Disobedience Movement. The *Bombay Chronicle*, however, marshalled the Congress arguments effectively. It published a series of articles by academicians such as P. A. Wadia and V. K. R. V. Rao, journalists like Vithaldas C. Bhuta and many nationalist writers. The *Bombay Chronicle* wrote: "The National Movement has disorganised trade but it has also created

¹ A. D. D. Gordon, op. cit., p. 218.

² *Bombay Millowners' Association Annual Report*, 1930.

a wonderful spirit of swadeshim and boycott which will help trade.... There is a world depression of trade and continuous reduction of prices to meet a continuous decline of purchasing power consequent upon the deflation policy of foreign countries. The (currency?) inflation policy adopted by the Indian Government, the exchange ratio and the growing government expenditure and loans since the end of the war, have produced the effect of reducing the peasants' purchasing power."¹

Congress leaders countered the damaging propaganda of Government and squarely blamed the Government's fiscal policy for the severe unemployment. They explained to the ryots that the low prices were not due to political agitation. In August 1930, Pandit Malaviya and V. J. Patel addressed 1200 cotton merchants at Sewri. Malaviya told them that trade depression had become severe because the masses had lost their purchasing power due to a loss of Rs. 400 crores through exchange manipulation. He also addressed a huge meeting of cloth merchants² and another one of shroffs in Bombay. The shroffs and the cloth merchants appreciated the Congress arguments. Hirachand V. Desai, in an extraordinary meeting of the Bombay Shroffs' Association in 1930, explained the adverse effects of exchange ratio on the shroffs, the ruin of indigenous banking by joint-stock banks in collusion with Government and foreigners, and the prejudices of the exchange banks, Income Tax Department, railways and insurance companies, against Indian merchants. He praised Gandhiji's fight which was "meant to save the country from economic ruin". V. P. Shah and other shroffs were in the forefront of picketing against the Imperial Bank and exchange banks in Bombay.³ K. M. Munshi also waged a war against the industrialists. He remonstrated Victor Sassoon that it was not the boycott which had closed 24 mills in Bombay, but rather it was over-production and depression.⁴ Only seven of the 24 mills were on the boycott list. He argued that the boycott of foreign cloth had done much to stimulate production of cloth by swadeshi mills.⁵ The All-India Congress Committee also participated in the economic debate, and it issued a pamphlet arguing that the riots were cooked up by the British in conjunction with the Muslims for breaking the powerful boycott movement organised by the Congress in Bombay.⁶

While disseminating propaganda against boycott and hartals, the industrialists under the leadership of Thakurdas and the Indian Merchants' Chamber, sought to end Civil Disobedience by mediating between

¹ *Bombay Chronicle*, 30 August 1930.

² *Ibid.*, 12 August 1930.

³ *Ibid.*, 24 April 1930.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 18 October 1930.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 18 October 1930.

⁶ *All-India Congress Committee Papers*, F. 2, 1932.

the Congress and Government. They worked mainly on Gandhiji and Vallabhbhai. M. R. Jayakar, Sapru and Motilal Nehru were also involved in the process. The industrialists tried to woo the Government and the Congress, and demanded that the Round Table Conference should be convened.

The industrialists and the Liberals had earlier attempted to offer an alternative to the Congress, in January 1930, in the form of the All-Parties Conference. The main organisers in Bombay were Thakurdas, Sethna, Setalvad and Rahimtoola. But the efforts were defeated due to the intransigence of the Marwaris and the Hindu Mahasabha.

After failure of the efforts of the Indian Merchants' Chamber, M. R. Jayakar played a key role in helping Thakurdas contact the Congress. Lalji Naranji and Chimanlal Setalvad and others, tried to impress upon Gandhiji and Vallabhbhai in Bombay, after their release from prison in January 1931, to restore peace.¹ At one stage, Thakurdas threatened Vallabhbhai that he and his friends might "come out into the open against Congress".² He also personally reported to the Viceroy what transpired between the industrialists and the Congress leaders in Bombay. It was against this background that the Bombay industrialists greeted the Gandhi-Irwin Pact of 1931 with enthusiasm.³

After failure of the Round Table Conference, the businessmen were against the renewal of the Civil Disobedience Movement. Even a nationalist like G. D. Birla preferred to continue negotiations with Government through the second Round Table Conference rather than resume the struggle.

The Bombay Citizens' Conciliation Committee was designed by businessmen to establish communal peace which was greatly disturbed, although its motive was to end Civil Disobedience.⁴ The Welfare of India League was formed as a "dinner club"⁵ furnishing a platform for those Europeans and Indians who stood for a system of Government for India, assuring her a place as an equal partner in the British Commonwealth of Free Nations. Throughout 1932, both Birla and Thakurdas continued to mediate between the Congress and Government.

The traders, as distinct from the industrialists, continued to be the backbone of the Congress Civil Disobedience Movement throughout the period. Most of their leaders were sworn Congressmen. Virachand Panachand Shah was, for example, nominated the Congress "Dictator"

¹ Thakurdas papers, F. 107.

² Viceroy to Secretary of State, 4 January 1931, L/PO/53, Private Office Papers.

³ *Bombay Chronicle*, 6 March 1931.

⁴ Thakurdas to Birla, 4 August 1932.

⁵ *Bombay Chronicle*, 2 April 1932.

or head of the War Council in 1930. The other staunch Congressmen and leading merchants included Hirachand V. Desai, Begraj Gupta, Mathuradas Matani, Mathuradas Tricamji, Mulraj Karsondas, Vithaldas Jerajani, Vithaldas Govindji, C. B. Mehta and Velji Napoo.

As Phiroze Sethna wrote to Sapru in February 1931, that the Indian Merchants' Chamber came to be entirely controlled by the Congress clique, throwing out himself, Purshottamdas Thakurdas and Homi Mody. The industrialists further lost their control over the chamber in 1932. The old stalwarts like Manmohandas Ramji, Matani and Manu Subedar, became active radicals, and passed a resolution condemning Purshottamdas Thakurdas for attending the Round Table Conference.¹ They also got the Indian Merchants' Chamber to pass a motion condemning Gandhiji's arrest and the ordinances.²

The condition of Bombay's economy deteriorated with the boycott campaign in 1932, which as in 1930, reached significant proportions. Again a vicious circle developed of depression generating support for Congress and its strategy, which in turn, contributed to the disruption of the city's economy. Picketing was resumed, particularly against foreign cloth shops, but in a lesser degree against chemists and druggists. There were protracted hartals in Mulji Jetha Market, and the Stock, Bullion and Cotton Exchanges. Cotton trade was the hardest hit. The Mulji Jetha Market observed hartal for the first three months of the year, but even when traders began to deal again in swadeshi cloth in April 1932, the threat of picketing dissuaded them from opening the foreign cloth section, and many foreign cloth merchants shifted into Kalbadevi and adjacent areas. It was not until October 1932 that the East India Cotton Association, under satyagrahi zeal, decided to rescind the boycott. The proprietors of the cotton market offered to reduce rents by over half, if traders would return. About eighty of them did return, but they were nervous about stocking goods there and dealt covertly for fear of picketing. English cotton merchants were subject to severe pressure. Some of them were blacklisted for boycott in a Congress leaflet, and the Japanese Consul had to admit that his compatriots were afraid to deal with British companies lest they should also be boycotted.³ Bombay's European companies, unlike their Calcutta counterparts, were heavily dependent on Indian co-operation, and were ambivalent about resorting to government help in these circumstances. Some of them began to negotiate with their Indian associates for terms of open trade. A few of them, against the advice of the Bombay Government, signed a statement that

¹ *Indian Merchants' Chamber Annual Report*, 1932.

² Thakurdas Papers, F. 107(3).

³ Judith M. Brown, *Gandhi and Civil Disobedience: The Mahatma in Indian Politics 1928-34* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1977), p. 294.

they shared the national sympathies of their Indian colleagues in the cotton trade, in October 1932, to gain a relaxation. They also agreed, among many other things, to close trade on all Mondays which were observed as 'Gandhi Days' in the city. It cannot be said that all the Indian merchants were in favour of the Congress campaign, but the Bombay Cotton Brokers, the Native Share and Stock Brokers, and the Bombay Shroffs' Association, were among the prominent supporters of boycott in the city. The Bombay Government was seriously worried that such groups of businessmen could disrupt the whole markets, and that the cotton market was beyond the control of the East India Cotton Association.¹ As referred to earlier, the Government, therefore, got enacted the Bombay Cotton Contracts Act to gain control over the operations in the cotton market; by this Act it would supersede the Association's Board of Directors to secure free trading. The power was, however, not used because the boycott tailed off from the autumn of 1932.²

The Governor, Lord Sykes, noted that the Police Commissioner believed that the Congress had more power than Government in the cotton market. He himself admitted, "That upto the present they have achieved a considerable measure of success, if success is to be measured by interference with normal trade and influence over a particularly susceptible section of the Bombay Commercial community."³ Bombay being the major port affected by boycott, the value of import of piecegoods in India dwindled by about 26 per cent.

Mr. P. A. Kelly, Police Commissioner, reported to M. H. Haig, Home Member, Government of India, that the Gujarati part of the city was as hostile as ever. Not only was the Congress able to show its power in the cloth market and in picketing, but also it continued to publish the *Bombay Congress Bulletin* despite police attempts to track it down and totally destroy its publication network.

From February to March 1933, Civil Disobedience became steadily languid, and the decline culminated in the Poona Conference in July, at which even ardent leaders like B. G. Horniman expressed the desire that the movement be abandoned.⁴ In September 1933, Walchand Hirachand, Vithaldas Govindji and Subedar, supported a deputation of Indian Merchants' Chamber to persuade Gandhiji to call off the movement.

It is interesting to note here that the millowners' leaders such as Homi Mody and Thakurdas, did a good deal of exercise to bring about a bilateral agreement between Bombay and Lancashire mill interests.

¹ Ibid.

² For details see *Bombay Congress Bulletins* for 1932, and Daily Reports of the Police Commissioner to Secretary, Home Department, Bombay Government.

³ Sykes to Lord Willingdon, 13 May 1932, MSS EUR. F. 150(4).

⁴ *Bombay Chronicle*, 10 and 13 July 1933.

In return for this trade agreement Lancashire was to offer no resistance to the Government of India Act of 1935. They kept up their word in the debate in the House of Commons.¹

It may be concluded that the working out of the Civil Disobedience Movement was extremely complex in Bombay City. There was acute unemployment, and the labour force was a victim of over-rapid industrialisation in a confined area. The market structure was unable to serve the needs of industry upon which the city was dependent. The worsening economic situation shattered the ability of the city to withstand the depression. The depression itself had a paradoxical effect upon the Civil Disobedience Movement. It did create unrest amongst the industrialists as their profits depleted. "Finally it sapped the will of Bombay to fight, taking away the Congress supporters in the markets who were so vital to a non-violent campaign."²

EMERGENCE OF COMMUNISTS³

Tilak was the main inspiration of the young radicals in Bombay. Admiration for Tilak led the Bombay Students' Brotherhood into a clash with the authorities of the Wilson College which developed into a students' campaign, and the intervention of the nationalist leaders into their affairs. The circumstances helped the emergence of S. A. Dange and R. S. Nimbkar. These two youths with considerable intellectual calibre and oratorical powers were to become the most prominent Bombay Communists of the inter-war years. Nimbkar was flamboyant, restless and eager for results, while Dange was calm, patient, meticulous and thorough. Dange's personality has always been something of an enigma. Dange and Nimbkar were joined by K. N. Joglekar from Pune and L. M. Pendse from Bombay, in matters of labour organisation.

Almost all these future Communists were active non-co-operators. They had reservations about Gandhiji's methods, but they were impressed by the magnitude of his movement and its potential as an instrument of reform. It was for these reasons that they were all the more disheartened when the Non-co-operation Movement was temporarily abandoned in 1922. Nimbkar and Pendse were involved in the Mulshi Satyagraha in Pune district, while Nimbkar became the secretary of the Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee for about two years and supported M. R. Jayakar's responsivist group in the Swaraj Party.

Some other young radicals in Bombay were also emerging. Their mentor was R. B. Lotwala, a successful businessman but an avid reader

¹ D. R. Mankekar, *Homi Mody—A Many Splendoured Life* (Bombay, 1968), p. 73.

² A. D. D. Gordon, op. cit., pp. 236-37.

³ This author is indebted to Richard Newman for the information about the early lives of the Communists, which he collected by personal interviews and newspapers.

of socialism. He encouraged study groups and subsidised socialist periodicals, and built up a library out of his own money. His secretary, C. G. Shah, an enthusiastic convert to Marxism, had joined the student coterie as its local ideologist. S. A. Dange, K. N. Joglekar and T. V. Parvate, with the financial support of Lotwala, launched a monthly newspaper, the *Socialist*. S. V. Ghate, a Mangalorean graduate working in a tea-shop in the city, and S. S. Mirajkar, a non-Brahmin, were among the early converts to communism. Mirajkar could win over the millhands with his rhetorics and histrionics, and was successful in organising many trade unions.

While Marxism provided an intellectual justification for organising industrial workers, most of the radicals were participants in the Non-co-operation Movement. They had also a background of public work. They had earlier attended the All-India Trade Union Congress which met for the first time in October 1920¹ in Bombay, although they could not play a significant part in the work of its federating unions until the middle of the decade.

Undoubtedly the Bombay Communists were not so much Communists as nationalists before everything else. They did not make any efforts to Bolshevise the Indian Trade Union Movement.²

Moreover, for most of the time, the Bombay Communists were not committed to any firm political ideology or strategy. They hesitated for long whether to work independently of the national movement or to collaborate with the nationalists. They found that the revolutionary potential of the proletariat in Bombay was very much limited on account of caste differences and lack of class consciousness. Probably, therefore, they remained firmly in the nationalist camp. Although the Communist Party of India was established in 1925, it was to remain in the background³ and the Communists decided to function within the broad current of nationalism.

Under these circumstances, the radicals under Dange were hoping that the Congress resolutions passed at the Nagpur and Gaya sessions would set in motion a programme of labour organisation.⁴ They started campaigning within the Congress hierarchy for implementation of the labour resolutions. By the middle of the 1920s, most of the Communists became members of the District Congress Committees in the city. There were

¹ One of Tilak's acts of his last days had been to plan formation of a trade union federation in Bombay. Unfortunately he did not live to attend the first meeting of the All-India Trade Union Congress.

² N. M. Joshi, Joshi to H. W. Lee, 25 February 1926.

³ *Bombay Chronicle*, 8 June 1927, resolutions of the Communist party of India.

⁴ *The Indian National Congress 1920-23* (All-India Congress Committee 1924), pp. 34, 237.

VF 4361—30

17 of them in the Provincial Congress Committee.¹ They ventilated their proposals in the AICC, under the leadership of Joglekar and Nimbkar. They also endeavoured to gain some foot-hold in the Legislative Council. But they were frustrated by a hostile majority in the AICC. Hence the Communists had to rely increasingly on a nationalist party of their own creation, inside the main body of the Congress. They experimented with many political forums in the 1920s, but the only one to achieve any momentum was the Workers and Peasants Party of 1927-29.²

Dange and some other Communists were arrested in March 1924, tried at Kanpur and were declared guilty of participating in an international conspiracy. Dange was in jail until May 1927. This was a serious set-back to the Communist movement.

After Dange's release in May 1927, the Bombay Communists received considerable help from abroad, including the Communist Party of Great Britain. Under the guidance of the Communist visitors from England, the left wing faction of the Bombay Congress was reorganised into the Workers and Peasants Party. The latter organised new unions in the docks, printing industry, tram services and municipal workers. The Communists attempted to supersede N. M. Joshi and the moderates as the controlling influence in the AITUC.³ Their aim was to infiltrate the labour movement in the city. Much of their work was of a propagandist type, educating the workers against the antagonisms created by a capitalist system.

The policy of the Bombay Communists can be summed up as : the use of specific grievances to build trade unions and a genuine working class leadership. On the wider political level, they hoped, through the vehicle of the Workers and Peasants Party, to develop class consciousness and give the masses a decisive role in the national movement.⁴

Assertions by Labour : The cotton textile industry was in the grip of a depression from 1922. The entire period upto the end of the decade was plagued by stagnation and glut, and the resultant measures of economy by the mills. The millhands on their own part, became assertive of their rightful share in the products of their labour. The inevitable concomitance was a struggle between the employees and the owners. The entire decade was, therefore, characterised by fateful strikes, some of which are of great historical importance.

As it was to be expected, the millowners announced the abolition of annual bonus in July 1923. The Millowners' Association firmly asserted that the payment of bonus was dependent on 'profits and goodwill'.

¹ Richard Newman, op. cit., p. 107.

² Ibid., p. 108.

³ Ibid., p. 171.

⁴ Ibid., p. 110.

Both were now in short supply. They made no secret of the fact that they were contemplating a cut in regular wages in the course of time. This produced a ripple of concern among the millhands. Labour leaders and politicians in the city such as Joseph Baptista, N. M. Joshi, Ginwala, Kanji Dwarkadas (a labour representative in the Legislative Council) and S. K. Bole, tried to organise opinion against the millowners. Some of them persuaded the millhands to avoid intransigence and wait till the intensity of the depression is reduced. But the audiences were unreceptive and in no mood to surrender their bonus without a struggle, a course which the leaders regarded as disastrous, since it was obvious that the employers were waiting for an opportunity to close the mills and clear their accumulated stocks.¹ Baptista and others sought for the intervention of the Governor. The latter refused to oblige because he saw no wisdom in risking his prestige at a moment when the owners were utterly implacable.

The inevitable happened. Trouble began in mill after mill from 17 January 1924 and by 1 February the industry was at a standstill in Bombay.² As the strike was a protracted one, the millhands started forsaking Bombay for their villages, and the exodus started mounting.

The results of the Settlement Committee, appointed by the Governor, were not tangible, but only of an academic and legalistic nature. The workers started showing signs of despair, and riots broke out in several parts of the mill area. The millowners' stratagem was ultimately successful.³ On 17 March 1924, a trickle of men began to enter the mills, and within a few days the frustrated workers resumed work. The middle-class leaders comforted themselves that their strategy had won for labour 'the principle of arbitration'.

It is obvious from the survey of the labour movement in the period that although many of the labour leaders were actively associated with the nationalist movement, the millhands did not have an open involvement in the political organisations. The radical Congressmen like Joglekar, D. M. Deshpande, V. H. Joshi and D. R. Thengdi, who had Communist leanings, were, however, actively associated with the trade unions.

The Strike Against Wage Cut-1925 : The Bombay Millowners' Association announced their intention to cut wages and reduce hours, or both. The millowners attributed the 'deplorable condition' of the industry to Japanese competition, foreign exchange policy of the Government of India and the excise duty. The millowners further came with a proposal, on 29 July 1925, to reduce the dearness allowance. Their decision was criticised in the press universally.⁴ The workers had no option but to

¹ Richard Newman, op. cit., p. 142.

² This account is based on issues of the *Bombay Chronicle* and *Times of India*.

³ Richard Newman, op. cit., p. 148.

⁴ *Case Against a Wage Cut*, AITUC (1925), pp. 2-11.

resort to a general strike. This time only a few Swarajists like Satyamurti tried to seek a political solution to the problem through the Swaraj Party. But they were brushed aside by the millhands themselves. The latter had a well ventilated and clearly defined grievance, an erosion of their earnings. Ultimately the strike became complete by 1 October 1925. As the *Bombay Chronicle* reported, "We cannot recall any strike of such magnitude being produced in such an atmosphere of serene compliance; there is no heat, no sensational collision." The workers migrated to their villages during the strike. Altogether about 60,000 workers deserted the city.¹ It was futile for labour leaders to conjure up a compromise, and they concentrated mainly on relief to the needy workers. They received contributions from several sources in the country and abroad, particularly from the International Federation of Trade Unions in Amsterdam and the International Textile Workers' Federation in London. The Municipal Corporation under the mayorship of Baptista, employed many strikers on reclamation projects and other public works in the city.

The Governor was widely criticised for his inaction. As a matter of fact he was persuading the Government of India in the matter of abolition of the excise duty. The latter obliged to do so on 1 December 1925, and the Millowners' Association immediately agreed to restore wages to their old level. The strike had been another remarkable victory for the millhands, remarkable not only for its outcome, but also for the praiseworthy relief work. "Even at a time of economic crisis, the millhands could not easily be brushed aside."²

The successful conclusion of the strike of 1925 inspired the leaders to organise a permanent union. Accordingly a well-organised body with economic objectives emerged in the form of the Bombay Textile Labour Union (BTLU) by amalgamating the Madanpura Union, the Bombay Textile Workermen's Union and the Girni Kamgar Sangh.

Great Strike of 1928: The Bombay millowners had to reconcile to the harsh realities of international competition and technical innovation in the mid-1920s. The millhands were also confronted with the grim economic situation which made necessary to organise themselves into unions. Consequently the Bombay Millowners' Association increasingly became the mouthpiece of the industry and a forum for evolving a common approach to the problems. During 1927, there was a growing involvement of young Communist members of the Provincial Congress Committee, in the industrial life of Bombay. The Workers and Peasants Party, under inspiration from British Communists, became vigorous in organising new unions and infiltration into old ones. The Communists strived hard to

¹ *Bombay Chronicle*, 23, 24 September, 17 October 1925. *Bombay Police Secret Abstract of Intelligence XXXVIII*, pp. 611-12 (28 September 1925).

² Richard Newman, op. cit., p. 159.

supersede Joshi and the moderates, as the controlling force in the AITUC and its provincial subsidiary.¹

The rationalisation programme and efficiency system in the Sassoon group mills and the Spring, Finlay, Kohinoor, Apollo and Manchester mills, sparked off sporadic strikes.² The Workers and Peasants Party and radical Communists favoured an immediate show-down with the mill-owners, while there was an acute rupture in the Mahamandal, wherein Joglekar, Mirajkar and their allies subscribed to such a course of action. There were acrimonious charges of Bolshevism and counter-charges of strike-breaking.

N. M. Joshi believed that technical reforms were in the long term interest of the workers. An honest humanitarian that he was, his paramount concern was the prevention of poverty and suffering of the workers, and he was more inclined to compromise than to counter-attack. The Communists, on the other hand, believed that nothing short of a general strike would save the workers from piecemeal defeat. It is true that the Communists were still only partners in the industrial relations in the textile industry. But with the spread of rationalisation and the collapse of sporadic strikes in 1927-28, the millhands began to listen to the Communists, with a new respect. "It was, therefore, to Dange, Nimbkar and Mirajkar rather than to Joshi, that the millhands turned for advice as the industry slid into the greatest crisis of its history."³

The millowners also launched a strategy of 'nibbling off' wages, extra rules and stricter discipline. A number of factors were contributing to the rising tempo and bitterness of industrial conflict, and it was realised that the Communists' predictions were to become a reality. Hence the Mahamandal voted to declare a general strike.

Bombay's greatest strike began to evolve on 16 April 1928. The sudden spread of the strike was neither a Communist plot nor a show of class solidarity; it was only a conglomeration of sporadic disputes over economic matters. It was due, as much to management policy, as to the Communist urging, the ineptitude of the police and the threat of unemployment.

Eventually a Joint Mill Strike Committee was appointed on 30 April. It included moderates like Joshi, Ginwala, Asavale, Munawar and S. V. Parulekar; militants like Dange, Nimbkar, Mirajkar and Bradley; and others like Jhabwalla, Alve, K. A. Desai, K. R. Avasekar and P. T. Tamhanekar. It was within a day or two that the seventeen demands that set out the strikers' case were published. The Joshi-Dange partnership became, as time went on, something more than an alliance of convenience.

¹ *Bombay Police Secret Abstracts*, XL, 1927.

² *Bombay Chronicle*, 5 January 1928.

³ Richard Newman, op. cit. p. 178.

These two men, so different in age and attitudes and yet so alike in their qualities, developed a mutual understanding, and drew upon each other's intellectual capacities to master technicalities of the industrial dispute.

The Millowners' Association played its tactics to divide the union leaders, but to no tangible results. There were recriminations and well-worn arguments between the owners and the unionists during their meetings. But the only result was a hardening of the strike.¹ The Strike Committee organised picketing and relief operations. The millhands had started migrating to their villages right from May. The Government estimated that 50,000 workers spent the strike away from Bombay.² The Strike Committee provided rations and food to the striking workers out of public contributions. A good amount of contribution was received by Joshi from foreign countries like England, Belgium and the U.S.S.R. The Social Service League also performed a very good job by providing relief. The number of strikers receiving doles rose to 30,140 on 4 July.

While there were diehards among the millowners, cracks began to appear in the carefully preserved facade of the owners' intransigence. The managements with lesser efficiency had always resented standardisation because it compelled them to increase the wages on parity with the common level. Such kind of owners captured the opportunity of the deadlock in negotiations, and desired to make separate agreement with the Strike Committee.

Dange and Joshi drafted a standardisation scheme and pitted it against the owners' version, item by item. They envisaged a wage level that was higher than the owners' proposals by 30 per cent.³ In the course of time millowners and strikers were coming to the point of exhaustion.

The Millowners' Association decided to reopen the Morarji Goculdas mill on 20 September as a test case because its pay and conditions were already close to standard levels. Eventually the other owners were too exhausted to wear the strike in this way, and they agreed to attend the new conference of owners and labour leaders as proposed by Government. The conference agreed that the Government should appoint an independent body, the Bombay Strike Enquiry Committee, to examine the standardisation scheme and the seventeen demands of the unionists. The Committee recommended that the wages were to be on par with those in March 1927, except for certain categories. Cases of disputes were to be referred to the Committee for adjudication. The agreement was signed by the General Member of the Bombay Government, Joshi and J. B. Petit, on 4 October 1928. Accordingly the mills reopened officially on 6 October.

¹ Richard Newman, op. cit., p. 199.

² Ibid., p. 202.

³ Ibid., p. 206.

"The settlement was a victory for the millhands, in spite of its qualifications. The owners had been forced to accept terms which they had rejected at the beginning of negotiations; wages had been restored to their former levels, if not quite to the levels of 1925 The whole issue of wages and working procedures was now on the anvil of the Enquiry Committee, where Dange and the other unionists could hammer it into a more acceptable shape.

"The most remarkable feature of the strike was undoubtedly, the behaviour of the men. In depriving their employers of the output of 22 million working days, they sacrificed Rs. 3.5 crores of their own wages."¹

The workers' commitment to the strike was impressive, and gave the lie to the first hasty judgement of the officialdom that the issues were 'not so much economic as political'.² The Communists and radicals might have prophesied the strike, but it was the millhands who launched it and the jobbers who brought about its consummation. Rationalisation and retrenchment provided the foundation of protest, standardisation, the unity of purpose, and the jobbers and the Strike Committee translated these elements into a form of industry-wide organisation.³

The strike radically altered the balance of power among the unions. The Communists were transferred from a faction of Congressmen to a band of popular heroes. Dange wrote, "The strike was not our creation, but we were the creation of the strike."⁴ The Communist alliance with Joshi and the moderates, strengthened their own position, and they could give a successful resistance against the mighty Bombay Millowners' Association. The Communist orators found an eager audience in Bombay. They forced the millowners to recognise them as the spokesmen of millhands.

Labour Movement on Trial : Although the outcome of the strike of 1928 was a victory for the workers and the unionists, it led inexorably to a new phase of conflict for which the Communists were extremely well prepared. The ambiguities of the settlement made themselves to be felt as soon as the workers resumed work. The workers discovered that they were required to implement the 'efficiency systems'. The Communists, very soon, started to combat the settlement terms, and started preparing for another revolt against rationalisation. Their principal motive was to organise the working class, and they realised that negotiations as well as agitation could be a means to that end. The discontented workers

¹ Richard Newman, op. cit., pp. 207-08.

² Labour Office to Government of India, 23 April 1923, H. Police, 8/VIII/1928, National Archives of India.

³ Richard Newman, op. cit., p. 208.

⁴ Meerut Communist Conspiracy Case, *Statement*, p. 2426.

appeared to have thrown their lot to them. Encouraged by such circumstances, the Communists captured the Girni Kamgar Union (GKU), and converted it into an instrument for conflict between the workers and the employers. Dange and Nimbkar gained a tremendous influence over the mill managements, while Joshi and Bakhale were being completely ignored. This was not to the liking of the Labour Office of Government. However, the GKU became so influential that employers' best hope of controlling the workers, lay in the Communists.¹

While the Strike Enquiry Committee was arbitrating in various disputes, it had no jurisdiction over the issue of victimisation. This lacuna forced workers to align with the GKU. It became a vital force in the daily life of the mill area.² The union membership swelled to one lakh in January 1929.³ The Communists very methodically educated the workers to organise and manage branch unions. The *Kranti* was an organ of Communist propaganda.

At this juncture, the non-Brahmin reactions against the Communist leadership began to come to surface in Bombay. The *Kaivari*, a Marathi weekly edited by D. S. Javalkar, began to attack the high-caste characteristics of the Communists. This movement had the blessings of B. V. Jadhav, a minister in the Bombay Government.⁴ The Workers and Peasants Party as well as the GKU felt some impact of the movement.

The Hindu-Muslim riots which broke out in February 1929 were the second instance of communal tension and a major crisis in radical labour movement in general and GKU's activities in particular. Although the Union's authority had proved stronger than communalism, the riots did cause much heart searching among the Communists.

The incarceration of the Communists in the city in connection with the Meerut Communist Conspiracy on 20 March 1929 had far-reaching consequences on the labour movement as well as political life in Bombay. All the senior leaders including Dange, Joglekar, Nimbkar, Mirajkar, Alve and Kase were arrested.⁵ The action was part of a Government plan which had been maturing since the previous May. The Meerut arrests were the prelude to a third phase of industrial strife which culminated in the general strike of 1929. The persons who succeeded to the leadership of the Communist movement lacked influence, a fixed strategy and tactical finesse of Dange.⁶

¹ Richard Newman, op. cit., p. 212.

² It should however be admitted that the GKU never really succeeded in wresting the Muslims from the BTLU, North Indians and the backward class workers were also outside its fold.

³ *Labour Gazette*, VIII, 5 (Jan. 1929), p. 457.

⁴ P. G. Kanekar to N. M. Joshi, 18 Mar. 1928, Joshi Papers.

⁵ Pendse, V. H. Joshi and B. T. Ranadive were left out.

⁶ Richard Newman, op. cit., p. 237.

However, the junior leaders like G. L. Kandalkar, Pendse, V. H. Joshi, V. K. Tawde, Tamhanekar, S. V. Deshpande¹ and B. T. Ranadive, rallied quickly. Ranadive had just graduated from the Bombay University, and was a man of exceptional intellect, a brilliant debater and a voracious worker.

The Strike Enquiry Committee published its report on 24 March 1929.

This committee approved rationalisation as well as standardisation, but recommended the postponement of wage cut incidental to standardisation as a gesture of goodwill. The reactions of the GKU as well as the Mill-owners' Association were of a mixed nature. Further negotiations were initiated between the two. However, there was a resentment among the unionists at the victimisation of union workers in the Wadia and Currimbhoy groups. Sir Homi Mody, chairman of the Millowners' Association, was a hard nut to crack. Henceforth the problem of victimisation became the main issue in industrial relations.² The GKU had been preparing its members for a strike, and ultimately decided to call a strike from 26 April 1929.

The 1929 strike was a turning point in the conduct of industrial relations. This was the first strike of millhands called by a union's orders to defend its own existence. The workers showed an impressive discipline; there were no processions, no picketing or violence. However, as regards the desirability of the strike, sober labour leaders like V. B. Karnik accused the GKU leadership of recklessness, sectarianism or blind obedience to the revolutionary policy advocated by the Communist International in 1928.³

The Millowners' Association took an aggressive attitude after the strike became a reality. They launched a vigorous propaganda campaign and organised the Blue Flag Union. They recruited strike-breakers from distant places like Bangalore, Ahmedabad and Indore.⁴ These tactics gradually reduced the scale of the strike. Naturally the union was driven to wage a battle for its own existence. There were growing tensions in the mill area, and street affrays were a daily occurrence. Some of the millowners exploited communalism and started recruiting Muslims. A new outburst of communal rioting had already been in progress when the strike had broken out, and it was only a matter of time before it developed into clashes between Muslim workers and Hindu

¹ He was not so close to the Communists as to the Congress. In fact he was a member of Provincial Congress Committee.

² Richard Newman, op. cit., p. 238.

³ V. B. Karnik, *Strikes in India* (Manaktalas, Bombay, 1967), p. 200.

⁴ Labour Office weekly report, 17 Aug. 1929

strikers.¹ Dr. B. R. Ambedkar also urged the backward class workers to return to work.²

Union appeals for solidarity of workers fell on deaf ears. The millhands were finally forced back to work on the owners' terms. Thus, the GKU destroyed its own foundations. The failure of the strike left the union penniless and demoralised. It was a shattering blow to the working class in the city. To make matters still worse, the cotton textile industry was about to slide into the vortex of the world depression, and the workers were helpless to resist wage cuts, lay-offs and mill closures that were to be imposed upon them during the next few years.³

As the strike crumbled, recriminations flew thick and fast among the Communist factions. The new leaders were in no way as skilful as those imprisoned at Meerut. None of them was a substitute for Dange in either ability or energy, or a feeling for popular mood. Naturally fratricidal squabbling did nothing to improve their performance. By the end of 1929 they appeared to be scattered and powerless. Undoubtedly, however, "their experience remained to form a backbone for the organisations of the next decade."⁴

There is a general supposition that there was a close relationship between the Bombay millhands' unrest and post-war nationalism and communism. Richard Newman,⁵ however, shows in his study that the Bombay millhands were hardly touched by nationalist agitations. The two main currents in the Congress—the Gandhian and the Swarajist—ebbed and flowed around the edges of the mill area and carried off very few of the millhands. Those workers, who were drawn into an alliance with the Congressmen, apparently acted from class motives rather than from the desire to topple the British rule. "It is an even grosser distortion to suggest, as some writers have done, that the AITUC was an industrial wing of the Indian National Congress and that its foundation was symptomatic of the spread of rationalism to the working classes. In Bombay at least, the majority of AITUC leaders were either not Congressmen at all, or Congressmen who were far removed from the mainstream of their movement. Their motives in founding the AITUC were as much to strengthen their position against the pro-Gandhian elements in local politics as to contribute to the spread of nationalism."⁶ There is also no evidence to show that the mill workers were influenced in any way by Communist ideas and methods in 1919 and 1920. Price inflation,

¹ Bombay Riots Enquiry Committee Report, 1928-29, p. 19. *Bombay Chronicle*, 2 May.

² Richard Newman, op. cit., p. 247.

³ Ibid., p. 249.

⁴ Ibid., p. 250.

⁵ Ibid., p. 250.

⁶ Ibid., p. 263.

and not Marxism, was the cause of unrest in the immediate post-war period. The real importance of the political activities lies in the changes of attitude which were being germinated within the millhands. Many activists in the Non-co-operation Movement established the first links between the workers and the nationalists and Communists. They also formed a nucleus of experienced organisers who could induct millhands into political demonstrations.

Communal Riots of 1929 : The communal tension between the Hindus and Muslims, which broke out in February 1929, was a great stigma on the fair name of Bombay whose cosmopolitan population usually maintained communal harmony. It was rumoured that Pathans were kidnapping children. The kidnapping scare had culminated on 3 February 1929 in Pathans being specially singled out for attack.¹ The Commissioner of Police opined that the Pathans were singled out because they were employed as blacklegs by the Burmah Shell Company, the Standard Oil Company and the Indo Petroleum Company, in place of the employees who were on strike at the instigation of the Communists.² The strike leaders were annoyed that the Pathans were enabling the oil companies to carry on. Consequently there were several stray attacks on them from January itself. The quiet locality of Sewri was converted into a battlefield by the strikers. As the situation worsened further, the Governor summoned military regiments from Pune and Deolali on the 7th. Besides, district police were also deployed along with the city police. In spite of these arrangements disorder showed no signs of diminution. A stern curfew order enabling the authorities to 'shoot at sight' was clamped. This had a salutary effect. The situation was so tense that military pickets were gradually withdrawn only from 17 to 20 February, while the district police were retained till the 27th. The riots took a heavy toll of life and property as 149 persons lost their lives. The number of injured persons, as per hospital returns, rose to 739. Property worth about Rs. 4.63 lakhs was looted in Princess Street, Dongri, Nagpada, Pydhonie, Maharbouri, Agripada and Lamington Road areas.³

Animosity against the Pathans in the mill area was essentially economic in character, an outgrowth of strikes past and present.⁴

The tragic episode of February was repeated shortly in April-May 1929. The old tensions began to reappear among the millhands during the course of the 1929 strike of mill workers. Street affrays became a daily occurrence. The serious riots of February had left behind a feeling of

¹ *Police Report on the Bombay Riots of February, 1929* (Bombay Government, 1929), p. 12.

² Ibid., p. 12.

³ For details see the *Police Report on the Bombay Riots of February 1929*.

⁴ Meerut Communist Conspiracy Case, p. 951-T.

mistrust amongst the lower classes of both the communities, which culminated in a serious riot on 23 April 1929. The hooligan element took advantage of the disorder, and the trouble spread to other parts of the city. There was a fresh series of attacks and counter-attacks on 27 April, and it was only a matter of time before it developed into clashes between the two communities.

Concurrently the Girni Kamgar Union (GKU) under Communist domination had launched the general strike of millhands (26 April 1929). During the strike some millowners selected Pathans as picketers and brought in gangs of Muslims to replace Maratha weavers, from the Konkan. Many Muslims were recruited in Madanpura for work in the northern mills, and police escorts were provided for them to and from suburban railway stations.¹ This contributed immensely to the communal tensions in the city.

Under these circumstances, the Hindu millhands driven to desperation fully participated in the riots. The situation did not return to normal until 9 May. The military was on duty from 3 to 18 May. The Government appointed a Court of Enquiry under the Trade Disputes Act, presided over by a Judge of the Calcutta High Court.

But the pertinent point here is that these tragic episodes preceded the fateful mass Civil Disobedience Movement which was to take deep roots in Bombay.

RE-EMERGENCE OF MAHATMA GANDHI

The Council-entry programme of the Swarajists had proved a disillusionment. The Congress was groping in the dark for quite some time, while Gandhiji was watching the situation. Government increased repressive measures against trade unionists and Communists which culminated in the arrest of Dange, Joglekar, Nimbkar, Mirajkar, Alve, Kasse, Jhabwalla and many others from the city in connection with the famous Meerut Trial. The Viceroy announced the intention of convening a Round Table Conference, but refused to concede the demand for Dominion Status.

Under such circumstances the year 1929 witnessed the re-emergence of Gandhiji as the undisputed leader of the Congress and India. The Bombay Provincial Congress Committee along with nine other provincial Congress Committees voted for Gandhiji as the president of the Lahore Congress of 1929. It was, however, at his will that Jawaharlal Nehru was elected in his stead. The Lahore Congress abrogated the Council-entry programme and defined Swaraj as "complete independence".

¹ Richard Newman, op. cit., p. 246.]

The All-India Congress Committee, which met at Bombay in May under Gandhiji's¹ leadership, resolved that in view of the cruel campaign of repression and barbarous treatment to the All-India Congress Committee members and the Meerut trial detainees, nation should be prepared for a prolonged Civil Disobedience Movement.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENT

The Civil Disobedience Movement was the zenith of Gandhiji's achievement in his political life. It was a crowning point in terms both of the establishment of his absolute leadership and of the universal acceptance of the preaching of truth, non-violence, swadeshi and khadi, and the brave and fearless defiance of authority and evil. Mass Civil Disobedience was a grand saga of stoic determination and peaceful resistance. Bombay, which had besmirched its name in 1919 and 1921 (and later in the Quit India Movement), again came in the vanguard in this movement. The citizens withstood the most cruel reprisals of Government with a mounting zest. "The city wrote patriotic poetry with its blood. Bombay's part in the salt satyagraha was a model for the rest of India—raids on the Wadala salt depot, boycott and picketing, *bhoi-patrikas*, *prabhat pheris* and mass processions, *desh sevikas* and *vanar senas*, 'war councils', 'dictators' and Congress bulletins, making the textile mills sue for peace and leaving the Government totally helpless. Its enthusiasm in 1930 and in the years following was unique, not bettered in any other part of the country or at any other time, except perhaps in 1942-44—but the latter was stained with violence."²

It was in accordance with the proclamation of independence at Lahore that Gandhiji asked the Congress Working Committee to fix January 26, 1930 as the "Independence Day". Gandhiji tested public temper by seeking response to the "pledge" on that day in Bombay and other places. The celebration of the "Independence Day"³ made it clear that the time was ripe for Mass Civil Disobedience and that the breach of the oppressive salt law⁴ would be a symbolic appropriate measure.

¹ The year 1929 also witnessed brisk activity in the propagation of khadi and boycott of foreign cloth in the city. Gandhiji opened the Khadi Bazar organised by the Bombay League in the Jinnah Hall and later a khadi printing and dyeing factory at Girgaum. The Foreign Cloth Boycott Committee which met at Mani Bhavan on May 23 and 24 under Gandhiji invigorated the boycott-programme. He also opened the Umar Sobani Library in the newly constructed building in the Congress House compound.

² K. Gopalswami, op. cit., p. 239.

³ After three decades, the Constitution of India was adopted on 26th January which has since been celebrated as a Republic Day.

⁴ The Bombay researchers propagated that as early as 1836 the Salt Commission had recommended that Indian salt should be taxed to enable English salt to be imported in India. The imports of English salt was also intended to boost up the traffic of British ships. Thus, Bombay provided the economic and political justification for violation of salt law.

On 14 February, the All-India Congress Committee at Ahmedabad gave Gandhiji and his followers full powers to initiate civil disobedience wherever and in whatever manner they chose. All Congressmen were to adhere to complete non-violence, notwithstanding any provocation. Boycott of law courts and schools was also recommended. In pursuance to the "charter of freedom", as Gandhiji termed it, which was given to him by the Working Committee, he wrote to the Viceroy to concede the substance of independence immediately, failing which a mass movement was contemplated. On hearing from the Viceroy's private secretary to the contrary, Gandhiji set out from Sabarmati to the Dandi beach on 12 March, where he proposed to make salt in defiance of the salt laws. Gandhiji formally infringed the law on the Dandi beach on 6 April, and this was a signal for the mass violation of the salt laws throughout the Presidency.¹

The inauguration of Civil Disobedience is an important landmark in the history of Bombay. The advent of the movement generated a polarisation of political, economic and social forces in the city. Civil Disobedience along with the devastating Great Depression affected Bombay with great severity. Unemployment incidental to depression was a significant political factor because the labour force was highly volatile. The volatility was built up from years of inflation, recession, wage cuts and retrenchment. The Government had failed to solve the city's pressing social problems. Hence civil disobedience also brought in its trail an element of violence. Secondly, it also brought with it boycott of foreign firms and goods, while Government and industrialists vociferously propagated that civil disobedience had intensified the evil effects of the depression. The Congress had a ready audience for the view that Government's fiscal policy was the root of the depression, amongst the marketeers and the middle class society. It is, therefore, particularly necessary to furnish a rather comprehensive narration of the ominous Civil Disobedience Movement in Bombay.

The mass movement was inaugurated by Jamnalal Bajaj on 6 April 1930 at Vile Parle as decided by the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee and the Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee. Jamnalal was nominated the first "Congress dictator" of the satyagraha in city at the instance of Gandhiji. The Bombay headquarters were located at the Vile Parle camp where Kasturba Gandhi was camping till the camp was declared illegal in August 1930.

The outbreak of the movement coincided with the national week celebration by the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee which organised a mass meeting on the Chowpati exhorting the people of all communities

¹ *Bombay—1929-30 : A Review of the Administration of the Presidency* (Bombay Government, Government Central Press, 1931).

to participate in the satyagraha. The four cloth markets, the share bazar and shops at Mandvi were closed in sympathy to the movement. The activists, besides Jamnalal Bajaj, included K. F. Nariman, Prof. D. R. Gharpure, Pandit Sunderlal, Sardar Sardul Singh Kavishwar, Ali Bahadur Khan and Mohiuddin Kasuri. They announced a programme for action for the city in the very first meeting. According to the programme, Nariman, Mrs. Avantikabai Gokhale, Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya, Yusuf Meherali and Ali Bahadur Khan, organised salt making at the Haji Ali park on the next day. They organised a mammoth meeting at the Chowpati on the 7th which was followed by the arrest of K.F. Nariman (president of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee) in the same night. This was greeted with a sharp commotion and partial hartal in the city.¹ Although the response of the Parsis and Muslims was rather unfavourable, the middle class crowds and Marwari merchants pledged themselves to participate in the campaign.

The movement was organised in Bombay with forethought and thoroughness. The leaders had anticipated arrests, and hence, they had prepared long lists of "dictators" and "War Councils" in advance to keep the campaign undeterred, so that immediately after the arrest of one, the next in line stepped into the breach. And this went on for days, weeks, months and years.

The secret daily reports of the Police Commissioner of Bombay to the Secretary to the Government of Bombay Presidency, Home Department, are a valuable treasure of information of the happenings in Bombay. But appraisal of them all is beyond the scope of this study. Hence the narration of happenings in the city during only the first few days is furnished below for the benefit of students of History.

The members of the Bombay "War Council" including Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya and D. R. Gharpure launched upon a programme of making salt from sea-water on the terrace of the Congress House by boiling the water and making salt in cement salt pans on the terrace from 8 April. The sentence inflicted on K. F. Nariman, Jamnalal Bajaj and others was greeted with a mammoth rally of 30,000 on the Chowpati the same evening. The novelty of the rally was that about 200 ladies actively participated.² The Satyagraha Committee of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee was in an unrelenting mood. The contraband salt was sold at Vile Parle and many other places in the city. The police raided the Congress House, destroyed the salt pans and arrested three prominent members of the war council viz., Y. J. Meherali (vice-president of the

¹ Police Commissioner of Bombay to G. F. S. Collins, Secretary to Bombay Government, Home Department, 8 April 1930 (*Daily Reports on Civil Disobedience*, Head Police Office, Bombay).

² Police Commissioner to Mr. Collins, 9 April 1930.

Bombay Youth League), Abidali Jafferbhai (secretary of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee) and M. Sadik (editor of a nationalist weekly), on 10 April. They were sentenced to imprisonment on the next day.¹ The war council was undeterred by the police action. They constructed new salt pans and sold contraband salt which fetched fantastic money for the campaign, practically every day. Several patriots including ladies courted arrest. The brave and worthy activities of eminent ladies like Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya, Avantikabai Gokhale, Perin Captain, Laxmiben Dosani, Laxmibai Bhide, Ratanben Mehta, etc. encouraged the womanhood to fight for the national liberation war. The contraband salt was auctioned, and there were patriots to buy it at fantastic prices. This went on for months together in the city. The movement also comprised the boycott of liquor and foreign cloth.

The last day of the national week, 13 April was marked by four large processions to the Chowpati where they culminated into a mass rally of 50,000 including about 1,000 women. The principal speakers were Sarojini Naidu, Kamaladevi, Perin Captain, Mrs. Abidali Jafferbhai, Gharpure, K. P. Khadilkar, Dr. D. D. Sathe, Dr. J. N. Chowksy and Ganapatishankar Desai (newly elected secretary of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee). There was a complete hartal in the cloth markets, while shops at Mandvi, Bhuleshwar and Girgaum were closed in the afternoon.² The arrest of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on the 14th was strongly reacted in the city the next day. The Cotton Brokers' Association, the Grain Merchants' Association, the Bombay Shroffs' Association, the Indian Merchants' Chamber, the Rice Merchants' Association, the Bombay Native Piecegoods Merchants' Association and the Sugar Merchants' Association closed the various markets under their control. Even the Municipal Corporation adjourned its sitting on the motion of Jamnadas Mehta. Besides the usual speakers, S. K. Patil, who was later to become the uncrowned king of Bombay, Mrs. Hansa Mehta and B. F. Bharucha enthused the mass rally to carry out the civil disobedience programme.³ The eminent lawyers and solicitors of the Bombay High Court such as Bhulabhai J. Desai and K. M. Munshi were the loudest in their condemnation of Government. They along with many of their colleagues renunciated legal practice, while K. M. Munshi resigned from the Bombay Legislative Council.⁴

The most demonstrative coup against the salt laws in Bombay was an invasion of the Government salt depots at Wadala by an army of more than 1,000 young men and women on 16 April. They were led by

¹ Ibid., 11 April 1930.

² Police Commissioner to Collins, 14 April 1930.

³ Ibid., 15 April 1930.

⁴ *Bombay Chronicle*, 15 April 1930.

Kamaladevi, and had to encounter lathi charges by the police. Three days later, the salt works were raided again in which many volunteers were injured and 25 were arrested. On 25 May, 100 volunteers, accompanied by 2,000 spectators, carried out a further determined raid. The police handled them mercilessly and even opened fire. Wadala was the scene of many heroic raids by satyagrahis. The most demonstrative raid, however, took place on the morning of 1 June 1930, when 15,000 volunteers and spectators participated in the great mass action. Time after time the satyagrahis broke through the police cordons, they invaded the salt pans, and carried away salt. The police could not cope up with the situation and the mounted police charged into the crowd with rearing horses, striking bare heads with clubs.

The Bombay lawyers demonstrated their solidarity behind Gandhiji's movement in an exemplary manner. At least 102 advocates and solicitors in the city took a pledge in support of the Swadeshi Movement. The *Bombay Chronicle* of 19 April 1930 published the names of the signatories. The 20th April was marked by a huge impressive rally of a lakh, on the Chowpati, under the leadership of the usual persons, besides K. M. Munshi, Lilavati Munshi, V. V. Jairajani and others.¹ K. M. Munshi and K. K. Master were arrested the next day. They were followed by the militant D. R. Gharpure (president, Bombay Provincial Congress Committee), G. N. Desai (secretary, Bombay Provincial Congress Committee), and S. K. Patil² (joint secretary of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee). On several occasions the Congress volunteers were meted with brutal outrages by the police. But their spirit was indomitable and exemplary, and they persistently continued with their activities.³

Many women offered ornaments and jewellery which were auctioned for large sums, again and again, for the sake of the movement. The Bhatia Baug satyagraha of 20 April, was a grand testimony to the determined but peaceful and disciplined behaviour of the men in spite of tyranny of government. Among the notable arrests were B. G. Kher, J. M. Mehta, K. M. Munshi and G. V. Ketkar (president, Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee).⁴ The whole atmosphere was surcharged with subdued excitement and solemn determination for pursuit of the goal of independence. Even the Police Commissioner was moved by the stirring scenes.⁵ The Mandvi front was another great success for the Congress. There was a grand victory procession on the 26th, and a national flag salutation ceremony at several places which culminated into large

¹ *Bombay Chronicle*, 21 April 1930.

² Police Commissioner to Collins, 22 April 1930.

³ *Congress Bulletin*, 21 April 1930 (Bombay Provincial Congress Committee).

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ *Congress Bulletin*, 23 April 1930.

public meetings at Chowpati and Shivaji Park, which stirred the masses on the 27th.¹ The Bombay Native Piecegoods Merchants' Association, which was with Gandhiji all the while, was the most active of the business organisations during this movement. The Bombay Satyagraha Committee's intense propaganda in the labour area generated great enthusiasm for the Congress message. The principal activists were Kamaladevi, Sarojini Naidu, C. K. Narayanswami, C. B. Johri, S. K. Pupala, Prof. Kosambi, Mohamed Ibrahim, Dr. Chowksy and W. P. Kabadi.²

As directed by Mahatma Gandhi, women were particularly chosen for picketing against liquor and foreign goods in Bombay. Among the women activists in the city were Lilavati Munshi, Avantikabai Gokhale, Kamaladevi, Ratanben Mehta, Jankibai Bajaj, Gangaben Patel, Gajjar, Perin Captain, Hansa Mehta, Ramibai Kamdar and Miss Khandvala. They organised a Desh Sevika Sangh and conducted an intensive house to house campaign for the propagation of swadeshi by obtaining signatures for the swadeshi pledge. Many times, however, the Satyagraha Committee could not channelise a sufficient number of women volunteers.³

Gandhiji advised the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee to enrol a lakh of active volunteers to carry on propaganda for the boycott of British goods and the use of khaddar. He was willing to come to Bombay when the city was ready with its quota of volunteers, and he would then lead the raid on the salt depot at Bombay.⁴ But he was arrested shortly.

The promulgation of the Press Ordinance infringing on the rights of the press was greeted with strong protests by the Journalists' Association of India as well as by popular leaders in the city. The Ordinance was defied in many cases. The citizens also reacted very sharply to the tragedy at Peshawar, and congratulated those who suffered silently and bravely for the cause of the nation.

Even a few foreigners had participated in the movement. For example, Cyril Walter Thornton, a young Australian, arrived in Bombay to help the movement. He was initiated as a salt satyagrah with due ceremony at the Congress House. He told the gathering that he was very keen to help the cause of Indian Independence for which he had specially come from Australia. He signed the swaraj pledge and became an activist.

Gandhiji's Arrest: The climax of the agitation was reached on 5 May when Gandhiji was arrested at Karadi (Gujarat), and secretly taken to Yeravada via Bombay. The news thoroughly stirred the city, and was greeted with

¹ Police Commissioner to Collins, 28 April 1930.

² *Bombay Congress Bulletin*, 28 April 1930.

³ Police Commissioner to Collins, letters from time to time.

⁴ Police Commissioner to Collins, 1 May 1930. Gandhiji's advice was conveyed through R. S. Padbidri (secretary, Bombay Provincial Congress Committee), S. K. Pupala and C. B. Johri.

a complete hartal in all the principal markets and business quarters. The Cotton, Share, and Javeri Markets and the Mandvi Market observed a hartal for two days, while the Mulji Jetha Market decided to close down for six days.¹ There was a series of mass rallies at the Esplanade (presently Azad Maidan), the Dana Bunder and Lalbaug. The GKU activists picketed in the mill area and got the mills closed for the day. The railway goods yards and workshops, and docks were also paralysed.

The meeting of the Municipal Corporation was adjourned. The Bombay Shroff's Association, the Bombay Cotton Merchants' Association, the Bombay Seed Merchants' Association, the Indian Merchants' Chamber, the Marwari Chamber of Commerce and other organisations, expressed their high sense of patriotism by advising the members to participate in the hartal and propagate the Congress pledge. There was a mile-long procession led by women, and followed by Pathans, Sikhs and other martial races, all peaceful. About 65,000 workers abstained from work to swell the procession. Two hundred volunteers decked six donkeys in foreign clothes and paraded the thoroughfares exhorting the public to burn foreign cloth.²

It is noteworthy that the volunteers showed an indomitable courage to pull down the Union Jack from the flag staff of the Municipal Corporation building, and replacing it by the national flag facing Pherozeshah Mehta's statue. The municipal officers were present, but nobody took any objection.³ Such was the spirit of the day.

Government servants including policemen were exhorted to renunciate their services to the alien Government. All the commercial associations, headed by the Share and Stock Brokers' Association appealed to the Indian Merchants' Chamber to withdraw their representatives from the Legislative Council and the Assembly.⁴ K. F. Nariman was released from jail on the 7th morning.

After Gandhiji's incarceration, violation of salt laws, defiance of authority and other civil disobedience activities became a daily feature of Bombay's life. Picketing of foreign emporia, especially by women, was organised. Many of them courted arrest. The *Congress Bulletin* of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee was published almost daily in a cyclostyled form. The surreptitious distribution of its copies by lakhs, was also a remarkable feature of the mass movement in Bombay during

¹ Police Commissioner to Collins, 6 and 7 May 1930. He, however, writes that the Muslims and Parsis did not conform to the hartal, and that mills functioned as usual except the Jubilee and Morarji Goculdas mills, which is contradictory to some of the paragraphs in his letters.

² K. Gopalswami. op. cit., p. 245.

³ Police Commissioner to Collins, 7 May 1930.

⁴ Ibid.

this time. Defiance of prohibitory orders, and picketing of liquor and foreign cloth shops were intensified. The spirit of swadeshi charged the atmosphere and khadi was on the ascendant.¹

D. G. Tendulkar, Mahatma Gandhi's biographer, gives a vivid description of the activities in Bombay which the readers may find it interesting to refer.²

Wadala Raids : A succession of raids on the Wadala Salt Depot were an important phase in the Salt Satyagraha in Bombay. Hundreds of volunteers dashed to the salt pans and, despite police resistance, removed salt. They used to be arrested almost daily. On 22 May, 188 volunteers were arrested and taken to Worli. This drama was enacted every day, and more and more repressive measures were taken. But the most spectacular and demonstrative raid was to come off on 1 June for which the War Council was diligently preparing. Nearly 15,000 volunteers and other citizens including women, raided the salt pans under the leadership of Mrs. Lilavati Munshi and Mrs. Harnam Kaur.³ Successive batches marched up to the Port Trust Railway level crossing, and the surging crowds were held up there by the police cordon. The gallant raiders, including women and children, broke through the cordon, splashed through slime and mud, and ran over the pans. About 150 Congress volunteers were injured. The raiders were repulsed by the Police who were acting under the immediate supervision of the Home Member.⁴

The Wadala raiders were detained in the Worli Detention Camp as undertrials, whose number swelled to four thousand. On 3 June 1930 these Wadala raiders were involved in a brush with the Police. The Military was called out to cope up with the situation resulting into about ninety casualties. The way in which the raiders were dealt with by the Police, caused great public indignation and protest. The spectators were aghast at the gruesome spectacle.⁵

Mr. George Slocombe, the representative of the *Daily Herald* of London, who was an eye-witness to some of the salt raids, cabled to his paper as under : " I watched the events from an observation-post on one of the rocky hills which ring Wadala. It was humiliating for an Englishman to stand among the ardent, friendly, but deeply moved crowd of volunteers and sympathisers and watch the representatives of the country's administration engaged in this ludicrous, embarrassing business."⁶

¹ K. Gopalswami, op. cit., p. 245.

² D. G. Tendulkar, *Mahatma : Life of Mohanchand Gandhi*.

³ *Times of India*, 2 June 1930.

⁴ B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, *History of the Indian National Congress*, Vol. I (Padma Publications, Bombay, 1946, p. 400.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ cf. Ibid., p. 401. George Slocombe saw Gandhiji in jail and wrote a masterly despatch which disturbed the slumbers of House of Commons.

The policy of harsh treatment on the part of the bureaucracy moved the whole city to anger. To face the *lathi* charges became a point of honour, and in a spirit of martyrdom, volunteers went out in hundreds to be beaten. They gave a display of disciplined, passive courage. But the burly constables, under English officers, inflicted severe punishment for disaffection.¹

The official historian of the Congress also gives an excellent account of the events in Bombay, which is quoted below² :—

" *Wadala Raids* : A succession of raids were also made on the Wadala Salt Depot. On the 22nd, 188 volunteers were arrested and taken to Worli. On the 25th, 100 volunteers were accompanied by a huge crowd of 2,000 spectators. The Police charged them with lathis injuring 17, and later arrested 115. The rest with the crowd got off with the salt. On the 26th afternoon, 65 volunteers were afield and 43 of them were arrested, when 18 more were injured. The rest with the crowd got off with salt. An official Press Note stated that the disturbances that had so far taken place, had been caused largely by the sight-seers who were, unlike the volunteers, not disciplined. The Note warned the public to keep away from Wadala, while the raids were in progress.

" But the most demonstrative raid was to come off on the 1st June for which the War Council was diligently preparing. On the morning of the 1st nearly 15,000 volunteers and non-volunteers participated in the great mass action at Wadala.

" Successive batches marched up to the Port Trust level-crossing and the swelled crowd were held up there by the Police cordon. Soon the raiders, among whom were women and children, broke through the cordon, splashed through slime and mud, and ran over the pans. Congress raiders numbering about 150 were slightly injured. The raiders were repulsed by the Police who were acting under the immediate supervision of the Home Member.

" Serious troubles ending in two police charges and the calling out of the Military to cope with the situation occurred at the Worli Detention Camp on the 3rd June, when about four thousand undertrial Wadala 'Raiders' were involved in a brush with the Police, resulting in about ninety casualties, twenty-five of them being serious."

On June 1930, Motilal Nehru gave an interview to George Slocombe of the London *Daily Herald* which formed the basis for negotiations with Mahatmaji in Yeravada jail. In the interview Motilalji sketched the terms on which the Congress might be prepared to participate in the Round Table Conference. Then followed the correspondence between

¹ *Manchester Guardian*, 12 Jan. 1931.

² Pattabhi Sitaramayya, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 400.

Mr. Slocombe, Tej Bahadur Sapru and Jayakar, who became the intermediaries for approaching the Viceroy (Lord Irwin) on the basis of the terms agreed upon. Sapru and Jayakar met Gandhiji on 3 and 24 July 1930 in jail. Later, there was a conference between the Congress leaders, Gandhi and Sapru and Jayakar in Yeravada. The effort, however, failed as the Government were in no mood to come to terms, but on the contrary forged fresh weapons to suppress the people's will.

Meanwhile the Round Table Conference was convened in London on 12 November 1930. But it was destined to be a futile exercise as the principal party (the Congress) and its leader had boycotted it. It was a *Hamlet* without the Prince of Denmark. The determination and in-built strength of the mass movement, coupled with the futility of the Conference, made it imperative on the part of the Government to soften their policy. Accordingly Gandhiji and all other leaders were released on 25 January 1931, the eve of Independence Day, as it was so celebrated.

Gandhiji's arrival in Bombay was greeted by a very large crowd at the Victoria Terminus from where they drove to Mani Bhavan, the hallowed house. It became a place of pilgrimage, despite the early hours. The enthusiasm of the jubilant people knew no bounds.

January 26, 1931 the first anniversary of Independence Day, was celebrated with great gusto in Bombay. Release of Gandhiji added to the surging enthusiasm of the people. The Mani Bhavan was a scene of jubilation. The momentous day was observed in the city by holding mass meetings which confirmed the resolution of independence, and passed an identical resolution called the Resolution of Remembrance. Gandhiji himself participated in the celebration of Independence Day at Mani Bhavan. The Bombay Provincial Congress Committee had organised a public meeting at Azad Maidan. Although the meeting was announced to begin at 6 p.m., the surging masses began to pour in thousands from 3 p.m. The entire maidan as well as the roads leading to it presented the spectacle of a sea of human beings, a huge *mela* exceeding two lakhs. A platform was improvised with loud-speakers at different centres to enable the audience to hear Gandhiji. Women and children, squatted close to the platform, while the vast mass of people remained squatted or standing around, hundreds of rows deep.

The citizens of Bombay, on the maidan, became so tumultuous that it took nearly half an hour for Gandhiji to reach the platform through a narrow passage made by volunteers and leaders with immense difficulty. The members of the War Council, Sarojini Naidu, Nariman, Munshi, Dr. S. K. Vaidya, etc. strived their utmost to control the tumultuous crowd. Gandhiji reached the dais with great difficulty and remained standing on the special seat for about five minutes. But there appeared to be no sign of the stampede subsiding. The crowds eager to have a *darshan*

of Gandhiji tried to rush towards the platform. Women and children began to scream. The situation became too serious to continue the meeting. Hence the same was announced to be cancelled. It took nearly an hour for the disappointed masses to disperse, while women and children were escorted out along a separate passage. Thirty-three persons were injured in the stampede, while one lady died of suffocation. The eminent leaders including Vallabhbhai Patel, Shankarlal Banker, Jamnalal, Sarojini Naidu, Mathuradas Tricamji, Jivaraj Mehta and Pyarelal Shah strived hard to control the crowds. However, the unprecedented tumultuous craze and zeal of the Bombay crowds to greet the Mahatma, resulted into abandonment of the first anniversary of "Independence Day". Rightly the Esplanade was later named Azad Maidan.

Gandhiji was to leave for Allahabad the same night by train to see Motilal Nehru¹ who was seriously taken ill. In order to avert another tragedy at Bombay V.T., where a huge crowd had assembled to see him off, Gandhiji had to board the train at Dadar. Such was the zeal of the Bombay people during the Civil Disobedience Movement.

It may be necessary to refer briefly to the repercussions of the Solapur (Solapur) Martial Law tragedy in Bombay. The four men convicted for the murder of two policemen in Solapur during the riots in May 1930 were executed on 12 January 1931 and a hartal was observed throughout the Presidency.² In Bombay city bands of agitators indulged in stone throwing and stopping vehicular traffic. The police had to make several lathi charges in the course of the day. Encouraged by this, the BPCC arranged for another demonstration of protest on 16 January against the unjustified and wanton acts of barbaric massacre of innocent people at Solapur. A total hartal was observed, but the imminent violence was averted by the presence of mind of the leaders and the timely action of the police. The BPCC issued a *Bulletin* on the Solapur tragedy, in spite of government ban. (The Solapur agitation is a glorious page in the history of freedom struggle). The agitation continued with little abatement, and it appeared as though the Congress, irritated by the statements of the Viceroy on the future constitution of India, had determined to intensify civil disobedience till the release of leaders.

The War Council of Bombay was so active that it extended its sphere of activity to the rest of the Presidency. While the agitation in Gujarat and Bombay city was almost in unison, it also deputed bands of volunteers to

¹ Motilal Nehru died shortly on 6 February 1931.

² *Bombay—1930-31*, p. iv. (A *Review of Administration of the Presidency* issued by the Bombay Government every year. In this account hereafter the books are referred to as *Bombay*, followed by the year to which they pertain.)

boost up the activity in other areas. For example, about 116 volunteers were deputed to Shiroda¹ in Ratnagiri district, the salt satyagraha at which is another glorious page in the history of freedom struggle.

In February 1931, public attention was, for the most part, directed towards the negotiations between Gandhiji and Lord Irwin. It was generally hoped that a satisfactory agreement would be reached, although the Civil Disobedience Movement was not allowed to slacken. It was apparent, however, that the public showed comparatively less interest in the various demonstrations organised.²

The civil disobedience campaign along with the devastating depression had a great impact on the economy of Bombay. There was a sharp collapse of prices, but with no corresponding fall in the prices of cotton manufactures. The growing imbalance between costs and prices compelled the manufacturers to resort to rationalisation. The invariable concomitance was retrenchment and unemployment. The average daily employment in the Bombay mills dropped from 154,398 to 129,534 in 1932 and to 119,943 in 1933.³ The weapon of boycott had several facets. The lack of a clear-cut boycott policy on the part of the Congress very often created confusions in the city. It was sometimes exploited for the purpose of domestic business competition causing hardships to the consumers and throwing labourers out of employment. Such abuses did occur in Bombay, but not to the extent to which the opposition to the Congress claimed when it made political capital⁴ in relation to the depression. Although the boycott and swadeshi movements might have been beneficial to Bombay during the depression, the Congress image nonetheless suffered in the long run because of them.⁵ The boycott from the point of view of the millowners did involve some problems. They were concerned not only with the tying up of huge capital but also with marketing of their products. The Mulji Jetha Market, the largest one in the country, had been closed either by hartals or picketing for about four months in early 1932. The Bombay Millowners' Association endeavoured to reopen the market through the good offices of Lalji Naranji and other nationalists. However, the police excesses had so much enraged the pickets that it was impossible to achieve the reopening of the markets. Eventually the millowners planned the removal of some shops to the Lakhmidas Market which was to be made wholly swadeshi.⁶ But they were still unable to achieve a complete division of swadeshi and non-swadeshi stores within the Mulji Jetha Market. The boycott by this stage assumed the form of a general

¹ *Congress Bulletins* issued from time to time.

² *Bombay—1930-31*, pp. iv-v.

³ *Bombay Millowners' Association Annual Report*, 1933.

⁴ A. D. D. Gordon, op. cit., p. 208.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 211.

hartal. So it was not until after four months of continuous closure that Sarojini Naidu was finally able to open a special swadeshi wing at the Mulji Jetha Market.¹

The raw cotton market, the most important one in Bombay, was virtually closed, trading being interrupted for 93 out of 159 working days between January and August 1932.² The closure of this market was particularly embarrassing to the Bombay Government. The authorities regarded the closure as a seminal point of Congress activity among the merchants. They were also coming under political pressure from within Britain because of the boycott. Therefore, throughout 1932, the Bombay Government strived very hard to reopen the market. In these attempts the Governor worked on the assumption that it was the cotton brokers who were causing the trouble, while the consumers (millowners) were eager to keep the market open. Hence, the Bombay Government got enacted the Cotton Contracts Act (XV of 1932), which enabled it to interfere in the operations of the East India Cotton Association. It could achieve the enactment by an intensive propaganda campaign to the effect that Congress activities within the market, were causing the slump in the prices of cotton payable to cultivators.

The Civil Disobedience Movement had a great impact on almost all other markets. The arrest of Mahatmaji in January 1932, sparked off sharp reactions in the Share Bazar which was often closed, and processions of businessmen were started from it many times. The closure was also attributed to the uncertain economic climate. It also reflected the fact that share prices were closely related to the political situation. Eventually, the Bombay Government forced the Stock Exchange to open by threatening to rescind the charter of the Bombay Native Share and Stockbrokers' Association.³

The bullion market was also an important centre of disaffection, and it suffered constantly from boycott and hartals. The Marwaris were especially active nationalist campaigners within the Bullion Exchange. The 'distress sale of gold' and Government permission to the export of the precious metal on a large scale, added a sting to the campaign against Government. The Congress placed an embargo on the export of all gold, and eventually the cry 'save India's gold' became a propaganda plank.⁴ The Congress picketing in the bullion market did achieve the objective of reducing distress sale of gold to some extent.

Throughout the turmoil of 1932, the Indian Merchants' Chamber actively supported the Congress activities. It was now entirely controlled

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 212.

² Bombay Legislative Council debates on Cotton Contracts Act of 1932.

³ A. D. D. Gordon, op. cit., p. 215.

⁴ *Congress Bulletin*, 17 October 1932.

by Congressmen under Manmohandas Ramji, Mathuradas Matani and Manu Subedar. It took a very radical measure in squarely condemning Gandhiji's arrest and the Ordinances promulgated by Government.¹

After consultations between the eminent leaders and the CWC in Allahabad and Delhi, the CWC passed a resolution investing Gandhiji with the powers of a plenipotentiary to negotiate a settlement with the Viceroy in the name of the Congress. Gandhiji saw the Viceroy for the first time on 17 February, and had talks with him for about four hours. The deliberations continued for three days, during which Gandhiji demanded an enquiry into police excesses, and the right to picket, a general amnesty, repeal of confiscated property, and reinstatement of all officials who had resigned or were removed from government service.² In the nature of things, the demands were not readily acceptable to the Viceroy. There was a good deal of suspense. The CWC unanimously was of opinion that the negotiations may be broken and renewal of hostilities be agreed. The situation was altogether depressing. After vexatious suspense and consternations, the Gandhi-Irwin Pact was solemnised on 5 March 1931.³ According to the truce the Congress agreed to discontinue civil disobedience, and the Government withdrew all its repressive Ordinances. All the political prisoners, excepting those who were guilty of acts of violence, were released. Provision was made for the restoration of confiscated, forfeited or attached properties, except in certain circumstances, and administrative concession was given to prepare salt in some areas. The Congress endorsed this 'provisional settlement' at its next annual session at Karachi in March 1931.

Gandhiji visited Bombay in the third week of March for a couple of days. He was accorded a very hearty and warm welcome. The two days' crowded programme kept him incessantly busy and even on Monday, the day of silence, he could get no rest or sleep, having to listen to numerous interviewers. An important interview with Subhash Chandra Bose kept him busy until half past two the next morning. After about an hour's sleep, he was up again for the morning prayer, having thus kept awake 23 out of 24 hours of that day. Interviews began again soon after the prayer, and the whole day was fully occupied with interviews and public meetings. The reception that the citizens of Bombay gave to the Mahatma, was magnificent.⁴

There was a conference of Desh Sevikas who had done a praise-worthy constructive work during the Civil Disobedience Movement by picketing

¹ Thakurdas Papers, F. 107 (3).

² Pattabhi Sitaramayya, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 432.

³ Government of India, Home Department Notification, dated 5 March 1931.

⁴ *Gandhiji and Mani Bhavan* (Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, Bombay, 1959), p. 25.

liquor shops and foreign cloth shops. Gandhiji called on Shaikat Ali who was in the city and discussed with him the communal problem.¹

A deputation of Indian merchants consisting of the eminent businessmen and politicians in the city, such as Walchand Hirachand, Chunilal Mehta, Hussainbhai Lalji, Shantikumar Morarji, J. K. Mehta, Mansukhlal Master, K. S. R. Iyer, etc. called on Gandhiji.² They urged him for seeking political protection for Indian industries against British and foreign competition. They were advised to carry on their agitation, assuring them that the Congress would strive to support their case at an opportune time. A deputation of millowners comprising Homi Mody, F. E. Dinshaw, G. D. Birla, Sir Victor Sassoon, C. R. Wadia, Lalji Naranji and N. B. Saklatwala,³ also conferred with Gandhiji. They laid before him the unfairness of the terms imposed by the Congress Boycott Committee on the Indian-owned mills. They also complained about the difficulties faced by the foreign cloth sellers in the city, in the wake of the activities of the civil resisters. They also pleaded for Gandhiji's support to the demand for the abolition of the excise duty on mill cloth. An agreement was reached between them regarding a scheme for disposal of stock of foreign piecegoods with a view to enabling the marketeers to deal in indigenous piecegoods.⁴

A mammoth public meeting was organised on the Azad Maidan by the BPCC. It was one of the biggest rallies ever held in the city, and the entire environ of the maidan gave the spectacle of a seething mass of humanity. There was boundless excitement and tumultuous enthusiasm among the audience. However, within a short time after Gandhiji started his speech, pandemonium broke out among the crazy audience, and the meeting, like the one on a former occasion, had to be abandoned.⁵

The Congress Camp at Vile Parle, the performance of which was magnificent during the entire movement, was honoured by Gandhiji by a prolonged visit. He was presented with an address and a purse of Rs. 52,465 contributed by the suburbs⁶ for the national cause.

Some of the terms of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact appear to have caused some disappointment in certain quarters, though the pact was generally upheld in the city. They argued that the release of all political prisoners, including the Meerut Conspiracy prisoners and the revolutionaries

¹ K. Gopalswami, op. cit., p. 257.

² Ibid. It is essential to mention this event because all these forces were connected with the Civil Disobedience Movement.

³ There were also a couple of millowners from Ahmedabad among them.

⁴ K. Gopalswami, op. cit., p. 258.

⁵ Ibid., p. 258.

⁶ Ibid., p. 259.

namely, Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev and Rajguru,¹ ought to have been made a pre-condition of the agreement. The Communists, in particular, were highly disappointed. Some young Communists even disturbed Gandhiji's meeting in the labour area. After admonishing them, he explained why he could not make their release a pre-condition for the agreement.

The execution of Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev and Rajguru at the Lahore jail, cast a gloomy shadow over Bombay as also over the Karachi Congress assemblage. The city mourned the execution of the three martyrs, and observed a partial hartal on 24 March 1931. Schools, cloth markets and many mills remained closed. A procession of ladies with black flags marched through many localities in the city. Youngmen and students tried to stop traffic which involved the use of police force. A large rally was convened at Azad Maidan by Nariman, Ganapatishankar Desai and Umashankar Dixit,² to mourn the execution of the heroic martyrs and express wrath against the bureaucracy which had repugned Gandhiji's pleading to commute the death sentence.

Meanwhile propaganda against Government was continued with unabated vigour in the city. Numerous public meetings were held at which stress was laid on the necessity of keeping alive the struggle for freedom. Measures for the boycott of foreign cloth, particularly British goods, were improved upon. Picketing was revived on an intensive scale. Special attention was directed towards the reorganisation of the Hindustan Seva Dal as an auxiliary to the Congress. The enlistment of volunteers was intensified.³

After the Karachi Congress of March 1931 Gandhiji came to Bombay on 18 April 1931 to bid farewell to Lord Irwin, the retiring Viceroy,⁴ and presumably to talk about the ensuing Round Table Conference. He also discussed the issues regarding implementation of the truce terms with Frederick Sykes, the Governor. The points discussed related to restoration of the confiscated landed and other property to owners, by Government, and release of the residual political prisoners for their part in the Civil Disobedience Movement in Bombay, Solapur and Chirner.⁵ The Municipal Corporation presented a civic address to Gandhiji, for the second time. The address was in appreciation of Gandhiji's efforts at establishing peace and goodwill among different communities, the statesman-like truce with the Viceroy, and evolving a basis for attainment

¹ They were sentenced to death for the murder of Mr. Saunders on 13 September 1928, in the Lahore Conspiracy Case.

² K. Gopalswami, op. cit., p. 259.

³ *Bombay—1931-32*, pp. i-ii.

⁴ *Gandhiji and Mani Bhavan*, op. cit., p. 26.

⁵ *Times of India*, 19 April 1931.

of national freedom. The address, read out by Boman Behram, the mayor, also displayed the rich civic traditions evolved by the Corporation and the splendid part the citizens played in the struggle for freedom.

The hostile attitude of the bureaucracy and the absence of communal understanding after the Gandhi-Irwin Pact raised doubts about the efficacy of the proposed Round Table Conference. Gandhiji expressed his premonition of what was likely to take place in the conference, in the Bombay meeting of the CWC on 9 June 1931. But the majority of the CWC prevailed upon him that non-participation of the Congress in the conference would amount to playing into the hands of the enemy. Hence he, as the sole representative of the Congress, decided to set out for London after talks between himself and the new Viceroy, Lord Willingdon. A special passport mentioning his profession as Barrister-at-Law, although he had been debarred from the roll of Barristers in November 1922, was issued instantly by the Bombay Government. He sailed to London from Bombay on 29 August 1931 by the *S. S. Rajputana*. The enthusiasm of the people of Bombay on the occasion knew no bounds, although he had his own premonition about the venture. The distinguished gathering to wish bon voyage to him included Kasturba, Vallabhbhai, Maniben Patel, K. M. Munshi, Bhulabhai Desai, Jivaraj Mehta, Purshottamdas Thakurdas, Ibrahim Rahimtoola, Homi Mody, Kasturbhai Lalbhai, C. V. Mehta, etc.¹

A few days prior to his departure, the millowners of Bombay led by Homi Mody, had pleaded with Gandhiji that, while the Indian mills were asked not to use artificial silk yarn, there was a glut of Japanese cloth made from the same quality of yarn. This was harmful to the interests of Indian mills. Gandhiji exhorted them to bear with these difficulties which were due to the Congress anxiety to make the country self-dependent, by utilising indigenous cotton. It was, therefore, proposed to strive for increase in tariff against Japanese fabrics in the future.² This was the burning question in the industrial section in the city, during the times.

P. Balu, a well-known cricketer, led a deputation of the depressed classes to Mahatma Gandhi in the city on 26 June 1931.

In the mean time, a bold attempt was made by a student on the life of Sir Ernest Hotson, the Acting Governor of Bombay, when, accompanied by his wife, he visited the Fergusson College at Pune at the invitation of the college authorities. The Governor had, however, a providential escape owing to the defective ammunition.³

¹ K. Gopalswami, op. cit., p. 264.

² Ibid., p. 263.

³ The assailant was sentenced to eight years' rigorous imprisonment under the I.P.C. and to two years' rigorous imprisonment under Arms Act (*A Review of Administration of the Presidency, 1931-32*, p. ii).

More Repression : After the resumption of Viceroyalty by Lord Willingdon, there was no peace in sight, although weapons were laid down. The bureaucracy, jealous to preserve its supremacy, started to feel that the pact was an affront to them. Peaceful picketing against liquor was not allowed at unlicensed places and hours. Many prisoners were not released. Several *watan* lands were not restored. Several government servants were not reinstated. The Solapur Martial Law prisoners, in respect of whose release Lord Irwin had made a definite promise, were not released. The flagrant breach of the truce committed by Government at Bardoli, was a bitter reality. The response of the Governor of Bombay was altogether disappointing. The Simla authorities supported the Bombay Government.¹ There was nothing wanting to fill the Congress leaders with utter despair. The horizon was as black as it possibly could be. The Government also rejected Gandhiji's request for an impartial tribunal to decide upon matters of interpretation of the settlement between the Government and the Congress that might be submitted to it from time to time. There were arrests galore, and patriotic fervour in all forms was suppressed with all the might. In fact the CWC which met in Bombay in the first week of November 1931, arrived at a conclusion that Gandhiji's further participation in the Round Table Conference was unwarranted. The situation deteriorated rapidly. Abdul Ghaffar Khan was arrested on December 24, and Jawaharlal Nehru on 26, two days before Gandhiji's arrival from London. Gandhiji returned to Bombay, full of frustration on 28 December 1931. The situation in the country was grave. Government repression was continuing and the people were groaning under a plethora of Ordinances as a challenge to the Congress.

Gandhiji was welcomed by representatives of all provinces and the people of Bombay, with an unprecedented enthusiasm. The road from Ballard Pier to Mani Bhavan was gaily decorated. People thronged streets and rushed to Ballard Pier to welcome him. Rows of volunteers strived hard to keep order in the multitudes throughout the route.² The grand plan of reception arranged by the BPCC was abandoned due to the several arrests and prevailing political atmosphere. "That day the men-folk of Bombay were on the roads and the women-folk were gathered on the balconies of the sky-scrappers of the city."³ He conferred with Vallabhbhai Patel (the Congress president), Subhas Babu and other members of the CWC. The committee was advised by Gandhiji to defer their decision that further negotiations with Government were useless. He addressed

¹ The correspondence between Gandhiji and the Viceroy, the Home Secretary to Government of India (Mr. H. W. Emerson) and the Bombay Government from June 1931 onwards reveals the stubborn attitude of the Government towards the implementation of the truce. (Extracts quoted by Pattabhi Sitaramayya, pp. 471-79).

² *Gandhiji and Mani Bhavan*, op. cit., p. 30.

³ Pattabhi Sitaramayya, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 509.

a mass meeting the same evening at Azad Maidan. He condemned the Government's attempt to unman a whole race, and repeated that he would not have the dismemberment of the 'untouchables' from the Hindu fold. The Civil Disobedience Movement was not to be renewed till he had a chance of ascertaining the Government's view before renewing the struggle.

The entire country was passing through dire distress and depression. But unfortunately the communal elements and the moderate mentality in India seemed to have practised vivisection and enacted scenes at the Round Table.¹ The commercial community represented at the conference by Mr. Benthall, issued a confidential circular purporting as under : Gandhiji and the (Indian) Federated Chamber of Commerce were unable to obtain a single concession, he failed to settle the communal problem; the Muslims had become firm allies of the Europeans.² Many such things ensured the failure of the conference.

Resumption of Civil Disobedience : Gandhiji sent a cable to the Viceroy from Mani Bhavan on 29 December asking whether the Ordinances, shootings in the Frontier Province, and arrests of esteemed persons, were an indication of the end of friendly relations. There was a further exchange of telegrams between Gandhiji and the Viceroy.³ The CWC was continually in session in Bombay. The end of the truce was at hand.

Meanwhile Congress leaders were already discounting the results achieved by the Round Table Conference, and were actively engaged in consolidating their position by preparation for a revival of the Civil Disobedience campaign. "Their preparation had reached a stage at which orderly government was seriously menaced....."⁴

In fact the truce period was a period of preparation on the part of Government for renewed hostilities, the outbreak of which was imminent any time. While the Government began where they had left, the Congress had to begin it all over again. Repressive measures were rampant. Several persons in Bombay were subjected to inhuman torture. New occasions called for new Ordinances, and a series of them were promulgated. Besides the five Ordinances of December 1931, four new ones were promulgated by the Government of India on 4 January 1932 known as, (1) Emergency Powers Ordinance, (2) Unlawful Instigation Ordinance, (3) Unlawful Association Ordinance, and (4) Prevention of Molestation and Boycott Ordinance. The bureaucracy was conferred with unlimited powers. Special Courts, Summary Courts, special procedures and special punishments were provided. The bureaucratic leviathan arrogated plenipotentiary

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 510.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 519-20.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 511-19.

⁴ *Bombay—1931-32*, p. iii.

powers to itself.¹ They covered almost every activity of Indian life. They were drawn up in that comprehensive form because the Government sincerely believed that they were threatened with an attack on the whole basis of Government.² All the Ordinances and repressive measures were, in fact, under contemplation even in the year of truce (1931). The fact is that the Bombay Branch of the European Association³ and the Bombay Chamber of Commerce were pressing the Government to take firm and immediate action in the event of a recrudescence of the Civil Disobedience Movement. They made specific suggestions that the Congress flag should be forbidden and likewise all parading of volunteers, and that all former civil disobedience men should, forthwith, be brought under restraint, be treated as enemy subjects in war, and interned. They demanded that Congress funds should be stopped at the source and unearthed by a special Ordinance. The mills favourable to the Congress should be denied railway transit of goods, and no one should be permitted to benefit financially from political agitation and boycott.⁴

Under these circumstances the course of events was destined to be what it was. The CWC had no illusions about Government's intentions. It was continually in session in the Mani Bhavan, and it had to take a fateful decision to call upon the nation to resume Civil Disobedience Movement including non-payment of taxes, under twelve conditions.

In the meanwhile the Viceroy, Lord Willingdon replied to Gandhiji on 2 January 1932, stating that the Government would take all measures necessary to put down all subversive activities, and refused to grant him interview which he had demanded under the threat of revival of the Civil Disobedience Movement.⁵ The Working Committee could read the writing on the wall. Gandhiji gave the following message to the country through the press: "The nation must now respond to the challenge of the Government. It is to be hoped, however, that whilst the people belonging to all classes and creeds will courageously and in all humility, go through the fiery ordeal considering no price too dear and no suffering too great, they will observe strictest non-violence in thought, word and deed, no matter how great the provocation may be Our quarrel is not with men but with measures."

¹ Even Sir Samuel Hoare, the Secretary of State for India, had to admit in the House of Commons, on 26 March 1932, that the Ordinances were very drastic and severe.

² Pattabhi Sitaramayya, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 523-25.

³ Its Secretary had written a letter to the Secretary, Home Department, Government of Bombay on 15 October 1931 to deal firmly with the civil resisters and Congressmen.

⁴ Pattabhi Sitaramayya, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 526.

⁵ *Mahatma Gandhi in Maharashtra, 1915-1946* (Gazetteers Department, Government of Maharashtra, 1980), p. 214.

Representatives of almost all the important merchants' associations in Bombay came to see Gandhiji at Mani Bhavan and to discuss the future programme and how best they could help the work of the Congress. The prayer gathering went on swelling at the terrace of Mani Bhavan. Gandhiji gave the following message to an American press correspondent: "On the eve of embarking on what promises to be a deadly struggle, I would expect the numerous American friends to watch its career and use the influence of the great nation for the sake of oppressed humanity. This Indian struggle is more than national. It has an international value and importance."¹

A deputation of the Welfare of India League, of which Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas was a president, waited on Gandhiji in their bid to avert the crisis by impressing upon Sir Frederick Sykes, the Governor, to arrange for a meeting between the Viceroy and Gandhiji. The latter agreed to their efforts, and said that it should be absurd for the head of a State to refuse to see a public-man. The Viceroy had placed himself completely in the wrong. The pleading of the delegation with the Governor was absolutely of no avail as the latter probably had the mind of the Viceroy, and he disposed them off with a mono sentence.

The impending arrest of Gandhiji was very much in the air in the city. He put before the public the plan of action to be put into effect in the event of his arrest.

Leading Liberals and merchants in the city continued to come to Mani Bhavan on 3 January 1932. They entreated Vallabhbbhai Patel to persuade Gandhiji to postpone his proposed departure to Ahmedabad. They were all in communication with the Viceroy, and desired that, if the Viceroy permitted their deputation to wait on him, Gandhiji should be available for consultations. Gandhiji agreed and postponed his departure. But this was all futile.²

The day was spent by Gandhiji in giving interviews and messages to various organisations and in drafting a comprehensive resolution for the Indian Merchants' Chamber, the members of which had stood solidly by him during these days of trial.³ A message was also given to the Indian Christian followers of the Prince of Peace, which insisted that his word must reach the community before he was imprisoned.

The Government of India was making elaborate arrangements and sending secret instructions to the Bombay Government for Gandhiji's imminent arrest. A telegram from Bombay Home Special to Home, New Delhi, was sent on 2 January 1932—"Bombay Government consider it important to arrest Gandhi as soon as possible. . . . He is said to be

¹ *Gandhiji and Mani Bhavan*, p. 34.

² *ibid.*, p. 36.

³ *Ibid.*

leaving Bombay on Monday night and his arrest en route is considered by far the easiest method of avoiding publicity and excitement.... Bombay Government, therefore, wish to be allowed discretion to arrest at first favourable opportunity." The Home Department conveyed to the Bombay Government on 3 January the Government of India's permission to use their full discretion in the matter.

The expected did happen. Gandhiji was arrested in his tent on the terrace of Mani Bhavan in the small hours of the morning of January 4, 1932, when the nation was sleeping. The arrest¹ was effected personally by the Police Commissioner of Bombay, Mr. Wilson,² at 3 a.m. when the Mani Bhavan was fast asleep. As Devdas Gandhi woke his father and broke the news to him, Gandhiji smiled. It was Monday, his day of silence. He listened to the prayer, wrote out farewell messages and instructions to his associates, and quietly took his seat in the police car within 35 minutes. He was cheered by the crowd which by then had collected outside Mani Bhavan. He was taken by car to Yeravada prison to be placed under restraint "during the pleasure of Government".

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, the president of the Congress, too was arrested the same morning, and detained with Gandhiji.

The events of 1932-33 ran on much the same lines as those of 1930-31. Only the fight was more intensive and more determined. The repression was ever so much more ruthless and the suffering was ever so much more deep. The BPCC, the District Congress Committees in the city, National Schools and many other institutions were declared unlawful, and their houses, furniture and funds and other moveables seized. Most of the leading Congressmen in the city were suddenly clapped into jails.

The Congress organisation was thus apparently left without leaders, without funds, and even without any local habitation. The Congressmen who had been left behind were not, in spite of this sudden and determined swoop, without resources. Every one took up the work wherever he happened to be.

Leaderless, the people burst out into strikes, hartals and defiance of prohibitory orders, boycotts and picketing, leading to mass arrests. Following the promulgation of the Ordinances, wholesale arrests of Congress leaders of Bombay were made by the Police. The arrests were carried out mostly before day-break when people were still in bed. Thus, any public demonstrations were rendered impossible during the arrest

¹ The warrant of arrest was worded as under, "Whereas the Governor in Council, for good and sufficient reasons, has under the powers vested in him by Bombay Regulation XXV of 1827 resolved that Mr. Mohanchand Karamchand Gandhi shall be placed under restraint in the Yeravada Central Prison during the pleasure of Government."

² He was accompanied by Pettigara, Hurst and Kamat.

and the transport of the arrested persons to police vans and cars to the different police stations for detection. Leaders in the suburbs were also arrested. The Congress Working Committee had been declared illegal by an Ordinance. By another Ordinance, the launching of civil disobedience campaigns, picketing and boycott of foreign goods were declared illegal. The Congress House was taken possession of by the police and a Union Jack was hoisted on the flag post.¹

Bombay city observed a complete hartal on Gandhiji's arrest. An imposing procession in which thousands of men and women participated, started from the Congress House in the afternoon, and after wending its way through important thoroughfares in the city, terminated in a mass meeting at the Azad Maidan. K. F. Nariman, who presided, exhorted the citizens of Bombay to carry on the non-violent struggle till freedom was won. Meetings were held by the different ward committees condemning Gandhiji's arrest.²

Bombay city was divided into seven wards, each with its local organising "Dictator", and by the end of March 1932, twenty emergency councils had been arrested. As the organisation became more diffused, the police found greater difficulty in suppressing it. In February/March 1933, they raided various Congress propaganda centres in Bombay, seizing typewriters and duplicating machines, and arresting several Gujarati youths and a barrister, A. K. Amin, who, they believed, was the principal organiser. However, these swoops only stopped the circulation of the *Bombay Congress Bulletin* for short periods.³

After the arrest of men, women were chosen as "dictators". Janakidevi Bajaj exhibited an uncommon valour. She used to address the rallies in Gujarati, Marathi and Hindi, and became personally acquainted with most women in the suburbs.

The Congress offices and institutions seized by Government were attempted to be won over by "raids" of satyagrahis who were brutally beaten by the police. Under the Ordinances, publicity through the Press was totally prohibited to the Congress. This handicap was got over by the issue of unauthorised bulletins and leaflets, which were typed, cyclostyled, sometimes printed secretly, or handwritten. It is noteworthy that in spite of police vigilance, these bulletins were regularly issued and they furnished detailed information to the people. The service of

¹ K. Gopalswami, op. cit., p. 280.

² Ibid., p. 280. Mr. Gopalswami was then the Bombay correspondent of a foreign news agency and was an eye-witness to the movement.

³ Judith M. Brown, *Gandhi and Civil Disobedience: The Mahatma in Indian Politics, 1928-1934* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1977), pp. 287-88. Since two books of this author have been referred to in this Volume, this book will hereafter be quoted after the author as *Gandhi and Civil Disobedience*.

the post-office and the telegraphs was denied to the Congress. Hence it established its own postal communication. Sometimes the volunteers carrying postal articles were detected and severely punished. This system which had really been started towards the second part of the movement of 1930, was almost perfected in 1932.

The imperialistic Government responded to the resumption of civil disobedience with the brutal measures. They had prepared to squash all manifestations of the campaign and neutralize its guiding organisations and individuals, in stark contrast to the 1930 policy of using just enough force to control the situation. The four Ordinances they had in readiness were promulgated on 4 January 1932, and from that date the AICC, the CWC, the BPCC and many other organisations were banned, and leading Congressmen were swiftly incarcerated. In January, 2,273 persons in the Bombay Presidency were convicted, 2,892 in February, 1,185 in March and 1,482 in April. Between January 1932 and April 1933 as many as 14,101 persons including 939 women were convicted in the Presidency. The convicts formed 0.064 per cent of the 1931 population in the Presidency. This percentage was many times higher than that in other provinces.¹

The share of Bombay was very high in this series of measures as the campaign was most intense in the city. The vigorous offensive against the Congress on all fronts, combined with the authoritative control exercised over the press, seemingly enabled the Government to restore peace. As per Government reports, the Ordinances were promulgated to enable the authorities to discharge their duty towards the people and to save them from the consequences of the Civil Disobedience Movement. Even by the steady pressure maintained on all forms of Congress activity, the movement was not under control in Bombay city.

The Government utilised the powers under the Ordinances to enable it to collect its revenue in the city. The political ferment made a definite impact on college students, and much less students passed the Matriculation examination.² Almost every revenue producing department of Government was affected by the Civil Disobedience Movement, which, on the other hand, necessitated an increased expenditure on the police and jails. The principal cause, however, of the disastrous deterioration in the finances of Government was the tremendous slump in agricultural prices, combined with the continued trade depression. The economic landslide was continuing in full force, throughout 1931-32, though the depression eased slightly in 1932-33. The severity of its impact may be gauged from one example. Exports of raw cotton, Bombay's chief export commodity, slumped down to Rs. 16 crores in 1931-32 as

¹ J. M. Brown, *Gandhi and Civil Disobedience*, pp. 282-86.

² *Bombay—1931-32*, pp. iii-v.

against Rs. 48 crores in 1928-29. As cotton comprised about 50 per cent of the total exports, it can easily be realised to what depths the export trade had dwindled.¹

In 1931-32, Bombay's imports were down by nearly 13 per cent on the previous year, most commodities falling in quantity and value. In 1932-33 there was an improvement of 9 per cent in value. Exports fell by nearly 41 per cent in value in 1931-32; in the subsequent year exports dwindled again by 26 per cent in value. The fall in exports was despite the large shipment of distress gold which was in consequence to the economic plight of the people, the British suspension of the gold standard and the rise in the sterling price of gold. The entrepot trade declined in both the years. Yet another indicator of the plight of Bombay's premier industry was the collection of income-tax and super tax from the textile millowners. In 1931-32, only Rs. 13 lakhs were collected, compared with Rs. 15 lakhs the previous year, in spite of an increase of almost 50 per cent in the rate. As many as 27 mills in the city were incurring operational losses during the year, while in the next year many mills had closed due to non-disposal of their stocks in the adverse market conditions.²

Atrocities : The bureaucracy used all the powers conferred upon it by the Ordinances. But there were certain other forms of repression which even the brute Ordinances had not contemplated. The arrests were made in large numbers, but they were made with deliberate discrimination. It soon became apparent that, despite camp jails and temporary jails being opened, the satyagrahis that offered themselves for arrest could not all be accommodated. Hence, only Congressmen of organising ability were ordinarily imprisoned. The people had believed that most of the civil resisters would, by reason of their education, social status and mode of living, fall in class 'B' at least. Graduates, professors, lawyers, editors, businessmen, rich landlords, and philanthropic workers were all thrown into the 'C' class. The conditions of prison life were intolerable for those patriots who had sought imprisonment for the sake of their convictions and the noble cause of freedom. The temporary jails were filthy horrible places, although the conditions in the permanent jails were not much better.

The lathi-charges were very often indiscriminate and inhuman. In many places, the injuries caused were serious and the number of those injured large. The peaceful satyagrahis also did not escape assaults by the police. Unmentionable atrocities and tortures were perpetrated, the cruelty of which varied with the resourcefulness or callousness of the concerned police officers. Even women and children were not spared.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. vi.

² J. M. Brown, *Gandhi and Civil Disobedience*, pp. 293-94.

In certain cases, heavy fines, sometimes rising to four or even five figures, were imposed on conviction. Many were subjected to extra-legal and even illegal harassment.

It may be unnecessary to burden this narration with details. It would also be invidious to mention names of persons and individuals who were the victims of atrocities. In the midst of all this havoc and terror, one thing stands out most prominently. Never did the people resort to any serious acts of violence, and the lesson of non-violence had gone deep down, and enabled the movement to be continued for long; and this too in the face of the very negation of all laws and civilized Government. All open means of communication having been closed, the Congress workers, with their resourcefulness, proved quite a match to the widespread ramifications of the Police—ordinary, special and secret. The campaign was never allowed to starve of funds. The anonymous donor paid without knowing to whom he paid. Strict accounts were maintained even in those exciting times.

Repression had crossed legitimate limits. A governmental terrorism was spreading through the land. Both English and Indian officials behaved in a brutal manner. The latter were becoming demoralized by reason of Government regarding as meritorious any disloyalty to the people and inhuman conduction towards their own kith and kin. They were being cowed down. Free speech had been stifled. Women, the Desh Sevikas, who had been inspired by public service, had their honour being insulted. All this was done in order to crush the spirit of freedom. Repression was not confined to punishment for civil breaches of common law. It goaded people to break newly issued orders for the most part to humiliate them.¹

The Government justified its actions in various ways. The Police Commissioner of Bombay, for example, styled his actions in the city, as a smashing drive against the forces of murder, anarchy and disruption concentrated in the alien domination of India.² Flogging in jails was a daily occurrence. The atrocities in the North West Frontier Province sparked off undaunted demonstrations in Bombay. Pathans and their Hindu brethren showed an invincing solidarity behind the call given by Gandhiji and Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan.³ A spate of intense hostility rose in Bombay against the police brutalities in Surat district, and the attachment of the Swaraj Ashram and the Bardoli Ashram by Government. The Ashram lads were persecuted. Even the Mahatma's hut at Karadi near Dandi was burnt by police. This was bound

¹ Gandhiji's letter to Sir Samuel Hoare, from Yeravada Prison, 11 March 1932.

² Sir Patrick Kelly, Police Commissioner, to R. M. Maxwell, I.C.S., Secretary to Government of Bombay, Home Department (Special), 1 March 1932.

³ Bombay Provincial Congress Committee Leaflet dated 24 February 1932, entitled *Frontier Atrocities*.

to agitate the people of Bombay. Many were imprisoned. But, imprisonment failed miserably to daunt them. Hence the police started to resort to personal violence. The Home Member of Bombay Government, Sir Muhamed Usman, gave an honest although a Machiavellian explanation in the Legislative Council: "The prisons are getting overcrowded which means that the whole situation in India has got nearly out of control and the Government is finding it very difficult to manage it."¹

Despite repression and suppression, the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee had been functioning openly through successive 'Emergency Councils' and 'Dictators'. The members of the councils and the dictators were imprisoned and convicted, but there were others in the field to fill the void. They were in supreme command, in the city, and their names were published and known to public. The *Bombay Congress Bulletin*, which was published almost daily, had been the Bombay citizen's only guide and philosopher from January 1932.² Many volunteers were convicted under Section 18 (I)-XXIII of 1930 for distributing the unauthorised news-sheets and sentenced to prolonged rigorous imprisonment.

After the arrest of Gandhiji in the small hours of 4 January 1932, the Desh Sevika Sangh made a splendid contribution to the success of the swadeshi and boycott. Sarojini Naidu, Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya, Hansa Mehta, Perin Captain, Avantikabai Gokhale, Lilavati Munshi, and many others gave an exemplary account of their work in organising heroic but peaceful picketing in favour of swadeshi and boycott of foreign cloth. They also conducted a movement against foreign liquor and the drinking habit. The Mulji Jetha Market, the biggest cloth mart in the country, was paralysed for more than three months till Sarojini Naidu inaugurated the swadeshi wing in the market on 7 April 1932. About the inaugural ceremony, the *Bombay Chronicle*³ writes: A fervent exhortation was made to merchants to stand by the Swadeshi creed and help the country achieve freedom. Every shop flew a tri-colour national flag. There were about 110 shops in the wing and every merchant took a pledge to deal in swadeshi cloth only. Bombay merchants stood solidly behind the patriots who had courted sufferings. A hundred more shops were opened at the Mulji Jetha Market on 11 April under supervision and inspection of a saffron-saried Brigade of Women. It was due to the determination of merchants to convert the market into a purely swadeshi one that they were able to declare another portion to deal in swadeshi cloth. The credit was solely due to the efforts of women volunteers.⁴

¹ *Congress Bulletin*, 29 Feb. 1932.

² *Bombay Congress Bulletin*, 2 April 1932.

³ *Bombay Chronicle*, 8 April 1932.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 12 April 1932.

Besides the *Bombay Congress Bulletin*, the *Congress Prabhat Patrika*, the *Kamgar Bulletin*, and the *Bombay University Students' Bulletin* were also published occasionally. The Congress Prabhat Patrika Press at Dongri was raided by the Police on 23 March 1932.¹

From the Daily Reports² of Sir Patrick Kelly, Police Commissioner of Bombay, to R. M. Maxwell, Secretary to Government of Bombay, Home Department (Special), a detailed account of the events in Bombay is available. These accounts read along with the issues of the *Bombay Congress Bulletin*, many other bulletins and the *Bombay Chronicle* enable us to write a succinct history of the Civil Disobedience Movement in Bombay. The present author has attempted to furnish such a succinct history, although briefly, in the above pages as well as in the subsequent pages.

After the incarceration of Gandhiji on 4 January 1932, the Emergency Councils of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee became very active in the city. 'Dictators' were appointed for each ward and each District Congress Committee in the city. They conducted an intensive campaign and picketing. Both men and women participated in the same, and courted imprisonment with an undaunted spirit. Picketing of foreign cloth shops was almost a daily affair. The particular venues of picketing of foreign cloth shops were the Mulji Jetha Market, Mangaldas Market and Shaikh Memon Street, Lakhmidas Market, Hornby Road, Esplanade Road, Musjid Bunder Road, Chakla Street, Ralli Bros. godown at Ahmedabad Street, Tarachand Motichand's godown at Carnac Road, Chira Bazar, Charni Road, and Haines and DeLisle Roads. The Bhendi Bazar, although comparatively complacent, also participated in the picketing on a couple of occasions. As a result of picketing, the four big cloth markets, namely Mulji Jetha, Lakhmidas, Mangaldas and Morarji were paralysed for considerable time on several occasions. The arrest of Dr. Jivaraj Mehta and Mrs. Hansa Mehta on 2 March 1932, of Nariman, K. M. Munshi and Mrs. Perin Captain, three days later, of Jamnalal Bajaj on the 14th, of Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya on 6 April, of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu on 23 April and of Madan Mohan Malaviya on the 24th April, were but a few occasions³ when those markets along with many others observed a spontaneous hartal. The swadeshi wing was expanded gradually under the strict vigilance of the Desh Sevika Sangh. They were particularly vigilant that none of the complacent

¹ Police Commissioner to Secretary, Home Dept., Bombay, Daily Reports.

² The Daily Reports, secret as they are, have been preserved in the Office of the Police Commissioner. These Reports are maintained for a period from March 1930 to 1934.

³ It is not the intention of the present author to give a burdensome account of the several events of dislocation of trade and closure of markets, which were a regular feature of the period.

traders should deal in foreign cloth under the guise of swadeshi cloth. The breaches, negligible though they were, were dealt with instantly. By and large, the merchants stood solidly behind the patriots and contributed money for financing the campaigns. It is remarkable that the Bombay Millowners' Association with Government help had earlier tried to open the Mulji Jetha Market on 16 March 1932 with all the means at their disposal. But their efforts were futile and fruitless.¹ Public opinion under Congress leadership was strongly against opening the Mulji Jetha Market. The millowners' attempts to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds failed.²

European business in Bombay was dashed to pieces. The British Press in India and England showed dire anxiety for the situation in Bombay. The cotton market, the biggest among the city markets, was totally paralysed and brought to shambles. The patriotic cotton brokers, particularly the Gujaratis, Marwaris and Jains, stood fervently behind the movement. Numerous cotton brokers were imprisoned, which further intensified the closure of the Cotton Green. The Bombay Cotton Brokers' Association which was under domination of the Gandhian movement foiled all attempts of the Bombay Government in general and the Governor, Frederick Sykes, in particular, to open the market from time to time.³ G. B. Pradhan, the Finance Member of the Bombay Government, convened a meeting of 60 persons interested in the cotton trade, at the Council Hall.⁴ They included millowners like Purshottamdas Thakurdas, H. P. Mody, Phiroze Sethna, Pochkhanwalla and F. E. Dinshaw.⁵ Sir Purshottamdas said that the cotton market be opened and hartal prevented. All the speakers expressed their deep concern at the state of cotton trade and the city. There would be diversion of trade from the city which would jeopardize the very existence of Bombay as the premier city in India. The millowners had secret and treasonable negotiations with the Secretariat in Bombay as well as the Central Secretariat in New Delhi for the pursuit of their vested interests in cotton business and against the Congress.⁶ They were, however, only partially successful under the guise of championing the cause of the cotton growers in the Presidency, who were suffering badly due to the miserable slump in cotton prices. Accordingly, the Bombay Cotton Brokers' Association under pressures from the vested interests as well as the Governments at Bombay and New Delhi, resolved

¹ Patrick Kelly to R. M. Maxwell, 17 March 1932.

² *Congress Bulletin*, 21 March 1932.

³ Details are given in the section on Businessmen and Civil Disobedience.

⁴ *Times of India*, 22 March 1932.

⁵ They had earlier been denigrated as hypocrites by the *Congress Bulletin* of 29 Feb. 1932.

⁶ *Congress Bulletin*, 28 March 1932.

to transact business for three days in a week to facilitate the sale of cotton growers' produce, under certain conditions. But normal trade could not be restored.¹

Another target of picketing and demonstrations was the Bullion Exchange and the exports of gold. As stated elsewhere in this Chapter, huge quantities of gold and silver were sold under conditions of economic distress and the Great Depression in the Presidency, as in the country. This coincided with the abandonment of the gold standard in England resulting into devaluation of the pound sterling in terms of the rupee. Consequently there was a huge shipment of Indian 'distress gold' from Bombay. The Congress saw in it a miserable impoverishment of India, and launched an agitation against the export of gold and silver from the Bombay Port. There was intensive picketing, almost daily, at the Bullion Exchange, gold and silver shops at the Shaikh Memon Street, the Mint and many foreign exchange banks. The particular targets of picketing were the Ralli Bros. Office and five exchange banks in the city, namely, Mercantile, Eastern, National, French and P. & O. Banks. The volunteers also boycotted the bullion merchants who were responsible for selling gold and getting the Congress volunteers arrested by police.² There were hartals in the Bullion Exchange on several occasions. The Javeri Bazar also observed spontaneous hartals very often.

The chemist and druggist shops were also a target of the Congress volunteers. The common venues of picketing were the shops on the Princess Street, Lohar Chawl and Shaikh Memon Street. The police used to compel the owners to open the shops, while the volunteers were most of the times able to effect the closure. The volunteers attached some importance to their action on the ground that these shops used to sell foreign medicines. But here also their wrath was directed more towards English medicines rather than other products. Peace was restored after the chemists agreed to close business for three days in a week. But this truce was breached shortly.³

Bonfire of foreign cloth and salt manufacture were the other symbols of the Civil Disobedience Movement in the city. The Chowpati witnessed many an enactment of this drama. The Bhatia Baug and Javeri Bazar also were the scene of such demonstrations. Despite prohibitory orders large public meetings were held on the Chowpati and many open grounds in the city. Mrs. Amrit Kaur, Mrs. Lilavati Munshi, Abidalli Jafferbhai, Y. J. Meheralli and many eminent persons were convicted for holding a public meeting and a bonfire at Chowpati on 29 February 1932 under

¹ *Times of India*, 30, March 1932. Also see the account given in section on Businessmen and Civil Disobedience.

² Police Commissioner to Secretary, Home Dept. (Special), Bombay, 3 March 1932.

³ *Ibid.*, 31 March 1932.

the Criminal Law Amendment Act.¹ This action further agitated public opinion in the city.

Several occasions were celebrated as a part of the mammoth Civil Disobedience Movement in the city. The fourth day of every month was celebrated as Gandhi Day till the Mahatma was released. Hartals were observed on these 'Days'. Salt was manufactured at several places and sold in packets at public meetings. Bonfires were made which intensified the wrath of the imperialistic bureaucracy. The Bombay Swadeshi League, with office at Apollo Street, conducted house to house propaganda for swadeshi. The Red Shirt volunteers were particularly active. The National Week was celebrated from 6 April to 13 April. However, it assumed a different significance in 1932 in view of the intensity of the movement and the atrocities by the administration. Each day was symbolic of the various aspects of the movement. The first day was observed as Ladies Day in recognition of the splendid contribution of the fair sex to the success of boycott. The militant Kamaladevi was arrested on the very day. Then came the Flag Day and the Swadeshi Day. The fourth day was devoted to the boycott of foreign cloth. A thrilling event of the fifth or the Workers' and Peasants' Day was the arrest of Achyut Patwardhan of the Banaras Hindu University who was working secretly in Bombay.² Then followed the No Tax to Government Day. The eighth day was celebrated in a befitting manner as the Jallianwala Bagh Day with an impressive hartal in the city. Throughout the National Week, numerous persons including women were arrested and convicted.

Although no sabotage of means of transport was attempted or even contemplated in the movement, the ticket offices at Bombay V. T. and Bombay Central Stations were picketed by volunteers during the National Week. This was intended to awaken the people that railways were not run to the benefit of Indians, but were primarily exploited as an instrument of repression and defence against the Congress. The railway rates were also manipulated to encourage foreign trade and discourage indigenous industry and to provide employment to Britishers. So the people were exhorted to travel as less as possible.³

The Indian Franchise Committee (1932), under the chairmanship of Lord Lothian,⁴ which visited Bombay in March, was greeted with demonstrations at Bhatia Baug. Students of the Bombay University had issued a *Bulletin* to devote themselves to Congress work and to organise demonstrations against the Franchise Committee. They participated in denouncement of the Round Table Conference Committee and observance

¹ *Ibid.*, 1 March 1932.

² *Ibid.*, 11 April 1932.

³ *Congress Bulletin*, 16 April 1932.

⁴ Under Secretary of State for India.

of the Dandi March Day on 12 March 1932. A courageous student hoisted the Congress flag on the University Clock Tower,¹ which was by all means a heroic action in the face of the officials of the University. A few days later, a flag was hoisted on the Wilson College also. Thus, the students also contributed their might to the freedom movement.

The arrest of the Bombay heroes at Bijapur, namely Nariman, K. M. Munshi and Mrs. Perin Captain on 5 March, and their conviction to rigorous imprisonment and fine aroused public opinion in the city which was demonstrated aptly by a hartal on the 7th.² The Dandi March Anniversary was celebrated in a spirited manner. A Congress volunteer hoisted the Congress flag on the new Stock Exchange building. Flag salutation ceremonies were celebrated. There was an impressive hartal. A campaign was launched against postal savings banks, and the people were induced to withdraw their money from the savings banks and not to deposit any money therein.³ Jamnalal Bajaj who had been released a day earlier was again sentenced to rigorous imprisonment.

An interesting episode in the Civil Disobedience Movement in March 1932 was the demonstration of the depressed class persons against separate electorates as well as B. R. Ambedkar and Maulana Shaukat Ali, who were the protagonists of separate electorates.⁴ The BPCC, through the *Congress Bulletins*,⁵ several times denounced Shaukat Ali as a reactionary stooge of the imperialists and communalists. The bureaucracy was making frantic efforts to encourage a division in the Indian society by wooing the communalists.

Sarojini, who was the only member of the CWC left out of Jail, automatically became Congress president. However, she was also convicted on 23 April 1932 for leaving Bombay without permission of the police. The brave Soli Batliwalla of Bombay was persecuted to a solitary confinement in Bijapur.

The Congress Resolution of the 47th Congress at Delhi, which was totally banned, was read out in a public meeting on 25 April.⁶ Such was the undaunted spirit of the day.

The Government was all the while trying to alienate the industrialists completely from the Congress. It designed a scheme of Imperialistic Preferences on the promptings of the Governor and other quarters in the country. This scheme accorded a preferential treatment to the goods manufactured in Bombay over the Japanese imports. This was some

¹ Police Commissioner to Secretary, Home Dept., 8 March 1932.

² Ibid.

³ Deputy Police Commissioner to Secretary, Home Dept., 12 March 1932.

⁴ Police Commissioner to Secretary, Home Dept., 15 March 1932.

⁵ For example, its issues dated 12 and 18 March 1932.

⁶ Police Commissioner to Secretary, Home Dept., 26 April 1932.

kind of a palliative to the Bombay industry which was hitherto in the throes of the depression. The industrialists started pressurising the Congressmen to withdraw the movement. Although they were not successful in that direction, the Civil Disobedience Movement became languid from the middle of 1932.

In the later part of June, efforts were made to hold district political conferences and to revive agitation in anticipation of the expiry of the Ordinances. These attempts met with a good response in Bombay, but they were sternly dealt with by the authorities. Particular attention was devoted to the boycott of British goods and British firms in Congress programme in Bombay. The boycott was directed chiefly against British firms in the Bombay cotton market. To deal with the boycott in the Bombay cotton market, Government introduced the Bombay Cotton Contracts Act, 1932. This measure was designed to regulate dealings in the cotton market, and one of the powers conferred upon Government was that of superseding the Board of Directors of East India Cotton Association or of any other recognised association, by a Board of Control, if that course was considered necessary. The Act was passed in September 1932.¹

The Ordinances were extended in June, and in November a special session of the Bombay Legislative Council enacted the Special Powers Bill incorporating the principal provisions of those Ordinances. The Government arrogated to itself special powers to deal with the Civil Disobedience Movement.

Picketing as an instrument of the boycott movement was universal in Bombay city in spite of Government measures. The foreign cloth shops and, to a lesser extent, the chemists and druggists shops and the Bullion Exchange, were the main targets of attack. Several attempts were also made to picket excise auction sales.

Grave Hindu-Muslim rioting broke out in the middle of May. It subsided for a time, but flared up again towards the end of June, and did not die out until the end of July 1932. As per the Government Report, "For some time feelings between the two communities had been strained by the interference of Congress with Mohammedan traders, and with the approach of Mohurram, any slight incident was sufficient to start an open conflict."² Probably rumours and misunderstanding was at the root of the trouble. The skirmishes spread to other localities, and took the form of murderous attacks on individuals and looting and arson directed against houses, shops and mosques and temples also. Military reinforcements were brought in from Deolali and Pune and the Auxiliary Force was put into action. On 18 and 19 May the unrest spread to the mill area,

¹ *Bombay—1932-33*, p. ii.

² Ibid., p. iii. The present narration is based on this report, although very cautiously.

where at one time 46 mills were closed, but extensive patrolling restored normalcy in the mill area gradually.

It was only stern action that could restore peace in the city by 31 May. The troops were gradually withdrawn. During the first fortnight of June isolated cases of assault and injury continued to occur, indicating that the feeling between the two communities was still far from normal. In spite of all precautions rioting revived with greater intensity on 27 June, and the police were forced to open fire on numerous occasions to prevent attacks on temples and mosques. The troops were again called out early in July, but were gradually withdrawn and, with more or less continuous heavy rains from the 5th night, the city gradually quietened. But stray assaults continued until 2 August. Special precautionary police arrangements were maintained for a long time after peace was restored. The rioting took a heavy toll of life in the city. Between 14 May and 2 August 1932, 217 persons were killed and 2,713 injured, while 3,757 were arrested. Over 400 shops were looted and property worth Rs. 24 lakhs was destroyed.¹

In the third week of September all other issues were relegated to the background by the announcement of Gandhiji's fast over the Communal Award. Before the assumption of the narration of the same, let us review very briefly a few events in the city.

Economic Situation : In the face of the trade depression and the Civil Disobedience Movement, the Government balanced its budget by restricting new expenditure to items of imperative urgency. Establishment costs were reduced by levying a cut in the salaries of government servants and by retrenchment in 1932-33. Bombay's export trade suffered very largely in spite of the continued export of gold. There was a further falling off in the entrepot trade of Bombay, the value thereof declining from Rs. 2.84 crores in 1931-32 to Rs. 1.98 crores in 1932-33.² The condition of the cotton textile industry was far from satisfactory, and it continued to deteriorate further in 1932-33. Some mills had shut down temporarily due to accumulation of large stocks on account of depression and Japanese competition, the latter being extremely severe due to continuous depression of the Yen.³ The Bombay Improvement Trust permanently leased an area of 23.22 lakh sq. yards of developed land for building purposes in the city, an area of 1,496 lakh sq. yards still remaining unleased. The work on the Back Bay Reclamation Scheme such as increased protection for the rubble mound under the sea wall at Marine Lines, road building in block No. I, grassing the recreation ground, allotment of cricket, football and hockey fields to clubs on payment, etc., was

¹ *Bombay—1932-33*, pp. ii-iv.

² *Ibid.*, p. v.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

continued in 1932-33. A portion of the Central Salsette Tramway line from Andheri to Kurla was dismantled and disposed off. The construction of the Juhu Aerodrome commenced on 1930-31 and was completed in 1932-33 at a total cost of just over Rs. 6 lakhs.¹

Yeravada Pact : The announcement of the "Communal Award" embodying the obnoxious provisions of dismemberment of the Harijans from the Hindu fold by the Prime Minister, on 17 August 1932, was another British step in dividing the Indian society. Gandhiji reacted promptly and announced his intention of a fast unto death from 20 September 1932. A couple of days before the fast was due to commence, eminent members of the Welfare of India League, Bombay, such as Purshottamdas Thakurdas, Chunilal V. Mehta, G. D. Birla, Mathuradas Vassanji, Rustom Masani, etc., tried to avert the catastrophe, and to ask unanimously for the release of Gandhiji and the simultaneous termination of Ordinance rule and civil disobedience. A section of population did not make a secret of their communal hatred and the want of fellow-feeling, undermining the foundations of the unity of Hindu society. While the Hindu diehards were quite vocal about their own stance, a section of minorities was playing into the hands of the English by demanding separate electorates and reservation of seats. Under the circumstances, the above named citizens of Bombay visited Gandhiji in Yeravada prison. They came back to Bombay and convened a conference in the city. They again went to Pune, accompanied by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar. Prolonged negotiations ensued. At the end, the leaders including representatives of caste Hindus and untouchables signed an agreed settlement, which has become famous as the Yeravada Pact or the Gandhi-Ambedkar Pact.² The fast was terminated on 26 September after the British Government had accepted the pact, which gave the Harijans much more than what was given to them by the British Prime Minister, without taking them out of the Hindu fold.³

The great event was greeted with joy in the city. Most of the signatories of the pact returned to Bombay, and a conference of leaders of caste Hindus and untouchables was convened by Madan Mohanji at the Indian Merchants' Chamber hall in the city. The leaders included Tej Bahadur Sapru, M. R. Jayakar, C. Rajagopalachari, Dr. Ambedkar, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Lallubhai Samaldas, B. S. Kamat, Mrs. Krishnabai Setalvad, Dr. Choithram Gidwani, H. N. Künzru, Shankarlal Banker, Devdas Gandhi, Purshottamdas Thakurdas, Chunilal Mehta, Mathuradas

¹ *Bombay—1932-33*, p. 159.

² It was signed on 24 Sept. 1932 by Dr. Ambedkar, M. C. Rajah (Ambedkar's opponent who also claimed to represent untouchables but favoured joint electorates with Hindus), Malaviya, Jayakar, Sapru, Mehta, Birla, Thakurdas, Rajagopalachari and Rajendra Prasad among others.

³ They were now getting 148 seats instead of 71 as per the Prime Minister's award.

Vassanji, Walchand Hirachand, Manu Subedar, G. K. Gadgil, G. K. Deodhar, Dr. Munje, M. S. Aney, M. C. Rajah, Amritlal Thakkar, Behram Karanjia, M. C. Ghia, Mrs. Jayashri Rajji, Mrs. Hansa Mehta, Mrs. Urmila Mehta, G. D. Madgaonkar, K. Natarajan, V. L. Napoo, Mrs. Dalvi, Mathuradas V. Khimji, Khaitan, Mathuradas Matani, B. F. Bharucha, Nikalje, Dr. P. D. Solanki, Deorukhkar, T. Prakasam, Rao Bahadur Raja, C. G. Morarji, Jaisukhlal Mehta, Avantikabai Gokhale, P. Baloo, B. N. Rajbhoj, etc.

The conference happily endorsed the pact and passed a resolution drafted by Gandhiji. The untouchables were conferred with the right to select the candidates for the seats and the common electors would vote for them. The pact assured the former untouchables an honoured place in the Hindu society and sought to remove the sense of fear and injustice which haunted their mind for centuries. It also assured them a proper representation in government services which were formerly denied to them. The conference further resolved that thenceforth no one among Hindus should be regarded as untouchable by virtue of birth, and every one should be accorded equal opportunity and status. A statutory recognition to their rights was to be accorded by the Swaraj Parliament at the first opportunity. Malaviya proposed another resolution urging unrestricted entry for Harijans into all Hindu temples, which was unanimously passed. A fund of Rs. 25 lakhs was decided to be raised for the welfare and advancement of depressed classes. Dr. Ambedkar paid a tribute to Gandhiji and said that Harijans would now be equal to caste Hindus.¹ The pact and Gandhiji's resolution were unanimously ratified by all including the Hindu Mahasabha, and put an end, although seemingly, to a vexatious problem.

The response to Gandhiji's call to devote to the Harijan movement was quick and ample. A penance so pure naturally bore its full result. He entrusted the organisation of Harijan work to trusted nationalist non-Congress workers like G. D. Birla and Amritlal Thakkar. This new field of work was in a way a diversion from the Civil Disobedience Movement. "The public response to Gandhiji's call for the removal of untouchability did doubtless affect the progress of the Civil Disobedience Movement."² At a public meeting in Bombay on 30 September 1932, an All-India Anti-Untouchability League was formed, with Birla as president and Thakkar as secretary.³ Birla liberally financed the anti-untouchability and khadi campaigns of Gandhiji, and Willingdon held him responsible for much of the money even behind civil disobedience.⁴

¹ K. Gopalswami, op. cit., pp. 281-86.

² Pattabhi Sitaramayya, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 555.

³ J. M. Brown, *Gandhi and Civil Disobedience*, p. 322.

⁴ Ibid., p. 290.

Civil Disobedience Suspended: Meanwhile H. N. Kunzru, Sapru, Jayakar, Kelkar and Thakkar were in favour of manoeuvring a settlement and end the Civil Disobedience Movement. There was a spate of activity in Bombay and Pune, and Gandhiji was receiving so much publicity. It was thought that Gandhiji would have agreed to call off Civil Disobedience to enable his followers to pursue the anti-untouchability campaign. But Lord Willingdon's Government held that there could be no negotiations with Gandhiji and no release unless he called off civil disobedience. They had calculated, in view of the current state of the movement and the assured participation of a fair range of politicians in constitutional discussions, that he could perform no useful function for them except that of ending Civil Disobedience. This belief of the Governor of Bombay and Viceroy was further strengthened by the fact that, although some Congressmen were willing to terminate the movement, Vallabhbhai, Jawaharlal Nehru and Ghaffar Khan might probably have sabotaged any attempt by Gandhiji to abandon the movement.¹ Hence Delhi, in consultation with Bombay Government, decided (October) to refuse all interviews to Gandhiji in Jail at which civil disobedience was likely to be discussed, for fear of giving the impression that Government would negotiate. This was so despite a strong pressure from Samuel Hoare and the Cabinet against this rigid stand and the strong inclination of the Home Government to release Gandhiji.² Bombay and Delhi held that Gandhiji's release would serve no purpose and would only generate a demand for a general amnesty. Thus, there was no way of engaging in political discussion with Government. This led to frustration. Many were aggrieved that Gandhiji's emphasis on a social issue (anti-untouchability) was diverting attention from Civil Disobedience. Some felt that the Mahatma had let them down by his stand, and was indifferent to the fate of compatriots in prison. Gandhiji's statement³ in this respect was interpreted by the *Congress Bulletin* as a renewed call to Civil Disobedience. The net result was, however, a confusion among Congressmen. There was a growing expression of frustration at the continued conflict, and a wish to call off Civil Disobedience. Ex-civil resisters like Jamnadas Mehta and Rohit Mehta were among those who urged Gandhiji to call off the movement. Undoubtedly Civil Disobedience had lost momentum. Meanwhile the abortive Calcutta Congress session of 31 March 1933, banned by Government, took place when most of the leaders were arrested. Even the acting president, M. S. Aney, was arrested *en route*

¹ Ibid., p. 326.

² Samuel Hoare, Secretary of State, felt that keeping Gandhi in Jail until the new constitution came into operation, was unpalatable and impolitic idea in the Indian as well as British context (Hoare to Willingdon, 12 and 26 January 1933, MSS. EUR. 240).

³ January 7, 1933.

VF 4361—33

to Calcutta. The arrest and the inhuman treatment of Mrs. Motilal Nehru were severely condemned in Bombay. The session did not pave a way out of the political deadlock, and it proved only to be a desperate gesture.

This was followed by an unexpected event in the country. On 8 May 1933 Gandhiji started a self-purificatory fast for 21 days with the object of increasing the number of workers in the Harijan movement to fulfil their task with a purer and truer spirit of service. When Gandhiji was fasting in jail Dr. Gilder and a battery of doctors from Bombay went to Yeravada to examine him.¹ The press expressed bewilderment and some overt hostility, and a flood of letters and telegrams from appalled associates² poured into Yeravada. The Bombay Government had warned Delhi that Gandhiji would probably not survive a three-week fast, and Delhi decided that the political repercussions of his death in jail outweighed the risk of the impetus to Civil Disobedience due to his release. Hence, he was released the same evening. He advised Aney as Congress president, to suspend the movement for upto six weeks since satyagrahis would 'be in a state of terrible suspense' during his fast. He then appealed to Government to release all civil resisters, as unless the members of Congress Working Committee were released, it was not possible to revoke the movement. Aney seized the opportunity and suspended the campaign for six weeks. Government was, however, determined to extract an implicit surrender from the Congress, and issued a communique on 9 May 1933 that it did not intend to negotiate with the Congress for a withdrawal of the movement or of releasing the leaders with a view to arriving at any settlement with them in regard to the unlawful activities. Thus, the Government foiled Gandhiji's attempt to end the deadlock between the Congress and the British.

Meanwhile there was extreme uncertainty and demoralisation among Congressmen, who were looking for a lead from Mahatmaji. Some argued that Civil Disobedience was dead and should be buried forthwith, while there was pressure for a renewed conflict in Bombay. There were people who argued that civil disobedience had not failed, since it had changed people's mentality dramatically; it was now at a standstill, and people should be given a breathing space before they resumed it. Ordinances had silenced people and the civil service showed no intention of relinquishing. The non-violent and exemplarily heroic fight of the Pathans and their leader Abdul Ghaffar Khan had inspired the Bombay activists. Hence, many thought with Gandhiji that Ghaffar Khan's release was

¹ K. Gopalswami, op. cit., p. 286.

² Nehru, Malaviya, Syed Mahamud, Ansari, A. K. Azad, Sri Prakash and K. Natarajan protested vigorously, while Rajagopalachari went to Yeravada to persuade the Mahatma away from his self-martyrdom.

essential to a settlement.¹ The two other most prominent leaders, Vallabhbhai and Jawaharlalji were still confined to jail. Meanwhile Congressmen convened a conference at Pune on 12 July 1933, which resolved that Civil Disobedience should not be unconditionally withdrawn, but should now take the form of individual civil disobedience; that all secret activities should cease and that Congress organisations, being illegal, should also cease to operate for the time being. Mass Civil Disobedience, thus, became moribund and the 'war councils' ceased to function. The appalling constraints imposed on Gandhiji by Congressmen and the unrelenting Government had forced this decision. Even then the obdurate Willingdon refused to grant an interview to Gandhiji. This was received with deep anguish, dismay and even frustration in Bombay.

Gandhiji even sacrificed what was dearest to him : he disbanded the Sabarmati Ashram on 31 July 1933 because Government repression made it impossible for the ashram to carry on constructive work, and it was no longer the fit instrument to Gandhiji's work.

The programme of individual civil disobedience attracted only partial support. There was an upswing in the number of convictions in August and September. In the city hand-written *Congress Bulletins* were produced and seven Congressmen tried to manufacture salt and to organise a flag salutation ceremony.² By and large, it was an unattractive programme except for those who shared Gandhiji's creed or those who shared Jawaharlal's determination to keep at least a symbolic conflict going.

Democratic Swaraj Party : The Congress was in search of a programme. There was bewilderment and frustration in the rank and file. A school of thought under Nehru advocated that the struggle for independence accompanied by social and economic freedom for the exploited masses was to continue, with civil disobedience as its main weapon. However, the search for a new programme veered more towards abandoning the movement. Many were clamouring for Council entry. In Bombay, the All-Maharashtra Political Conference was convened on 28 and 29 October 1933 to search for an alternative to civil disobedience. An independent Democratic Swaraj Party was formally inaugurated by the conference, its creed being identical to the Congress but its membership open to non-Congressmen. Its programme was the capture and acceptance of all places of power in the State structure from village panchayat to legislature. It advocated an economic programme to help peasants and industrial workers, and the abandonment of Civil Disobedience.³ It was the brain-child of Jamnadas Mehta who had opposed Gandhiji's civil disobedience plan even in 1930. Mehta's main supporter in this venture was

¹ J. M. Brown, *Gandhi and Civil Disobedience*, p. 342.

² Ibid., p. 360.

³ Ibid., p. 362.

VF 4361—33a

N. C. Kelkar. "This new party was not only the latest manifestation of long-standing rivalries within and on the peripheries of Congress in western India and a means of forestalling old rivals in the exploitation of the new constitution. It also reflected increasing anxiety on the part of men like Kelkar who shared the Hindu Mahasabha's determination to capture legislative seats and prevent Muslims from dominating the new constitutional structures in alliance with the bureaucracy. It was no coincidence that barely a fortnight earlier the Mahasabha had resolved at its annual session that the Hindu community could 'no longer afford to ignore the various means open, in and out of the constitution, to promote and protect its interests'. The Mehta-Kelkar move did not go unchallenged locally; and a manifesto condemning it was issued by 39 Maharashtra Congressmen including D.D. Sathe and G.A. Deshpande."¹ The nationalist Muslim editor of the *Bombay Chronicle*, S. A. Brelvi, also condemned the Council entry policy as divisive, and urged restoration of Congress activity and political movement by calling off individual civil disobedience.

Although Council entry was growing to be the ultimate aim of Congressmen, they needed to retain the benefits of Gandhiji's continental reputation. While they did not dare to alienate the Mahatma who stood for satyagraha, they strived to escape the predicament. A formidable attempt was made in this direction by one of the most eminent of Bombay Congressmen, K. F. Nariman. His strategy was to secure an AICC meeting as a prelude to a new Congress programme, though he kept off the vexatious path of Council entry. As a CWC member, Nariman told Gandhiji at Wardha (October end) that he intended campaign for a new programme. He held that the present impasse was leading to disintegration and demoralization within the Congress, and inviting the emergence of hostile cliques outside its ranks. His aim was to restore the authority of Congress and convene the AICC to consider the situation in a rational light. Gandhiji redirected him to Nehru, who deplored such infighting.² Nariman's efforts were, thus, futile.

Meanwhile Nariman had been soliciting Congressmen's support through a circular and draft programme for consideration. This reiterated the faith of Congress in non-violent resistance as the best means of attaining their goal, but revocation of civil disobedience as a matter of tactical expediency in the present circumstances. Individual civil disobedience was to remain on a personal level, but the official Congress policy would be constructive activities as an economic programme to be settled later.³ Nehru ascertained from AICC members whether they wanted a meeting. A large proportion of those in favour came from

¹ Ibid., pp. 362-63.

² Ibid., pp. 365-66.

³ Ibid., p. 366.

Bombay.¹ The impasse, however, continued. Nariman, his tactics having failed, now started pressing for a referendum of all members of Congress bodies on the question, but to no results.

K. M. Munshi had been pleading with Gandhiji the need to permit a Council entry group within Congress. But there was no intention to precipitate a conflict, although evidence was accumulating that Congressmen were determined not to remain isolated from the sources of power in legislatures or outside. Even Munshi expressed the futility of Civil Disobedience Movement and desired to revive old constitutional methods of Congress politics.

However, there were many like Brelvi, the editor of the *Bombay Chronicle*, who still maintained that the talk of Council entry was inopportune. In this delicate situation a closed door meeting took place at Delhi with five Bombay men, including Munshi, Nariman and Bhulabhai. It was clear that civil disobedience was dead, but there was disagreement whether formally to end it. The upshot of the meeting was a unanimous decision to revive the Swaraj Party. Its programme was to contest elections and to take up Assembly seats on the issues of abrogating repressive laws and reject the White Paper in favour of a National Demand.² When the idea was put to Gandhiji in Patna, he announced his decision that Congress should suspend civil disobedience and withdraw the Poona programme, while he alone should pursue the struggle.³ He also expressed his moral support to the protagonists of Council entry.

This was followed by a Government declaration on 1 May to hold elections to the new Assembly in the Autumn. The Swaraj Party was revived in a conference in May to contest the forthcoming elections. Soon Government lifted the ban on Congress organisations. The Congress was reorganised and the Congress Parliamentary Board was formed. The CWC met in Bombay on 17-18 June to evolve a national strategy. The bitterest source of division among Congressmen was the Communal Award. In the CWC meeting Gandhiji attempted to stave off disaffection by the Nationalist Muslims by urging that Congress should neither accept nor reject the Award. He failed, and in August the communal wing, under Malaviya and Aney, broke away and formed a Nationalist Party to fight the elections on this issue. There emerged a small but vocal group of younger Congressmen calling themselves socialists.⁴ Yusuf Meherally became an active member of the Congress

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid., pp. 372-73.

³ 4 April 1934.

⁴ The Socialist Party held its first All-India Conference at Patna on 17 May 1934 under Acharya Narendra Dev.

Socialist Party founded by Jayaprakash Narayan. Many disputes and personal rivalries precipitated a bitter strife when Congressmen began to receive their organisations and to contest elections. The conflicts proved that the priorities of the Congressmen differed radically from those of Gandhiji.¹ He therefore decided to quit the Congress.

CONGRESS SESSION OF 1934

It was against this background that the Congress met in Bombay from 26 to 28 October 1934, under the presidentship of Dr. Rajendra Prasad. K. F. Nariman was the chairman of the Reception Committee. A large camp was formed at Worli which attracted many visitors from the city. The harmony of the proceedings was interrupted by the attempts of communists to force an entry into the pandal. The Congress Socialists formed the principal opposition, but found themselves very much in the minority, while Madan Mohan Malaviya's challenge to the Communal Award suffered an overwhelming defeat. The Congress congratulated the Nation on the heroic sacrifices made and the sufferings undergone by thousands of civil resisters, and placed on record its conviction that "without non-violent, non-co-operation and civil resistance there would never have been the phenomenal mass awakening that has taken place throughout the country". Whilst recognising the desirability and necessity of the suspension of the civil resistance campaign except with reference to Gandhiji, the Congress reiterated its undying faith in non-violent, non-co-operation and civil resistance "as a better means of achieving Swaraj than methods of violence, which, as experience has abundantly shown, result in terrorism both by the oppressed and the oppressors".² Another important development was the foundation of the All-India Village Industries Association under Gandhiji's guidance, which, though part of the Congress, was to be an autonomous body.³ It was to be another organ for pursuit of his own vision of Swaraj and building up his own area of influence, unhampered by Congress politicking. The other resolutions pertained to the Congress Parliamentary Board and its policy and programme, the constructive programme, status of Indian settlers overseas, Swadeshi, etc.

The Bombay session would have been of a humdrum type and devoid of any exciting interest, but for the imminent exit of Gandhiji from the Congress and the arena of politics, and the foreshadowed amendment of the Congress constitution. This was a regular session held after an interval of three and a half years, and at a time when a certain paralysis

¹ J. M. Brown, *Gandhi and Civil Disobedience*, pp. 377-79.

² cf. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 591-92.

³ It was formally started at Wardha on 14 December 1934, although Bombay gave birth to this important activity.

had overtaken it.¹ Hence the tremendous excitement in Bombay. Gandhiji suggested an amendment to the creed of the Congress by replacing the words "peaceful and legitimate means to attain Swaraj" by the words "truthful and non-violent methods". The Congress rejected his plea. He asserted that the Congress had become an artificial and corrupt body with an overpowering desire to wrangle. He found no option but to quit.

On the closing day of the Bombay session, an impressive tribute was paid to Gandhiji by the large concourse assembled in the Congress pandal. Pindrop silence prevailed throughout the hour-long speech he delivered in support of his constitutional scheme. The session adopted his propositions even without having a copy of the text of the revised constitution. A resolution was passed on his historic retirement, expressing full confidence in him.²

"The success of the Bombay session was in no small measure due to the tact, energy and circumspection of its President, Babu Rajendra Prasad. His address to the Congress is one of those model addresses which leave an abiding effect on the political situation."³

By October 1934 Congress was once more a legal organisation on the road to constitutional politics. On his part, Gandhiji was still committed to satyagraha. Hardly had the Bombay session concluded its sittings, the Nation and the city were plunged into the elections to the Legislative Assembly held in the middle of November.

Starting with a great advantage of being infinitely the best organised political party, the Congress met with a large measure of success in the campaign and secured five out of seven seats in the Legislative Assembly.⁴

The report of the Parliamentary Joint Select Committee on Indian Constitutional Reforms was published in November 1934, and for some time it was the chief subject of discussion amongst politicians and the Press. Local opinion characterised the report as disappointing and

¹ Pattabhi Sitaramayya, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 586.

² The text of the resolution was as under: "The Congress reiterates its confidence in the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi and is emphatically of opinion that he should reconsider his decision to retire from the Congress. But inasmuch as all efforts to persuade him in that behalf have failed, this Congress, while reluctantly accepting his decision, places on record its deep sense of gratitude for the unique services rendered by him to the Nation and notes with satisfaction his assurance that his advice and guidance will be available to the Congress whenever necessary." It was a stunning news to the press and the public that the Mahatma would not even be a primary member of Congress.

³ Pattabhi Sitaramayya, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 590.

⁴ *Bombay—1934-35*, p. i.

reactionary and its reception was generally hostile. The Congress was disappointed. A Government motion in the Legislative Council that the report be considered, was defeated by 38 votes to 21, Government remaining neutral.¹

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS (1933-1939)

Meanwhile the Communists became more militant and started organisation of strikes and struggles against employers and Government. Towards the end of 1933 it was realised by Communists as well as non-Communists that sporadic strikes were futile and that the only remedy was to launch a general strike of millhands. The All-India Textile Workers' Conference, which had its session in the city in January 1934, decided to form a joint strike committee comprising Communists and others. The strike began on 23 April 1934, and encompassed all mills within a couple of days. This was to be an All-India general strike. But in actual fact it took place only in Bombay, Nagpur and Solapur. It involved about a lakh millhands. As the strike advanced, the Communists became more and more militant and insisted on resorting to their adventurist course of action. Naturally the strike committee then split and became incapable of giving a lead to the strikers.² Government resorted to repressive measures and arrested a batch of 28 leaders of the strike on 30 April and detained them under the Bombay Special (Emergency) Powers Act of 1932. Some public organisations had tried a settlement, but the obstinacy of both the millowners and the joint strike committee foiled all efforts. After the middle of May, the patience of the workers to withstand the strike began to decline, and it was eventually called off on 23 June.³ The grievance of the workers related to wage cuts and rationalisation.

The militancy of the Communists prompted the Government to declare the Communist Party illegal immediately. The Government also enacted the Bombay Trade Disputes Conciliation Act, 1934, to provide for a speedy machinery for settlement of disputes in mills in Bombay. One of the objects of the legislation was to put an end to Communist domination over the millhands in the city.⁴ The Minister in charge of the above Bill, frankly stated in the Legislative Council, "It (the legislation) is an open effort on the part of the Government to prevent Communists and extremists from interfering in the textile affairs of Bombay City." The Act and the machinery that was set up were stoutly opposed by

¹ Ibid.

² V. B. Karnik, *Strikes in India* (Manaktalas, Bombay, 1967), p. 257.

³ *Bombay—1934-35*, p. iv.

⁴ V. B. Karnik, op. cit., p. 255.

Communists as well as other labour leaders.¹ Although the enactment achieved its objective of avoiding strikes by providing an alternative method for ventilation of grievances of workers, it did hamper the growth of independent trade unions.²

The account of the troubled days would, by no means, be complete without a reference to movement of the dock workers in the city. The dock workers were until 1930s one of the most exploited and most disorganised sections of the Indian working class. Their earnings were very meagre, hours of work long and employment was intermittent. A large majority of them were employed by contractors. They were gradually organised by Dr. M. R. Shetty and A. N. Shetty under the banner of the Bombay Dock Workers' Union. This organisation mobilised the workers for a strike from 12 March 1932 demanding for improvement in emoluments, stability of employment and abolition of the contract system. It was an unprecedented occurrence among the docks which stirred public opinion also. There were some violent incidents and tense situations during the strike. It was settled on 4 April 1932 through a compromise reached between the Union and the stevedore firms. The workers secured a 25 per cent increase in wages and other pecuniary benefits.³

Meanwhile Sir Frederick Sykes adorning the Governorship of Bombay during the troubled times from 9 December 1928, relinquished the office on 9 December 1933, to Lord Brabourne. The members of the Governor's Council, then, were Sir Ghulam Husain Hidayatullah and Robert Duncan Bell, while Sir Rustom Jehangir Vakil, Siddappa Totappa Kambli and D. B. Cooper were the Ministers. The Government enforced rigid economy and retrenchment to ensure improvement in financial position. International trade and the general economic situation in the city continued to be disappointing throughout 1933-34. Japanese imports posed a serious problem to the textile as well as silk industries throughout 1933-34 and 1934-35.

Some deflection of trade from Bombay Port and the poor purchasing power of the masses resulting from the low prices of agricultural produce also contributed to the disappointing economic situation. An appreciable increase in exports was a redeeming feature of the year.⁴ There were large shipments of gold which were really very much against Indian interests. The entrepot trade of Bombay, which had been continuously declining since 1927-28, improved to Rs. 2.16 crores in 1933-34 and to Rs. 2.38 crores in 1934-35.⁵ There was partial recovery in the conditions of industry

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid., p. 256.

³ Ibid., pp. 265-66.

⁴ *Bombay—1933-34*, p. v.

⁵ *Bombay—1933-34*, p. v and *Bombay—1934-35*, p. vi.

and trade in 1934-35. A protectionist policy did encourage the textile industry, although the net revival was marginal in Bombay.

The Improvement Trust for the city of Bombay was amalgamated with the Bombay Municipal Corporation as per Act XIII of 1933. The property and powers of the Trust were transferred to the Corporation with effect from 1 October 1933.¹ Government abolished the non-refundable town duty of one rupee per bale of raw cotton from 1 April 1934, which had severely handicapped the cotton trade and the Port's revenues, since its imposition in 1920. The abolition of this tax, combined with heavy reductions in railway freights and Port Trust charges, came as a long sought relief to the cotton trade.² The work of extending the Harbour Wall across Arthur Basin was completed in 1933-34.

There was an unusual political peace in 1935. The Congress interested itself in the preparations for election for the new Legislatures. It also devoted to agrarian questions, particularly to agitation for the reduction or remission of land revenue. The campaign for non-payment of taxes affecting the land gathered momentum in the city.

The disastrous Quetta earthquake at the end of May and the drastic measures which had been taken by Government to deal with the situation created an unrest in Bombay. The national leaders were prevented an entry into Baluchistan, and Government assumed the sole responsibility for relief measures. These measures were greeted with verbal attacks on Government and scurrilous articles in many newspapers.³

The Bombay Special (Emergency) Powers Act, 1932, would in ordinary course, have lapsed on 15 December 1935, but the Government wanted to place the provisions of the Act permanently on the Statute book, and a Bill to that effect was introduced in the last session of 1935. Government justification was that the activities of Communist agitators, labour leaders and the terrorists could not be checked effectively by recourse to the ordinary law. Moreover, the resumption of civil disobedience could not be ruled out, and the provisions of the Act were deemed to be essential to cope up with it. The Bill was passed with an amendment that the Act should only remain in force until the end of 1938.⁴

The decision of Government not to hold a public inquiry into the firing at Karachi was vehemently criticised and local sentiment was offended. The Governor mollified the sentiment by a personal contribution of Rs. 5,000 from his discretionary grant for the relief of sufferers.⁵

¹ Ibid., p. 129.

² Ibid., p. 134.

³ *Bombay—1935-36*, p. i.

⁴ Ibid., pp. i-ii.

⁵ Ibid., p. ii.

Government arranged the jubilee celebrations in May 1935. However, nationalist public opinion was not favourable to this grandiose extravagance.

Although there was an improvement in the international trade at the other major ports in India in 1935-36, the exports from Bombay decreased and, excluding foreign merchandise, there was a fall in the coasting trade also. The entreport trade of the city, however, improved further to Rs. 2.67 crores during the year.¹ There was also a general improvement in the production of cotton textiles with the introduction of double-shift in many mills. Several new factories were started in the city in the year. They included a weaving mill with a finishing plant for making artificial silk cloth, a glass factory, a motor car tyres retreading unit, a copper sheet rolling mill and many others. The trade depression was definitely arrested by 1935 and economic conditions improved slowly but steadily. The Bombay Development Schemes were pursued rather vigorously. An amount of Rs. 6.76 lakhs was spent on the Back Bay Reclamation Scheme in 1935-36. The road from the south end of Cuffe Parade to the south end of Block V, and the Churchgate Street (present Veer Nariman Road) were completed, while construction of the Marine Drive was undertaken in 1935-36.²

The establishment of the Reserve Bank of India on 1 April 1935 was an important landmark in the economic history of Bombay. It was first conceived by the Hilton Young Commission in 1926, which recommended to put an end to the dichotomy of functions of the Imperial Bank of India performing central banking as well as commercial banking functions. The Bill to give effect to the recommendations of the Commission was, however, dropped due to differences of opinion. It was, however, on the strong recommendations of the Indian Central Banking Enquiry Committee (1931) that the issue was taken up during the process of constitutional reforms in India. Ultimately the Bill was introduced into the Legislative Assembly of India on 8 September 1933 and passed on 22 December. The enactment received the Viceroy's assent on 6 March 1934, and gave birth to a central bank for India on the pattern of the central banks in Western countries.³ It subsequently became a State-owned undertaking with effect from 1 January 1949.

There was a steady recovery in trade and commerce in 1936-37.⁴ The recovery was most remarkable in exports which increased considerably due to greater industrial activities in foreign manufacturing countries.

¹ Ibid., p. iv.

² Ibid., pp. 161-62.

³ *Functions and Working* (Reserve Bank of India, Bombay, 1983).

⁴ There were 1,774 persons assessed to income tax in Bombay city in the year (Bombay—1936-37, p. xviii).

There was a general rise in the prices of agricultural commodities, whereas the prices of manufactured goods declined. With the repealing of sanctions against Italy, imports from that country gradually revived, and the figures for the closing months of 1936-37 indicated that the trade was assuming normal proportions. The civil war in Spain had also an effect on the trade of Bombay with that country, which was most noticeable in the reduction of her demand of Indian raw cotton.¹

An interesting feature of the growing international trade of Bombay in 1936-37 was that, while private imports declined by Rs. 5.2 crores to Rs. 49.33 crores, the total value of exports including re-exports increased from Rs. 33.11 to Rs. 44.41 crores. The increase in exports was quite remarkable despite the fall in gold and silver exports. The decline in gold and silver exports was significant in view of the nationalist agitation against distress sale and foreign shipment of gold. The decline in imports was an indication of the growth of indigenous industry and substitution of indigenous materials for the Bombay industry. The cotton textile industry maintained a steady progress in production by wider introduction of rationalisation and increased double-shift working. The expansion of the foreign markets for textile goods and a fall in the imports of foreign piecegoods into Bombay were quite remarkable in 1936-37.

There was a considerable improvement in the Back Bay development schemes. The Council Hall Building was extended further to provide accommodation for the newly constituted Upper Chamber in 1936-37.²

Riots : There were severe and prolonged communal disturbances in the city lasting practically from 15 October until the beginning of December 1936. The construction by the Municipal Corporation of a *sabhamandap* for the temple adjoining a mosque at Byculla was the immediate cause of the trouble. The old *mandap* having been demolished, the site was acquired for road widening in 1928, and the authorities had undertaken to construct a new *mandap* on the southern side of the temple away from the mosque. The Muslims protested that a *mandap* had never existed and argued that the proposed construction would result in music interfering with the prayers in the mosque. After long discussions, the construction was commenced on 15 October, which led to assaults and skirmishes. The rioting continued intermittently. Military patrols were deployed, and strong action was taken against individuals and newspapers for incitement of communal hatred. The striking feature of these disturbances was the complete absence of trouble in the mill area. Government inferred from the disturbances that there was but little religious feeling behind them.

¹ *Bombay—1936-37*, p. v.

² *Ibid.*, p. 88.

and that they were largely caused by the criminal classes on either side. The unfortunate episode, however, took a toll of 94 lives and 632 injured.¹

Political Affairs : The Government of India Act, 1935, brought another instalment of constitutional reforms in India. It replaced dyarchy by provincial autonomy. Although it fell short of India's national aspirations, the Congress had decided to give the reforms a trial and to contest elections to the Assembly at the Centre and the Council in the Province. The AICC met in Bombay from 21 to 23 August 1936 and adopted the election manifesto as approved by the CWC. The manifesto repudiated the Government of India Act and pledged to develop internal strength by working in the legislatures. It reiterated the Congress policy of resistance to British Imperialism, Ordinances and repressive measures, and pledged its determination to enforce fundamental rights and a development oriented socialist democratic policy.

The Congress session at Faizpur, the first village Congress (1936), evoked great interest in Bombay. The city organised a *dwaja jyoti* (flaming march) which was started from Gowalia tank, the venue of the first Congress in 1885, and was taken in one-mile relays to Faizpur. It enthused every village all along the route from Bombay to Faizpur.²

The Congress having decided to contest the elections prepared for a country-wide campaign. Preparation for the elections under the new Constitution and the organising of election campaigns, were the main feature of the political history of 1936-37. The other parties were less active. The Democratic Swaraj Party decided to contest the elections independently. The Muslim League formed a Parliamentary Board representing the various districts. Dr. Ambedkar announced the formation of a new political party to be called the Independent Labour Party. The nucleus of this party was to be formed by the representatives of the Scheduled Castes. The Democratic Swaraj Party was actively opposing the Congress. Voting for the Upper and Lower Houses was completed on 18 February 1937. The Congress emerged the predominant party in both Houses, but did not secure absolute majority. There was, however, no doubt that the party could command the majority of votes on any issue likely to come before the legislature.

There was, however, a deadlock over the question of the exercise of the special powers of interference by the Governor. But for the assurance by the Governor, the leader of the majority party, B. G. Kher, expressed his inability to form a Ministry. Hence, the Governor invited Sir Dhunjishah B. Cooper, an elected independent from North Satara, to form the interim

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. iii-iv.

² K. Gopalswamy, *op. cit.*, p. 304.

Ministry. Sir Cooper chose Sir S. T. Kambli, Jamnadas Mehta¹ and H. M. Rahimtoola for the interim Council of Ministers.

The deadlock over the issue of exercise of the special powers of interference by the Governor was, however, resolved after a clarification of the position by the Viceroy through his statement of 21 June 1937. The CWC at its Wardha meeting of 7 July 1937, hence, decided that Congressmen be permitted to accept office. Accordingly B. G. Kher, the leader of the Congress Party, was invited to form a Council of Ministers, and he became the first Chief Minister² of Bombay Presidency.

COMMUNIST ACTIVITY (1932-1939)

The devastations of the Great Depression and the sordid economic conditions of the working class were yet manifest in Bombay. The cotton textile industry was still in the throes of the Depression, fighting for its own survival. Retrenchment, unemployment and erosion of wages cast shadows of darkness in the ranks of labour. The trade union movement which was expected to be the vanguard of the working class, was itself plagued with disunity and acrimonious recriminations. The split in the All-India Trade Union Congress at Nagpur had further divided the workers into rival camps and led to the shattering of healthy trade union activities. The All-India Trade Union Congress had already lost the allegiance of a substantial section of its adherents as a result of the 1929 split, and a further split at its Calcutta session in July 1931 had completed the debacle.³ There were three distinct sections of labour leaders with a record of service in the city, namely, the Communists, the Liberal group and the rest. The Communist unions which preached political and economic doctrines inspired by Soviet Russia were insignificant in number. Their membership was meagre. But there was a refreshing candour about their opinions which secured for their leaders a hearing quite out of proportion to their real influence. These leaders accepted no compromise; they recognised no middle course, nor did they tolerate any difference of opinion with their own. Their methods were not acceptable to others as they involved violence and excluded democracy. The gulf which divided the Communists from other unions were not, therefore, bridgeable.⁴ The Liberal politicians, who were in control of the unions, affiliated to the All-India Trade Union Federation were out of touch with the current political thought in India. Undoubtedly, they

¹ He was leader of the Democratic Swaraj Party.

² He was designated Prime Minister, then.

³ *Trade Union Committee's Report cf. Bombay Police Abstract of Intelligence*, 1932, p. 459.

⁴ *Ibid.*

were in the good books of the Government. Their members eschewed the politics of the Indian National Congress, while a small section among them were also communalist. The third and the influential group of labour leaders comprised the All-India Trade Union Congress, the All-India Railwaymen's Federation and scores of unions which were attached to no central labour organisation. They had together the largest following among the workers. The bulk of this third group was strongly nationalistic. After the two splits its ranks had dwindled, but it still provided a nucleus for a central labour organisation.¹

Another pertinent fact was that the eminent Communists from Bombay were still confined to jail in connection with the Meerut Conspiracy trial since 20 March 1929. The following among Communist ranks were left out : B. T. Ranadive, S. G. Patkar, S. G. Sardesai, G. L. Kandalkar, Deshpande, Dr. G. Y. Chitnis, R. K. Bhogale, M. R. Shetty, A. N. Shetty, B. D. Parab, D. K. Bedekar, Usha Dange, V. H. Joshi, Charles Mascarenhas, etc. The Communists had under their domination the Bombay Girni Kamgar Union which itself had two independent factions known as the Deshpande Party and the Kandalkar Party. The Young Workers' League was another amorphous body of Communists. These factions used to celebrate the Meerut Day and the Meerut Week in every March demanding the release of the detainees. Although they advocated the solidarity of the working class, they did so on different platforms. Internal recriminations were at times so acute that even a man of Ranadive's standing was expelled from the Bombay Girni Kamgar Union (Deshpande Party) on 15 April 1932.² The Government was highly suspicious of the Communists, and prosecuted several of them throughout 1932.

Disintegration of labour unions, their revival and subsequent decay were rampant in Bombay in 1932. The inevitable concomitance was frustration among the rank and file.

This was the state of affairs despite the All-India Trade Union Congress convention in Bombay on 29 December 1931, with Subhash Chandra Bose as the leading light. The largely attended public meeting of the All-India Trade Union Congress under the presidentship of R. S. Ruikar, had made a fervent appeal for solidarity of the working class. Subhash Babu eulogised the successful role of workers in the national movement, but it was not accepted as widely as it should have been, because the workers did not participate in the struggle in their collective capacity.³

¹ *Bombay Police Secret Abstract*, 1932.

² *Ibid.*, p. 561.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 143-44.

The Communists like Ranadive and Patkar vehemently criticised Government policy of repression and condemned its action in opening fire on civil disobedience activists including the Red Shirts at Kohat. But Ranadive advocated that the workers and peasants should not join the Civil Disobedience Movement, and ridiculed the Congress activity by saying that the boycott of foreign cloth and picketing of liquor shops would not achieve Independence for India.¹ From time to time he advocated that the Congress had done nothing beneficial to the working class, and that it was only the working class revolution that would free the country from the imperialistic yoke.

The Communists as well as left wing labour leaders in Bombay admired the political philosophy of M. N. Roy, and described him as the international labour leader. Under their joint auspices, they condemned the conviction and severe sentence of 12 years' transportation of Roy, in January 1932. The eminent activists on the occasion included V. B. Karnik, Maniben Kara, D. B. Karnik, M. R. Shetty, Usha Dange and V. H. Joshi.

Communists from all parts of India found a congenial home in Bombay. It was a centre for brisk secret activity, and propagation of Communist literature. Several books from Russia, England and France were secretly circulated in the city. A good deal of literature was published in Marathi also. However, the police authorities had always a vigilant eye on such literature, and they lost no time in proscribing it.

The official group of the Bombay Communists (Deshpande Party) inaugurated the Friends of Soviet Union on 3 June 1932 at Bombay with Dr. P. J. Bhatt and Ananta Chari as its first office bearers.

The Bombay Communists did not fail to observe the Lenin Day on every 22nd of January. The occasion was utilised for the condemnation of the Meerut convictions till the prisoners were released, and for propagation of Communism, although the audience was not always large.

A new organisation known as the Hindustani Samyavadi Sangha was formed secretly, towards the end of 1932, in order to provide a common forum for the three most anti-British political groups, viz. the terrorists, the left wing of the Congress and the Communists. They were determined to gain the support of the masses to a militant modus operandi. The police authorities considered this organisation as a potential danger.² Its activities could, however, not be spotted out. Besides, many other splinter organisations, such as, the Workers' Party newly formed by B. T. Ranadive³ indulged in Communist methodology among the workers in the city. Sardesai, Adhikari and R. M. Jambhekar established the

¹ Ibid., p. 145.

² *Bombay Police Secret Abstract*, 1933.

³ Sometime in 1932.

Marxist Vangmaya Pracharak Mandal, in 1932, for propagation of Communist literature in the city. A good many efforts were made by Communists and non-Communists for collection of funds for the Meerut case defence in Bombay in March 1933. Besides Communists, many others including V. L. Mehta, B. F. Bharucha, J.A.G. Naoroji, Karnik, Maniben Kara and J. M. Mehta strived for the collection of funds.

The labour leaders in the city celebrated the acquittal of some of the Meerut prisoners, viz., Jhabwalla, A. A. Alwe, Govind Kasle, G. M. Adhikari, M. G. Desai and H. L. Hutchinson.¹ Immediately after release Jhabwalla formed the Workers' Political Party in Bombay with Maniben, Karnik and G. Y. Chitnis among others, with the object to unite the workers under one strong central body and to ventilate their grievance in the forthcoming new political constitution of the country.² But the future course of events showed that the party did not make any significant dint on the political life of Bombay. Throughout these events Ranadive's rival unions were an enigmatic problem to the All-India Trade Union Congress. The Bombay Provincial Committee of the All-India Trade Union Congress consisted of Maniben, Karnik, R. J. Gavande, Z. R. Chaudhari, B. S. Gaikwad and A. N. Shetty.

The Meerut prisoners were gradually released, S. V. Deshpande in October, S. S. Mirajkar, K. N. Joglekar, S. V. Ghate and B. F. Bradley in November 1933. They launched attacks on Congress policy and programme and also stigmatised M. N. Roy's party as wanting in revolutionary spirit.³ They declared that Ranadive's Red Girni Kamgar Union, based on Communist ideology, was the real union.

Throughout 1934 the Communists were busy with fomenting an agitation among the workers for a general strike, and propagating a militant ideology. They organised a strike in the mill industry to protest against the Trade Disputes Conciliation Act which gave birth to an elaborate official machinery for arbitration and conciliation in matters of industrial disputes. The strike, however, ended in a failure for which the Communists were castigated by other labour leaders. This led to mutual recriminations among the Communists, a large section of whom shifted the blame to Kandalkar and Alwe.

The Congress session at Bombay in October 1934 was a sensational event in the labour quarters in the city on account of the Communist activity to infiltrate the pandal, to demonstrate their strength and to force a hearing from the Congress leaders. There were three parties in the labour areas working for the labour demonstration. The "Official" Communist party was led by Mirajkar, Joglekar and Philip Spratt.

¹ Chowpati meeting on 27 August 1933.

² *Bombay Police Secret Abstract*, 1933, p. 357.

³ Ibid., p. 471.

The "Roy" party was under Maniben Kara and Mascarenhas, while the "Labour" party was led by Kandalkar and Alwe. All the three were suffering from mutual recriminations, and had their own *modus operandi* in achieving the objective. The mill areas were surcharged with excitement and tension on the 26th instant. The Bombay police had to issue prohibitory orders from 26 to 28 October 1934, which had some desired effect.¹ A group of 400 workers under Jhabwalla and Kandalkar were allowed by Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the Congress president, to enter the Congress pandal to have a discussion on the labour policy. Rajendra Prasad made a short speech before the demonstrators in the pandal and assured them that the Congress was with them in their demands. He told them to give him some time to consider their demands in consultation with his colleagues.² The episode was an eye-opener to the Congress as regards its labour policy, and there was a good deal of heart-searching.

Meanwhile the Joint Parliamentary Committee's Report on Indian Constitutional Reform engaged the attention of the National Trade Union Federation under N. M. Joshi, R. R. Bakhale, Sayed Munawar and Raman, by the close of 1934. The leaders branded the proposals in the report as retrograde and reactionary. The scheme as a whole was a virtual repudiation of the demand for Dominion Status for India. It neither provided for self-government nor was it based on democratic principles. It denied adult franchise and made no reference to fundamental rights for the citizens. The representation granted to labour in the legislature was utterly inadequate.³ The Federation empowered N. M. Joshi to negotiate with the labour leaders in Great Britain for securing an adoption by Parliament of all the amendments suggested by it, during his forthcoming visit to Europe in January 1935, in connection with the International Labour Organisation meeting at Geneva.⁴

The Bombay Congress Socialist Party comprising Yusuf J. Meheralli, Purshottamdas Tricumdas, M. R. Masani, and F. M. Pinto was another platform advocating the cause of labour in the city. The Royists under Maniben Kara and Karnik formed the Girni Kamgar Union (Roy group) in December 1934,⁵ on the principles of M. N. Roy.

Dange was acquitted from the Meerut case and released in May 1935.⁶ This occasion was bound to be celebrated with jubilation by all sections of labour in the city. His release raised hopes of growth of the labour movement, although the entire field was plagued with disunity.

¹ *Bombay Police Secret Abstract*, 1934, p. 604.

² *Ibid.*, p. 604.

³ *Ibid.*, Jan. to June 1935, p. 11.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 149.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 200.

An important event in the field of labour in 1936 was the convention of the fifteenth session of the All-India Trade Union Congress in Bombay from 17 May under the presidentship of Maniben. Besides all the eminent labour leaders in the city, it was attended by Jawaharlal Nehru, Jayaprakash Narayan, Achyut S. Patwardhan, Indulal Yajnik and several Congress and labour leaders in India. Over 10,000 people were present.¹ The session was held at a time when the capitalist offensive of wage-cuts and retrenchment, due to rationalisation, had been the burning question of the day. The All-India Trade Union Congress itself had not yet developed into a genuine national organ of class struggle of the working class, but had simply remained a deliberative body. It was plagued by disunity, and could not stand before the workers as the personification of their class interest and class solidarity. A number of speakers, therefore, exhorted for the collective affiliation of the All-India Trade Union Congress to the Congress Party with a view to bringing about a powerful united front against capitalism and imperialism. The All-India Trade Union Congress in its present session condemned the new Constitution under the Government of India Act of 1935, and assured the Congress leaders of its support in opposing the new Constitution. Jawaharlal Nehru, who attended the session in his capacity as the Congress president, made a fervent plea for the participation of workers in the Congress movement and the struggle for independence. The workers had to bear a double burden. The first was foreign domination and the second was exploitation by the capitalistic system. Hence, national Independence was the only way out. Achyut S. Patwardhan speaking on behalf of the Congress Socialists pleaded for co-operation between the Congress and labour parties.

The Communist Party continued its usual activities and utilised the occasions of Lenin Day, May Day, Russian Revolution Day, Maxim Gorky Day and Karl Marx Day for the furtherance of its objectives throughout the period under review.

M. N. Roy, on his release from the Dehra Dun Jail on 20 November 1936, was accorded a worthy reception in Bombay on 6 December by the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee under S. K. Patil and Nariman, the All-India Trade Union Congress and several trade unions in the city.² A public meeting was organised the same day under the joint auspices of the All-India Trade Union Congress and several unions under the presidentship of R. A. Khedgikar. The next day, Roy saw Vallabhbbhai and S. K. Patil, and convinced them of his bona fides in joining the Congress and making genuine efforts to bring about closer

¹ *Bombay Police Secret Abstract*, 1936, p. 197.

² *Ibid.*, p. 415.

co-operation between the Congress and labour organisations.¹ His activities in Bombay and Maharashtra were closely watched by Government. He held several meetings in this part of India, and gave a full vent to his revolutionary idealism. He commanded a following among a section of the intelligentsia as well as labour leaders. His followers included Maniben, V. B. Karnik, D. B. Karnik, M. R. Shetty, Charles Mascarenhas, Laxman Shastri Joshi and J. B. H. Wadia.

An interesting feature of the May Day celebration on 1 May 1937 was that, unlike the previous years, the Communists appealed to the workers to join the Congress. This was probably due to the participation of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee in the celebration. The Bombay (City) Congress Socialist Party, however, did not participate in the celebration on account of the hostile attitude of Roy and his followers to the party.

The mill workers in Bombay had been disorganised since the failure of the general strike in 1934, and continued to be so throughout the period under review. This could be attributed to various reasons, such as Government repression, the threat of unemployment, economic conditions, Communist activity and rivalries in labour unions. The constant wranglings and bickerings among the leaders disgusted the millhands who grew more and more apathetic towards the labour organisations.

Bombay was the cockpit of Communism in 1937. A delicate situation arose over the orders of externment, internment or detention pending against Communist leaders, about twenty in number.² The Congress Ministry in Bombay wedded as it was to the policy statements made earlier, had been contemplating the cancellation of some of these orders. But the Governor, Lord Brabourne emphatically turned down the proposal of the Home Minister, K. M. Munshi, in the words "You can do it only on my dead body".³

Those were the days when the Communists in Bombay staged lightening strikes without notice and spread of terror in the *chawls* where the millhands lived, so as to prevent loyal workers from going to work. The Police Commissioner under instructions from Munshi devised a scheme under which police protection was provided to the loyal workers. Ajoy Kumar Ghosh, the Communist leader, was leading an underground

¹ Ibid., p. 421.

² Joglekar, Mirajkar, S. V. Deshpande, Patkar, G. M. Adhikari and S. S. Batliwalla were interned.

³ cf. K. M. Munshi, *Pilgrimage to Freedom*, Vol. I (Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1967), p. 49.

terrorist movement and campaign of lightening strikes in Bombay. He secretly met Munshi on the appointed day about midnight with a view to dissuade the latter from using police force against the revolutionaries in the city. Munshi, however, declined.¹ The police soon got a complete grip over the situation, and this enabled Munshi to obtain concurrence of the Governor for the cancellation of orders issued against the Communists.

Labour had become a political factor by this time which all politicians had to take cognizance of. Formation of the Congress Ministry raised many hopes among the millhands about their interests. The Ministry, therefore, made a declaration in regard to its labour policy immediately after assumption of office.²

It may be noted that the Factories Department was under control of the Collector of Bombay prior to the creation of a separate office of the Commissioner of Labour on 6 June 1933. The Commissioner's jurisdiction was extended over all matters pertaining to labour, the Steam Boilers and Smoke Nuisances Department, and Registrar of Trade Unions from this date. The workers welcomed the Congress Ministry as their own. Their expectations had already been aroused by the Congress Election Manifesto which had promised a fair deal to labour. The millhands had been particularly hit hard during the protracted economic depression. Their standard of living had declined badly, even over that in 1927. Naturally, therefore, they were clamouring for a better deal at the hands of the popular Government. The Congress Ministry did everything within its powers to improve the lot of labour. The constraints of the economic situation and the unyielding attitude of the Government of India, however, set limits to its generosity to the millhands. In spite of this the Ministry enacted the Bombay Industrial Disputes Act of 1938, Gulzarilal Nanda being its main architect.³ The Act provided for conciliation and arbitration. The award of the arbitrator was made binding upon both parties. The Act also provided for recognition of unions so that notice could be given and negotiations could be carried on. An authority was also provided with whom workers could register their complaints regarding their grievances and get them redressed. It was the first Industrial Relations Act of its type in India, and it gave birth to the first Industrial Court in the country. The Act was amended from time to time, and was finally replaced by the Bombay Industrial Relations Act in 1946. There has been no departure, however, from the basic principles of the 1938 Act. It was adopted in other Provinces, and became a model for the machinery for settlement of industrial disputes all over the country.⁴

¹ Ibid., p. 50.

² V. B. Karnik, op. cit., p. 278.

³ Ibid., p. 283.

⁴ Ibid.

The Act was, however, opposed by all labour groups, but most vehemently by the Communists who organised a one-day protest strike against it in Bombay. A large number of workers joined the strike. But once the legislation was adopted and a machinery for conciliation and settlement was set up they made ample use of the machinery in spite of all exhortations by the Communists to boycott it.¹

The Congress Ministry did another important thing to conduct an inquiry into various labour problems. It set up the Textile Labour Enquiry Committee under the chairmanship of Jairamdas Daultram, to investigate the question of adequacy of wages and other related matters. The committee was asked to furnish an interim report which it actually did in February 1938. It recommended an immediate increase of 12.5 per cent. in the wages of textile workers. The millowners complied with the Government directive, and granted the increase. The appointment of the committee and the immediate implementation of its interim recommendations had an assuaging effect upon the textile workers.² Despite the efforts of the Popular Ministry, the Communists continued their militant activities. They organised sporadic strikes. The one-day general strike organised by them in collaboration with Dr. Ambedkar on the Russian Revolution Day on 7 November 1938 deserves a mention. It was mostly confined to the textile industry in the city.³ The failure to gain a better support drove the strikers to rowdiness and violence. There was looting and dislocation of traffic. The Bombay Disturbances Enquiry Committee, appointed by Government to investigate these incidents, squarely blamed the Communists, who, by their intensive propaganda, instigated the workers to resort to violence to make the strike a success.⁴ Incidentally, Dr. Ambedkar's Independent Labour Party was also quite active among the millhands in Bombay. It formed a new labour union, namely, the Mumbai Girni Kamgar Sangh to get a foothold in the labour quarters.

The Communist Party was still illegal.⁵ Gradually, the Congress Ministry released the Communist internees and strove for minimum wages and security to workers. Meanwhile attention was directed towards securing a better deal from the Textile Labour Enquiry Committee which has been referred to above. The labour leaders, particularly the Bombay Girni Kamgar Union (Red Flag)⁶ became very active to put forth their demands. Dange, Joglekar, Nimbkar, Mirajkar, Patkar, Deshpande,

¹ V. B. Karnik, op. cit., p. 283.

² Ibid., p. 284. The Committee submitted its final report in 1940, but by that time the Congress was no longer in office.

³ *Bombay—1937-38*.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Many of the Bombay Communists were very active in Solapur, where they were in league with G. D. Sane, Sardesai, Karadkar, and Minakshi Karadkar.

⁶ It was established in 1928.

Ranadive and the Karnik brothers took an active part in union activity. The periodical *Kranti* which was moribund for some time was revived by Dange in 1937 as an organ of the Communist Party.

The Communists soon realised in the closing months of 1938 that there was little scope for them to work as a separate organisation, and that they should establish themselves as Congress "Leftists". Accordingly they changed their strategy and participated in a campaign for mass enrolment of workers in the Congress. They professed to fight British imperialism and to safeguard the interest of the working class through the Congress forum.¹ This paved the way for co-operation on certain issues between the Congress and the Communist Party. But this truce was only a short-lived affair, and they continued the policy of fomentation of strikes and propagation of the spirit of revolution.² The British bureaucracy which was dismayed by the truce between the Congress and the Communists rejoiced at the parting of their ways.

The year 1939 opened with a stagnation in the mill industry in the city. A few mills were closed, while some closed their night shifts which resulted into considerable retrenchment. This accentuated Communist activity in the labour areas. Communists resorted to extra-constitutional methods. The inevitable consequence was the conviction of many of them at the hands of the Congress Ministry in August 1939. The order for securities had also been issued against certain newspapers. The ban on Communist literature, indigenous as well as foreign, was executed meticulously at the instance of the Government of India.

The Communists did not fail to exhibit their patriotism on the outbreak of the Second World War on 1 September 1939. They expressly condemned the imposition of war on the Indian people, and exhorted the people to resist all war efforts of the Government, although they later changed their stand after Russian involvement in the war. The Bombay Provincial Trade Union Congress under the leadership of Joglekar, R. A. Khedgikar and Lalji Pendse passed the following resolution on 7 September 1939 which is representative of the current Communist opinion: "This meeting is of the opinion that it is necessary to resort to immediate direct action in the interest of the independence of India, and requests the Congress Working Committee to form a united front and chalk out a fighting programme to resist all attempts to impose war on India. The meeting also condemns the Ordinance issued by the Viceroy which was meant to compel the Indian masses to participate in the war at the point of the

¹ *Bombay Police Secret Abstract*, 1938, p. 119.

² *Bombay—1938-39*, p. iii.

pistol and to crush the anti-war movement This meeting is of the opinion that to help British Imperialism at present is tantamount to committing an offence against democracy and the Indian masses."¹

NARIMAN EPISODE

At the time of formation of the Ministry, there occurred in Bombay what has come to be known as the Nariman Episode. It was concerning K. F. Nariman, president of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, a former mayor and a popular Congressman of Bombay who had unearthed the Back Bay scandal. He had become the hero of Bombay by his participation in the Civil Disobedience Movement as well as by the famous Harvey-Nariman case. He fancied himself as the obvious choice for the leadership of the Congress Party in the Bombay legislature, and hence for the Chief Ministership of Bombay Presidency. Actually, however, when the choice was to be finalised, the Parliamentary Board, particularly Vallabhbhai Patel, saw many reasons to doubt the political integrity of Nariman. Fears were expressed whether in a crisis he could be depended upon to fulfil the Congress policy in the spirit and letter and to submit to party discipline. The consensus was, therefore, in favour of a "safer" man, and the choice fell on B. G. Kher, a solicitor of Bombay, who had distinguished himself by quiet constructive work and had sacrificed in the struggle for freedom. "Nariman and his followers were sorely disappointed and voiced their chagrin in a campaign which was not free from vulgarity and vilification. Vallabhbhai was the target of criticism which was given a communal colour. The issue was inevitably referred to Gandhi."² The proceedings lasted more than four months.

All the newspapers in the city were full of reports of this controversy, although Gandhiji scrupulously avoided publicity which would have humiliated Nariman. It was reported that Vallabhbhai was in favour of K. M. Munshi for the chief ministership. Nariman started a campaign against both of them and mustered support in a section of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee. He complained to the Congress Working Committee against Vallabhbhai's 'persecution' of him and asked for an enquiry. The Congress Working Committee referred the matter to a sub-committee consisting of Gandhiji and D. N. Bahadurji, a Parsi known for his probity and impartiality, and a former Advocate General of Bombay.³ Gandhiji did not want to be the sole arbitrator and, in order to avoid any suspicion of anti-Parsi bias, suggested the name of Bahadurji.

¹ *Bombay Police Secret Abstract*, 1939, p. 424.

² K. Gopalswami, op. cit., p. 306.

³ Ibid.

According to T. R. Deogirikar, there were 22 charges against Nariman, including the withdrawal by him of his nomination in favour of Cowasji Jehangir at the Central Assembly elections of 1934, thereby betraying the Congress. It was also alleged that funds collected for the election campaign of P. Balu, the famous Harijan cricketer and Congress candidate, were diverted by Nariman to himself.¹

A few leading citizens of Bombay, however, appealed to Gandhiji to have an impartial inquiry into the alleged injustice done to Veer Nariman.² There was a violent excitement over the unfortunate episode. A memorandum signed by more than 20,000 citizens of Bombay was sent to the Congress Working Committee.³ Gandhiji and D. N. Bahadurji examined all the documents and witnesses which meant extraordinary labours to both of them. They prepared an award running into 14 typed sheets after hectic activity. It was, however, not publicised lest it should give rise to unsavoury situation, and was shown to Nariman himself.

The *Bombay Samachar* announced that Nariman had issued a public statement in which he confessed to his indifference in the elections of 1934 and 1937 and, to atone for this lapse on his part and with a view to regaining the public confidence, he announced, with a willing heart, his decision not to accept any office in the Congress. It was expected that this would mark the end of the episode. Unfortunately, however, Nariman retracted his public statement, probably at the instigation of the hot-headed elements among his followers.

Ultimately the Congress Working Committee, in its Wardha meet, adopted the Gandhiji-Bahadurji report, and resolved that in view of the findings in this report and his acceptance of them and his subsequent recantation, Nariman's conduct had been such as to prove him unworthy of holding any position of trust and responsibility in the Congress organisation. Thence forward, Veer Nariman ceased to figure in the public life of Bombay. His name is, however, commemorated by naming after him the most ultra-modern office complex in the city, namely, the Nariman Point, as well as the Veer Nariman Road which was formerly known as the Churchgate Street.

MINISTRY EXPERIMENT

After the Congress Working Committee decision in favour of acceptance of office, the interim Ministers tendered their resignations to the Governor on 15 July, and B. G. Kher, a son of Bombay and the leader

¹ Ibid., p. 306.

² *Bombay Samachar*, 30 July 1937.

³ K. Gopalswami, op. cit., pp. 308-09.

of the Congress Party was invited to form a Ministry. The following gentlemen were thereupon appointed:—

Mr. B. G. Kher	.. Prime ¹ Minister.
Mr. K. M. Munshi	.. Home and Law.
Mr. A. B. Latthe	.. Finance.
Dr. M. D. D. Gilder	.. Public Health and Excise.
Mr. Morarji R. Desai	.. Revenue.
Mr. L. M. Patil	.. Local Self-Government.
Mr. M. Y. Nurie	.. Public Works.

Six Parliamentary Secretaries were appointed by the Ministry.² The new Ministry, the first of its kind, assumed office on 19 July 1937. It marked the inauguration of Provincial Autonomy, the most important event in the history of the Province till then.

The Popular Ministry had to present its first budget within less than a month. The budget presented to the Bombay Legislative Assembly on 7 August, attracted a very great attention in Bombay, and it found the echo of popular will in the newspapers and public platform in the city. It provided for drastic reductions in the expenditure on Ministers, the speaker of the Legislative Assembly, the president of the Legislative Council and other political appointments. True to the Congress promises, the budget foreshadowed complete prohibition of liquor, and provided immediate relief for the agricultural population in the form of abolition of grazing fees, remission of land revenue, provision of many lakhs for village water supply. Education was given a due priority, while a special provision was made for the advancement of education among the Harijans. A wide extension of education and reorganisation of the existing system were pursued. A good many schemes were undertaken, dealing with the rural economy, the equitable adjustment of taxation and other measures for the relief of the ryot.³

The Ministry had to its credit many useful and constructive measures of educational, social and economic reforms. It brought forward a number of resolutions, such as (i) condemnation of the Government of India Act of 1935, (ii) opposition to federation, (iii) the policy of re-purchasing, at Government cost, lands of many citizens forfeited and sold in consequence of the Civil Disobedience Movement with a view to restore them to the original holders or their heirs and (iv) advocating the discontinuance of titles.

¹ The Chief Minister was designated Prime Minister under the Government of India Act of 1935.

² Gulzarilal Nanda, Mrs. Hansa Mehta, B. M. Gupte, M. P. Patil, T. R. Nesvi and B. S. Hiray were the Parliamentary Secretaries.

³ *Bombay—1937-38*, p. ii.

The new Government was particularly active, on the executive side, in cancelling orders issued under the Bombay Special (Emergency) Powers Act, 1932, and the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908, which had been exploited by the earlier regime for infringement of the freedom of individuals and political associations. All such orders were cancelled within three months. Moveable properties forfeited in consequence of the Civil Disobedience Movement by virtue of orders issued under certain Ordinances and the Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1932, were restored to the owners. Lands captured by Government were handed over to the owners. Certain pensions which had been forfeited were also restored and efforts were made in other directions to remove the hardships which the citizens had suffered for their participation in the freedom movement. Political prisoners were also released.¹

The popular Government continued to translate into practice its programme enunciated in the Congress election manifesto. The Bombay Special (Emergency) Powers Act, 1932, which had virtually been reduced to a dead letter in 1937-38 was formally repealed in 1938-39. It continued to implement its policy of relieving the disabilities suffered by freedom fighters because of their participation in the Civil Disobedience Movement. It issued orders for reinstatement in Government service or the restoration of pension in the cases of several government servants who were victimised for their sympathies to the freedom struggle. The ban on a number of publications which had been declared forfeited was lifted.²

In its efforts to achieve efficiency in administration, the Government issued instructions to local officers impressing upon them the necessity of closer contact with the public. At the same time it appealed to the citizens to desist from abusive attacks on the public services and to co-operate with officials in carrying on the administration efficiently, impartially and honestly.

Meanwhile the Bombay Provincial Muslim League had launched a tirade against the Popular Ministry.³ The harmony between Hindus and Muslims was marred by a trifling cause in Kamathipura. It developed into serious rioting in May 1937 which was resumed in June taking a toll of eleven lives.⁴ Practically every year the city was torn by Hindu-Muslim riots involving heavy casualties and disruption of normal life. The new regime was, therefore, obliged to revise the scheme for maintenance of law and order with the result that the communal riots became less and less frequent.⁵

¹ *Ibid.*, p. iii.

² *Bombay—1938-39*, p. ii.

³ *Ibid.*, p. ii.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ K. M. Munshi, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

The economy of Bombay city did experience considerable revival in 1937-38. After days of bad fortunes the cotton textile industry entered into an era of prosperity. The total value of trade through the Bombay Port, foreign as well as coasting, increased from Rs. 137.96 crores in 1936-37 to Rs. 150.98 crores¹ in 1937-38. The increase in import duty collection at the Bombay Custom House from Rs. 15,24.85 lakhs to Rs. 17,51.26 lakhs in 1937-38 was undoubtedly an indication of an immense rise in imports.² Exports did fall, but the reasons for that were to be found in the economy of the hinterland rather than in the city.

The Bombay Government further extended medical and public health facilities in the city as in the Province. The constitution of the Bombay Municipal Corporation was revised and civic franchise was considerably widened. The system of nomination of Corporators, a vestige of imperialistic policy, was abolished. This was a very important measure in the history of the Corporation as it extended the principle of democracy in local self-government. The Corporation undertook many development schemes for the benefit of citizens. The Back Bay scheme was vigorously pursued. Educational facilities were further extended. The first city of India lacked a modern cricket stadium upto this time. This lacuna was overcome by the inauguration of the spacious Brabourne Stadium in 1937 on the plot of land given by Government at the Churchgate Reclamation.

The Special Development Fund was created in 1938-39 for schemes of development in education, agriculture and public health by the Ministry. The enforcement of the Bombay Industrial Disputes Act (1938) in 1939 was an outstanding measure as it provided for an elaborate machinery for arbitration in industrial disputes,³ reducing the friction between labour and capital. The Government also pursued the policy of extending the scope of existing labour legislation by means of executive orders, particularly by implementation of the Factories Act and the Payment of Wages Act to factories employing ten or more workers. It enacted the Rent Restriction Act (Act No. XVI of 1939) in order to restrict, in consequence of the levy of the urban immovable property tax, the increase in rents of premises. This was highly in the interest of the middle class as well as labour who were relieved of the threat of increase in house rents. A further advance in social legislation was the enactment of the Shop Assistants and Establishments Act, which provided for the regulation of hours of work in shops and commercial establishments. A Labour Welfare Department was inaugurated on 1 April 1939 for welfare activities, such as, training to social workers, promotion of physical culture

¹ The value of foreign trade was Rs. 113.90 crores.

² *Bombay—1937-38*, pp. vi-vii.

³ It has also been referred to earlier under Communist Activity.

and recreational centres, production of literature for the enlightenment of the industrial workers and imparting training for alternative occupations.¹

In its pursuit of the general policy of advancing the economic condition of the masses, the Congress Government created a Special Department in April 1939 to carry out its programme of rural development. Government also set up a Provincial Board of Rural Development to advise and assist officials in executing the several schemes of development. A Provincial Board of Primary Education was appointed in pursuance of the amended Primary Education Act in the year. A good deal of progress was made in general education, basic education and adult education. Considerable effort was made to promote vocational training in secondary schools.²

The Government took an important step by sanctioning the amalgamation of the greater part of the Bombay Suburban District with Bombay City for police administration in 1939. The suburbs were practically a continuation of the city itself and growing urbanization in the suburbs was accompanied by a serious increase in crime. Hence, a single unified police force for the whole conglomeration had become a necessity. After amalgamation the Bombay City Police became one of the largest police forces in the British Empire, apart from the London Metropolitan Police.³

The Congress Ministry was functioning well and its progress seemed to be smooth. Gone were the days of civil disobedience and hartals and strikes against the foreign rulers. The tables were turned and the Congress, instead of provoking and promoting political and industrial strife, became the guardian of law and order. It largely succeeded in this task too. It had to consolidate its position before taking the next step instead of trying to wreck the Government of India Act. It took to constructive work and ameliorative measures, and settled down to hard work.⁴

However, the rift between the Muslim League and the Congress worsened. A good many powerful Muslim leaders were in agreement with the Congress politics in Bombay. Yusuf Meherally, and Jaffer Abidali were Congress activists in the city. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, who was soon to become the Congress president, wielded considerable influence over the Muslim public mind in Bombay. However, Mohamed Ali Jinnah, the one time Prince of Bombay, overpowered the Muslims and outwitted the nationalists among them. Jinnah lived in a palatial bungalow on the Mount Pleasant Road with his sister Fatima Jinnah. Although Jinnah's sphere of influence was wider and deeper among the North

¹ *Bombay—1939-40*, p. vii.

² *Ibid.*, p. 9.

³ *Ibid.*, p. xii.

⁴ Kanji Dwarkadas, *Ten Years to Freedom : 1938-1947* (Popular Prakashan, Bombay, 1968), p. 1.

Indian Muslims, he could and did command the Muslim opinion also in Bombay. The Bombay Provincial Muslim League, drawing its inspiration from Jinnah, organised new branches and propaganda in the city as well as the mofussil areas. It became highly critical of the Congress regime, and widened the gulf between the two parties.

Gandhiji-Jinnah Talks : In April and May 1938, Gandhiji had two sets of talks with Jinnah in Bombay with a view to arriving at a settlement of the communal problem. The talks were obviously against the background of the acute problem of communal discord in Indian politics. Jinnah, the one time great intellectual of Bombay, now denounced the policies and activities of the Congress, and declared that 'the Muslims can expect neither justice nor fairplay under Congress Government'. He became the undisputed leader of the Muslim League. He strongly held that 'the democratic system of Parliamentary Government on the conception of a homogeneous nation and the method of counting heads' was not possible in India. It was, therefore, natural that the talks between Gandhiji and Jinnah evinced immense interest in the public mind of Bombay. Although not much was expected to come out of the deliberations, Hindu opinion gravely warned Gandhiji against making any concession, while the Muslim League was obstinate and unrelenting. The talks in April yielded little. The deliberations were resumed in the city in May 1938, Subhash Bose participating as the Congress president. These negotiations were also deadlocked.

The talks were preceded by a serious communal riot from 17 April 1938, costing 14 human lives. The ground for riot seemed to have been carefully prepared by the secret circulation of leaflets and by inflammatory writings in a section of the press. The riots took the usual form of sporadic assaults and stabbings, but prompt action by the authorities soon brought the situation under control. Six communal newspapers were, hence, placed under censorship.¹

The agitation of the State Congress in Hyderabad also found its echoes in Bombay. Public opinion was in favour of constitutional reforms in the Nizam territory.

Prohibition Inaugurated : Prohibition was extended to Bombay city and suburbs on 1 August 1939. There was to be no taxation to make up for the loss of revenue entailed. This social reform measure launched at the instance of Gandhiji, inspired some criticism in the legislature by the vested interests. Outside, there was a bitter opposition from a strong, though numerically small, section of the public, consisting mainly of Parsis with large interests in the liquor trade,² and Christians. Homi

¹ *Bombay—1938-39*, p. iv.

² *Ibid.*, p. i.

Mody, Cowasji Jehangir, J. C. Coyajee, Khareghat, Saklatwala and A. D. Shroff represented the case of the opponents to prohibition. S. K. Bole pleaded the case of the toddy tappers who were solely dependent on this occupation. He submitted a memorandum to Gandhiji on behalf of 8,000 Bhandaris.¹ This situation continued until the close of the year, but the Government showed that it was determined to implement the programme. Munshi and Dr. Gilder were enthusiastic with the same, and established a board for prohibition propaganda. Gandhiji himself fought the battle for prohibition in Bombay.²

It was an interesting coincidence that four Parsis simultaneously held eminent offices in the city in 1939 : Dr. Gilder—Minister, Sir Rustom. P. Masani—Vice-Chancellor of the University of Bombay (1939-1942), Behram N. Karanjia—Mayor of Bombay (1939-40), and Dr. Phiroze C. Bharucha—Sheriff of Bombay. About this Gandhiji rightly said, "I do not know that there has been such a happy conjunction before in the history of Bombay."³

After relinquishment of office by the Congress, prohibition was modified by the bureaucracy, following a ruling by a Special Bench of the High Court in July 1940. The Court held that prohibition was *ultra vires* the constitution. In another case, the Court gave a ruling that it was beyond the power of the Provincial Legislature to enact any law prohibiting the possession of intoxicants in such a way as to encroach upon the rights of liquor importers and exporters, and such an order would infringe upon the sphere of the Central Government. Hence, prohibition even in the modified form was made inoperative.⁴ A great measure of social reform cherished by the Popular Ministry was thus set at naught.

The consternation within the Congress, in January 1939, over the issue of the presidentship of the Tripuri Congress, created an inevitable commotion in Bombay. Only once before in 1907, when the Congress had met at Surat, there was a controversy as to who should be the president—Lala Lajpat Rai or Rash Behari Ghosh. Since then there was no real contest. All too unexpectedly the presidentship of Tripuri session became a storm centre. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was to be the candidate, while Subhash Chandra Bose had also entertained a desire to run a second term after his presidentship at Haripura. Maulana Azad, however, changed his opinion while in Bombay, and decided to withdraw. Consequently, Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya was sponsored as an official

¹ K. Gopalswami, op. cit., pp. 317-28.

² *Ibid.*, p. 317.

³ Gandhiji defended the Bombay Ministry in the matter of criticism against prohibition.

⁴ *Bombay—1940-41*, pp. xv-xvi.

candidate in place of the Maulana. The contest between Dr. Sitaramayya and Subhash Babu placed the crown of presidentship on the latter's head. On the morrow of the result, Gandhiji came out with his statement that the defeat of Sitaramayya was his own defeat. There was a consternation in the country, a searching of hearts and a revolution of positions. Those who had voted for Subhash Babu came out with a fresh vote of confidence in Gandhiji's leadership. That created an awkward situation to be sure. What was really embarrassing was the reversal of party majorities. Unfortunately the president-elect was in a minority in the All-India Congress Committee.¹

OUTBREAK OF THE WAR

The Congress had been anticipating the outbreak of war for over twelve years, and had been warning the country against rendering any kind or any measure of help to Britain in money, men or munitions. At last the long apprehended war broke out on 1 September 1939, and India was unilaterally declared a belligerent on the 3rd. His Majesty's broadcast was the first to be heard. This was followed by the Viceroy's and the Governor's, and was played back for a couple of days. Lord Linlithgow expressed his confidence that "India will make her contribution on the side of human freedoms as against the rule of force and play a part worthy of her place among the great nations and historical civilization of the world", a worthy path indeed for a slave to enslave other nations or to emancipate them and yet continue a Cinderella of the nations of the world. An anxious and perhaps inquisitive public began to scan and scrutinize these various loud talks to see if in the range of their war aims, there was any mention of Indian aspirations. But alas! India, the inexhaustible source of food and raw materials, the home of warriors and slaves, was not consulted by Britain as the Dominions were. The Indian Central Legislature was not informed about the serious step taken.² A wave of indignation ran through the country, much more so in Bombay.

The Act of 1935 was amended by the Parliament to confer on the Central Government special powers to deal with the emergency. Provincial autonomy was also restricted and circumscribed at the same time. In spite of the repeated declarations of the Congress in regard to war, the British Government had declared India a belligerent country without the consent of the people, and far-reaching measures were hurried through the legislature, and Ordinances were promulgated affecting them vitally and circumscribing the powers of the Provincial Government. The

¹ Pattabhi Sitaramayya, *History of the Indian National Congress*, Vol. II (S. Chand & Co., New Delhi, 1946), p. 106.

² *Ibid.*, p. 125.

Congress demanded that the Government should state its 'war aims', and India must be declared an independent nation. It further declared that India could not co-operate in the war without the status of an equal partner, but would help Britain if her independence was recognised. On 17 October the Viceroy came out with a declaration of Britain's war aims with regard to India. Unfortunately the Viceregal declaration was profoundly disappointing and showed that the old policy of 'divide and rule' was to continue. The announcement regarding formation of a Consultative Group consisting of representatives elected by the Viceroy from amongst a panel nominated by different political organisations was nothing but an empty talk as the Group was not to have any power of decision. The much advertised high aims, professed by the British, were crumbled into dust at the first touch of reality.

Meanwhile the National Liberal Federation of India, a reactionary body which had its protagonists in Bombay, offered unconditional support to Great Britain. There were also the leaders of some communities and interests such as the Hindu Mahasabha, the Scheduled Castes, Sikhs and Parsis, who instantly made it clear that their views and interests should not be left out of account in the discussions that were in progress.¹

The Congress, however, saw in the Britishers' talk of 'protection of minorities' an excuse for perpetuating the *status quo*, while it was insisting on a charter of independence to be framed by a Constituent Assembly of representatives selected by universal franchise. Behind all the conciliatory words of Sir Samuel Hoare, there was a clear intention to deny full responsible government, not to speak of independence to India, even at the end of the war.² The Congress Working Committee saw the futility in the British talk, and decided against extending any support to Great Britain as it would have amounted to an endorsement of the imperialist policy. As a first step in that direction, it called upon the Congress Ministries to tender their resignations. It also warned Congressmen against any hasty action in the shape of civil disobedience, political strikes and the like. It issued instructions to the Congress Ministries to tender their resignation, while the speakers, deputy speakers and members of the Assemblies, presidents and members of the Councils were expected to retain their offices and seats.

Accordingly on 25 October 1939 the Prime Minister of Bombay, B. G. Kher, moved in the Legislative Assembly the historic resolution expressing regret at India having been made a participant in the war without her people's consent and demanding that she be regarded as an independent

¹ Lord Zetland's Statement in the House of Lords, 18 October 1939, *cf. March of Events* (Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, September 1940).

² Dr. Rajendra Prasad on the debate in the House of Commons on 26 October 1939. *cf. March of Events*, p. 71.

nation entitled to frame her own constitution. And the Ministry headed by B. G. Kher relinquished office on 4 November.¹ It was as if a work of Art erected after half a century of toil and suffering, of negotiations and adjustment, was smashed to smithereens by one incendiary.² The indignation and frustration of the people was, however, more due to Britain's imperialistic design of playing the minorities against the so-called majority, and converting the question into a communal one than the collapse of the edifice.

After relinquishment of power by the Ministry, Sir Roger Lumley, Governor, issued a proclamation under section 93 of the Government of India Act assuming to himself all legislative and administrative powers, and appointing Advisers³ to assist him in carrying on the administration. The Advisers were: Sir Gilbert Wiles, Janardan Atmaram Madan and Henry Foley Knight, all of them I.C.S. officers.

The relinquishment of office by the Congress was welcomed by Jinnah and his followers, and Jinnah called for celebration of a "Day of Deliverance and Thanksgiving" on 22 December 1939. If Bombay was abounding with an abiding patriotic fervour and support to the Congress, some quarters in the city celebrated the "Day of Deliverance" with jubilation. An irony of fate to be sure. A widening of the gulf between the Hindus and the Muslims.

It is essential to give an account of Lord Linlithgow's speech at the Orient Club, Bombay, on 10 January 1940. It was conceived in a less harsh strain than hitherto. After recounting the events of previous months and the rapid changes brought about therein, the Viceroy expressed the trust that the interruption in the working of Provincial Autonomy would be temporary and that the re-establishment of the normal working of the Constitution would, before long, be practicable. The Viceroy expressed his regret at their inability to secure the presence of the Ministers at the Centre, the association of the Indian States in a common Government, the representation of all the minorities on duly settled lines and the unity of India. He repeated that "Their objective in India was the attainment of Dominion Status of the Statute of Westminster variety, that they are prepared in the meantime, subject to the local adjustments between the leaders of the great communities as may be necessary to ensure harmonious working, and as an immediate earnest of the intention, to expand the Executive Council of the Governor-General by the inclusion of a small number of political leaders."⁴ The Viceroy stated how there were many people who pressed for swifter and

¹ *Bombay—1939-40*, p. i.

² Pattabhi Sitaramayya, op. cit., Vol II, p. 145.

³ *Bombay—1939-40*, p. i.

⁴ cf. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 160.

more valuable solutions of the problems before us, and asked how often these apparently simple solutions, when more closely investigated, presented unforeseen difficulties and problems of unexpected importance. Once again he harped back to the claims of the minorities, the Muslim minority and the Scheduled Castes. Justice must be done, he said, as between various parties, and His Majesty's Government are determined to see justice done. Presumptuously he asked his friends in the various parties to consider whether they could not get together and reach some agreement between themselves. But so far as the objective was concerned, he gave the assurance that the Government would spare no effort to reduce to the minimum the interval between the existing state of things and the attainment of Dominion Status. The concluding paragraph of the speech was not only exhortative but also pathetic. "The offer is there. The responsibility that falls on the great political parties and their leaders is a heavy one. They have helped me in the past and I ask today that they will help me again and help India, and I ask for their co-operation and their assistance in terminating at as early a date as possible, a state of things which all who have faith in the virtue of constitutional progress, must deplore, a state of things which every lover of India, every one who is concerned to advance her interests must feel today to be a bitter disappointment."

In spite of the mellifluous language and the captivating tone adopted, the core of Linlithgow's speech remains as hard as before. Minorities, Muslims, Scheduled classes, justice between parties and mutual agreement, constituted the burden of the song. The reaction of Dr. Rajendra Prasad (Congress president) came sharply in reply on 14 January that the Congress goal was independence pure and simple as against the Dominion Status even of the Westminster variety, that the party leaders were not the fully accredited representatives of the whole of the population that they profess to represent, and that under the circumstances it was not without careful consideration that the Congress had put forth the Constituent Assembly as the only solution.¹

Independence Day: Ever since 1930, January 26 had been regularly observed as the Independence Day and had become a landmark in the struggle for freedom. Owing to the present deep political crisis and the possibility of the struggle being continued in an intenser form, the celebration of this Day in 1940 had a special significance attached to it. There was also the urgent necessity of preparing the country for the struggle that might be forced upon the people in the near future by the attitude of the British Government towards the national demands.

¹ For text of the Viceroy's speech and the Congress President's statement, see *March of Events* (Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, September 1940), pp. 110-16.

The Congress Working Committee, therefore, gave a call for the preparation for fight. This call was incorporated in the exhortation to observe the Independence Day and the pledge to be solemnised anew in public meetings.

The pledge¹ was a solemn resolution to carry out non-violently the struggle for freedom till *purna swaraj* was attained. It was an exhortation to keep in readiness and to respond to the call of the Congress. To be sure, it was a harbinger of civil disobedience.

The war continued to cast its shadow over life in Bombay in 1940. The Government was busy meeting defence needs and in dealing with problems caused by the nationalist struggle. Trade and commerce were affected by the developments in the struggle and the increasing demands of the defence services. Despite all this, the war remained a thing remote from the man in the street. It was a year of war in the distance, and of politics at home. Political news often ousted war despatches from the place of prominence in newspapers: there was an endless discussion over India's future constitution, a great controversy as to the extent to which political parties should or should not help the war effort.²

The Ramgarh Congress of March 1940 strongly denounced the declaration of India as a belligerent country, without reference to the people of India. It also disapproved of Indian troops and resources being harnessed for imperialistic ends.³

In the post-Ramgarh period satyagraha became inevitable. The Bombay Provincial Congress Committee and the district units in the city bestirred themselves to vigorous activity in pursuance of Gandhiji's directions, and began to function as Satyagraha Committees, enrolling satyagrahis. The reordering of internal affairs and the earnest pursuit of the constructive programme were the duties demanded of them. The scheme of some changes in the administration proposed by the Viceroy, on 8 August 1940, which came to be known as the August Offer, was not only an empty one, but the Viceroy therein granted a veto to the minorities. This disappointed, the Congress leaders, who withdrew the Poona resolution at the All-India Congress Committee meeting in Bombay on 15 September 1940.

Bombay has always done a good job of arranging for meetings of the Congress as well as the All-India Congress Committee on a grand scale. On this occasion the Reception Committee did not find it easy to have a suitable venue. A place like the Cowasji Jehangir Hall would not have

¹ For text of the pledge, see *March of Events*, 1940, pp. 109-10.

² *Bombay—1940-41*, p. i.

³ *March of Events*, 1940, p. 120.

been available for a hostile Congress demonstration. Bhulabhai Desai persuaded the authorities of the Sunderabai Hall to make the same available to the All-India Congress Committee. But they would not allow any flags or portraits. Bhawanji Arjun Khimji, a leading Congressman, did not accept such restrictions. Purshottamdas Thakurdas, president of the East India Cotton Association, however, agreed to Khimji's request not only to allow the All-India Congress Committee to meet in the Cotton Green, but also to house the delegates in the spare rooms. Among those who attended, besides Gandhiji, were Abul Kalam Azad and Vallabhbhai.¹

It was at this session in Bombay that Gandhiji agreed to assume active leadership of the Congress, after his differences of opinion on the issue of non-violence. Gandhiji was now resuming his old generalship. The atmosphere was tense, but not with fear but with a certain expectation and a certain hope unfolding themselves before the national vision. The All-India Congress Committee reviewed the situation as it developed during the previous two months and declared that the Delhi Resolution confirmed by the All-India Congress Committee at Pune no longer applied. It had lapsed. The Working Committee resolved to suspend civil disobedience to ensure a perfect peace and tranquillity and an atmosphere of non-violence throughout the country before it inaugurated satyagraha.²

Individual Satyagraha : After the Bombay meet, Gandhiji met the Viceroy, but, as was expected, nothing came out of it. The demon of war was spreading his tentacles far and wide in Europe, which instead of softening the heart of Britain towards India, hardened it ever more. Hence, Gandhiji announced his programme of individual satyagraha on the issue of freedom to preach non-co-operation with the Government in its war effort and to make anti-war speeches on 13 October 1940, and chose Vinoba Bhave as its first exponent. Vinoba was not then so well-known, and many in Bombay asked who he was and why he was chosen.³ But Gandhiji made no secret of his conviction that no one else came up to Vinoba's standard as a satyagrahi.⁴ Vinoba Bhave was followed by Nehru,⁵ Azad, Vallabhbhai, Rajendra Prasad, Rajaji, B. G. Kher, Bhulabhai Desai,⁶ Mangaldas Pakvasa and K. M. Munshi, the last four being from Bombay. Once the movement began to take

¹ K. Gopalswami, op. cit., p. 339.

² Pattabhi Sitaramayya, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 215-16.

³ K. Gopalswami, op. cit., p. 352.

⁴ Vinoba offered satyagraha as the first satyagrahi on 17 October by asserting his freedom of speech through a pledge as under: "It is wrong to help this British war effort with men or money. The only remedy to war is to resist all wars by non-violent resistance."

⁵ Nehru was not arrested for satyagraha, but for some speeches delivered by him.

⁶ Bhulabhai was then the leader of the opposition in the Central Legislature.

shape, the members of the Legislatures, *ex*-Ministers and Congressmen were all detained. Jamnalalji was, after a serious illness, released on medical grounds, some time in the summer of 1941. The movement went on methodically and progressed according to plan. However, public opinion in Bombay, as in India, was sceptical about the efficacy of individual satyagraha. "The selection of one individual to start the campaign for achieving freedom of speech, at the end of which certainly lay independence, appeared to some minds highly intellectual, highly patriotic, highly courageous and highly self-sacrificing as almost bordering on a joke."¹ Simultaneously with the inauguration of the campaign, the object of which was to establish the freedom of speech and expression, the right of free expression even through writing was snatched away by a special Ordinance promulgated in October 1940. Gandhiji had to give up the publication of his three weeklies because of the ban on publication of news concerning the satyagraha.

The movement assumed the form of shouting anti-war slogans and making anti-war speeches in Bombay. In the beginning, when news of the arrests of important Congressmen was received, various markets were closed and meetings of the Municipal Corporation were adjourned. However, this policy of non-co-operation failed to arouse enthusiasm among the masses.

Towards the end of 1941 all the Congress satyagrahis were released, but Gandhiji was not enthused by this measure. Some Congress adherents broke away to form the Radical Democratic People's Party which advocated support to the war. Other political parties co-operated with the Government. Some voluntary workers in the city came forward to man the auxiliary and Air Raid Precautions Services of Government. Money flowed in a steady stream as gifts to the war funds and as contributions to the defence loans² by the industrialists and vested interests.

By the middle of April 1940, Hitler's blitzkrieg had descended on Norway and Denmark; Holland, Belgium and France fell in quick succession. By the end of June 1940, West Europe had collapsed, and Germany was poised for an assault on England. The fall of France was certainly a landmark in the development of the war and the fate of the British was hanging in balance. It was, therefore, inevitable that Bombay was surcharged with rumours and panic during the black months of mid-1940. The Nazi victories culminating in the collapse and surrender of France were inevitably reflected in the withdrawal of deposits from post office savings banks, a demand for silver in exchange for currency notes, the hoarding of precious metals, and depression in the markets in the city. Early in July the fear of a scarcity of silver, aggravated by

¹ Pattabhi Sitaramayya, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 219.

² *Bombay—1940-41*, p. ii.

an alarm caused by the temporary closing of the Bombay harbour, spurred a rush on the Reserve Bank in Bombay. The Bank had, therefore, to open small change depots all over the city which helped subside the panic. And, in order to check profiteering in currency notes, orders were issued for the prosecution of all persons refusing to accept currency notes at their full face value.¹

The Native Share and Stock Brokers' Association, Bombay, closed the market on 23 May 1940, and next day the Government had to sanction the indefinite closure of the forward market. The Board of the East India Cotton Association, too, decided to ban uncovered short sales in cotton from 8 June, so as to prevent the market from being unduly depressed by attacks.²

Meanwhile the Muslim League, at its annual convention in Lahore, in December 1940, passed a resolution which came to be known as the Pakistan Resolution, defining its goal as Pakistan. Soon after, its leaders engineered communal riots wherever they could, and those at Bombay, Ahmedabad and Dacca were the most brutal. These riots were not the usual outbursts of communal tension with which everybody was familiar; they were intended to thrust Pakistan on the country by terrorizing the Hindus through mob violence.³

The situation obtaining in Bombay was terrible. Against this mounting onslaught of communal frenzy, there arose a consternation and a rage among the Hindus, and even among Congressmen. Several of them including a person like Munshi felt convinced "that communal frenzy against Hindus must be met by force, the only language which the fanatic section of the Muslims was likely to understand".⁴ They intended to organise resistance in self-defence as a paramount duty. The Mahatma and the Congress, wedded to non-violence, however, would not allow such a move. Hence, some leading loyal Congressmen including Munshi, who had a long record of service and dedication to the party, parted ways with the Congress. A terribly painful course of action for Munshi!⁵ Subsequently he organised the Akhand Hindustan Front "to impress upon the people the necessity of mobilizing public opinion in favour of United India".

Meanwhile came the startling news that, on 27 January 1941, Subhash Chandra Bose fled from his house in Calcutta in disguise, notwithstanding

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. ii-iii.

² *Ibid.*, p. iii.

³ K. M. Munshi, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

⁵ The entire episode can be studied further from the correspondence between Munshi, Gandhiji and Sardar Patel furnished by Munshi in *Pilgrimage to Freedom*, Vol. I, Appendices 52 to 58.

the strict watch on his movements. His friends and admirers in Bombay, who were by no means insignificant, were deeply moved.

Moderate Leaders' Conference in Bombay : T. B. Saprū, a *persona grata* with the Government of India, convened a conference in Bombay in March 1941, while the Congress was at war, a non-violent one, with the British. The conference urged the reconstruction of the Viceroy's Council, so that the whole of it might consist of non-official Indians. The Executive Council should be collectively responsible to the Crown during the war, and the British Government should come out with a declaration promising India full Dominion Status within a specified time-limit after conclusion of the war. Pains were taken by Saprū to prove that the Bombay proposals were almost identical with those of the Pune session of the All-India Congress Committee in July 1940. Saprū talked of a National Government with or without the Congress and the Muslim League.¹ "The weakness of the Bombay session lay in the fact that in the eye of the leaders, Congress was only as much (or as little) as it was to Mr. Amery,—one out of many institutions and utmost, a *primus inter pares*."² Furthermore the Bombay Resolution fell short of the Poona Resolution of the All-India Congress Committee in that, while the latter demanded a Provisional National Government responsible to the Central Legislature, the former urged the formation of an expanded, Executive Council responsible to the Crown. There was, therefore, no chance of the Congress favourably reacting to the Bombay decision. As observed by the Congress historian, "The concern of the Bombay Knights was to make the war effort more intensive, more spontaneous and more abundant. . . . Their purpose was to help the British people to the fullest extent possible consistently with India's interests."³

The reaction of Jinnah was extraordinary. In a statement he said that the Bombay conference was engineered by the agents of the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha leaders, and that the prominent leaders remained in the background. He compared it to a Dutch Army "all Generals and no soldiers".

As the Congress historian rightly put it, "Complete independence they would not touch with the longest stick. Dominion Status they would willingly wait for, provided the British Government assigned a date for its inception as early after the war as possible. The vigorous promotion of war effort was their objective."⁴

¹ It was said, "Excluding the League and the Congress, there are millions of people here to be talked to".

² Pattabhi Sitaramayya, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 229.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 230.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 232.

The Secretary of State¹ also dismissed Saprū's proposals by stating that the scheme proposed was not a modification of existing Government, but its supersession, a thing beyond the strain and urgency of war, and totally impracticable. They would create internal constitutional problems.

In the meantime, World War II raged with unabated fury. Hitler invaded Russia on 22 June 1941, and on 12 July Britain entered into an agreement with the Soviet, presaging a shift in policy of the Government of India towards the Communist prisoners, in whom they found a new ally. The Communists had earlier denounced and condemned Britain's war with Germany as 'imperialist'. As soon as Russia became involved they changed overnight and called it a 'people's war'. Bombay, the cockpit of the Communists (in 1937), witnessed a dramatic change in the Communist support to the war effort from July 1941 onwards. They paraded through the labour quarters in the city canvassing for support to the alien Government. How far they were successful, it is difficult to say. Japan entered the war and scored an unbroken series of incredible victories in the Pacific.

Japan bombed Pearl Harbour on 7 December 1941 and smashed the American and British navy in the Pacific. The Germans were perilously near the outskirts of Leningrad. Moscow would hand over to the Germans the possessions of all that Russia had built up and stood for those 20 years in the way of the new social order. While Europe was in this perilous state, war clouds were threatening Asia too. The Japanese captured Singapore on 15 February 1942; Rangoon fell on 7 March; the danger of invasion of India was no longer unreal. Britain's as well as America's might on sea was humbled. Japan's bombers flew over India's east coast and her army did set foot on India's soil. Even these perilous happenings failed to shock the rulers into a realisation of the gravity of the situation. Japan marched from victory to victory. It appeared clear to many that she would be able to take over India swiftly. "The activities of the British supplied ample evidence of a suspicion, held by many of us", Munshi writes, "that, in the event of Japanese advance into India, the British contemplated a retreat westwards, following a 'scorched earth' policy. This possibility led Gandhiji to write a series of articles in the *Harijan* urging upon Britain to Quit India."²

It may, however, well be said that the failure of the ill-fated Cripps Mission³ might have triggered Gandhiji's "Quit India". The Cripps proposals had been rejected by one and all of the political parties in India, although by each of them for its own reasons. The Congress rejected the Cripps offer mainly because the Executive was not to be

¹ Mr. Amery's speech of 22 April 1941.

² K. M. Munshi, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

³ Sir Stafford Cripps arrived in India on 25 March 1942.

responsible to the Legislature. It completely failed to satisfy the Congress in terms of the immediate administrative set-up. The freedom of a province to secede from the union, repudiation of the demands of the State peoples and the virtual reservation of Defence and War to the imperialistic authority, were undoubtedly the other reasons. The Muslim League rejected the offer because the freedom of secession as embodied in the offer did not clearly and fully concede the segmentation of India, as desired by it, in its demand for Pakistan. The Hindu Mahasabha rejected it because of the principle of dismemberment of Hindustan. The Sikhs opposed it because their community would be distributed over two countries and they claimed the right to form an autonomous union of their own. Gandhiji had characterized the offer as a post-dated cheque on a crashing bank. Sir Stafford piled up a number of untruths and half-truths which greatly redounded to his discredit, and made his whilom friends and enemies, his sworn enemies. Gandhiji, therefore, began his campaign late in April 1942. "Whatever the consequences, therefore, to India, her real safety and Britain's too, lies in the orderly and timely British withdrawal from India." He felt "convinced that the British presence is the incentive for the Japanese attack." "Leave India to God, and if that be too much, leave her to anarchy. The beauty and the necessity for withdrawal lies in its being immediate.", he said.

The bombing of Cocanada and Vizagapattam took place on 6 April 1942. Madras and other towns along the eastern coast of India were evacuated on account of the bombing and the sighting of the Japanese ships in the waters of the Bay of Bengal. It was taken for granted that India would shortly be invaded by the Japanese. Inevitably there was commotion and panic in Bombay. India as well as the Congress were impaled upon the horns of a dilemma, and could not easily get rid of a difficult situation without taking a firm and final decision. This situation paved the way for the Working Committee's resolution of 14 July 1942 at Wardha. This resolution met with strong criticism from many quarters, particularly from Sir Sapru, Dr. Ambedkar, Rajaji, Jinnah and Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan.¹

The trail of events that took place during the interval of two months after the resolution, however, left no alternative to the All-India Congress Committee, in Bombay, but to approve of and endorse the Wardha resolution and pass it virtually in the same language with small amendments in the nature of emphasis and clarification.²

The centre of activity shifted to Bombay. Gandhiji arrived in the city early in August. Among many other activities he sent a message to Jinnah through Mr. Meklai, a Muslim businessman in the city, on

¹ Kanji Dwarkadas, op. cit., p. 75.

² Pattabhi Sitaramayya, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 342-43.

4 August. Thereby Gandhiji had offered to Jinnah that the Congress would have no objection to the British Government transferring all the power to the Muslim League on behalf of the whole of India, and that it would even join the Government in running the machinery of the free State with the League. Gandhiji, however, could not pursue the matter further because he was clamped in prison on the morrow of the All-India Congress Committee session in Bombay.¹

As regards the best slogan for independence, Shantikumar Morarji has recorded that Gandhiji conferred with his colleagues in Bombay. One of them suggested, "Get out". Gandhiji rejected it as being impolite. One of them suggested, "Retreat" or "Withdraw". That too was not acceptable. Yusuf Meherali presented the Mahatma with a bow, bearing the inscription, "Quit India". Gandhiji said in approval, "Amen!".² That is how the historic slogan was selected.

QUIT INDIA MOVEMENT

The historic, indeed, the epoch making session of the AICC began on the 7th of August 1942 in the midst of tremendous tension, both on the part of the members and the public in Bombay. Its venue was on the Gowalia Tank Maidan, now christened August Kranti Maidan, where the Congress was born in 1885. S. K. Patil, the organising genius, chief of the BPCC and the "uncrowned King of Bombay" from 1930 onwards, had made very elaborate and lavish preparations for the mammoth session. The success of the meeting was almost exclusively due to Patil's organisational skill and attention to the minutest detail.³ The House looked not like a Committee meeting but like a miniature Congress with an audience of well nigh 20,000 with hundreds of delegates, scores of VIPs, and about a hundred Indian and foreign correspondents. Bombay knows no niggardliness and has perhaps made the best reputation for hospitality and minute attention to details. It is interesting to mention that the atmosphere was suddenly changed by the friendly attitude of a leading Muslim, Dr. Abdul Latif of Hyderabad (Deccan) who had formerly been advocating the formation of Pakistan, and who now suddenly came out with the repudiation of the demand for Pakistan. He suggested that instead of demanding Pakistan, the League should address itself to the question of National Government.⁴

How and why Government allowed the AICC to meet, is one of the mysteries of British behaviour. As it is obvious from a confidential circular by Sir Frederick Puckle, Secretary to the Government of India,⁵

¹ K. Gopalswami, op. cit., pp. 359-60.

² Ibid., p. 355.

³ Ibid., p. 370.

⁴ Pattabhi Sitaramayya, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 346.

⁵ The circular to all Chief Secretaries of the Provincial Governments, 17 July 1942.

that the British were determined to combat the Congress movement sternly, and had made elaborate preparations well in advance. It could not be that they made a favour, and gave a last chance to the AICC to refuse to endorse the Working Committee's resolution. Perhaps they thought that the AICC meeting was but a concession to the Congress constitution.

Abul Kalam Azad opened the proceedings by drawing attention to the imminence of foreign aggression and calling upon everyone, particularly the young, to resist aggression, and not to become sullen or down-hearted. Gandhiji, who had a little earlier entered the pandal in the midst of an uncontrollable enthusiasm of the people, then gave a piece of his mind to the audience. He dwelt upon the purely non-violent and genuinely democratic struggle for freedom, with malice towards none.¹

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru then moved the historic resolution drafted by Gandhiji and sponsored by the Working Committee. The resolution emphasised that India's subjection was degrading to her morally, and enfeebling her in her war efforts. The immediate ending of British rule in India was an urgent necessity both for the sake of India and for the success of the United Nations. The possession of Empire was a burden and a curse, and policies based thereon, made failure inherent in them. A free India would throw all her resources in the struggle for freedom in the world and against the aggression of Nazism and Fascism. Future promises of freedom cannot produce the necessary moral on the masses. On declaration of independence, a Provisional Government with the Constituent Assembly leading to a Federal India would be formed. It would resist aggression together with the allied Powers. A reference was also made to the formation of a world federation. Great Britain was no longer justified in keeping India in bondage. It was, therefore, resolved to sanction, for the vindication of India's freedom, the starting of a non-violent mass struggle. Three points were added in this resolution. First, the primary function of the Provisional Government must be to defend India with all its might; second, the constitution would be a federal one with autonomy for the federating units, and third the freedom of India should be a symbol of and a prelude to the freedom of Burma, Malaya, Indo-China, Dutch Indies, Iran and Iraq.²

¹ Gandhiji said, "Ours is not a drive for power, but purely a non-violent fight for India's independence. . . . The Congress is unconcerned as to who will rule when freedom is attained. The power when it comes, will belong to the people of India, and it will be for them to decide to whom it should be entrusted. . . . Our quarrel is not with the British people; we fight their imperialism. . . . It is not a happy position for a big country like India to be merely helping with money and material obtained willy-nilly from her, while the United Nations are conducting the war."

² Pattabhi Sitaramayya, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 346.

Jawaharlalji explained that the resolution was in no sense a challenge to anyone. The real need of the hour was to shift the emphasis from the physical to the moral plane, from Tanks and Bombers to popular support of the Asiatic and African people, for the present war. The flames that would be kindled by passing the resolution of the day, would illumine the darkened horizon right from the Caucasus to Chungking. The resolution represented the voice of India—the voice of the oppressed humanity.¹ Seconding the resolution, Vallabhbhai said England and America cannot fight their enemies from India without Indian co-operation. There were a number of speeches and quite a few amendments. But most of these amendments were withdrawn except a Communist one which was lost. Before the main resolution was put to vote, Jawaharlalji replied to the debate, and explained how wholly wrong were the Communists. The resolution was adopted almost unanimously, only thirteen voting against, twelve of whom were Communists and the thirteenth the father of a Communist.² It may be recalled that with the Russian involvement in the war from June, the Indian Communists changed overnight and called it a "people's war". It was, therefore, but expected that the Communists tried in vain to oppose the otherwise unanimous Bombay resolution.

After the resolution was passed, Gandhiji addressed the AICC for over two hours, explaining his plan of action, as a result of which Government decided that action should be taken simultaneously against the leaders in the early morning of 9 August 1942.³ Pattabhi Sitaramayya gives a lyrical description of his speech: "Verily Gandhi spoke like a prophet in a moment of inspiration, full of fire, purifying by its flames, but consuming by its contact, rising from the sordid depths of politics to the sublime heights of humanity, fellowship on earth and of peace and goodwill to mankind—in a word—full of the Spirit Divine. Indeed he spoke as the great leveller up the nations, the friend of the poor, the uplifter of the depressed and the emancipator of the enslaved. He spoke in the spirit of the famous words of Abraham Lincoln: 'With malice towards none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace amongst ourselves and with all nations.' Gandhiji spoke really as the chief servant of the Nation and as such appealed to the United Nations not to miss the opportunity of a lifetime. As such, too, he called on all Indians to feel and behave as Free men and had a word to say to the Press and the Princes, to the students and the teachers, to Government servants and the public."⁴

¹ Ibid., p. 347.

² K. Gopalswami, op. cit., p. 370.

³ Commissioner of Police to Secretary to Government of Bombay, Home Dept., No. 5741/A-320, dated 10 August 1942.

⁴ Pattabhi Sitaramayya, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 348.

Gandhiji gave a clarion call of "Do or Die". It was to be the biggest struggle for India's freedom, the last fight as he called it. "We shall either free India or die in the attempt; we shall not live to see the perpetuation of our slavery. . . . Take a pledge, with God and your own conscience as your witness, that you will no longer rest till freedom is achieved and will be prepared to lay down your life in the attempt to achieve it."

Gandhiji declared that Britain had given India the greatest provocation, but in spite of that "We won't hit below the belt. We have too far progressed in real gentlemanly fashion. We shall not stoop to any such thing."

He dwelt at length upon the Hindu-Muslim problem and said, "I have no mental reservation on the issue of Pakistan. Whatever happens, Pakistan cannot be outside Hindustan. Let all of us strive for the Independence of India. I am very impatient. It is freedom for all and not for any particular community we are striving for. I wholeheartedly endorse the Maulana Saheb's (Azad) offer to the British that India be handed over to any community. I would not be sorry if the authority is transferred to the Muslim masses, for they are Indians. After all, India is homeland of Indian Muslims. The door is open for the Muslims. They can capture the Congress and change its policy. The Congress is a democratic body. Let the Hindus also know that they will have to fight for all, including minorities. Let them be ready to lay down their lives for saving the lives of the Muslims. It is the first lesson in *Ahimsa*."

He referred to the secret circular issued by Frederick Puckle which contained an open incitement to other organisations in India, to combine together to fight against the Congress. This was not only provocation but a suicidal course as well. Despite the personal bonds of friendship with the Viceroy, Gandhiji said, he would have to resist the might of that empire with the might of the dumb millions with no limit but of non-violence.

"It is going to be a mass struggle. There is nothing secret about our plans. It is an open campaign." He, however, exhorted the audience, "Nevertheless, the actual struggle does not commence this moment. You have only placed all your powers in my hands. I will now wait upon the Viceroy and plead with him for the acceptance of the Congress demand. That process is likely to take two or three weeks." Meanwhile every Congressman was to persevere and to carry out the fourteen-fold constructive programme, and to profess his freedom.

Pre-Dawn Strike : Despite the fact that Gandhiji and the AICC had emphasised the readiness of the Congress to negotiate, Government, not only neglected such assertions, but adopted belligerent measures beyond expectations. Prohibitory orders and ordinances, guns and gunpowder and mighty measures were kept ready, well in advance, to put down

the movement which would not be inaugurated.¹ As soon as the Governor of Bombay (Sir Roger Lumley) informed the Viceroy, on telephone, that the "Quit India" Resolution was passed, the Executive Council which was then in continuous session in New Delhi, decided unanimously to arrest the Working Committee members and other Congress leaders all over the country.² On the morrow of the session, which was in sitting well upto the midnight of 8/9 August, the Government of India published its resolution which read as under:—

"The Governor-General-in-Council has been aware, for some days past, of the dangerous preparations by the Congress party for unlawful and, in some cases, violent activities directed, among other things, to the interruption of communications and public utility services, organization of strikes, tampering with the loyalty of the Government servants and interference with defence measures including recruitment. The Government of India have waited patiently in the hope that wise counsels might prevail. They have been disappointed in that hope. To a challenge, such as the present, there can be only one answer. The Government of India would regret it as wholly incompatible with their responsibilities to the people of India, and their obligation to the allies, that a demand should be discussed the acceptance of which would plunge India into confusion and anarchy internally, and would paralyse India's efforts in the common cause of human freedom."³

The CWC, the AICC and the Provincial Congress Committees of Bombay, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Karnatak and all other provinces, except the N.W.F.P., were declared unlawful. An order was issued on the 8th of August prohibiting the printing or publication by any agency, of factual news, including speeches, relating to the Mass Movement or to the measures taken by Government to combat the movement, except for the news derived from official sources or news agencies approved by Government. In anticipation, the press gag had been provided earlier by a confidential communication by the Bombay Government to the editors of all newspapers in Bombay,⁴ advising them to refrain from giving publicity to statements and articles which would incite support to the threatened movement.

Indeed Government had begun their preparations to stem the rising tide, the moment the first ripples appeared in the waters of political life. This is obvious from what came to be known as the Puckle Circular, dated 17 July 1942, which was issued only three days after the Wardha

¹ Sir Frederick Puckle, Secretary to Government of India, to all Chief Secretaries, No. 28/25/42, dated 17 July 1942.

² Kanji Dwarkadas, op. cit., p. 77.

³ *Gazette of India Extraordinary*, Government of India, 9 August 1942.

⁴ Hyam S. Israel, Special Press Adviser, P.W.D. Secretariat, Bombay, to all editors, 4 August 1942.

Resolution. The Government of India Resolution of the 8th instant, referred to above, must, therefore, be deemed to have been kept ready well in advance for publication in the wake of the arrests. The decision that the measures by Government should be in the nature of a blitz, was kept a closely guarded secret.¹

A little after 4 a.m. the Commissioner of Police, with a few officers, arrived at Birla House to arrest Gandhiji. The latter was not prepared for this move, but received the same with equanimity. "When are we to leave?" he asked the Commissioner who was visibly nervous in the performance of the unpleasant duty. "At six," he answered.² Gandhiji was driven to Victoria Terminus where a special train had been drawn up. As could be expected, all members of the Working Committee and 50 leading citizens of Bombay, were arrested³ and put in the special train waiting for its load. The process was so sharp and perhaps even unexpected that some forgot to take with them their spectacles, some their money purses, books and even clothing. But all met as a happy company—the old gang, in the corridors and compartments of the train. The train steamed out at 7-20 a.m.

Gandhiji, Sarojini Naidu, Miraben and Mahadev Desai were detained at Chinchvad and taken to the Aga-Khan Palace. The Bombay group was detained at Kirkee and sent to Yeravada. The Working Committee

¹ Dr. Gilder, however, narrates that on 8 August he got information that all leaders including Gandhiji would be arrested at dawn of the 9th. He sent a word to Gandhiji, but the latter asked him to meet him at 10 a.m. on the 9th. Gilder told the messenger, "There won't be 10 o'clock tomorrow."

² G. D. Birla's eye-witness account in his book, *In the Shadow of the Mahatma*.

³ (1) M. K. Gandhi, (2) Mahadev Desai, (3) Miss Miraben, (4) Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, (5) Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, (6) Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, (7) Vallabhbhai Patel, (8) Miss Maniben Patel, (9) J. B. Kripalani, (10) Asaf Ali, (11) Dr. Syed Mohammed, (12) Govind Vallabh Pant, (13) Shankarrao Deo, (14) Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh, (15) Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, (16) Harekrishna Mehtab, (17) Narendra Deo, (18) Morarji Desai, (19) Nagindas Master, (20) M. Y. Nurie, (21) S. K. Patil, (22) Ishwarbhai S. Patel, (23) Jinabhai P. Joshi, (24) Bhawanji Arjun Khimji, (25) Y. J. Meherali, (26) Sunderdas Morarji, (27) G. P. Hutheesingh, (28) Manecklal N. Vakharia, (29) Bhawanishankar Oza, (30) Y. K. Parulekar, (31) Ganapatishankar N. Desai, (32) Purshottam Mithaiwalla, (33) Abidalli Jafferbhoy, (34) Bhanushankar Yajnik, (35) G. G. Mehta, (36) Ashoka Mehta, (37) Saad Ali, (38) V. R. Modak, (39) Kisan Dhymatkar, (40) S. L. Silam, (41) Vishwanath R. Tulla, (42) B. N. Méheshri, (43) Dr. T. R. Naravne, (44) Mrs. Shantabai Vengasarkar, (45) Mrs. Sophia Khan, (46) Ratilal Mulji Gandhi, (47) Manilal Jaimal Seth, (48) Mrs. Kasturba Gandhi, (49) Dr. Miss Sushila Nair, (50) Pyarelal Sharma.

Persons arrested and sent to Thane

(1) Ambalal Talokchand, (2) M. D. Dandekar, (3) Keshav Borkar, (4) G. A. Sawant, (5) R. K. Acharekar, (6) S. B. Mahadeshwar, (7) F. M. Wagh, (8) Sardar Pratapsingh, (9) Ramniklal Joshi, (10) Rajaram Trivedi, (11) Kashiprasad Singh, (12) V. M. Kande, (13) Shivaji D. Dongre, (14) R. M. Khandrey.

members, including Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, Maulana Azad, J. B. Kripalani, Asaf Ali, G. B. Pant, Pattabhi Sitaramayya, P. C. Ghosh, Dr. Syed Mohammed, Narendra Deo, etc., were taken to Ahmadnagar, where they were lodged in a separate block of spacious halls in the Fort of Chand Bibi. Kasturba Gandhi was allowed an option to accompany Gandhiji. But when she chose to stay back, she was arrested a few hours later and confined to Arthur Road Prison in a stinking dungy cell. She was later taken to Gandhiji's abode after being taken ill.

The Congress House of Bombay, as also the magnificent pandal of the AICC and the Gowalia Tank recreation ground were occupied by the Police. After the arrests of leaders, the first act of aggression of Government on the 9th was to prevent the pre-arranged rally of volunteers in the city, and to prevent the flag salutation ceremony which was scheduled to have been performed by the Congress president. Despite the police warning, a large crowd of some 4,000 persons collected at the Gowalia Tank,¹ and Mrs. Aruna Asaf Ali did hoist the flag and announced the arrests. Tear gas and lathi charge were employed against the impressive rally of volunteers and Desh Sevikas which was held according to schedule. The national flag at the pandal was pulled down, and volunteers who went to its rescue were beaten off. Seventeen persons including an AICC member, M. J. Sheth, were arrested. The dispersal of the crowd at Gowalia Tank, combined with the widespread news of the arrests of Gandhiji and all other leaders, was a signal for the unruly behaviour of crowds at several places such as Prarthana Samaj, Vithalbhai Patel Road, Thakurdwar, Sandhurst Bridge, Lamington Road, Gol Pitha, etc.² By afternoon demonstrators had been fired upon. There was brisk rioting, brickbatting, setting fire, assaulting the police and stopping of tram-cars and B.E.S.T. buses by the crowds. These acts alternated with police firing at several places in the city. Vithalbhai Patel Road and Girgaum were the scene of serious disturbances. While considerable damage was done to tram-cars, buses, vehicles, post offices and the police, many Government grain shops were looted.

Kasturba Gandhi, Dr. Sushila Nair and Pyarelal attempted to hold a huge public meeting at the Shivaji Park, even in the midst of Government terrorism. They were, therefore, detained in the Arthur Road Jail.³ Even then a huge crowd assembled at Shivaji Park in defiance of repeated lathi charges and police firing. A leaflet entitled *Fight for Freedom*, was distributed at Shivaji Park, which exhorted that this was the final struggle

¹ Commissioner of Police to Secretary, Home Department, Bombay, No. 5741/A-320, 10 August 1942.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

for freedom, and students should fight till India is free, and that they shall have to snatch freedom from the imperialist foe. At sunset the first bus was smashed and burnt near the Tilak Bridge.¹

A Curfew Order was promulgated under the Code of Criminal Procedure by the Commissioner of Police and Presidency Magistrate, which applied to the localities of Girgaum, Lamington Road, Fanaswadi, Kalbadevi and Sandhurst Roads on Sunday, the 9th instant. The fun of it was that even a police van which was being used to announce the imposition of curfew, was itself held up at Thakurdwar by a bonfire lit in the middle of the road.² Such was the indomitable courage of the people. The Curfew Order was applied more sternly, and was further extended on the 10th to Mahim, Shivaji Park, Dadar, Naigaum, Wadala, Matunga, Sion, Dharavi, Parel, Elphinstone Road and Prabhadevi, at least till 24 August.³

The carrying of bludgeons, sticks, weapons, stones or other missiles was banned. The Government of Bombay, under rule 56 of the Defence of India Rules, issued orders banning public processions, meetings or assembly in any place without the permission of the Commissioner of Police or the District Magistrate (in case of Districts). This was done in the name of public safety and 'the efficient prosecution of the war'.⁴ None of these stringent prohibitive orders could, however, dismay the invincible spirit of the people of Bombay.

On the very first day of the Great Fight, eight martyrs from Bombay consecrated their lives to the holy fire of India's freedom, while 169 suffered physical injuries and 221 were arrested.⁵

Movement Goes Underground : The lightening swiftness of arrests enraged the masses and left them without a leader, and some of the activities took their own course in the direction of violence as an answer to the leonine violence by Government themselves. Eventually the situation became uncontrollable for a time. Gandhiji issued no instruction regarding the implementation of the "Quit India" resolution. He could not do so, because he was seized and whisked away much before the next day dawned. Everyone of the first rank leaders of the Congress was similarly seized, and there was probably no towering personality to guide the popular movement. The possibility or probability of the situation was not anticipated, which could be a defect of Congress organisation. But then the proposed Mass Civil Disobedience Movement was actually

¹ *March of Events, 1942-45* (Bombay Provincial Congress Committee), p. 6.

² Commissioner of Police to Secretary, Home Department, No. 5741/A-300, 10 August 1942.

³ Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 1110 (80), 1942-43, 10 August 1942.

⁴ Government of Bombay, No. S.D.V./102, 9 August 1942.

⁵ Commissioner of Police to Secretary, Home Department, Bombay, 10 August 1952.

not inaugurated. In the nature of things the people simply became desperate. The disturbances assumed terrorist form only after the peaceful and non-violent forms of demonstration were banned, and often with undue severity suppressed by the police. "If Government thereby thought that the movement would be nipped in the bud or would die of inanition and disappear in a week or fortnight, they soon realized their undue optimism. The people grew insensate and were maddened with fury, when the slightest acts of disobedience of orders prohibiting meetings, processions and demonstrations, the freedom of association and of opinion, were put down, not with a mere lathi but with the rifle and the revolver Within less than twelve hours of the arrests, the old story of brickbats and bullets got abroad. A vicious circle was set up which scandalized the citizens all round, who could neither tolerate the outrages about them nor help in mitigating their horrors."¹

There was a spontaneous impressive hartal in the cloth markets, Jhaveri Bazar, Dana Bunder, Girgaum, Bhuleshwar, Kalbadevi, Dadar and Matunga areas, which had all the signs of continuing for several days from 10 August. The situation worsened every hour on the 10th. The community of college students, particularly those belonging to the Grant Medical, Ruia, Khalsa and Wilson Colleges, were in the vanguard. Age was no bar for the expression of patriotism. On the 10th, 31 textile mills and 15 silk mills closed down, and there was an intensely riotous situation in the mill quarters of the city.² An attempt was made to set fire to the B. B. & C. I. Railway station at Dadar, which was prevented by police action.³

The modus operandi of the rioting mobs throughout the curfew bound areas in the city, was almost similar. Trees, poles and post boxes were uprooted. Lamp-posts, municipal road sign-boards, B.E.S.T. bus stop boards and water hydrants were uprooted. All this and similar material was utilized for blocking vehicular traffic, particularly for obstruction of police vehicles. Telegraph and electric wires were pulled down and installations damaged. Police chowkis were the favourite targets of attack, burning being preferred. Police were beleaguered and deprived of arms, if possible. Traffic was immobilised. Even private cars were not allowed to proceed unless there was a Gandhi cap on the head of at least one of the passengers. Tram-car tracks were filled with finely ground stone which it was not easy to remove. Chains hung at road junctions were released and tied across tramways, and the paths were further obstructed

¹ Patabhi Sitaramayya, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 373.

² Commissioner of Police to Secretary, Home Department, No. 5778/A-320, 11 August 1942.

³ Home Department, Special Branch, File No. 1110 (80), 1942-43, p. 769.

by heavy doors brought from somewhere and fixed across.¹ The operation rampage was not confined only to the mill quarter but also was in full swing at Dadar, Matunga, King's Circle, Kalbadevi, Bhuleshwar, Thakurdwar, Byculla, Kalachowki, Vincent Road (Ambedkar Road), Bhoiwada, Portuguese Church, Saitan Chowki, Mahim, etc.²

On 10 August, there was a grave situation at Dadar Railway Station of the B. B. & C. I., presently Western Railway. Huge crowds had assembled on all the roads around the station, and forced their entry into the station. They placed obstacles on the railway lines and halted traffic quite for some time. Besides, there was brisk looting and incendiarism.³ This led to complete cessation of all suburban train traffic both on the B. B. & C. I. and G. I. P. Railway lines. The rails of Railways were fully greased with oil so as to prevent the action of brakes suddenly applied. Fires were raging in the centre of Tulsi Pipe Road, while police chowkis near Plaza cinema and Gopal Talao were burnt.⁴ The entire Dadar-Mahim area was under operation rampage. Owing to the serious disorder prevailing in the north of the city, the Curfew Order had to be extended to apply there. The disorder was met by Government in no halting a manner. The Commissioner of Police issued instructions to the effect that "whenever stone throwing or arson is encountered and Armed Police are present, they should be used to deal with a crowd. The firing should be undertaken not solely with the intention of dispersing the crowd but of causing the maximum effect. To this end the firing of one round is insufficient, at least several rounds should be fired, the actual number depending on the situation."⁵ On 10 August alone, sixteen persons were killed, 114 injured and 238 arrested by the Bombay Police.⁶

There was no appreciable improvement in the situation on 11 August also. The general activities of the freedom fighters were similar to those of the previous day, e.g., immobilisation of traffic, blocking roads, cutting telephone wires, damaging municipal property, attacking the Police and burning Police Chowkis. The overhead electric supply at Matunga station was tampered and the railway cabin was damaged, which adversely affected local trains. The police and the Military were obliged to restore order by opening fire on 13 occasions on the day.⁷

¹ Commissioner of Police to Secretary, Home Department, Daily Reports of the Commissioner of Police to Secretary, Home Department, Bombay Government, 11 August 1942.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Commissioner's order, dated 12 August 1942, Daily Reports of Commissioner of Police to Secretary, Home Department.

⁶ Commissioner of Police to Home Department, 11 August 1942.

⁷ Ibid., 12 August 1942.

The school and college students took a big hand in picketing and incendiarism. They extended their activities to the Fort and Princess Street areas. The Emergency Whipping Act was applied, and several hundred police were drafted into the city from the districts. The Whipping Act enabled whipping to be inflicted as a punishment on anybody convicted of rioting or arson. Troops assisted the police in quelling the disturbances. In spite of these measures demonstrators made strenuous efforts to impede traffic by building barricades in the streets. Rioting in the industrial areas again interfered with the working of mills and factories.¹ The Kalachowki Police Station area was the main centre of disturbances. It was an open rebellion against the repugnant Government and its broken pledges and artful dissimulation.

The Governor broadcast a warning from the Bombay Station of All-India Radio on 11 August that the outbursts of violence would 'not deflect Government from its purpose.' The police and the troops, newly brought into the city in considerable numbers, had 'orders to take the sternest and most prompt measures whenever the situation demands.' The warning was particularly addressed to the areas of Girgaum, Bhuleshwar, Dadar, Parel and Matunga.²

The Commissioner of Police claimed that there was a distinct improvement in the situation in the city on 12 August, due mainly to, (1) the stern warning by the Governor through the radio broadcast (2) the effective (inhuman?) measures taken against the demonstrators and (3) the realisation of the futility of mob violence. The police opened fire once and the military twice. Ten mills worked night shift while 14 worked during the day. The Indian markets, most of the schools and all the colleges in the city remained closed. The firing incidents occurred at Sewri and Sheikh Memon Street. Students forced their entry into the Secretariat and interfered with railway traffic near Churchgate.

Since the commencement of the movement on the 9th, as many as 34 patriots sacrificed their lives, 385 were injured and 1,296 were arrested in the city till the morning of 13 August 1942.³ Of the 34 killed, 33 succumbed to bullets and one to other kind of injuries. Such was the savagery of the combined police-military action.

In spite of the sudden nature of the movement and disorganisation of the Congress ranks, *Congress Bulletins* were being circulated in the city right from 10 August. They were issued in defiance of the authorities, and disseminated news about the freedom movement and guidelines to citizens.⁴ As days went by propaganda literature was effectively circulated

¹ Home Department, Special, File No. 1110 (80), 1942-43, p. 777.

² Ibid.

³ Commissioner of Police to Home Department, 13 August 1942.

⁴ Ibid.

so as to keep up the spirit of the people. The propaganda was directed towards paralysing the Government administration, immobilisation of traffic and stoppage of manufacturing of war material.

From 15 August onwards a majority of the textile mills, 58 out of 63 as per police reports, the railway workshops and several factories, all engaged in manufacture of war equipment, resumed their work. The sad demise of Mahadev Desai in jail on the 15th, cast a shadow of sorrow all over the city resulting into a hartal. The Stock Exchange, the Cotton Exchange, and the Bullion Exchange were not inclined to start business for several days to come despite Government pressure on them. Attendance at schools and colleges was hardly between 10 and 20 per cent.¹ The Wilson College opened for the first time on 20 August.

Immediately after the arrest of Gandhiji, Motilal Setalvad resigned his office as Advocate-General of Bombay, while the Solicitor to Government, C. C. Shah, tendered his resignation on the 17th. There were also rumours that two Judges of the Bombay High Court, Justice Kania and Justice M. C. Chhagla were to renunciate office.² Several newspapers stopped publication at Gandhiji's call. They also felt that under the dictation of Government, they could not do justice to their profession. A good deal of contraband propaganda literature, *Congress Bulletins*, AICC bulletins, leaflets and brochures were openly circulated in the city. The *Times of India* and the *Evening News* were boycotted by the freedom fighters for their malicious and anti-national approach. The target of the contraband literature in Bombay was indefinite closure of colleges and the University, postponement of examinations, immobilisation of traffic and stoppage of production of articles utilized for the execution of the World War. Congress workers channelised the student community and the working class³ for achievement of those objectives.

The notable features of the propaganda literature in the city were as under : An elaborate programme was put before students, workers, ladies and the public, and each of these categories were entrusted with distinct tasks. The task before the students was to cultivate Indian culture, educate the illiterates, organise the movement in towns and villages, boycott anti-national papers, paralyse Government services, obstruct deployment of the military and hardware and immobilise communications. Workers were charged with the function of halting production of war material and devoting to village industries. The fair sex was expected to devote to constructive programme, to nurse the wounded and to conduct propaganda and to collect fund for patriots. The public was exhorted to maintain patriots by all possible means, to refuse co-operation

¹ Ibid., 17 August 1942.

² Ibid., 19 August 1942.

³ Ibid., 20, 21 and 22 August 1942, and *Congress Bulletins*.

with Government including refusal to pay taxes and observe a fixed day in every month as the national strike till Independence.¹ Bands of Congress workers were functioning secretly in the city for the fulfilment of these tasks. Many of them fell a prey to the vigilance of the authorities, and were victimised under Rule 26 or 129 of the Defence of India Rules. A majority of such activists were associates of the "uncrowned King of Bombay", S. K. Patil. A proclamation and an attachment order were issued against Purshottamdas Tricumdas and Bimal Sharma, the underground diehards, by the Chief Presidency Magistrate. In consequence, certain property belonging to Tricumdas was attached, while he was underground.²

An important event on 24 August was the big demonstration and picketing at the Bombay High Court under the leadership of Mangaldas Pakvasa and N. B. Parulekar. The objective was to throw the working of the High Court into shambles and enlist the support of the advocates to create a deadlock. A huge amount of repressive force was channelised by the authorities to quell the demonstration, and the two leaders, named above, were jailed.³

The Government of Bombay observed on 28 August that, although the situation in Bombay city had been almost normal and the public generally had been going about their normal business, a number of students were still absent from colleges and schools. The Government, considered that students should be confined to their normal vocation, and issued a communique to the effect that the names of students who, without valid reasons, fail to attend from 1 September, should be struck off the rolls of the institutions.⁴ The communique, unprecedented as it was, enraged the student community to go on a protest strike. The atmosphere in the collegian world in Bombay, particularly at the Wilson, was charged with angry protests⁵ and consternation against the Government.

The Curfew Order which was rescinded on 1 September was reimposed on the 6th in the wake of disturbances and processions by Congress volunteers in the city.⁶

Dr. Jivaraj Mehta and Umashankar Dixit were arrested under the D.I.R. on 7 September.⁷

¹ Compiled from various *Congress Bulletins* and leaflets issued by BPCC in the period.

² Commissioner of Police to Home Department, 31 August 1942.

³ Ibid., 24 and 25 August 1942.

⁴ Home Department, Special, File No. 1110 (80), 1942-43, 28 August 1942, p. 835.

⁵ Commissioner of Police to Home Department, 5 September 1942.

⁶ Commissioner of Police Order of 6 September 1942.

⁷ Commissioner of Police to Home Department, 7 September 1942.

As it could be expected, the first monthly anniversary of the Quit India Movement was celebrated with several processions and rallies, particularly by the Desh Sevikas, and attempts were made to hold a public rally at the Chowpati (9 September). Ladies were in the forefront. But the entire might of the Government was deployed to quell the struggle. The situation was at times tense and menacing, and brutal force was used to crush the patriotic activity and guerilla tactics in the city. The month long struggle for freedom had resulted into the martyrdom of 36 patriots, 429 being injured and 2,324 arrested in the Island City upto 9 September.¹

The response of the millhands to the movement was rather a mixed one. While the younger among them and a good many among the aged, responded to the call of the nation by disrupting production, the adherents to the Bombay Girni Kamgar Union (Red Flag) clamoured to derive the benefit of higher wages incidental to the war economy. Communists like Dange, Mirajkar, R. K. Bhogle, S. G. Patkar and R. M. Jambhekar advised the workers to continue work and to hoodwink the Congress propaganda. The Bombay Mill Kamgar Union under Ismail Khan,² also played to the tune of the Muslim League. These contradictory forces did lead to a consternation among the community of millhands on several occasions.

The loyalty of the millhands was rather divided. Undoubtedly most of them attended their work. But this could be attributed to the fact that prior to the World War II, the cotton textile industry in the city had suffered the pangs of the near chronic depression from 1929 to 1938. The workers had fresh in their mind, the bitter memories of the sordid conditions of unemployment and wage cuts over very many years past. They were, therefore, prompted by circumstances to avail of the benefits of wartime boom, higher wages and continuous employment. Their loyalty to management could hardly be attributed to the Communist support to the British.

Although Gandhiji and the Congress had, from time to time, expressed displeasure against burning effigies, Congressmen in the city exhorted the public to celebrate the martyrdom of Babu Genu during the previous Civil Disobedience Movement on 12 December 1930. He had been killed on the Kalbadevi Road.³ The occasion was celebrated at several places in the city; and effigies of Winston Churchill were burnt.⁴

While the Wilsonians had a distinguished record of revolutionary activity, students of the Elphinstone, Grant Medical, Ruia and Khalsa Colleges did not lag behind. The Elphinstonians hoisted the tricolour

¹ Ibid., 11 September 1942.

² Ibid., 12 August 1942.

³ Ibid., 14 September 1942.

⁴ Congress Bulletin (date not readable).

flag on the college building on 16 September in defiance of the principal's order. The girl Elphinstonians showed an uncommon courage rightly matching to their male counterparts. This example was emulated by the students at Podar College after about two days. The students of Grant Medical College set fire to the Physiology Theatre in the campus, while their counterparts in the Khalsa College, organised revolutionary activity in the college premises itself. The students of all these colleges were always in the forefront in organising processions and meetings despite prohibitory orders. Observances of the mourning of Mahadevbhai Desai, which was prohibited by the Police, was another occasion for them to come into conflict with the authorities. Hundreds of them, from all strata of society, girls not lagging behind, forfeited their scholarships, freeships and even education for the noble cause of freedom. The Congress propaganda literature was kept into circulation in the city, mainly by college students. They organised several anti-Government demonstrations as well as 'underground' activity in the city.¹

The BPCC claimed that the flames of patriotism warmed up the hearts of Indians in the Army and Navy. *H.M.S. Lawrence* and another ship were ordered to proceed to England from the Bombay harbour, but they soon returned to the harbour due to engine trouble. Two other ships caught fire midstream under mysterious circumstances. In the Alexandra Dock three warehouses and two ships were ablaze, but the news was suppressed. These events were attributed to the patriotism of the R.I.N. boys.²

The atrocities by the police and the black regime of terror at Chimur in Chandrapur district, infuriated the citizens of Bombay in no small measure. A short digression to Chimur may not be irrelevant as the episode ignited fury in the city. The police committed atrocities on a peaceful *Prabhat Pheri* at Chimur, killing innocent children and wounding several men. The otherwise peaceful crowd became violent and attacked the Police station at Dak Bungalow, and killed the three officers and one constable therein. This enraged the police to such an extent that on the third day, 250 police and troops were let loose on the innocent villagers and deployed to massacre, loot and rape. The severity knew no bound. Four machine-guns were also brought, but thanks to the torrential rains, they could not work. The poor villagers had not only to pay a fine of one lakh but had also to pay in countless repression, anguish and suffering.³

¹ Compiled from the Daily Reports of Commissioner of Police to Home Department and the Congress Bulletins.

² Congress Bulletin, 17 September 1942.

³ Ibid.

A secret Congress centre was functioning in a flat on Deodhar Road at Matunga, which was conducting propaganda and revolutionary activities, particularly in the mill area. It was a highly organised centre which was raided by the Special Branch of the police on 19 September 1942, arresting eight activists, including Haji Javer Gilani and Rohit Manushankar Dave. Twenty thousand propaganda leaflets and other material were seized and the accused were prosecuted.¹

The Cotton Exchange was one of the centres of the freedom fighters. They had the courage to bomb the armed police guard at the junction of Sheikh Memon Street and Kalbadevi Road on 22 September. The police went unhurt, but many passers-by were injured.² There were several occasions of explosives being used by the revolutionaries. There were several explosions in postal articles, college premises and laboratories and railway stations. However, very few of these explosions caused any large damage to life or property. Probably the brains behind them lacked sufficient experience and material of a good quality. Generally they used sulphur gunpowder, phosphorous, potash, petrol and kerosene. Soda-water bottles were profusely used as missiles on the police.

The Stock Exchange, under permission from the BPCC, commenced business for the first time on 23 September after 8 August.³ It was allowed to function for five stipulated dates only to meet outstanding commitments made prior to 9 August in the interest of business integrity. This was allowed on an unequivocal assurance by the Stock Exchange that there will be no new business undertaking or commitments, and that it will remain closed for all transactions, ready and forward alike, for the duration of the freedom struggle.⁴ The East India Cotton Exchange was still immobilised. The Bullion Exchange had likewise downed its shutters. The Swadeshi and Mangaldas Markets, Dava Bazar, Jhaveri Bazar and Dana Bunder were opened and closed intermittently. So to say, business in the commercial metropolis was paralysed wholly for most of the days and partially for the rest of the days, since the commencement of the Mass Movement.

The grain merchants in the city responded to the Congress call with their customary loyalty. They put up a cheerful face in the wake of difficulties caused by the hartal. The closure of the grain market for five days in a week did create a grave food situation. But the masses put up with these hardships with a patriotic gesture. The BPCC with

¹ Commissioner of Police to Home Department, 21 September 1942.

² Ibid., 22 September 1942. The BPCC branded it to be provocative of vandalism, and reiterated its policy of *ahimsa*.

³ Ibid., 23 September 1942.

⁴ *Congress Bulletin*, 23 September 1942.

the public interest in view, had permitted the wholesale markets in Dana Bunder to keep their shops open on two days in a week.¹

The Gandhi Jayanti in 1942 was the most apt occasion for the patriots to demonstrate their disapproval of the repressive measures by Government. A general hartal was observed in the city except Fort area, many mills and factories remaining closed on the first day of the week. Vehicular traffic was immobilised in almost all parts of the city. All cloth markets, the Share, Cotton, Jhaveri and Dava Bazars and the Dana Bunder were closed during the week. There was a great consternation among the millhands. The Mazagaon Police Court was completely gutted, while there was an explosion in the New Great Eastern Mill at Byculia.² The Worli detention camp was a scene of much disorder wherein the prisoners were agitating against the inhuman conditions in the camp. This outbreak was the second of its type in the camp since the commencement of the Mass Movement.³

By the second monthly anniversary of the movement (9 October 1942), as many as 37 patriots had sacrificed their lives, 502 were injured and 3,450 were arrested in the city.⁴

There was a galaxy of underground freedom fighters in the city who evaded the police net for months. To mention only a few of them : Purshottamdas Tricumdas, K. K. Shah, Achyutrao Patwardhan, Dr. M. D. D. Gilder, Purshottam Kanji, Soorji Vallabhdas, Chandulal S. Shah, Ratansey Chapsey, Dahyabhai Vallabhbhai Patel, B. R. Dhurandhar, Miss Usha Mehta, Chandrakant Baboobhai Javeri, Vithaldas K. Javeri and C. K. Narayanswami.

Secret Congress Radio : Among the several valiant and defiant things which Bombay city did, the secret Congress Radio transmitter deserves which Bombay city did, the secret Congress Radio transmitter deserves special laurels. The Congress Radio, as it termed itself, calling on 42.34 metres, was perhaps the only one and the first of its kind in India. It broadcast the news of underground activity and directed the freedom fighters in their struggle every day. It was located "somewhere in Bombay", and frequently moved about from place to place until it was eventually raided and confiscated by the police. The brain behind this brilliant and brave activity was Miss Usha Mehta,⁵ a girl student in

¹ Ibid., 23 September 1942.

The Commissioner of Police, however, reported to the Home Department on 28 September 1942 that some merchants in the Bullion Exchange, Cotton Exchange and Stock Exchange conducted some business secretly in spite of their assurance to the BPCC.

² Commissioner of Police to Home Department, 5 October 1942.

³ Ibid., 6 October 1942.

⁴ Ibid., 10 October 1942.

⁵ K. Gopalswami, op. cit., p. 399.

Bombay, who later rose to be a distinguished Professor of Politics in the University of Bombay.

The Police Wireless Monitoring Unit kept a ceaseless vigil on the radio broadcasts and recorded the same for information of Government. The Commissioner of Police used to send verbatim reports of the daily broadcasts from, what was called, the Illegal Congress Radio to the Secretary to the Government of Bombay, Home Department, along with his daily reports. The radio gave brilliant messages arousing the enthusiasm of the masses and inspired the "underground" workers to ceaseless dedicated patriotic activity. It gave a call to the people to resist the heinous atrocities and the cruel crime perpetrated by the alien Government against the suffering masses. A call to resist with honour, dignity and self-respect for the sake of India's sons and daughters! This was a final struggle for Independence and it must be fought out to a decisive conclusion¹. The radio broadcast news of war, which were otherwise beyond the reach of the Indian people. The Congress Radio broadcasts were all the more important because the news released by the bureaucracy was heavily censored.

The radio educated the people in the *modus operandi* of the revolution.² It exhorted the masses and particularly the workers to desert the city and migrate to their native villages so as to achieve the immobilisation of production and to defeat the imperialistic war efforts of the British. There was already a shortage of essential commodities in the city, as they were diverted *en masse* to the war. Hence the sons of soil should temporarily go back to the village and help production of food articles, so as to achieve self-sufficiency in the rural economy.

The Congress Radio broadcasts from Bombay gave a graphic account of the revolutionary activities from the North Western Frontier Province to Bihar, and from the foothills of the Himalayas to Kanyakumari. The news of the revolutionary activities of the Red Shirts, the Khudai Khidmatgars, the Biharis, the patriots from Uttar Pradesh and the rest of India were broken into Indian houses by the Congress Radio. For example, the brutal atrocities by the military and the police at Chimur in Chandrapur district were first publicized by this radio. The news of the Japanese bombing of Chittagong and East Assam was also broken to Indians by this Radio.³

¹ Police Wireless Monitoring Report on the broadcast by the Illegal Congress Radio on 20 October 1942, forwarded by the Commissioner of Police to Home Department, 21 October 1942.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid., 26 October 1942, Commissioner of Police to Home Department, 27 October 1942.

The news presentation and radio talks were all brilliant, inspiring and lucid. They included pre-recorded talks and messages of national leaders, as well as the talks of underground leaders. The Radio enthused the volunteers beyond measure, and kept the citizens well-informed about the national and international situation.

But for occasional interruptions due to operational difficulties, it was regularly on the air, every morning and evening. It used to start with the words, "This is Congress Radio calling on 42.34 metres." The thrust of the propaganda was against the British war machine. This was sought to be achieved through immobilisation of supplies, non-payment of taxes, hindrance to collection of duties and other revenue, and boycott of factories by workers, withdrawal of money from banks, conservation of savings in the form of gold and silver, etc.

A band of dedicated revolutionaries under Miss Usha Mehta manned this activity which helped keeping the torch of the revolution burning. They obtained secret news from Government offices, and broadcast even the most secret circulars and government orders. Undoubtedly they had a network for collection and compilation of news from all over the country despite the strict vigil of the police and military authorities.

This extremely brilliant revolutionary activity was, however, destined to be short-lived. The Special Branch of the Bombay C.I.D. raided a block of rooms on the top floor of a building in Parekh Wadi on Vithal-bhai Patel Road on 12 November 1942, and seized a complete Radio Transmitting Apparatus which was being used for the daily Congress Radio broadcasts. The two dedicated revolutionaries, namely, Miss Usha Mehta and Chandrakant Baboobhai Javeri, who were actually operating the transmitter then, were arrested on the spot, while the third Vithaldas K. Javeri was taken into custody the next day.¹ The importance of this brief but inspiring revolutionary activity can hardly be over emphasised.

An important question arises as to from where did the Radio Transmitter come in those difficult times. It was Mr. Nanak Motwane, the patriotic proprietor of the Chicago Radio Telephone Company, Bombay, who had provided the equipment for the cause of the nation. Hence he was also arrested six days later. Further investigations of the C.I.D. resulted into seizure of more wireless transmitting equipment consisting of one built up Transmitter and the component parts of a second, and a more powerful Transmitter.² Such were the preparations of the secret Radio activists.

¹ Commissioner of Police to Home Dept., 13 November and 14 November 1942.

² Ibid., 19 Nov. and 20 Nov. 1942.

Shortly after the arrest of the Illegal Radio activists, six important secret Congress leaders, who were directing the underground movement in the city, were arrested on 18 November. They included Dr. M. D. D. Gilder (a former Minister), Purshottam Kanji, Soorji Vallabhdas, Chandulal S. Shah, Ratansey Chapsey, Dahyabhai Vallabhbhai Patel (son of Sardar Patel) and J. C. Kumarappa (Secretary of the All-India Village Industries Association).

Purshottamdas Tricumdas, the head of the Bombay underground Congress organisation, who had been evading the eye of Government since 9 August, was arrested in Bandra by the Suburban Police after the midnight of 19-20 November 1942.¹ This was really a big catch in the trap of Government.

Another group of secret activists fell into the Government net on 21 and 23 November. They included Naval C. Jerajani, Sanat Kumar Vin, N. J. Dastur and B. R. Dhurandhar. They were all connected with the publication of the *Congress Bulletin*,² and hence the importance of their arrest to the Government. Their colleague and the editor of the *Ajmal*, a nationalist Urdu daily, Mohinuddin Harris was convicted on the 23rd. One C. K. Narayanswami, sub-editor of the *Bombay Chronicle*, who was suspected to edit the English edition of the *Congress Bulletin*, was nabbed by the Police on the 30th morning. These arrests had apparently disorganised the *Congress Bulletin* staff.

While publication of Congress literature was important for conducting the movement, the Government attached special importance to its suppression. In this battle, the seizure of secret printing presses was a victory for the police. In their efforts to save the same, the organisers had to resort to camouflage activity, day in and day out. The fourth such secret Congress press of the treadle type was seized by the police on 9 December 1942 in a building at the junction of Khetwadi Main Road. This had been a shattering blow to the Bombay Congress underground organisation.³ It was seized within one week of its installation.

Response : The response of the mercantile community in Bombay to the movement was quite encouraging. The Share Bazar, the Bullion Exchange and the Cotton Exchange were moribund for over four months since the onset of the Mass Movement. Their closure was intended not only to be a patriotic moral support to the movement, but it was also aimed at hampering the war effort of the Government. It is true that a few among the businessmen supported the closure out of fear. Many of them held transactions with up-country traders secretly. Undoubtedly, however,

¹ Ibid., 20 Nov. 1942.

² Ibid., 23 Nov. 1942.

³ Ibid., 10 Dec. 1942.

most of their ranks exhibited a high sense of patriotism in foregoing lucrative business incidental to the war boom. Many of them suffered the life in jail, while a majority of them contributed to the Congress purse. The Share Bazar, the Bullion Exchange and the Cotton Exchange opened for the first time, after approval by the BPCC, from 7 December 1942. They were allowed to function only for the first four days of the week from this date. This gesture on the part of the BPCC was subject to the proviso that the markets do not transact any business on the remaining three days.¹ The Muiji Jetha Cloth Market which had a tradition of an exemplary support to the Civil Disobedience Movement of 1930-1932, also showed the same patriotic fervour in the Mass Movement of 1942. After 8 August it opened for the first time on 16 December. Similar was the case with the nearby Lakhmidas Cloth Market.²

The Parsis of Bombay never lagged behind others in patriotic fervour. Although a bulk of the community remained aloof from mass violence, many of them sacrificed for the cause of Independence. They never clamoured for any special privileges or constitutional guarantees in the new constitution to come, which were in the air in those days. Over 600 leading Parsi citizens of Bombay showed their magnanimity by issuing a statement that the Parsis do not claim any safeguards. This was in reply to a misleading pronouncement by Lord Atlee in the House of Commons.

The Hindu Mahasabha, the youngest among the political organisations,³ had a different approach. Swatantryaveer Savarkar was almost its permanent president till 1944. It had a band of dedicated and disciplined *sainiks* in the city. On the day of the arrest of Gandhiji and the Congress leaders, Veer Savarkar's call to the Hindus was one of "no support to Congress move". He eloquently expressed his opposition to the Mass Movement, and actually campaigned for recruitment of Hindus into the Indian Army, and support to the war.

The reaction of the Bombay Christians to the August Resolution showed their patriotic fervour. They called upon the Government to make a clear declaration as soon as possible, that India would attain freedom immediately after the war.

GOVERNMENT VERSION OF THE MASS MOVEMENT⁴

It would be very interesting and extremely useful to the students of the history of India's struggle for freedom to have a first hand knowledge

¹ Ibid, 7 Dec. 1942.

² Ibid, 16 Dec. 1942.

³ It was in existence since about 1918, and was recognised by the Government of India in a statement of 8 August 1940.

⁴ The information is extracted from Secret Files No. 1110 (30) 1942 and No. 1110- (30) X 1943 of the Home Department, Special Branch (5), Government of Bombay.

of the version of the imperialistic alien Government as regards the Mass Movement. The importance of the same is tremendously enhanced by the fact that the authentic and authoritative information about Government actions and reactions was by no means accessible to any research scholar or interested person. The same is furnished below.

The Government of India in the Home Department, *vide* their elaborate letter of 5 September 1942, had called for detailed factual reports and views of the Provincial Governments in the form of separate *Appreciations* in certain matters pertaining to Civil Disobedience Movement.¹ The Provincial Governments were called upon *vide* para. 2 of the letter to furnish "factual reports giving the fullest possible statistical information" regarding (a) Police action—number of occasions on which firing was resorted to, rounds fired, casualties inflicted, and the resort to other police measures; (b) General casualty statement; (c) Damage of Government and private property and (d) Special measures, particularly the action taken under the Collective Fines Ordinance and the Penalties Enhancement Ordinance. The Provincial Governments were also required *vide* para. 3 to furnish their views in the form of separate *Appreciations* on the following matters :—

(a) What classes of the people participated in the movement, and the influences prompting them to do so.

(b) Disturbance and dislocation of normal life and interruption of communications and supplies.

(c) Communal reactions.

(d) General conduct of the Police force.

(e) General conduct of other public servants.

(f) Special measures such as Collective Fines Ordinance and Penalties Enhancement Ordinance adopted and to be adopted in future. In particular, how can the use of the Police forces best be consolidated and economised, in the event of future military aid not being available on the present very large scale?

(g) Railway Protection Schemes and essential special measures. Advisability of declaration of railways and adjoining lands as "protected areas" and the prohibition of cultivation in these areas.

(h) In the event of greater danger to the Europeans, reappraisal of the existing Keep and Sanctuary Schemes.

The Government of Bombay lost no time in addressing to the Commissioner of Police, Bombay, along with all the District Magistrates to

¹ Letter No. 3/33/42-Poll (I), dated 5 September 1942 from Mr. Richard Tottenham, Addl. Secretary to the Government of India, to all Provincial Governments [File No. 1110 (30), 1942 of Home Dept., Special Branch, Government of Bombay].

furnish Government with detailed reports on the points mentioned in para. 2 of the Government of India's letter. The Divisional Commissioners, the Inspector General of Police and the Commissioner of Police (Bombay) were called upon to furnish their independent views in the form of *Appreciations* on the points mentioned in para. 3 (a) to (h) of the Government of India's letter.¹

Accordingly the Commissioner of Police furnished the Government of Bombay with his elaborate report and *Appreciation* as called for by them. While we may look down upon the Commissioner's *Appreciation* as being opprobrious, it is of great historical value. Hence it is reproduced below.²

The report and *Appreciation* of the District Magistrate of the Bombay Suburban District is not reproduced for the reason that there were no casualties or serious events in the suburbs comparable to those in Bombay City, till as late as 22 September 1942.³

"SECRET

D. O. 69

Head Police Office
Bombay, 17th September 1942

The Secretary
to the Government of Bombay,
Home Department, Bombay.

Subject.—*District Information re. Congress Mass Movement.*

With reference to your Secret and very urgent Endorsement No. S.D.V./704 dated the 8th September 1942, I herewith submit my report. The following statistics are given according to the questionnaire in the Government of India's Express letter No. 3/33/42-Poll (I), dated the 5th September 1942.

2. (a) *Police Action* :

(i) Firing was resorted to by the Police as shown as under :—

Date	Number of occasions	Date	Number of occasions
9-8-1942 ..	16	4-9-1942 ..	1
10-8-1942 ..	23	6-9-1942 ..	3
11-8-1942 ..	20	9-9-1942 ..	6
12-8-1942 ..	1		
Total number of occasions		..	70

² Home Secretary, Bombay, to Commissioners of Divisions, I. G. P., Commissioner of Police and all District Magistrates, Endorsement No. S.D.V./704, dated 8 September 1942.

³ Home Department, Special Branch, Government of Bombay, File No. 1110 (30), 1942.

⁴ *Ibid.*

(ii) The number of rounds fired were 381, as detailed below:—

Date	Number of rounds	Date	Number of rounds
9-8-1942 ..	114	4-9-1942 ..	1
10-8-1942 ..	159	6-9-1942 ..	6
11-8-1942 ..	87	9-9-1942 ..	13
12-8-1942 ..	1		

(iii) The numbers of casualties inflicted upto 10th September 1942, are 34 dead and 145 injured.

(iv) The numbers of casualties sustained by the Police both fatal and otherwise upto 10-9-1942, are 57 injured and none fatal.

(v) Tear Smoke was used on the following eight occasions:—

Date	Number of occasions	Date	Number of occasions
9-8-1942 ..	4	6-9-1942 ..	1
11-8-1942 ..	2	9-9-1942 ..	1

The Police wireless system was constantly in use throughout the period. It proved extremely useful, not only as a supplement to the telephones, but also as a speedy means of broadcasting instructions to the Police. For several days, owing to the burning out of a main telephone junction box on Lady Jamshedji Road, this was the only means of communication with Mahim Police Station.

(b) *General Casualty Statement* : (i) Total casualties among the public, including those under head (a) (iii) are 36 dead and 429 injured.

(ii) Total casualties among Government servants including police are 63 injured, none fatal, as detailed below:—

Government servants : Military personnel ..	3
Telegraph Department ..	1
Postal Department ..	1
Civic Guards ..	1
Police Department ..	57
Total ..	63

(c) *Damage to Property* : (i) No important Police buildings of any description were damaged or destroyed, neither was damage nor destruction done to any other public buildings, except to several Post Offices—the contents of which were damaged by fire, and to a number of grain shops which were broken into and the contents looted.

(ii) The estimated loss caused in respect of Government and private property is as under :—

	Rs.
<i>Government—</i>	
Police chowkies burnt, traffic signals and constables' equipment damaged.	8,200
Government grain shops, A. R. P. Lorries and street signs.	7,500
<i>Private—</i>	
Bombay Gas Co. Ltd., street lights, portable trollies etc.	63,000
B. E. S. & T. Co. Ltd.—buses and trams, chowkies, street lighting equipment.	96,900
Bombay Municipality	46,000
Total ..	2,21,600

(d) *Information regarding Special Measures taken to deal with the Movement* : No particular special measures, in the legal sense, were taken. Actions in quelling the disturbances were confined to the use of the Defence of India Rules and the ordinary law—

(i) Nil.

(ii) Nil.

3. (a) Hindus, particularly Guzeraties and Marwaries, took the most prominent part in the Movement which was confined, almost without exception, to the Hindu community. They were undoubtedly influenced by the decision of the A.I.C.C. authorising Gandhi to be the leader of the Movement and also to a great extent by the fact that Congress, and Gandhi in particular, demands the respect and sympathy of leading Hindu businessmen and industrialists, who in turn influence practically the whole of the Hindu commercial community. Students, particularly Hindus, took a very prominent part in the Movement after the first few days during which mob violence was at its height and when the Hindu mawali(?)* element instigated undoubtedly by their Hindu employers, did most damage. These students instigated undoubtedly by active Congress supporters working underground have been instrumental in keeping the Movement going. Whatever hooliganism took place was perpetrated by Hindu Mawalis assisted by Hindu domestic servants of the middle and upper class Hindu families.

Muslims refrained from participating in the movement in obedience to instructions issued by the leader of the Muslim League, M. A. Jinnah.

* The question marks in this letter are ours.

Parsis remained aloof as they are a law abiding community and have no great sympathy with the aims and objects of Congress. The depressed classes also refrained by the influence of Dr. Ambedkar. The greater part of the population was indifferent and showed little desire to become involved in trouble (?). Generally speaking, mill workers, factory workers, dock labourers and labour kept away from the Movement, except in cases in which they were drawn into it by persons interested in bringing about a general strike. On no occasion were all the textile mills not working. From time to time one or two mills struck work but on the whole the Movement failed to make any great impression on the textile workers. Whatever stoppages did occur were undoubtedly brought about by persons who were paid (?) to do so by the Congress party. The probable reason why mill workers refused to support the Movement was due to the fact that they are in receipt of good wages and with the prevailing high prices did not wish to stop work. In certain factories the strikes which occurred were undoubtedly due to the Rashtriya Girmi Kamgar Sangha, a Labour Union run by the Congress party. Even these, however, soon returned to work.

(b) So far as the City was concerned, the disturbances resulted in the enforcement of the Curfew Order, which in itself automatically affects the business and social life in the areas involved. During the first three days of the disorders, trams and buses were stoned and set on fire in the disturbed localities, chiefly Hindu. As a result of this tram and bus traffic in these areas were totally interrupted but were totally unaffected in the Mohammedan areas, Fort area, Malabar and Cumballa Hill areas and the residential areas round about Byculla. Supplies were dislocated due to the wholesale Hindu merchants under Congress influence refusing to do business; thus resulting in depletion of stocks held by retail shopkeepers.

With the exception of the closing of the Cotton Exchange, Stock Exchange, Bullion Exchange and certain cotton markets, and the refusal of the grain and seed merchants to do business, the normal life of the City was not affected to any appreciable extent (?).

(c) There were no communal reactions to the Movement and none were anticipated.

(d) The general conduct of the Police force remains good. This can only be attributed to the innate sense of duty which has sustained the Bombay City Police to widespread disorders in past years. The political aspects of the recent disorders made no difference to their conduct. Considering that over one thousand untrained recruits had to be utilised to supplement bodies of police, the results were more than gratifying. His Excellency the Governor's letter addressed to the Police assuring all ranks that they had behind them Government's full support and that Government had no

intention of setting up public enquiries about the conduct of the Police and assuring them that they would receive the support of the great majority of the people of the Province, went a considerable way towards strengthening the morale of all officers and men.

(e) The general conduct of public servants, with the exception of a few lapses on the part of youths employed in the Supply Department offices, gave no cause for complaint. The reason for this is probably that they regarded the Movement as most unwise at the present stage of world affairs (?). Certain high Government officials appointed by the Congress Ministry resigned their posts, but these resignations had very little, if any, effect on other public servants.

(f) As stated above, the Collective Fines Ordinance and the Penalties Enhancement Ordinance were not employed in Bombay City. It is not understood to what further special measures the Government of India refer. Generally speaking the rapidity with which the situation was brought under control can be attributed to the same measures taken as on previous occasions in quelling disorders, with the following additional methods employed:—

(1) The use of Tear Smoke against crowds assembling in defiance of prohibitory orders. This was particularly efficacious where the crowd did not resort to acts of violence, but refused to disperse, and on those occasions when women volunteers participated in the demonstrations.

(2) Fixing the responsibility of creating road blocks on the inmates of adjacent buildings and forcing them to remove the obstructions placed on the roads.

(3) Arrest under Rule 129 Defence of India Rules of persons suspected to be implicated in the disorders, and their detention in jail upto the statutory period of fifteen days.

As regards precautions for the future, I have no specific suggestions to make. The disorders in Bombay would not have been so widespread, in my opinion, but for the fact that for a fortnight prior to the arrest of Mr. Gandhi and the A.I.C.C., complete liberty of expression was allowed to these leaders in addressing public meetings in the City. The latitude enjoyed by these persons in attacking Government, challenging Government's capacity to defend the country against outside aggression, and their contemptuous references to past military reverses was the subject of much adverse comment by members of the public. These remarks apply with equal force to the similar latitude given to the Press. If future anti-Government disturbances are to be avoided it is essential, in my opinion, that stronger measure of control should be exercised, in the early stages of any such agitation, over the public utterances of the leaders and to guard against reproduction of extreme anti-Government speeches

and criticisms in the majority of newspapers. Leniency in this direction is merely regarded by the man in the street as evidence of Government's timidity in enforcing its authority. Abstruse motives, and problems of major policy, are not understood or appreciated by the bulk of the population.

The question of the best means of utilising the Police force is one, which applies to the Bombay Province rather than to Bombay City. The whole of the City police force was employed on duty in connection with these disorders, and at no stage would it have been possible to divert men to the assistance of District Police.

(g) Sabotage to the railways in Bombay City was only slight and of a petty nature. No interference with the track was attempted, damage being confined to acts of petty mischief at stations and in running trains. The Railway Protective Scheme, in detail, was not put into force in Bombay City. The necessity for its revision does not, therefore, arise.

(h) The situation in Bombay never reached the stage where the likelihood of having to vacate Europeans to the Keep had to be given serious consideration. The existing Keep and Sanctuary Schemes are upto date and as far as can be seen are likely to prove effective. I see no particular reason at the moment to suggest that these can be overhauled.

(Signed)

Commissioner of Police."

It is noteworthy that the Bombay Government totally and wholly concurred with the Appreciation of the Commissioner of Police as regards the disturbances in Bombay and forwarded the same to the Government of India as it was.¹

As the Mass Movement protracted further the Secretary of State desired for a comprehensive information regarding the disturbances since August, to meet Parliamentary enquiries in the U.K. The Government of India, therefore, addressed to the Provincial Governments again on 14 December 1942.² Accordingly the Commissioner of Police was called upon to furnish the Government with accurate information on certain points.³ The former complied with the Government directive. The Government of Bombay further desired the Commissioner of Police and the District

¹ Additional Secretary, Home Bombay to Home Dept., Government of India, vide No. S.D.V./1570, dated 16 October 1942.

² Confidential telegram No. 9940, dated 14 December 1942 from Home Dept., New Delhi, File No. 1110 (30)-1, 1942-43, Home Dept., Bombay.

³ Additional Secretary, Home Bombay to the Commissioner of Police and all District Magistrates, vide No. S.D.V./3403, dated 16 December 1942.

Magistrates to keep up-to-date from 1 December 1942 onwards, the information on all the points referred to them in the letter of 16 December 1942.

The statistical information about the Quit India Movement upto 31 October 1943 as compiled from the reports of the Commissioner of Police and the District Magistrate of the Bombay Suburban District is given below.¹ The progressive total of each of the items from 9 August 1942 to 31 October 1943 is furnished separately for Bombay City and Bombay Suburban District.

HOME DEPARTMENT, SPECIAL BRANCH (5) FILE No. 1110 (30)-X, 1943

*Statistics in connection with the Congress Disturbances for
the period ending 31 October 1943*

(A) GOVERNMENT SERVANTS

(Excluding those of the Central Government)

(1) Police

	Progressive Total	
	Bombay City	Suburban District
1. No. of occasions on which Police fired	73	1
2. No. of casualties inflicted—Fatal	*34	....
3. No. of casualties—Non-fatal	*145	....
4. No. of casualties suffered (by police) Fatal	1	....
5. No. of casualties—Non-fatal	118	....
6. No. of defections from police	One	....

* By firing only.

(2) Other Government Servants

7. No. of attacks on other Government Servants—Fatal.	One (British Sailor)
8. Do.—Non-fatal	....
9. Defections from other Government Services	....

¹ Home Dept.—Special Branch, File No. 1110 (30)-X, 1943.

	Progressive Total	
	Bombay City	Suburban District
(B) DAMAGE TO PROPERTY		
1. No. of Police stations or outposts etc. destroyed.	17 (All police chowkies)	....
2. No. of other Government Buildings destroyed or severely damaged.	5	6
3. No. of public buildings, other than Government Buildings, e.g. Municipal property, Schools, Hospitals, etc. destroyed or severely damaged.	†3654 (Municipal lamps) †2 (Municipal chowkies)	....
4. No. of important private buildings destroyed or severely damaged.	....	....
5. Estimated loss to Government (Rs.)	1,74,500	2,000
6. Estimated loss to other parties (Rs.)	2,76,820	2,000
† Besides these, street name plates, water hydrants, benches, turnstiles, swings, gauge boxes, etc. were destroyed or damaged.		
(C) USE OF EXPLOSIVES		
1. No. of Bomb Explosions	109	18
2. No. of Bombs or Explosives discovered without damage.	†221	6
3. No. of casualties to Government servants—Fatal.	2	....
4. No. of casualties to Government servants—Non-fatal.	41	....
5. No. of casualties caused to the public (including those to Bomb-makers, etc. themselves)—Fatal.	5	....
6. No. of casualties caused to the public (including those to Bomb-makers, etc. themselves)—Non-fatal.	75	....
7. No. of casualties caused to—		
(a) Women, and	....	....
(b) Children—Fatal	....	....
(Out of those included in item 5)	....	....

† In addition to these unexploded bombs, the following material for the manufacture of explosives was also found:—

(1) Sticks of phosphorus 9, (2) Cartridges of gelignite 10 Lbs., (3) Cartridges of phosphorus gelignite 5 Lbs., (4) Rifle cartridges (live) 14, (5) Explosive mixture 40 1/2 Lbs., (6) Potassium chlorate 38 1/2 Lbs.

	Progressive Total	
	Bombay City	Suburban District
8. No. of casualties caused to—		
(a) Women, and	....	....
(b) Children—Non-fatal	1	....
(Out of those included in item No. 6.)		

(D) CASES OF SABOTAGE

(Other than sabotage on Central Government Property or services)

1. No. of cases of sabotage to electric supply companies or their apparatus.	14	1
2. No. of cases of sabotage to roads	9	....
3. No. of cases of sabotage to canals	....	....
4. No. of cases of sabotage other than above	115	18

(E) OTHER STATISTICS CONNECTED WITH THE MOVEMENT

1. No. of cases in which Collective Fines imposed.	....	....
2. Amount of Collective Fines imposed	....	....
3. Amount of Collective Fines collected	....	....
4. No. of Courts set up under the Special Courts Ordinance.	1	....
5. No. of cases disposed off by these Courts.	3	1
6. No. of persons convicted by these Courts	4	3
7. No. of cases disposed of by ordinary Courts	777	201
8. No. of persons convicted by ordinary Courts	995	*238
9. No. of death sentences imposed	....	....
10. No. of death sentences confirmed	....	....
11. No. of cases of whipping inflicted	....	1
12. No. of arrests made	5,648	364
13. No. of local authorities superseded under Defence Rule 38 B or otherwise.	....	3

THE 21-DAY FAST

The Government with all its material and might* sought to crush the Movement down. The machinations of the bureaucratic jargon knew no bounds. The bureaucracy squarely accused Gandhiji and the Congress, for the violence and terrorism by the masses. Although neither the Congress nor Gandhiji had actually inaugurated the movement, they came in for indictment. The worst of it was that the Government did not allow him to refute the false accusations levelled by it against him and the Congress on account of the behaviour of the masses. The indictment

became more and more intense. Gandhiji, therefore, had no alternative but to undertake the historical fast from 10 February.¹

Meanwhile, the Government of India issued, on 13 February 1943, a pamphlet entitled *Congress Responsibility for the Disturbances, 1942-43*, with a preface signed by Sir Richard Tottenham, Additional Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department. The pamphlet, published within four days of the commencement of Gandhiji's fast, led to the inference that it was published in expectation of Gandhiji's death, which medical opinion must have considered almost a certainty.

In the nature of things, Gandhiji's fast cast an ominous sign of a national disaster. Bombay along with the entire nation, was stunned and shocked. The twenty-one long days were a period of the most intense anxiety throughout the country. Even people outside India, particularly men of upright conscience like Bernard Shaw, Bertrand Russell and Thomas Paine felt deeply concerned at the attitude of the British. Three members of the Viceroy's Council—Sir H. P. Mody of Bombay, N. R. Sarkar and M. S. Aney—resigned office as a mark of their failure to persuade the Viceroy to release Gandhiji, when his life was highly in danger. Callously enough, their resignations were accepted on 17 February. The unrelenting Government of Bombay went a step ahead. It made thorough preparations for Gandhiji's funeral in the detention camp in Aga Khan Palace, and had collected firewood and sandalwood for the cremation. Government had also secretly decided to announce a day of national mourning in anticipation of Gandhiji's death. The rumour is believed to have emanated first from foreign correspondents who had an exclusive meeting with a high official in New Delhi.² Government had also kept machine-guns ready in Bombay and Pune to quell the probable riots incidental to Gandhiji's death.

Bombay, like every other time, rose to the occasion. While Gandhiji's life was in a quandary, the Bombay Stock Exchange, as a part of the constructive programme so dear to Gandhiji, collected a purse of 50,000 for the relief of the famine-stricken men and animals.³ There were prayers for the Mahatma's life at several places in the city. Minoo Masani organised a *morcha* of youths from Bombay to Pune to storm the Aga Khan Palace, and he himself headed the first batch.⁴ Many industrialists from the city played their part in finding a solution to the grim impasse. After

¹ It should be borne in mind that he had made it clear in his letter to the Viceroy that he might terminate the fast earlier, if it became absolutely necessary for saving his life. For he did not want to die. *March of Events, 1942-45*, p. 46.

² Pattabhi Sitaramayya, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 472.

³ K. Gopalswami, op. cit., p. 401.

⁴ Ibid.

21 days, the Herculean ordeal found its end at 9 a.m. on 3 March 1943. The breaking of the fast should have been an occasion for rejoicing on the part of the patriots. But that was not to be. The unkind Government would not allow the function to be one of direct rejoicing, and it was only to be a solemn ceremony. But the mass mind knows no bounds. The streets of Bombay were actually a scene of rejoicing, while the bureaucracy and the Muslim League did not find favour with it.

While the Congress was suffering humiliation and frustration in jail, non-Congress¹ leaders such as Jayakar, H. P. Mody, Ardeshir Dalal, Sapru and Rajaji convened a conference in the city in March 1943. They sought for a reconciliation between Congress and the Government, and exhorted the latter to release Gandhiji as a first step towards seeking a solution of the deadlock. They followed up their efforts with the Viceroy, but to no effect. Even the Federal Court had struck down the arrests under the Defence of India Rules. But the bureaucracy circumvented the Court ruling by issuing an Ordinance and showed its stubborn determination to crush down the movement.

Bad events followed each other. Kasturba Gandhi ended her worldly sojourn (24 February 1944). It was a shock to Bombay and the entire country. This gave rise to anxieties about Gandhiji's life, lonely in the Aga Khan Palace. He demanded that he be transferred to Ahmad-nagar Fort. But would the imperialistic Government allow him such a pleasure?

The Mass Movement itself became protracted and languid. Meanwhile Gandhiji was attacked by malaria. His life was in danger. He was there-fore, released on 6 May 1944. But the release was not due to any change of heart. Probably the authorities might have felt that, now that Germany had surrendered, Gandhiji's release would not jeopardise the war efforts. There was no generosity whatsoever in it.

After the release, he had a sojourn at Juhu.² He was, however, thoroughly exhausted, depressed and unhappy.³ The release had raised hopes, not of a surrender and exit of prisoners, but of putting an end to the stalemate, without humiliation. He was neither happy about his release nor could he withdraw the August Resolution.⁴ There was no provision in the Resolution for withdrawal by him or any other individual. It had only authorised him to start civil disobedience, if and when it would become necessary. In his speech on 8 August 1942 he had declared his determination to have talks with the Viceroy. Till then there would be no question

¹ Bhulabhai Desai had participated as a Congressman.

² He was convalescing in Jehangir P. Patel's cottage for 34 days. Mr. Patel is still living and the cottage is still existing. K. Gopalswami, op. cit., p. 409.

³ Kanji Dwarkadas, op. cit., pp. 99-100.

⁴ Gandhiji's letter to Jayakar, dated 20 May 1944.

of civil disobedience. Thus, no civil disobedience was started and there was none to recall. The demonstrations that followed the arrests were no part of any civil disobedience, as Gandhiji had started none. All legal and constitutional experts and even liberal leaders like Srinivasa Sastri, Tej Bahadur Sapru and Jayakar concurred with the view that Gandhiji could not rescind the resolution. By this time the Resolution had become "innocuous" as Jayakar characterised it. Gandhiji strove very hard to lift up the drooping spirit of the people. The citizens felt encouraged and soothed in their plight and despair by his upright refusal to condemn their behaviour without at the same time, denouncing the cruel atrocities committed by Government.

During his sojourn at Juhu, underground Congressmen such as R. R. Diwakar, Achyutrao Patwardhan and Aruna Asaf Ali had parleys with Gandhiji. The latter two were secretly driven to his abode by Mrs. Fatima Ismail¹ of Bombay. He advised them all to emerge out of their underground abodes. But they still chose to pursue their path.

It was again in Bombay that Prof. M. L. Dantwala of the University of Bombay, submitted for Gandhiji's consideration, a formula on trusteeship on the part of capitalists. The latter gave it a concrete shape in consultation with G. D. Birla, and instructed him to canvass the support of his fellow-capitalists. Unfortunately, however, nothing emerged out of it due to the lack of response from the capitalists.

While Gandhiji discouraged any revival of civil disobedience, he made an exception in the case of Bombay. On his permission, the city celebrated the second anniversary of the Quit India Day on 9 August 1944. The mayor organised the celebration which was in essence, a simple symbolic exercise of a fundamental right of the citizens. Twenty-five satyagrahis, in batches of five, were to march to the Chowpati and Napoo Gardens and to recite the August Resolution and the flag salutation without drawing any crowds. Accordingly, they wrote to the Commissioner of Police in advance.² Even this did not find favour with the police. They arrested all the satyagrahis at Chowpati and denied even such a legitimate right to the people.

GANDHIJI-JINNAH TALKS

This was an event of great national significance, the failure of which meant disastrous consequences to the Indian continent. The talks between the two leaders were held at Jinnah's residence at Mount Pleasant Road, Bombay, from 9 September to 27 September 1944. The Rajagopalachari formula was the basis of the secret parleys. The Hindu Mahasabha as well as the Sikhs were hostile to the formula. Different

¹ K. Gopalswami, op. cit., p. 415.

² *March of Events, 1942-45*, pp. 204-05.

sections of the people reacted differently. Even the Viceroy had uttered a warning that before any concessions could be granted to Indians, there must be an agreement not only between the Hindus and Muslims, but also "among all important elements". He did not, however, illustrate what these "important elements" were. The bureaucracy on its part did not want, or at least was sceptical about, the success of the talks.

While the Hindu Mahasabha was apprehensive lest Gandhiji should yield too much to Jinnah, the Khaksars paraded in Bombay to lend support for a settlement. There were definitely some forces among the cultured Muslims of the nationalist bent of mind, that stood four square against reviving, by such talks, the moribund cult of Jinnah. The Sikhs were afraid that Gandhiji might concede Pakistan to Jinnah, hence they started a demand for Sikhistan.¹

Such was the background when one of the most significant, although futile, effort made by Gandhiji began. This exercise was started from 9 September 1944 and was adjourned *sine die* after full 18 days. Gandhiji went day after day from Birla House, where he was staying at the time,² to Jinnah's house.

Gandhiji had most painstakingly and conscientiously made every effort to arrive at a solution and to establish a rapport with Jinnah. There was a tremendous amount of speculation in the public, the press and Government circles, about the nature and progress of the secret parleys.³

There were moments of subdued optimism which made room for growing pessimism and ultimately to total disappointment.

The failure of the talks filled the bureaucracy with glee. The situation drifted in the winter of 1944-45, with official vindictiveness let loose on the already depressed people. The authorities took a great pleasure in humiliating the patriotic elements by every possible means. They continued to pursue the beaten track of imperialism.

Miscellaneous Events : Nothing very important in the political field happened during the period except for the individual efforts of Bhulabhai Desai, the leader of the Congress in the Central Assembly. He attempted to arrive at an agreement with Liaquat Ali Khan for the resolution of the deadlock. They proposed a National Government on a certain basis. Naturally this gave rise to tremendous speculation and even confusion about the move. While Bhulabhai did not take the people into confidence,

¹ K. Gopalswami, op. cit., p. 430.

² Ibid., p. 431.

³ Pyarelal Shah has given the behind scene version of the talks, while D. G. Tendulkar gives a day-to-day account of the talks as they progressed. Pyarelal Shah *Mahatma Gandhi; The Last Phase*, and D. G. Tendulkar, *Mahatma—Life of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi*.

the rank and file among Congressmen, and even the CWC, later, resented Bhulabhai's move. His move was regarded as action behind the back of the CWC, and incurred the displeasure of the Congress high command. It accomplished nothing, except ruining Bhulabhai's brilliant political career.

Meanwhile, the Congressmen of Bombay convened an informal conference of representatives of the four Provincial Congress Committees, viz., Bombay City, Maharashtra, Gujarat and Karnatak. The conference (on 28 and 29 October 1944) expounded the constructive programme at length.¹

In a way the conference reiterated its unswerving faith in the Gandhian programme. It reaffirmed that the August Resolution still remained in force and governed the Congress policy as interpreted by Gandhiji.²

The next important event was the release of the members of the CWC still under detention (15 June 1945). Accordingly Nehru, Azad, Vallabh-bhai, J. B. Kripalani, Rajendra Prasad, Narendra Deo, Pattabhi Sitaramayya and Shankarrao Deo were released.³

The CWC met at Bombay on 21 and 22 June for the first time since August 1942, and authorised the president and other Congressmen to attend the Simla conference as per invitation by the Viceroy. The conference was inaugurated on 25 June to consider the so-called Wavell Plan, but it protracted haltingly till the Viceroy announced its failure on 14 July 1945. It was unable to arrive at any agreement about the composition of the Viceroy's Executive Council, and even Lord Wavell's compromise formula was not acceptable to Jinnah. This gave rise to the question as to how to avoid the recriminations between the various parties and how to maintain communal harmony in the face of obstinacy of Jinnah. As a matter of fact, a large block of the Muslims had nothing to do with the Muslim League,⁴ and the number of nationalist Muslims in the BPCC was by no means insignificant. Even then the enigma of Jinnah and communal diehards overruled the majority of the Muslims. This state of affairs was witnessed in Bombay city quite conspicuously.

A happy augury in this vexatious situation was the outright victory of the Labour Party, and the accession of Lord Atlee to the Prime

¹ The programme covered communal unity, removal of untouchability, prohibition, khadi, village industries, village sanitation, basic education, adult education, uplift of women, service to the aboriginals, health education, propagation of *Rashtrabhasha*, mother tongue as a medium of education, economic equality and organisation of labour, farmers and students.

² *March of Events*, 1942-45, pp. 224-31.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 243

⁴ Abul Kalam Azad said it in a press conference on 14 July 1945 at Simla.

Ministership of the U. K. on 26 July 1945. The other changes ensued. Lord Pethick Lawrence was appointed the Secretary of State for India. The Japanese surrendered on 15 August 1945, and the devastating World War ended. This was almost a turning point. And there arose numerous hopes for settlement of the political deadlock in India as the war conditions could no longer be pleaded as an excuse by the British. This optimism found a resounding echo in Bombay.

The city gave a sigh of relief when the Government of Bombay formally rescinded, on 22 August 1945, its orders declaring unlawful the AICC, the BPCC, the GPCC and other bodies. The succeeding day, however, brought the tragic news of the death of Subhash Chandra Bose, on 18 August 1945, announced by the Japanese News Agency.¹ The news of the trials and proposed execution of the Indian National Army personnel and some Indian soldiers from the western fronts cast the shadows of sorrow and resentment among the patriots. Even Jinnah pleaded that justice should be tempered with mercy in their case. The people's concern for the INA was almost universal, and there was woeful bitterness. Then came the trial and judgment on the Chimur and Ashti case, wherein 15 patriots were condemned to death collectively. Once again the city was agog; both people and the Press took up the challenge. "Perhaps never before in history were fifteen men so near and yet so far away from the hangman's noose."² The proposed hanging was nothing but cold blooded murder under the name of law. It was after Gandhiji's pleadings that Lord Wavell ordered the commutation of death sentence to one of transportation for life. Utter bitterness and a tragic situation was thus averted.

The AICC, once again came to Bombay. It held a three-day session from 21 to 23 September 1945. The venue of the meeting was the same as that of the momentous historic session of 7 and 8 August 1942, viz., the Gowalia Tank Maidan. The memories of the "Quit India" session and the subsequent holocaust were revived. During the three years, a big story of India's national life had passed on. The session was a stupendous success. People once again demonstrated their devotion to the Congress. The pandal was constructed to accommodate 25,000. But it was too insufficient to admit the huge number of delegates and others. The crowds in the environ must have numbered a hundred thousand³ in spite of rains. Mrs. Sofia Khan and T. R. Naravane were in charge of preservation of order. Gandhiji did not attend the meeting owing to

¹ *March of Events*, 1942-45, p. 281.

² *Ibid.*, p. 302.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 318.

indisposition,¹ although he participated in the CWC proceedings. The AICC passed all the resolutions placed before it by the CWC, the most important among them dealing with the ensuing elections to the Central and Provincial legislatures, the Indian National Army, Wavell's broadcast talks, the vexed question of India's Sterling Balances which had accumulated in England during the war, the Indian interests in Burma and Malaya, the questions of China and South-East Asia, the constructive programme and the rights of the States' People.² An exhaustive election manifesto was also issued, its central theme being the redemption of the pledge of freedom and independence.

Babubhai Chinai, the treasurer of the Reception Committee of the AICC, collected a sum of nine lakhs of rupees³ for the national cause. The Kasturba Gandhi Memorial Fund and the Harijan Fund also received magnificent response in Bombay. The mercantile community and industrialists once again came forward with munificent contributions. The All-India Women's Conference too, under Hansa Mehta and Rajkumari Amrit Kaur did excellent work in the city.

The general elections to the Central Assembly followed in December 1945, in which the Congress scored a thumping victory, and secured all the open seats, other than Muslim. The Hindu Mahasabha and the Independents were wiped out.

NAVAL MUTINY

The revolt of the Royal Indian Navy opened an altogether new chapter in the history of the armed forces of India.⁴ The episode is a saga of the courage and patriotism of the naval ratings. The sufferings of the six years of war and the pent up hatred of 200 years of imperialistic rule found expression in an unprecedented upsurge of the people seeking a break through the stranglehold of imperialism. Many regard the RIN strike as a logical peak of the mass struggle for freedom, the final assault on the tottering structure of foreign rule.⁵ And the people of Bombay rallied them their support.

A large number of crews of ships and shore establishments were involved in the revolt and powerful guns were trained on Bombay city from the harbour. The Congress Socialists, a radical group, who did not want a settlement with Britain on any terms whatsoever, except

on the basis of "Quit India", saw in the RIN Revolt an opportunity to recreate the August 1942 atmosphere of sabotage, strikes and disruption.¹

The grim episode began on 18 February 1946 with the ratings of the Signal School of the Navy, *Talwar*, as a protest against the outrageous racial discrimination. As a matter of fact, the resentment against foreign rule was simmering among the personnel of the Indian Army and Air Force. The night before that fateful morning, when the chief of the Royal Indian Navy, a British Admiral, was due to visit the ship and the barracks, Indian sailors splashed the "Quit India" slogan on the ship and the walls of the barracks. This was sacrilege, but the damage was repaired in time. However, the Naval Chief came to know about it, and ordered the commanding officer to investigate the matter as he intended to take the sternest action. The commanding officer, Capt. Cole, was forced to resign because he was sober towards Indians, and another officer was appointed in his place to crack the whip. The sailors became furious at the exit of Capt. Cole, for whom they had great regard. When the new commanding officer tried to roughshod them, they came out in open defiance.²

The sailors flashed over the wireless network to other ships, the fact that they had gone on strike and that their colleagues too should follow suit.³ And alas! The agitation spread to many ships. As many as 3,000 personnel of the naval establishments in Bombay staged demonstrations in the harbour area on the 19th instant. Almost all the naval ships were affected the next day, and two of them hoisted the Congress flag. In some of them, the ratings mounted guns and got themselves ready to fight.⁴

The British were aghast. The Navy was the last thing they had imagined would revolt against them.⁵ They thought that the impelling force behind was political and not economic, and were determined to crush it in the same way as a mutiny.

The strikers formed a Central Strike Committee for conducting the agitation. It put forth their demands which included, among many others, the withdrawal of Indian troops from Indonesia, where they were deployed as a part of the occupation forces. They attempted to capture the armoury and the ammunition dump inside Bombay Castle Barracks on 21 February. There was a heavy exchange of fire between them and the Army, and it was only after a fierce battle of six hours that the ratings signalled "cease fire".⁶

¹ *Mahatma Gandhi in Maharashtra : 1915 to 1946*, Gazetteers Department, Government of Maharashtra, p. 293.

² K. Gopalswami, op. cit., pp. 468-69.

³ Ibid., p. 470.

⁴ Jawaharlal Nehru (Speech).

⁵ File on RIN Uprising—Inside story based on testimonies of victimised ratings (1946), presently with Gazetteers Department, Government of Maharashtra.

¹ Kanji Dwarkadas, op. cit., p. 155.

² S. M. Nanda (Vice-Admiral), quoted by K. Gopalswami, op. cit., pp. 474-75.

³ Ibid.

⁴ V. B. Karnik, *Strikes in India* (Manaktalas, Bombay, 1967), pp. 318-19.

⁵ S. M. Nanda, op. cit.

⁶ V. B. Karnik, op. cit., p. 319.

The agitation spread to the naval establishment at Karachi on the 19th instant. The *H. M. I. S. Hindustan* lying in the harbour was captured. Heavy fire exchanged with British soldiers. The unprecedented stir received a tremendous response from the naval ratings at Calcutta, Visakhapatnam, Cochin, Lonavala and Delhi (Naval Headquarters). They received active sympathy from the personnel in the Royal Air Force as well as the Army. Sympathetic strikes were staged by the men of the Royal Air Force stationed at Sion, Madras, Kanpur and Ambala, a unit of the Royal Indian Army Supply Corps at Kurla, and many units at Calcutta and Karachi.¹ Such was the virulent and vociferous thrust.

The situation in the streets of Bombay became very grave and alarming. Demonstrations turned violent. The workers in railway workshops, cotton mills and factories obstructed vehicular traffic including buses, trams and trains, and set fire to many post offices and Government property. One textile mill, three railway stations and several military trucks were set on fire. The Military and the police had to open fire several times. As could be expected the British soldiers indulged in indiscriminate firing.

The grim episode cost 223 human lives in the city, while 1037 were injured. Five officers and one rating of the RIN were also killed.²

Meanwhile the Government had mobilised great military might to crush the agitation by treating the same as nothing less than a mutiny.

The entire affair was an exhibition of a distressful unrest, a thoughtless orgy of violence. Europeans became the target of the attackers, churches were attacked and incendiarism was indulged in.

The cease fire was achieved on 23 February 1946 only after Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel rushed to the metropolis, and intervened energetically and prevailed upon the agitators. He told the Socialist leaders that at a time when there were prospects of a friendly settlement with the British, he would not tolerate any disruptive activities and that he would not let them succeed, through the strike of the RIN, in creating panic and confusion in the country. Meanwhile Mrs. Aruna Asaf Ali wired to Jawaharlal Nehru to come to Bombay to help the revolt. Nehru took the first train to Bombay. Vallabhbhai sent a special messenger to Dadar station and asked Nehru to see him at once and not to proceed to the Victoria Terminus where a huge crowd was waiting to receive him.

We have no other evidence to know the truth. But Kanji Dwarkadas writes : "Patel spoke strongly to Nehru and told him of the folly of helping the rioters. Nehru persuaded himself to be converted to Patel's

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid., p. 320.

point of view, and after a tame press conference, addressed at Chowpaty a public meeting on the lines suggested by Patel."¹

Colville, Governor of Bombay, was most uncomfortable over this revolt, and he admitted privately that, but for Patel, the Government would have found themselves in a much more difficult situation.² This was one of the Sardar's great acts of wisdom.

The Government appreciated the Sardar's wise role and the good gesture of the ratings. The Commander-in-Chief, General Claude Auchinleck, gave an assurance in a broadcast on 25 February to look into the grievances of the ratings, and to abstain from any collective punishment or vindictive treatment.

The efforts of Patel and other Congress leaders towards achievement of peace were however, unpalatable to the Communists. They wanted the agitation to take nation-wide dimensions for putting an end to the English rule. They denounced the Congress leaders as stooges of British imperialism. This sounded very strange, particularly because they had supported the British and the war as a "people's war" only till recently. The indomitable Sardar and Jawaharlalji addressed a mammoth meeting in the city to dispel Communist propaganda. They exposed the attempts of the Communists to mislead the people and to resurrect their prestige, which had been tarnished as a result of their whole-hearted co-operation with British imperialism and the Allies during the Quit India Movement.

His Majesty's Government realised the gravity of the situation, and on 19 February 1946, Lord Atlee and Lord Pethick Lawrence made a simultaneous announcement in the two Houses of the British Parliament about the Cabinet Mission to be sent to India. The announcement was to the effect that in view of the paramount importance, not only to India and to the British Commonwealth, but also to the peace in the world, His Majesty's Government has decided to send to India a special mission of Cabinet Ministers³ to seek an agreement with the Indian leaders on the principles and procedure relating to the constitutional issue. The Cabinet Mission arrived in New Delhi on 24 March 1946, and began their work. Whether the decision of sending the Cabinet Mission was inspired or hastened by the Naval Mutiny at Bombay, it is difficult to say. It is, however, significant that the earlier Mission of Stafford Cripps was also announced only three days after the fall of Rangoon to Japan in March 1942.

¹ Kanji Dwarkadas, op. cit., p. 156.

² Ibid.

³ The Mission consisted of Lord Pethick Lawrence (Secretary of State for India), Sir Stafford Cripps (President of the Board of Trade), and A. V. Alexander (First Lord of the Admiralty).

DAWN OF INDEPENDENCE

The period from 1946 upto the dawn of Independence was characterised by protracted parleys and deliberations between the three parties to the transfer of power, namely, the Government, the Congress and the League. While the prospects of Independence were bright, the whole atmosphere was filled with uncertainty and speculation. The exasperating and intransigent attitude of Jinnah cast ominous clouds upon the public mind. Hopes ran high upon arrival of the Cabinet Mission. The RIN mutiny in Bombay had already shaken the British. After prolonged parleys and correspondence with Indian leaders, the Mission made an elaborate statement on 16 May 1946, which has come to be known as the State Paper. It was discussed at various levels, and it gave rise to optimism and pessimism, hopes and dispairs. The Mission, after a busy sojourn of three months in India, left for home on 29 June.

The CWC gave an earnest consideration to the State Paper. Although the proposals in the same fell short of the objectives, the CWC thought that there was sufficient scope for enlarging and strengthening the central authority, and agreed to the Congress participation in the Constituent Assembly.

About ten days later, the AICC was convened in Bombay to ratify the CWC resolution. Nehru was crowned the Congress president at this meeting; Gandhiji attended the AICC. This was the last time that he was in Bombay. The Socialists including Jayaprakash Narayan, opposed the participation in the Constituent Assembly. The AICC ratified the CWC resolution by a large majority, 204 voting for and 51 against it.¹ In July 1946, elections were held to the Constituent Assembly, a mini parliament. The Congress was returned with an overwhelming majority.

At the close of July, Jinnah announced a hostile programme of "direct action" in the Bombay convention of the League. He carried it to its gruesome conclusion—the Calcutta mass killing, its aftermath in Naokhali and its reaction in Bihar. This holocaust did find an expression in Bombay. The Muslim quarter in the city was infuriated to the maximum.

The Interim Government took over the reigns of office on 22 September. The League joined only on 15 October with the declared intention of working for Pakistan. The Constituent Assembly started its work without the League's participation. The latter was brewing troubles, but the former proceeded with its business with circumspection. Events moved swiftly. At this extremely tense and uncertain situation, the British Prime Minister made a momentous declaration on 20 February 1947, expressing the intention of the British Government for transfer of power into 'responsible Indian hands' not later than June 1948. This announcement was

¹ K. Gopalswami, op. cit., p. 504.

greeted with enthusiasm in all circles, except the Muslim League. It once again started 'Direct Action', as a result of which communal riots with arson and violence broke out.

Meanwhile Lord Mountbatten, the man of Destiny, replaced Lord Wavell on 24 March 1947. He issued a plan on 3 June 1947, containing 'the method by which power will be transferred from British to Indian hands'. This plan suggested India's partition which shattered the goal of a united and free India. The Congress had to swallow the bitter pill. It was a *fait accompli*, and the AICC could not but ratify it. Mountbatten pursued the course of events with steadfastness and vigour. Time was the essence of the matter as the mounting communal riots might well wreck the whole scheme, if it was delayed. Events moved inexorably. The target date of June 1948 for transfer of power was advanced to 15 August 1947. This memorable day marked India's deliverance from alien domination. The Tricolour was hoisted on the Secretariat among scenes of jubilation.

The last British troops left for home through the arcade of the Gateway of India. They bade farewell from where they had entered 282 years ago. Bombay, the symbol of generosity, wished them bon voyage, forgetting the bitter memories of the Great Fight. The British made history in Bombay. They gave her birth, nurtured her to bloom into a 'World City' and left her when she no longer needed them.

BOMBAY'S RELICS IN REPOSE

Many think that Bombay is an Indian city with a western facade. In spite of her determinedly oriental opulence, Bombay is really a 'half-caste offspring of London', largely reared by Europeans in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It was once considered a 'World City', and that it remains to be one. But most of it is a real Indian town. The British entered the city through the Apollo Bunder. But the Gateway of India, a triumphal entry-arch built on the same Apollo Bunder, was also a place of their exit. The Gateway erected belatedly in 1927 to commemorate the visit of George V and his Queen in 1911, was to bid farewell to the last British troops on their way home a mere twenty years later.

The British built Bombay. But it is not the efforts of the Government alone which go into the making of the great city. There were several citizens, who reaped fortunes from the Share Mania and contributed unstintingly in the making of this beautiful city. Lovat Fraser, former editor of the *Times of India*, very aptly wrote in 1911, "Though many distinguished Britons played a great part in the making of Bombay, and though some among them are entitled to a foremost place in the rolls

of its famous citizens, the city is essentially the handiwork of the Indian communities also; Hindus and Musalmans, and Parsees and Jews, have in equal measure spent themselves and their wealth in the advancement and embellishment of the Gate of India. To their enterprise and generosity, not less than to the prescient control of capable Englishmen, we owe the magnificent capital of Western India it exists today."

The city offers a more complete and exuberant example of 19th century British townscape than any city in the United Kingdom.¹ There is a splendid range of buildings, many of them masterpieces of art and architecture incomparable to any other Indian city. Several connoisseurs have clamoured for preservation of the monuments of art and architecture in the city, reminiscent as they are of its past glory. It is, therefore, essential to survey the relics which are now in repose.

Apollo Bunder might appear to be a meaningful name after the Greek sun-god in view of the majesty of the spot. But Apollo Bunder has nothing to do with the sun-god, although Bombay was the 'Heptanesia' to the Greek cosmographer Ptolemy. The name Apollo is a corruption of *Palav*, misheard by British ears, and relates rather to native fishing grounds.² It was then the principal place of operation of the fishermen.

The Gateway to India, the other name for Apollo Bunder since 1927, is a grand archway, something between the Arc de Triomphe in Paris and a segment of a Moorish palace. It was erected on the sea-front at this point to commemorate the visit to India of George V and his Queen in 1911. Aesthetically the appeal of the city has been considerably enhanced by the completion of three prominent landmarks in this century: the Gateway of India, the Marine Drive and the Prince of Wales Museum. The Gateway is a western facade in spite of its determinedly oriental opulence. This last and indeed belated imperial monument, stands on the Apollo Pier, which for hundreds of years, was the spot where passengers were brought in Bunder boats to disembark, while the ships that had carried them rode at anchor in the bay. It was only after construction of the Ballard Pier, three quarters of a kilometre to the north, that the passenger ships started landing at the Ballard Pier.

Facing the Gateway is the Taj Mahal built on the Yacht Club's pleasure basin. It was the cherished project of Jamshetji Nusserwanji Tata, a grand Parsi of Bombay. It is said that J. N. Tata suffered a humiliation of being asked to leave the then best hotel in Bombay, the Watson's Hotel on the Esplanade, on the ground that he was a native. He swore then that he

¹ Gillian Tindall, "A Patch of Grace" in the *Taj Magazine*, Vol. II, No. 2, 1982, Bombay.

² Gillian Tindall, *City of Gold: The Biography of Bombay* (Temple Smith, London, 1982), p. 22.

would one day build a hotel of his own which would far exceed Watson's in splendour and comfort.¹ His Taj was designed regardless of expense, the like of which India had never seen, the finest in the East, when it was built. It is to Bombay what the Taj Mahal mausoleum is to India. When it was born in 1904 it was one of the wonders of the East. It was completed at a cost of £ 5,00,000, but Jamshetji did not live to preside over the opening ceremony.² It provides all the comforts which a tourist cherished, and is still the best in Bombay, eighty years later.

Just adjacent is the Taj Inter-Continental (1972), best described as a Moorish Skyscraper, but in fact one of the rare specimens of modern buildings in Bombay. The Watson's, the then-best, has long ceased to function. For his hotel Watson had imported not only iron, but also bricks from England, and Portland stone and cement from the other side of the world.³ Today the building stands toothless, tired and ready-to-die. Its present title is Esplanade Mansion which was ironically purchased by the Tatas in 1944.⁴

Just near the Gateway is the one-time Yacht Club, whose 'mixture of Swiss and Hindu styles' now houses the Atomic Energy Commission. The Yacht Club Chambers of 1898, then-best in the city, now leads an attenuated existence amid white wickerwork chairs and steel engravings of sailing clippers in Bombay harbour.⁵

The Council Hall, a one-time Sailors' Home, designed by F. W. Stevens in a style described as Byzantine and constructed in the early 1870s⁶, stands on the graves of Bombay's founders. Before construction of the dockyards this was Mendham's Point, the site of the European cemetery in Bombay.⁷ It was enlarged in 1928 when its function was changed.⁸ It became the edifice of the legislature of the Bombay Presidency, the Bombay State and later Maharashtra in 1960. It was deprived of its status as a house of legislature in 1982 when the State Legislature was shifted to the newly built modern spacious Vidhan Bhavan opposite the Mantralaya. The Vidhan Bhavan is a jewel of 'new Bombay' with its architectural charms and magnificence.

Here is the Prince of Wales Museum with a fine Moorish dome copied in a scholarly way after the Bijapur Mosque in Karnatak, and a genial

¹ Ibid., pp. 26-27.

² S. K. Kooka, "Times Past Times Remembered", in the *Taj Magazine*, 1982.

³ Gillian Tindall, *City of Gold*, p. 236.

⁴ S. K. Kooka, op. cit.

⁵ Gillian Tindall, op. cit., p. 28.

⁶ Ibid., p. 82.

⁷ Ibid., pp. 28, 81.

⁸ Ibid., p. 82.

statue of the Prince himself meditating among the gardens in front.¹ By taking a half-turn right round the back of the Museum, one walks through a ghostly rampart gate into the Fort area, past the neo-classical Scottish Church, the St. Andrew's Church, built in 1820 and still "a white-washed building of no pretensions, being the most striking object from the sea"², but not now visible from the sea.

If any one individual were to be credited for making the greatest contribution to the physical development of Bombay, it must surely be Sir Bartle Frere, under whose Governorship from 1862 to 1867, the dawn of Modern Bombay may be said to have really begun.³ It was the period of the phenomenal growth of cotton trade and the ensuing Share Mania. An ardent townscape reformer, Bartle Frere ordered the demolition of the useless public buildings, obsolete fortifications, and ramparts of the fort. Space thus freed, was laid out in roads, open spaces and public buildings. Reclamations were carried out from Apollo Bunder to Colaba Church and from Custom House to Sewri. On the western side of the island was undertaken the great Back Bay Reclamation extending from Colaba to the foot of Malabar Hill. Work was commenced on new roads such as the Colaba Causeway, the Esplanade, Rampart Row and Hornby Road. Old roads were widened and new ones were constructed. Architectural activity reached its zenith during Bartle's term of office. The best English architects of the time were commissioned to draw up the plans of new buildings, conceived in the highest traditions of Victorian Gothic architecture. The buildings commenced during his tenure, but completed by his successors, were the imposing Secretariat, the University Library and the Rajabai Tower, the Convocation Hall, the High Court, the Telegraph and Post Offices building, all majestically fronting the sea. Other buildings executed in a similar style were the Elphinstone College, the Victoria Museum, the Elphinstone High School, the J. J. School of Arts and the Goculdas Tejpal Hospital.

The Elphinstone College, named after Mountstuart Elphinstone, his Statue now holding majestically at the Asiatic Society of Bombay, today occupies the grand Gothic-Italianate building, usually referred to as Venetian Gothic,⁴ built with the Kurla stone. It was inaugurated in 1889. Next to it, imitating a Romanesque church, is the little Sassoon Mechanics Institute, unchanged since the day it was opened for the edification of David Sassoon, in mercantile terms, a great industrialist, in the late 1860s. Next to that is the vaguely neo-classical Army and Navy Building, now no longer a posh departmental store, but once

¹ Jan Morris, "Bombay—a Victorian Expression", in the *Taj Magazine*, 1982.

² Emma Roberts, *Overland Journey to Bombay* (London, 1845).

³ Sharda Dwivedi, "Bombay a Patchwork Quilt", in the *Taj Magazine*, 1982.

⁴ Gillian Tindall, op. cit., pp. 29, 165.

a branch of that same enterprise in Victoria Street, London.¹ Arms-in-hand to it is the Watson's Building, now known as Esplanade Mansion, which then housed the Watson's Hotel, but now a ready-to-die building with cast-iron pillars and tiers of wrought-iron galleries. It is reminiscent of French nineteenth century colonial architecture, although it is probably designed after the many-tiered wooden Gujarati houses.

The Gothic Revival buildings began to edge the Esplanade once the old Fort walls had been pulled down, changing the whole aspect of the city. The buildings were mainly in buff or blue stone from Kurla, on the nearby mainland, with detail in Porbunder sandstone or red sandstone from Vasai. "The curious thing is that those admired Bombay building (s) were not, in the main, built by internationally distinguished architects. Almost the only exception is the Venetian-style University, with its openwork spiral staircases, which was built to designs sent out from England by the prolific George Gilbert Scott, who does not actually seem to have visited the site."² The Gothic University Library³ and the Rajabai Tower built out of the munificence of Premchand Raichand (Rs. 4,00,000) reveals a fascinating tribute to the local stone mason's craft with its detailed ornamentation. The Tower, built in commemoration of Premchand's mother, Rajabai, was for long the highest building in Bombay, and its height was superseded only in recent decades. The Convocation Hall, French in style, donated by Cowasji Jehangir Ready-money, is equally stately. More has been said about these masterpieces and their donors in earlier pages of this book.

The magisterial High Court buildings, opened in 1879, were part of the late 19th century building boom. The pillar-cornices within the Venetian-style galleries of the High Court, a splendid Gothic pile, in blue basalt, are ornamented with apes at play.⁴ The majestic breadth of its verandahed exterior is remarkably impressive. The Public Works Department building and the handsome Central Telegraph Office in Miscellaneous Gothic were built a few years earlier. The monumental Secretariat, now in turn the old Secretariat, as the still older one in the Fort is forgotten and a newer one stands to the south-west on reclaimed land, was Bartle Frere's first project, completed in 1874. The Venetian edifice was provided with a series of lordly galleries, arcades and balconies, from which the imperial administrators, shaded by gigantic rattan screens, could see their passing subjects.⁵ Designed by an engineer of the Royal Engineers of the Public Works Department, it along with the Gothic University Library, the

¹ Ibid., p. 29.

² Ibid., pp. 234-35.

³ Ibid., p. 234.

⁴ Ibid., p. 238.

⁵ Jan Morris, "Bombay—A Victorian Expression", in the *Taj Magazine*, 1982.

French University Hall, the Venetian Early English High Court and the Miscellaneous Gothic Public Works Department and Central Telegraph building, stood solidly on the sea frontage. The Oval Maidan to which they overlook now came much later on.

The Flora Fountain, named after the Goddess of flowers and beauty, once stood in the centre of the Esplanade and on the site of the Church Gate. It was erected in 1869 in honour to Sir Bartle Frere, the Governor responsible for laying out much of the post-1860 'new Bombay'. A beautiful piece of art, once upon a time it had a grass plot with floral wealth and palm trees as a surround. It was originally intended to be erected in the Victoria Gardens. Facing the Flora Fountain, its official modern name being Hutatma Chowk, and commanding a fork, stands the Oriental Building, an unoriental block with a pitched roof vaguely filched from a French 'chateau'. Up the Dadabhai Naoroji Road, once the Hornby Road, stands the Fort House with a neo-classical pediment and a verandah. Till recently it housed the Handloom House, but originally it was the mid-nineteenth century town-house of Sir Jamshetji Jijibhai, the first Indian baronet.

But, the jewel of Bombay is the Victoria Terminus Railway Station, a vast domed mass of stone fretted with point and column statuary.¹ It makes Bombay a proud and comely city. This quaint old building is admired as a great work of art rather than despised as a symbol of imperialism. The gargoyles, the turrets and the delicate peacocks sculptured beneath many eaves are but a few of its charms. With its pointed Gothic pride, with its meticulously carved stone ornamentation and beautiful iron-work, it was designed by F. W. Stevens of the Public Works Department, who was responsible for many delightful buildings of the day in Bombay. The work was executed by the teachers and students of the J. J. School of Art. The supreme memorial of the railway era, it stands magnificently preposterous, part Oriental, part Gothic, but all unmistakably Victorian, carved about with crest and emblems, guarded by a thousand gargoyles.² The building in the Italian—Gothic style was commenced in May 1878, and completed in May 1888.³ It is unfortunate that Queen Victoria has now been retired to a backyard hidden corner of the Gardens originally named after her.

Just across the road, and almost as splendid, is the domed and minaretted Municipal Corporation Building. The building, designed by F. W. Stevens, belongs to the early Gothic style, while the many domes which rise above gabled roofs, impart an oriental flavour to the design. It was

¹ G. W. Stevens, *In India* (Blackwood and Sons, 1905). (This Stevens was in no way connected with F. W. Stevens.)

² Jan Morris, *op. cit.*

³ S. M. Edwardes, *Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island*, Vol. III, 1910, pp. 382-83.

commenced in July 1889 and completed in July 1893.¹ This is British Bombay at its exuberant best, the Saracenic-Gothic 'palaces'² admired all the time. The precarious circle of greenery in front of the Terminus (Bhatia Baug), was once the northernmost gate out of the Fort, the Bazar Gate. On the other side is the J. J. School of Art, an institution with the progressive spirit of William Morris and the pre-Raphaelites, where the laureate of the Empire and lover of Bombay, Rudyard Kipling was born in 1865. Esplanade House on Waudby Road owned by the Tatas is a testimony to the time when elegance was a way of life. Its grand facade hints at its distinguished past.

Charles Forjett was the person responsible for turning the central part of the old Bombay Green into Elphinstone Circle as the elegant hub of the Fort with its public garden and its classical circlet of majestic buildings. It is now renamed Horniman Circle after B. G. Horniman, a Gandhian and editor of the *Bombay Chronicle*, which had its office here. The Circle was laid out in the 1860s, and is one of the rare pieces of non-utilitarian town planning in Bombay.³ The Bombay Green once housed the first theatre in Bombay, built in 1776 by public subscription. This was later repaired at the expenses of Charles Forbes's company, but was later abandoned. Nearby is the St. Thomas Cathedral originally founded in the 17th century, and opened by Charles Boone, whose Governorship (1715-22) marked a turning point for Bombay.

The Mint and the Town Hall with their pillars and Grecian porticoes are the old existing examples of British architecture.⁴ The idea for a worthy building on the Green, a symbol of British civic pride, was first mooted in 1811, when Sir James Mackintosh solaced his dissatisfaction in Bombay by founding the Bombay Literary Society, later metamorphosed into the Asiatic Society. It was completed in 1833 with a pleasant line of Ionic columns along its frontage, out of the funds raised by a lottery public subscriptions and Government contribution, even though the original plans were curtailed.⁵

The old buildings in the northern Fort disappeared in the violent fire of 1803, and some of the buildings which replaced them in Parsi Bazar Street and Borah Bazar Street must be the ones that still stand today. Others, in the southern part of the Fort, were rebuilt after a second serious fire in 1823.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 315.

² Gillian Tindall, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 163.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 164.

The land bounded by the Mahatma Gandhi and Dadabhai Naoroji Roads (formerly Esplanade and Hornby Roads) was occupied by a complex erection of walls, bastions and ravelins from the early eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth century. When these were demolished by Bartle Frere in the 1860s, the modern roads were laid out on the site on the model of Paris at the same period.¹ Even today these roads outline the old Fort, clearly preserving its identity, its internal street pattern, and names such as Rampart Row and Bastion Road. It was not just a fort in the usual sense of the term but a fortified densely populated town. The actual fort, its nucleus, Bombay Castle, guarded the seaward side of it.²

The road from Museum to Fort Market (Apollo Street) takes one to the past vestiges of the late 18th century Bombay, some of which are identifiable even now. In Marine Street, facing the walled up gate of the naval dock through which young Nelson entered Bombay in 1775, stands a tall, old house with anchors engraved on it. Just to the south of it near St. Andrew's Church, is Hornby House owned by William Hornby (1771-84), a large stone building, now shabby but once a Governor's House,³ and then the Law Courts. At the junction of Marine and Apollo Streets stands a bow-fronted building whose once elegant verandah has been filled in with shops, but which is still known to Bombayites as the Writers' Building occupied by the clerks of the East India Company two hundred years ago. A little further up Apollo Street, going towards Horniman Circle, stands a house that was formerly the 'old Secretariat' prior to the one overlooking the sea, was completed in 1874. Today it is occupied by small business companies, but its size, its flight of steps and the decorative iron work of its balconies, hint at its distinguished past. Governor Duncan lived and worked there for many years till his death in 1811; during his days the place stood in a garden with mulberry trees. The wooden houses existing in the Bazar Gate Street area now with their projecting galleries and carvings were owned by many founding fathers of the mercantile community.⁴ Further up two fragments of the massive granite walls of Fort St. George are existing even today.⁵ The St. George Hospital now stands on the site of the Fort St. George.

¹ Ibid., p. 29.

² Ibid.

³ The first Governor's house was constructed in the late 17th century out of shell of Garcia da Orta's Manor House in the Heart of Bombay Castle. It was used as Governor's House for about 100 years.

⁴ Gillian Tindall, "A Patch of Grace", in the *Taj Magazine*, 1982.

⁵ Gillian Tindall, *City of Gold*, pp. 105-06.

The B.B. & C.I. railway line was extended to Churchgate in the mid-1870s in spite of protests from some quarters, who frowned that this would deprive Bombay of a promenade which any seaside place in the world might have envied. The name perpetuated the memory of the demolished fort ramparts. There it stayed for a while in a countrified little station. It finally made its way to the Cotton Green at Colaba in 1893, where a modestly Gothic terminus was built. The Colaba Station was subsequently demolished as the Cotton Green was shifted to Sewri in 1924. Shortly after the Victoria Terminus, the B.B. & C.I. Company also built its own rival grandiose building near Churchgate, in 1899, which was designed by Stevens again. It is faced with blue basalt stone, and the domes, mouldings, capitals, columns, cornices and carvings are in Kurla and Porbunder stone. It commanded a grand view of Back Bay to the west, the Oval in front and Cross Maidan and Esplanade to the rear.¹ In those days the railway tracks ran down the water's edge, a panoramic view.

Cuffe Parade itself was part of a new, grand scheme for Back Bay, put forward by the Bombay Improvement Trust founded in 1898. Marine Drive was first conceived around 1920. A fringe of ground, now occupied by many gymkhanas, was wrested from the beach opposite the old cemeteries, but Marine Drive was not completed till the 1940s. It was the last gift of the British. Other grand plans of the 1920s, such as putting the shoreline railway underground (again) and building 'a shopping mall' over it have yet not found the light of the day.² It may be recalled that Arthur Crawford, the able minded but extravagant Municipal Commissioner, had an ambitious scheme to dig a tunnel through Malabar Hill, and to reclaim part of the foreshore by the material excavated therefrom so as to relocate the Race Course, then at Byculla. This grandiose plan did not materialise, but the Race Course was shifted from Byculla to Mahalaxmi. The races were held for the first time on the present site, in 1878.³ The Byculla Club, after its glorious days as the first club in Bombay, finished its days as a military hospital during the First World War. Today the main State Transport depot occupies the site of the Club itself,⁴ but the rather grand houses on the northern side are still reminiscent of the distinguished past.

¹ Ibid., p. 231, and a photograph of c. 1900.

² Ibid., pp. 231-32.

³ J. M. Mclean, *Guide to Bombay* (Bombay Gazette Steam Press, 1902).

⁴ Gillian Tindall, op. cit., p. 241.

The physical history of Bombay is the history of what one writer in *The Times*¹ called in the 1930s, "the great epic of reclamation which has been in process for two-and-a-half centuries and of which the end is not yet in sight". It continued for centuries, and is still merrily going on. The first work of magnitude and the greatest landmark in the building up of Bombay, was under the Governorship of William Hornby (1771-1784), a man of tremendous vision, boundless energy and strong determination.² He perceived that the first prerequisite for improving sanitary conditions and rendering Bombay habitable, was the necessity of shutting out sea at Breach Candy. The great piece of reclamation, now known as Hornby Vellard (overlooking Haji Ali Dargah), effectively welded the eastern and western shores of the island into one area, and made available the huge expanses from Haji Ali upto Mazagaon for human habitation and industry. The Vellard, now christened Lala Lajapatrai Road appears to have been completed by 1805. The other works of great magnitude and importance which formed landmarks in the building of the city were the Sion Causeway (1803), the Apollo Bunder called Wellington Pier (1819) the Colaba Causeway (1838), the Mahim Causeway (1845), the Back Bay Reclamation which continues to this day from the days of the Cotton Mania, the Mody Bay Reclamation on the eastern shore,³ the opening up of Mahim Woods and formation of the Shivaji Park (1928) and the Marine Drive (1940).⁴ The Nariman Point is the latest addition which is a mini-Manhattan with skyscrapers, the pride of 'new' Bombay of the post-Independence era.

The heart of Bombay lies in the intensely crowded area north of Carnac Road, (Lokamanya Tilak Road) and Crawford Market. Here are the Cotton Exchange and the covered textile market (the largest in the world), the Great Mosque and old temples. The Gate of Mercy Synagogue, founded in 1796 and rebuilt about 40 years later, still functions in Samuel Street, while the oldest Sephardic Synagogue lies in

¹ Date not known.

² It may be noted that the Court of Directors had rejected Hornby's proposal as being too extravagant. But this did not shake his determination. He proceeded with the venture with just 18 months left for the expiry of his term of office. The Directors took umbrage and served him with a notice of suspension. Hornby merely pocketed the order and proceeded with the implementation of his dream till he handed over charge to his successor.

³ The building of docks pre-occupied Bombay for the whole of the second half of the 19th century, which was made possible by the Mody Bay Scheme.

⁴ The Chowpati has provided a congenial home to *bhel-puri* sellers for 80 years. History records that in 1904 some migrants from Uttar Pradesh started selling *bhel-puri* on this sea-face. They celebrated the platinum jubilee of their presence on the sands in 1979-80.

Forbes Street in Fort.¹ The Swami Satya Narayan Temple at Bhuleshwar with an elaborately carved frontage is a visual treat in an otherwise shabby surrounding.

Mazagaon especially has a faded charm, for it was originally a Portuguese township. The mangoes of Mazagaon, fruiting twice a year, were celebrated. They found a place in the dining hall of Shah Jehan, and appear in many records including Thomas Moore's *Lallah Rookh* written in 1817. Most of the historic mansions have already gone, although one, David Sassoon's house, Sans Souci, exists as Massina Hospital at Byculla, and is one of the last surviving grand houses in the area. The Gloria Church at Byculla, a structure in standard North Oxford Gothic style, was opened in 1913. Its view is now spoiled by the erection of a fly-over directly in front of it. Half a mile away from it once stood the Nossa Senhora de Gloria Church endowed in 1632 but demolished in 1911.² The Victoria Gardens, originally laid out in 1861, has a triumphal arch and clock tower built with terracotta ornamental panels imported from England. Here now are congregated the beautiful statues of former British worthies who have been removed from their street locations. Once, Bombay had a number of sudden hillocks, but most of them have been demolished and literally thrown into the sea for reclamation. The foot of the old Dongri Fort, blown up in 1769, and which later became known as Naoroji Hill, was washed by the sea. It yielded ground where the harbour railway line now runs. The Sion Fort, built by Gerald Aungier (1669-1677), still survives on its miniature mountain overlooking the oil refineries. The Mahim Fort also, built by Aungier, is still reminiscent of its past importance.

The Governor's House, also known as Parel House, still stands, a rare survivor of time and chance; but its surroundings are changed beyond recognition. Formerly the site of a Jesuit monastery, the building looked across the sweep of the Flats to the distant groves of Mahim. Its stone channels and the lake are gone now, but the ballroom, the ancient flooring and an arch, still remain, although the house's fortunes are changed totally. After 1882, when Lady Eergusson died there of cholera, it was used no more; and in 1896 it became a bacteriological laboratory, later christened Haffkine Institute after the illustrious devoted medical scientist. To say the least, the house stands testimony to its past glory as a rare piece of architecture.

¹ Gillian Tindall, "A Patch of Grace", in the *Taj Magazine*, 1982.

² Ibid., *City of Gold*, p. 54.

The Walkeshwar temple of the tenth century, the Mumbadevi temple of 1753, the Mahalaxmi temple of 1830, the Babulnath temple of 1780, the San Miguel Church built in 1540, the Mahim Dargah and the Mount Mary are but a few of the old places of worship held in high veneration in the city. But the most ancient monument in present Greater Bombay is at Kanheri. It is the most extensive of all Buddhist rock-cut monasteries, and consists of a large group of caves of varying ages and styles. The caves were cut roughly between A. D. 50 and A. D. 200, while the second phase began around A. D. 400. They had been one of the most prosperous and famous of the rock monasteries of the Buddhists surrounded by lush green forests. They bring us to the end of our delightful sojourn through the relics in repose in this 'World City' of ours.

APPENDIX I

LIST OF THE GOVERNORS OF BOMBAY

1. H. Cooke	..	..	..	1665-1666
2. Sir Gervase Lucas	..	..	..	1666-1667
Captain H. Gary <i>Officiating</i>	..	..	..	1667-1668
3. Sir G. Oxenden	..	..	..	1668-1669
4. G. Aungier	..	..	..	1669-1677
5. T. Rolt	..	..	..	1677-1681
6. Sir J. Child, BART.	..	..	..	1681-1690
7. B. Harris	..	..	..	1690-1694
8. Sir J. Gayer	..	..	..	1694-1704
9. Sir N. Waite	..	..	..	1704-1708
10. W. Aislabie	..	..	..	1708-1715
11. C. Boone	..	..	..	1715-1722
12. W. Phipps	..	..	..	1722-1729
13. R. Cowan	..	..	..	1729-1734
14. J. Horne	..	..	..	1734-1739
15. S. Law	..	..	..	1739-1742
16. W. Wake	..	..	..	1742-1750
17. R. Bouchier	..	..	..	1750-1760
18. C. Crommelin	..	..	..	1760-1767
19. T. Hodges	..	..	..	1767-1771
20. W. Hornby	..	..	..	1771-1784
21. R. H. Boddam	..	..	..	1784-1788
22. Major-General W. Medows	..	..	..	1788-1790
23. Colonel Sir R. Abercromby, K.C.B.	..	..	..	1790-1792
24. G. Dick <i>Officiating</i>	..	..	..	1792-1795
25. J. Duncan	..	..	..	1795-1811
26. G. Brown <i>Officiating</i>	..	..	..	1811-1812
27. The Rt. Hon. Sir E. Nepean	..	..	..	1812-1819
28. The Hon. M. Elphinstone	..	..	..	1819-1827
29. Major-General Sir J. Malcolm, G.C.B.	..	..	..	1827-1830
30. Lt. General Sir T. S. Beckwith, K.C.B.	..	..	..	1830-1831

31. The Rt. Hon. The Earl of Clare	..	..	1831-1835
32. Sir R. Grant	..	..	1835-1838
James Farish <i>officiating</i>	..	..	1838-1839
33. Major-General Sir J. Rivett Carnac, BART.	..	..	1839-1841
34. Lt. Gen. Sir G. Arthur, BART., K.C.H.	..	..	1842-1846
35. Sir G. Russell Clerk, K.C.B. (1st time)	..	..	1847-1848
36. The Rt. Hon. Viscount Falkland, G.C.H.	..	..	1848-1853
37. The Rt. Hon. Lord Elphinstone, C.B., G.C.H.	..	..	1853-1860
38. Sir G. Russell Clerk, K.C.B. (2nd time)	..	..	1860-1862
39. Sir H. Bartle Edward Frere, K.C.B.	..	..	1862-1867
40. The Hon. W. R. S. V. FitzGerald	..	..	1867-1872
41. Sir P. E. Wodehouse, K.C.B.	..	..	1872-1877
42. Sir R. Temple, BART., K.C.S.I.	..	..	1877-1880
43. Sir James Fergusson, BART., K.C.M.G.	..	..	1880-1885
44. The Rt. Hon. Lord Reay, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.	..	..	1885-1890
45. The Rt. Hon. Lord Harris, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.	..	..	1890-1895
46. The Rt. Hon. Lord Sandhurst, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.	..	..	1895-1900
47. The Rt. Hon. Lord Northcote, G.C.I.E., C.B.	..	..	1900-1903
48. The Rt. Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E.	..	..	1903-1907
49. Bt. Colonel Sir G. Sydenham Clarke, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E.	..	..	1907-1913
50. The Rt. Hon. Lord Willingdon of Ratton, G.C.I.E.	..	..	1913-1918
51. Sir George Lloyd, G.C.I.E., D.S.O.	..	..	1918-1923
52. The Rt. Hon. Sir Leslie Orme Wilson, P.C., G.C.I.E., C.M.G., D.S.O.	..	..	1923-1928
53. Major-General The Rt. Hon. Sir Frederick Hugh Sykes, P.C., G.C.I.E., G.B.E., K.C.B., C.M.G.	..	..	1928-1933
54. The Rt. Hon. Lord Brabourne, G.C.I.E., M.C.	..	..	1933-1937
55. Sir Roger Lumley, G.C.I.E., T.D.	..	..	1937-1943
56. The Rt. Hon. John Colville, P.C., G.C.I.E.	..	..	1943-1948

APPENDIX II

GROWTH OF MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT

The metamorphosis of Bombay from seven isolated islands to a world city of today has been brought about not only by the Government and her enlightened citizens but also by a progressive Municipal Government. The Municipal Corporation which established the best of the traditions in local self-government institutions in India was itself the product of a number of distinguished persons such as Pherozechah Mehta, V. N. Mandlik, R. M. Sayani, Jagannath Shankarshet, Veer Nariman and S. K. Patil. They guided her destiny and evolved a body with healthy traditions. It is, therefore, essential that a brief history of the evolution of municipal government in Bombay be given as under.

Although some kind of municipal administration was existing prior to 1845, an organised system of dyarchy was introduced in Bombay in that year. A Board of Conservancy known as "Civic Heptarchy" consisting of the Senior Magistrate of Police, Collector of Bombay, and two European and three Indian Justices, was created. A Municipal Fund was constituted. It was administered by the Board, but controlled by the Justices. This dyarchy was replaced in 1858 by a triumvirate of Commissioners, one appointed by the Governor and two by the Justices. This arrangement was also a failure. Jagannath Shankarshet, Bhau Daji and many of their colleagues ventilated feelings against this system. It led to the enactment of the Municipal Act of 1865 which forms an important landmark in the civic governance of Bombay. Shankarshet played a prominent part in giving shape to this Act as a member of the select committee on the Bill and as member of Legislative Council. This Act placed the power of the purse in the hands of the Justices and the entire executive power in the hands of the Municipal Commissioner, a single official. The Justices were created as a body corporate, but were all appointed by the Government and there was no popular representation in the Corporation. This lacuna of popular control led to further agitation by the enlightened citizens of Bombay such as Pherozechah Mehta, K. T. Telang, Mandlik, Badruddin Tyabji, etc. This made it imperative to enact the Municipal Act of 1872 by Government. Under this Act rate-payers and wheel tax payers were enfranchised. These along with the fellows of the Bombay University elected 32 members, 16 more were elected by the Justices and the remaining 16 were nominated by the Government. The first meeting of the Corporation constituted under the Act of 1872 was held on 4 September 1873. Meanwhile a committee comprising K. T. Telang, Pherozechah,

Mandlik, Naoroji Furdunji, R. N. Khote, T. Blaney, P. Peterson, R. M. Sayani, J. U. Yajnik, Badruddin Tyabji, Grattan Geary (of *Times of India*) and J. H. Grant, recommended increase in the number of elected members, to reduce Government nominees, and to further extend local self-government.

Lord Ripon's memorable pronouncement on local self-government (1882) had increased the quest of the leaders of society for a larger share in the city administration. The Government could not but introduce a Bill in the Legislative Council on 16 July 1887.

The Bill was drafted by the Legal Remembrancer (Mr. Naylor), and the Municipal Commissioner (Charles Ollivant). It was, however, retrograde in its original shape as it sought to enlarge the authority of the Municipal Commissioner at the cost of the Corporation. It also reserved to Government vast powers of initiative and interference in day-to-day matters, which should be within the jurisdiction of a local body. K. T. Telang and Pherozeshah criticised its retrograde character in the Legislative Council. The Bill was, therefore, referred to a Select Committee comprising the above two leaders, besides a member of the Executive Council, the Advocate General and Kazi Shahabuddin. The Committee did a lot of good work on the Bill. Lord Reay, Governor (1885-90) exhibited his spirit of liberalism and sincere desire to give a practical and progressive piece of legislation. The dominating spirit behind the enactment was, however, the strenuous work done by Pherozeshah and Telang. The Governor also paid rich tributes to the two leaders. The Bill was enacted in 1888.

This enactment guaranteed the rate-payers the greatest security against extravagance. Representatives of the city were responsible for the good governance of the city. A number of duties were imposed on them. The representatives constituted a deliberative assembly for enactment of by-laws and resolutions, the execution of which was left to the administration. They were empowered to control and direct the administration by virtue of their power to sanction funds for certain purposes.

The Act of 1888 gave the citizens of Bombay a charter of local self-government, which proved the most successful, as it had been the first experiment of its kind in India. "It has stood the test of time, and, subject to a few modifications which experience has rendered necessary, has been found to be an eminently sound and workable measure, which has provided an excellent training ground for the development of administrative capacity."¹ Pherozeshah had observed that it would "add fresh

¹ Homi Mody, op. cit., pp. 114-15.

laurels to the municipal fame of this city." The prediction has been fulfilled. The civic body has always added to the city's reputation for political sobriety. Pherozeshah's contribution towards municipal governance is simply inestimable. He dominated the civic stage for more than a generation. When he left the Corporation, a great void was experienced.

The outstanding feature of the Act of 1888 was the creation of three co-ordinate authorities, namely, Municipal Corporation, Standing Committee and Municipal Commissioner, and the vesting of the entire executive power in the Commissioner subject to a few restrictions. This Act also increased the number of councillors from 64 to 72, of which 36 were elected by rate-payers and graduates from Indian and British Universities. It created for the first time territorial constituencies by dividing the city in seven wards for purposes of election. It also granted special representation to the Bombay University and the Bombay Chamber of Commerce (two seats each). Sixteen councillors were elected by the Justices, while Government nominated 16.

A further constitutional change was effected in 1922 which abolished the representation of the Justices of Peace, and liberalised the franchise of rate-payers. In 1928, four seats were granted to the representatives of trade unions. In 1931, the number of elective seats was increased.

The constitutional changes effected by the Government of India Act of 1935 set the pace for further reforms in local government sphere. In 1936, the franchise was widened by reducing the rental qualification from Rs. 10 to Rs. 5 per month. The Bombay Act XIII of 1938 introduced many changes of a far reaching character. Government nominations, except the Police Commissioner, the Executive Engineer of P.W.D. and the chairman of Bombay Port Trust were done away with.

The first General Election on the basis of adult franchise was held in 1948 and the new Corporation came into office on April 1, 1948. The limits of the Municipal Corporation were extended to merge the Bombay Suburban District in the City by the Act of 1950, with the intention of ensuring co-ordinated development of the fast growing City. The Bombay Act No. LVIII of 1956 further increased the Corporation limits to cover the Extended Suburbs. The Corporation became a purely elected body from 1952.¹

The evolution of the institution of the Mayor is quite interesting. The Mayor during the earlier days of British rule possessed autocratic powers,

¹ *Constitutional History of the Corporation, 1873-1973 (monograph)*, Municipal Corporation of Greater Bombay, 1973.

particularly judicial. The King approved the establishment of the Mayor's Court which comprised a Mayor, nine aldermen, eight of whom including the Mayor were required to be naturalised subjects of the British Crown and the other two, subjects of any friendly nation. William Henry Draper was the first Mayor of Bombay. The Mayor's Court used to inflict cruel punishments and was never impartial. The Mayor's Court constituted one of the blackest pages in the history of British rule. It was replaced by a Recorder's Court. The first Recorder was William Syer. In subsequent period Pherozeshah Mehta, Nana Shankarshet, K. T. Telang, Badruddin Tyabji and Dinshaw Wacha fought for rights of the citizens. This bore fruit in the enactment of the Act of 1872, which had been hailed as the Magna Carta of local self-government in Bombay. The presiding authority of the Corporation was called the Chairman, the first Chairman being George F. Henry elected in 1873. Dossabhoy Framji (1875) was the first Indian Chairman.

The Municipal Act of 1888 changed the designation of the presiding authority from Chairman to President. Sir H. Morland was the first elected President. In 1931-32, the designation was changed to that of "His Worship the Mayor", J. B. Boman-Behram being the first to hold this position. After Independence the title of "His Worship" was dropped. The list of Mayors of Bombay is given in Appendix III.

The Bombay Municipal Corporation has built up rich traditions of civic administration in the country, and has rightly been held as a model to be followed by other municipal bodies. In the civic hall of the Corporation there is a gallery of great civic and national leaders such as V. N. Mandlik, Pherozeshah Mehta, Rahimtulla Mohamed Sayani, George Cotton, Bhalchandra Bhatwadekar, Ibrahim Rahimtoola, Dinshaw Wacha, Vithaldas Thackersey, Cowasji Jehangir, Homi Mody, Vithalbhai Patel, Joseph Baptistä, Vithal Chandavarkar, K. F. Nariman, Jamnadas Mehta, Yusuf Meherali, Dr. Gilder, M. R. Masani and S. K. Patil.

APPENDIX III

MUNICIPAL CORPORATION OF GREATER BOMBAY
A CAVALCADE OF CHAIRMEN, PRESIDENTS
AND MAYORS

<i>Year</i>	<i>Chairmen of Bombay Municipal Corporation</i>
1873	.. Captain George F. Henry
1874	.. { Captain George F. Henry Mr. J. A. Forbes
1875	.. { Mr. J. A. Forbes Mr. Dossabhoy Framji
1876	.. Mr. Dossabhoy Framji
1877	.. Col. H. F. Hancock, R.E.
1878	.. Col. H. F. Hancock, R.E.
1879	.. Rao Saheb Vishwanath Narayan Mandlik, C.S.I.
1880	.. Rao Saheb Vishwanath Narayan Mandlik, C.S.I.
1881	.. Mr. Thomas Blaney
1882-83*	.. Sir Frank H. Souter, Kt., C.S.I.
1883-84	.. Mr. Raghunath Narayan Khote, C.I.E.
1884-85	.. Mr. Pherozeshah Merwanji Mehta, M.A., LL.B., Barrister-At-Law
1885-86	.. Mr. Pherozeshah Merwanji Mehta, M.A., LL.B., Barrister-At-Law
1886-87	.. { Deputy Surgeon General H. Cook, M.D., F.R.C.P., F.M.S., F.G.S. Capt. H. Morland, H.M.I.M., F.R.C.S., F.R.A.S., ASSO., C.I.C.E.
<i>Presidents of Bombay Municipal Corporation</i>	
1887-88	.. Capt. Sir H. Morland, Kt., H.M.I.M., F.R.C.S., F.R.A.S., ASSO., C.I.C.E.
1888-89	.. The Hon'ble Mr. Rahimtulla Mahomed Sayani, M.A., LL.B.
1889-90	.. Mr. Grattan Geary.
1890-91	.. Mr. Muncherji Cowasji Murzban, F.K.I.B.A., ASSO., M.I.C.E.
1891-92	.. Mr. George Cotton.

* Calendar year 1882 and first quarter of 1883.

Year	Presidents of Bombay Municipal Corporation
1892-93	.. Mr. Javerilal Umiashankar Yajnik
1893-94	.. Mr. Thomas Blaney, J.P.
1894-95	.. Mr. Abdulla Meherali Dharamsi, B.A., LL.B., J.P.
1895-96	.. Mr. G. W. Roughton, J.P.
1896-97	.. Mr. Cowasji Hormusji, G.G.M.C., J.P.
1897-98	.. Sir George Cotton, Kt., J.P.
1898-99	.. The Hon'ble Mr. Bhalchandra Krishna Bhatwadekar L.M., J.P.
1899-1900	.. The Hon'ble Mr. Ibrahim Rahimtoola, J.P.
1900-01	.. { Mr. C. T. Burke, B.E., M.I.C.E., J.P. Mr. S. Rebsch, M.I.C.E., J.P.
1901-02	.. Mr. Dinshaw Edulji Wacha, J.P.
1902-03	.. Mr. Mulji Bhawanidas Barbhaya, J.P.
1903-04	.. { Mr. Fazalbai Vishram, C.I.E., J.P. Mr. James McDonald, J.P.
1904-05	.. Mr. James McDonald, J.P.
1905-06	.. The Hon'ble Sir Pherozeshah Merwanji Mehta, K.C.I.E., M.A., LL.B., Barrister-At-Law, J.P.
1906-07	.. Dr. Accacio G. Viegas, L.M. & S., J.P.
1907-08	.. The Hon'ble Mr. Vithaldas Damodar Thackersey, J.P.
1908-09	.. The Hon'ble Mr. G.O.W. Dunn, M. INST. C.E., M.R. San. Inst., J.P.
1909-10	.. Mr. Jaffer Rahimtoola, B.A., Barrister-At-Law, J.P.
1910-11	.. Dr. Kawasji Edulji Dadachanji, L.M. & S., J.P.
1911-12	.. The Hon'ble Sir Pherozeshah Merwanji Mehta, K.C.I.E., M.A. LL.B., Barrister-At-Law, J.P.
1912-13	.. The Hon'ble Mr. Manmohandas Ramji, J.P.
1913-14	.. Mr. A. M. Tod, J.P.
1914-15	.. The Hon'ble Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy Ebrahim, Kt., J.P.
1915-16	.. Mr. Phiroze Cursetji Sethna, J.P.
1916-17	.. The Hon'ble Mr. Chunilal Vijbhukandas Mehta, M.A., LL.B., J.P.
1917-18	.. Mr. J.A.D. McBain, C.I.E., J.P.
1918-19	.. Mr. Rahimtoola Currimbhoy, B.A.
1919-20	.. Mr. Cowasji Jehangir Readymoney, O.B.E., B.A. (Cantab.), J.P.

Year	Presidents of Bombay Municipal Corporation
1920-21	.. Mr. Vasantrao Anandrao Dabholkar, O.B.E., J.P.
1921-22	.. Sir Sassoon David, BART., J.P.
1922-23	.. Mr. Mirza Ali Mahomed Khan, M.A., LL.B., J.P.
1923-24	.. Mr. H.P. Mody, M.A., LL.B.
1924-25	.. Mr. Vithalbhai J. Patel, Barrister-At-Law
1925-26	.. Mr. Joseph Baptista, L.C.E. (Bom.), B.A., LL.B. (Cantab.), Barrister-At-Law
1926-27	.. Mr. Rahimtoola Meherally Chinoy, J.P.
1927-28	.. Dr. Shiavax Sorabji Batliwalla, F.C.P.S., L.M. & S., J.P.
1928-29	.. Dr. G. V. Deshmukh, M.D. (Lond.), F.R.C.S. (Eng.)
1929-30	.. Mr. Meyer Nissim, M.A., J.P.
1930-31	.. Mr. Hooseinbhoy Abdullabhoy Lalljee
1931-32	.. Mr. J. B. Boman-Behram, B.A., LL.B., J.P.
<i>Mayors of Bombay Municipal Corporation*</i>	
1931-32	.. Mr. J. B. Boman-Behram, B.A., LL.B., J.P.
1932-33	.. Mr. Vithal Narayan Chandavarkar, B.A. (Cantab.), Barrister-At-Law, J.P.
1933-34	.. Dr. Moreswar Chintaman Javle, J.P.
1934-35	.. Mr. Hoosenally M. Rahimtoola, B.A., M.L.C., J.P.
1935-36	.. Mr. Khurshed Framji Nariman, B.A., LL.B.
1936-37	.. Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta, M.A., LL.B., Barrister-At- Law, M.L.A.
1937-38	.. Dr. Elijah Moses, M.D., J.P.
1938-39	.. Mr. Sultan M. Chinoy, J.P.
1939-40	.. Mr. Behram N. Karanjia, J.P.
1940-41	.. Mr. Mathuradas Tricamji, B.A.
1941-42	.. Dr. J. A. Collaco, L.M. & S., M.L.C.
1942-43	.. Mr. Yusuf J. Meherali, B.A., LL.B.
1943-44	.. { Dr. Manchershah D. D. Gilder, M. D. (Lond.), F.R.C.S. (Eng.), M.L.A. Mr. Minocheher R. Masani, B.A. (Bom.), LL.B. (Lond.), Barrister-At-Law
1944-45	.. Mr. Nagindas T. Master, B.A., LL.B., M.L.A.
1945-46	.. Dr. Jos. Alban D'Souza, B.A., L.M. & S.
1946-47	.. Mr. Mohamedbhoy I. M. Rowies
1947-48	.. Mr. A. P. Sabavala, B.A., Barrister-At-Law

*President was redesignated as His Worship the Mayor, Bombay Municipal Corporation, from November 1931.

APPENDIX IV

SUCCESSION LIST OF VICE-CHANCELLORS OF
THE UNIVERSITY OF BOMBAY

1857 July	..	Sir William Yardley, KT.
1858 August	..	Sir Henry Davison, KT.
1860 July	..	Justice Sir Joseph Arnould, KT., M.A.
1863 February		Sir Alexander Grant, BART., M.A.
1864 December		Mr. Justice Alexander Kinloch Forbes, C.S.
1865 September		Sir Alexander Grant, BART., M.A., LL.D.
1868 October	..	Dr. John Wilson, D.D., F.R.S.
1870 March	..	Mr. Justice James Gibbs, C.S., F.R.C.S.
1879 March	..	Mr. Justice Raymond West, C.S., M.A., LL.D., F.R.G.S.
1879 December		Surgeon-General William Buyer Hunter, M.D., F.R.C.P.
1880 April	..	Mr. Justice Raymond West, C.S., M.A., LL.D., F.R.G.S.
1885 January	..	Mr. James Braithwaite Peile, C.S., M.A., C.S.I.
1886 October	..	Mr. Justice Raymond West, C.S., M.A., LL.D., F.R.G.S.
1888 July	..	Dr. D. Mackichan, M.A., D.D., LL.D.
1890 July	..	William Wordsworth, Esq., B. A., C.I.E.
1890 December		Mr. Justice H.M. Birdwood, C.S., M.S., LL.D.
1892 August	..	Mr. Justice Kashinath Trimbak Telang, M.A., LL.B., C.I.E.
1893 September		Dr. Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D., C.I.E., M.R.A.S.
1895 October	..	Mr. Justice John Jardine, I.C.S.
1897 March	..	Mr. Justice E.T. Candy, I.C.S.
1902 July	..	Dr. D. Mackichan, M.A., D.D., LL.D.

Source.—*Centenary Souvenir*, University of Bombay.

1906 February		Dr. F.G. Selby, C.I.E., M.A., LL.D.
1909 January	..	Justice Sir Narayan Ganesh Chandavarkar, KT., B.A., LL.D.
1912 August	..	Justice Sir John Heaton, KT., I.C.S.
1915 March	..	Sir Pherozeshah M. Mehta, K.C.I.E., M.A.
1915 December		Dr. D. Mackichan, M.A., D.D., LL.D.
1917 March	..	Sir Chimanlal Harilal Setalvad, K.C.I.E., B.A., LL.D.
1929 March	..	Mirza Ali Mohammed Khan, Esq., M.A., LL.B.
1930 April	..	Mr. Justice Mirza Ali Akbar Khan, B.A., Bar-at-Law
1931 April	..	Dr. John MacKenzie, C.I.E., M.A., D.D.
1933 April	..	Sir Vithal Narayan Chandavarkar, KT., M.A. (Cantab), Bar-at-Law
1939 April	..	Sir Rustom P. Masani, KT., M.A.
1942 June	..	Sir Bomanji J. Wadia, KT., M.A., LL.B., Bar-at-Law
1947 April	..	Mr. Justice M. C. Chhagla, B.A. (Oxon), Bar-at-Law
1947 November		Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Pandurang Vaman Kane, M.A., LL.M., D.LITT.

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* * *

CHAPTER 3—THE PEOPLE*

INTRODUCTION¹

THE CITY OF BOMBAY, OFFICIALLY DESIGNATED AS GREATER BOMBAY, is one of the 30 districts of Maharashtra State. But what a contrast it is to any other district in the State whether in point of area, population, geographical location, history, economic growth, industry, trade and commerce, education, public life or any other field whatsoever. The composition of Bombay is entirely different from any other urban centre in the State and it is so obvious for any one to see.

The evolution of Bombay from an insignificant fishing village or a group of villages into the capital of an important State in the Indian Union and into the industrial and commercial metropolis of the whole country has all the features of a romance in the current history of India. Originally a collection of small seven islands off the mainland on the West Coast, separated by small shallow creeks, it became a compact body after it was presented to an English King named Charles II by Portugal as dowry when the Portuguese Princess Catherine was married to him. The British sovereign found that the marriage gift was too costly to maintain and he disposed it off to the British East India Company at a nominal annual rent of £ 10. The East India Company's headquarters were then at Surat since 1612 but the company was anxious to free itself from the stranglehold of the Moghal Subedar of Gujarat and establish itself in a more suitable and safer haven. Since the Company came to Bombay its rise and growth have been perennial.

Bombay has been growing and growing to this day and now it is said to have reached a bursting point because its geography has been altogether unsuitable for further expansion. Bombay, before it became Greater Bombay, was a mere strip of land from Mahim to Colaba surrounded by sea water on all sides. But with the New Bombay in the making across its harbour and the Thane Creek, it is now assuming the form of separate and independent and parallel existence, although essentially it is an eastward expansion of Bombay into Thane and Rayagad districts.

No sooner the Englishman found his feet firmly planted in Bombay than he extended a general invitation to all to come and settle down in Bombay

* This Chapter is contributed by Shri T. V. Parvate, a well-known writer in Bombay.

¹ For History of the People from Hindu Period refer *Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island*, Vol. I, 1909, pp. 142-66.

and gave the assurance that in their pursuit of life's various avocations, they will not be discriminated against on grounds of race, creed, religion or pigment of the skin. This was an antithesis of what the way of the former masters of Bombay and its precincts, the Portuguese, was. In response to this generous invitation Hindus, Musalmans and Parsees from Gujarat and Maharashtra as also from south Konkan were the earlier or immediate immigrants. It is on record that the population of fishermen, Hindus and Portuguese-converted Catholic Christians, inhabiting the seven small islets was in the neighbourhood of 6,000; but it went up to 60,000. Within ten years of English possession and occupation of Bombay started the inflow of these enterprising immigrants, leading among whom were the Parsees. They became excellent helpmates and collaborators and later junior partners of British traders and businessmen.

Roughly speaking, by the beginning of the eighteenth century, the seven islets went to form what came to be called the island of Bombay. It was a fairly compact area separated from Salsette by the Mahim river, Bandra and Kurla remaining southern most points of Salsette or the future Thane district. From the beginning of the eighteenth century to the end of the nineteenth, Bombay's growth in point of population has been incessant and almost phenomenal. While this was going on there was a constant struggle against the sea to reclaim land from it. This has gone on for three hundred years ceaselessly and it has not stopped still. The Nariman Point area is a living demonstration of it.

During the first hundred years of British occupation of Bombay, there could be no peace and even semblance of order because the struggle against the French, the Siddi of Janjira and the Mahratta armada of the Angria was there; but with the fall of the Mahratta power in 1818, there was comparative peace and what usually follows a peaceful era. There was a time when like almost every other urban area, Bombay depended for its water supply on tanks and wells. With the ever-growing supply of pipe water, the wells and tanks were filled up and only their names like Mahabavdi and Dhobi Talao are still current to show where they were once upon a time. Similarly names of areas like Khetwadi, Ambewadi, Kelewadi, Wadala, etc. must have been paddy fields, mango groves, banana gardens and a collection of banian trees. Now these are all under human habitation.

This transformation was not sudden but gradual and steady, making room for more and more immigrants to live. Once upon a time there were two distinct parts of Bombay, Fort and Black Town. With the demolition of the Fort walls set in the era of assured peace and prosperity. Metalled roads, well-lighted at night became the order. Pipe water supply from distant tanks and conservancy arrangements were here in the nineteenth century, in its later decades. Textile mills and hospitals came into being. The University of Bombay was established in 1857. The Western and

Central Railways as they are called now began to function. The Secretariat, the High Court, Rajabai Tower lent Bombay quite a new, dignified and magnificent look. Who will now believe that there were jackals in the Malabar hill jungle, and occasionally even a tiger. The presence of these wild animals was quite normal if the writings of Englishmen residing here about a hundred years ago have to be taken as faithful, as indeed they should be. But wild animals and reptiles have now almost disappeared to make room for more needy humanity.

POPULATION

The population of Greater Bombay District, according to the 1971 Census, is 5,970,575 (Males 3,478,378; females 2,492,197) and is spread over the 15 wards as stated in Table* No. 1.

The table shows that this population spread over the district area of 603.00 square kilometres¹ works out at about 9,901 persons to a square kilometre. The density of population of the district is higher than the State average in 1971.

As regards area, Greater Bombay is the smallest district in the State. It comprises only the area included in the limits of the Greater Bombay Municipal Corporation. Greater Bombay is an urban agglomeration and the commercial metropolis. For revenue purposes, the area is administered as two units, Bombay City and Bombay Suburban district. For all other administrative purposes, it is treated as one district.

Variation : The population of the district and decade variation rates since 1901 are as follows:—

Year	Population	Decade variation	Rate of variation
1901	927,994	...	...
1911	1,148,757	+ 220,763	+ 23.79
1921	1,380,448	+ 231,691	+ 20.17
1931	1,397,812	+ 17,364	+ 1.26
1941	1,801,356	+ 403,544	+ 28.87
1951	2,994,444	+ 1,193,088	+ 66.23
1961	4,152,056	+ 1,157,612	+ 38.66
1971	5,970,575	+ 1,818,519	+ 43.80
1981	8,243,405	+ 2,272,830	+ 38.07

Greater Bombay district which is entirely an urban area has shown a phenomenal growth of 543.39 per cent compared to the State urban growth rate of 388.34 per cent. During 1961 to 1971 the largest decadal growth viz. 43.80 per cent is seen in Greater Bombay which is the highest

* Tables are given at the end of this section, while 1981 Census population is given in Table No. 9 at the end of this Chapter.

¹ As reported by Surveyor General of India.

rate in the State. This growth is due to the industrial development of the district. The increase in population of Greater Bombay can be attributed more to immigration than to the natural growth of population.

Density of Population : The density of population in Greater Bombay district in 1961, 1971 and 1981 is given below:—

Year	Density of Population	Year	Density of Population
1961	.. 24,568 per sq. mile	1981	.. 13,644 per sq. km.
1971	.. 9,901 per sq. km.		

Urban Population : The following statement gives the number of towns in Greater Bombay since 1901 Census:—

NUMBER OF TOWNS IN GREATER BOMBAY SINCE 1901

Year	Towns	Year	Towns
1901	.. 3	1951	.. 10
1911	.. 4	1961	.. 1
1921	.. 5	1971	.. 1
1931	.. 9	1981	.. 1
1941	.. 9		

The total number of towns had been continuously increasing since 1901. With the redefinition of an urban area in 1961, the entire area within Greater Bombay limits is regarded as a single agglomeration.

Age Groups : Table No. 2 gives the population by age and marital status in Greater Bombay district in 1971.

Sex Ratio : The sex ratio of females per 1,000 males for the city and the State is given below:—

Year	Greater Bombay	Maharashtra	Year	Greater Bombay	Maharashtra
1901	.. 652	978	1951	.. 603	941
1911	.. 570	966	1961	.. 663	936
1921	.. 561	950	1971	.. 716	930
1931	.. 592	947	1981	.. 773	938
1941	.. 516	949			

Households : The following statement gives the persons per occupied census house in 1961 and 1971:—

Year	Persons per occupied census house	Year	Persons per occupied census house
1961	.. 5.4	1971	.. 5.0

Population by Religion : The distribution of population by religion in Greater Bombay in 1971 is given in Table No. 3.

Table No. 4, gives the statistics of growth-rate and proportion of population of each major religious community in Greater Bombay in 1971.

Scheduled Castes : Table No. 5 gives the statistics of Scheduled Castes classified by literacy in 1971 in Greater Bombay.

The percentage of Scheduled Castes to total population in 1961 and 1971 was 3.37 and 3.53 respectively. It shows an increase in Scheduled Castes percentage in 1971 over 1961.

Scheduled Tribes : Table No. 6 gives the statistics of Scheduled Tribes population classified by literacy in Greater Bombay in 1971.

The percentage of Scheduled Tribes to total population in 1961 and 1971 was 0.62 and 0.50, respectively. The decrease in the percentage of Scheduled Tribes population in 1971 cannot be explained on the basis of any statistical data.

Table No. 7 gives the wardwise Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes population in Greater Bombay in 1971.

Languages : Table No. 8 gives the statistics of distribution of languages (inclusive of mother tongues grouped under each) specified in Schedule VIII to the Constitution of India, in Greater Bombay in 1971.

TABLE No. 1
WARDWISE POPULATION OF GREATER BOMBAY, 1971

Ward	Area in Km ²	Total Population (including institutional and houseless population)		
		Persons	Males	Females
Greater Bombay Municipal Corporation.	603.00	5,970,575	3,478,378	2,492,197
Ward A	.. 11.41	184,104	115,910	68,194
Ward B	.. 2.46	175,131	106,237	68,894
Ward C	.. 1.78	312,472	172,580	119,892
Ward D	.. 6.63	382,742	218,578	164,164
Ward E	.. 7.41	528,736	322,473	206,263
Ward F	.. 21.17	662,516	389,227	273,289
Ward G	.. 17.85	824,677	473,838	330,839
Ward H	.. 21.05	523,633	291,820	231,813
Ward K	.. 47.46	573,693	324,447	249,246
Ward P	.. 64.27	372,335	210,114	162,221
Ward R	.. 77.56	235,833	131,743	104,090
Ward L	.. 13.46	273,507	161,107	112,400
Ward M	.. 54.92	316,371	176,358	140,013
Ward N	.. 55.44	479,660	274,969	204,691
Ward T	.. 34.84	125,165	68,977	56,188

TABLE No. 2
AGE AND MARITAL STATUS, GREATER BOMBAY, 1971

Age-group	Total Population				Never Married		Married		Widowed		Divorced or Separated		Unspecified Status		
	Persons	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
All ages	5,970,575	3,478,378	2,492,197	1,840,988	1,241,577	1,588,578	1,069,250	41,289	175,004	3,801	5,450	3,722	916		
0—9	1,343,278	688,832	654,446	688,832	654,446	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....		
10—14	601,562	319,889	281,673	318,539	278,634	1,160	2,919	.....	10	15	25	175	85		
15—19	569,048	328,295	240,753	308,359	185,279	19,246	54,604	65	155	55	330	570	385		
20—24	712,440	439,546	272,894	311,924	80,890	125,817	189,832	640	1,158	360	834	805	180		
25—29	634,542	387,433	247,109	131,717	19,873	253,397	223,626	1,107	2,715	656	840	556	55		
30—34	512,046	316,497	195,549	38,397	7,905	275,295	180,937	1,935	5,738	560	939	310	30		
35—39	453,606	384,321	169,285	16,536	4,375	264,160	154,363	2,710	9,833	615	684	300	30		
40—44	344,834	223,984	120,850	8,957	3,200	211,096	101,142	3,146	15,834	455	659	330	15		
45—49	262,935	172,896	90,039	5,701	2,221	162,739	68,301	3,946	19,128	295	379	215	10		
50—54	197,202	126,308	70,894	4,369	1,480	116,100	42,645	5,394	26,429	275	325	170	15		
55—59	119,529	73,739	45,790	2,729	980	66,256	23,528	4,474	211,122	190	145	90	15		
60—64	99,685	55,161	44,524	2,236	1,052	46,971	15,394	5,729	27,893	160	145	65	40		
65—69	52,061	27,939	24,122	1,231	466	22,670	6,820	3,923	16,741	65	60	50	35		
70 +	67,469	33,313	34,156	1,341	696	23,611	5,118	8,216	28,242	100	85	45	15		
Age not stated	338	225	113	120	80	60	21	4	6	.....	.....	41	6		

TABLE No. 3

POPULATION BY RELIGION, GREATER BOMBAY, 1971

Religion	Males	Females
Buddhists	157,395	126,908
Christians	200,312	174,953
Hindus	2,427,525	1,683,221
Jains	133,282	111,439
Muslims	501,567	341,791
Sikhs	24,303	18,559
Other religions and persuasions	33,707	35,208
Religion not stated	287	118

TABLE No. 4

GROWTH-RATE AND PROPORTION OF POPULATION OF EACH MAJOR COMMUNITY, GREATER BOMBAY, 1971

<i>Percentage decadal growth-rate 1961-1971—</i>				
Total Population	..	..	..	43.80
Hindus	..	..	..	43.27
Muslims	..	..	..	56.64
Christians	..	..	..	30.29
Sikhs	..	..	..	68.48
Buddhists	..	..	..	47.52
Jains	..	..	..	57.13
Others	..	..	..	16.40
<i>Percentage of each community to total population 1971—</i>				
Hindus	..	..	..	68.85
Muslims	..	..	..	14.12
Christians	..	..	..	6.29
Sikhs	..	..	..	0.72
Buddhists	..	..	..	4.76
Jains	..	..	..	4.10
Others	..	..	..	1.15
Religion not stated	..	..	..	0.01

Source.—Census of India, 1971.

TABLE No. 5

SCHEDULED CASTES POPULATION CLASSIFIED BY LITERACY IN
GREATER BOMBAY, 1971

		Total Population			Illiterates		Literates and educated persons	
		Persons	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
All Scheduled Castes	..	210,497	115,343	95,154	51,512	64,925	63,831	30,229
1. Ager	..	2,366	1,456	910	531	587	925	323
2. Bakad	..	106	81	25	37	6	44	19
3. Bhangi, Halalkhor	..	25,658	14,126	11,532	7,641	9,099	6,485	2,433
4. Chavadi	..	90	51	44	31	35	20	9
5. Chambhar, Mochi	..	89,572	48,414	41,158	20,537	26,652	27,877	14,506
6. Chenna Dasar	..	12	1	11	1	8	..	3
7. Dhor, Kakkayya	..	9,429	4,957	4,472	2,098	2,869	2,859	1,603
8. Garoda	..	61	38	23	15	20	23	3
9. Halsar	..	9	4	5	2	4	2	1
10. Holar	..	1,024	552	472	285	378	267	94
11. Holaya	..	59	30	29	20	25	10	4
12. Lingader	..	30	17	13	8	7	9	6
13. Mahar, Taral	..	17,738	9,673	8,065	3,796	5,217	5,877	2,848
14. Mahyavanshi	..	7,037	4,017	3,020	1,289	1,716	2,728	1,304
15. Mang, Matang	..	13,845	7,564	6,281	3,914	5,053	3,650	1,228
16. Mang Garudi [Group (a)]	..	983	533	450	401	438	132	12
17. Meghval	..	16,297	8,322	7,975	3,124	5,005	5,198	2,970
18. Mukri	..	27	20	7	15	6	5	1
19. Nadia	..	34	22	12	12	7	10	5
20. Pasi	..	2,662	2,173	489	1,243	443	930	46
21. Shenva	..	32	15	17	7	15	8	2
22. Tirgar	..	7	7	..	5	..	2	..
23. Turi	..	131	98	33	48	18	50	15
Unspecified	..	23,283	13,172	10,111	6,452	7,317	6,720	2,794

TABLE No. 6

SCHEDULED TRIBES POPULATION CLASSIFIED BY LITERACY IN
GREATER BOMBAY, 1971

		Total Population			Illiterates		Literates and educated persons	
		Persons	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
All Scheduled Tribes	..	30,016	16,551	13,465	9,597	10,598	6,954	2,867
1. Barda	..	10	7	3	1	3	6	..
2. Bavacha	..	33	14	19	6	12	8	..
3. Bhil [Group (a)]	..	336	224	112	109	85	115	27
4. Chodhara	..	13	10	3	3	2	7	1
5. Dhanka	..	130	94	36	57	22	37	14
6. Dhodia	..	3,458	1,761	1,697	962	1,352	799	345
7. Dubla	..	3,795	2,086	1,709	1,499	1,541	587	168
8. Gamit	..	46	34	12	16	7	18	5
9. Gond [Group (a)]	..	437	278	159	162	132	116	27
10. Kathodi	..	312	136	176	90	160	46	16
11. Kokna	..	454	269	185	122	106	147	79
12. Koli Dhor	..	5,553	3,134	2,419	1,311	1,680	1,823	739
13. Naikda	..	302	177	125	106	103	71	22
14. Pardhi [Group (a)]	..	382	194	188	167	170	27	18
15. Patelia	..	95	54	41	42	36	12	5
16. Pomla	..	10	5	5	4	4	1	1
17. Rathawa	..	29	16	13	9	10	7	3
18. Varli	..	4,887	2,714	2,173	2,243	2,008	471	165
19. Vitolia	..	1	..	1	..	1	..	..
Unspecified	..	9,733	5,344	4,389	2,688	3,164	2,656	1,225

TABLE No. 7

WARDWISE SCHEDULED CASTES, SCHEDULED TRIBES POPULATION IN
GREATER BOMBAY, 1971

Ward	Scheduled Castes		Scheduled Tribes	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
Greater Bombay Municipal Corporation	115,343	95,154	16,551	13,465
Ward A	3,712	2,590	200	110
Ward B	3,443	2,904	166	129
Ward C	1,807	1,381	136	70
Ward D	6,472	5,652	223	133
Ward E	11,162	9,950	540	341
Ward F	13,769	10,662	896	779
Ward G	35,903	29,871	997	592
Ward H	7,734	6,344	418	320
Ward I	5,941	4,678	3,633	3,156
Ward J	3,281	2,669	2,289	1,984
Ward K	2,293	1,829	3,289	2,858
Ward L	5,395	4,617	430	253
Ward M	6,469	5,426	379	300
Ward N	6,535	5,404	1,485	1,086
Ward O	1,427	1,175	1,470	1,254
Ward P	..	..	..	..

TABLE No. 8

DISTRIBUTION OF LANGUAGES (INCLUSIVE OF MOTHER TONGUES GROUPED UNDER EACH) SPECIFIED IN SCHEDULE VIII TO THE CONSTITUTION OF INDIA, GREATER BOMBAY, 1971

Languages	Number		
	Persons	Males	Females
(1) Assamese	260	179	81
(2) Bengali	22,867	14,212	8,655
(3) Gujarati	10,53,418	5,62,266	4,91,152
(4) Hindi	5,96,959	4,31,927	1,65,032
(5) Kannada	1,25,925	74,336	51,589
(6) Kashmiri	905	592	313
(7) Malayalam	1,26,374	83,976	42,398
(8) Marathi	25,07,478	14,36,692	10,70,786
(9) Oriya	3,501	2,530	971
(10) Punjabi	88,802	49,653	39,149
(11) Sanskrit	44	35	9
(12) Sindhi	1,55,468	78,701	76,767
(13) Tamil	1,56,628	90,596	66,032
(14) Telugu	1,28,798	75,867	52,931
(15) Urdu	6,47,976	3,85,905	2,62,071

Source.—Social and Cultural Tables, Part II-C (ii) Series, 11, Census of India, 1971.

HINDUISM

Hinduism as it is expressed through the religious practices of the people in Greater Bombay shows various phases of religious thought. In the upper strata of the Hindus, there are the followers of the Vedic observances who call themselves Apastambas and Rigvedis among the Brahmans who have come to Bombay in pursuit of jobs or business from the various districts of Maharashtra. These are generally *smartas* i.e. followers of Shankaracharya, the apostle of the doctrine that the soul and the universe are one—the *Advaita* doctrine. There are also the *Bhagavatas*, followers of the *Bhagavata Purana* who hold the doctrine that the soul and the universe are distinct. There are some Yajurvedi Brahmans also who follow the Madhyandin branch of Yajurveda. Other higher caste Hindus like the Pathare and Kayastha Prabhu, Sonars or Daivadnya Brahmans and the Chowkalshis and Panchkalshis follow one or other of these Brahman castes. Brahmans from Gujarat and Marwad also belong to some branch of the Rigveda, Yajurveda or Atharvaveda. Hindus and especially Brahmans who have come to Bombay from Kerala, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, U. P. Punjab or Bengal are also *Advaitis* or *Dvaitis* according to family tradition, and profess to belong to some branch of some Veda or other. But in the case of all it is apocryphal because almost nobody knows anything about the Vedas or the philosophies.

LINGAYATS

A section of the Hindu population belong to the Lingayata sect and they have mostly come from Karnataka. The group is not racial but sectarian. It was the essence of the original faith that any one might embrace it and become a Lingayata. The sect was founded in the twelfth century by Basava, a resident of Kalyan in Karnataka. A Lingayata is required to wear on his body a small silver box containing a stone, phallus, which is a symbol of his faith and the loss of which is equivalent to spiritual death. The emblem is worn by both sexes. Of the Brahmanic trinity—Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva, they acknowledge only Shiva, whose emblem, the *linga*, they bear on person. As a doctrine of their sectarian faith, the Lingayatas are not to observe any caste distinction, all wearers of the *linga* being proclaimed in the eyes of God. This was a vital departure from the doctrine of orthodox Hinduism which recognises the Varnas in practice. The belief in rebirth and consequently the doctrine of Karma was also given up by the Lingayatas. Other important innovations were: prohibition of child marriage; removal of the restrictions on widows marrying again; burial instead of cremation of the dead and abolition of the chief Hindu rites for the removal of ceremonial impurity. It has been asserted that the true test of a Lingayata is the right to receive the full *ashtavarna* which consists of eight rites known as: (1) Guru, (2) Linga, (3) Vibhuti, (4) Rudraksha, (5) Mantra, (6) Jangam, (7) Tirtha and (8) Prasada. As a result of their doctrinal faith, we see that Lingayatas, both men and women mark their brows with sacred ashes and carry *linga*. They neither eat flesh nor drink liquor. They do not allow strangers to see their food or the sun to shine over their drinking water. They are very careful to see that no scraps of meal are left unclean. They have no images in their houses. If they pass by any Hindu temple, they bow to the image believing it to be Mahadeo. In the same way, they bow before a mosque or a church believing that every object of worship is Shiva. They profess not to believe in sorcery, witchcraft, soothsaying or consulting oracles. Their religious ceremonies are conducted by Jangams, their priests.

JAINS

The Jains in Greater Bombay have two main sections, the Jains hailing from Gujarat and those hailing from Maharashtra. They do not eat together or intermarry but of late they have started doing so. They take their name from being followers of the 24 Jains (Conquerors), the last two of whom were Parasnath and Mahavira. Parasnath is said to have worn only one garment while Mahavira who confined himself to severe austerities went robeless and had no vessel but his hands. The followers of Parasnath are called *Shwetambaris* (white-robed sect) and those of Mahavira are called *Digambaris* (sky-clad sect).

The Jains reject the Vedas which they pronounce to be apocryphal and corrupt and they oppose their own scriptures as *angas* to them. Great importance is attached to pilgrimages and the Chaturmas (four months of the year) which are given to fasting, reading of the sacred books and meditation. They attach no religious importance to caste, admit no creator and have two classes; Yatis (ascetics) and Shravakas (hearers). According to them, the world is eternal and they deny that anything can have been always perfect. The Jin became perfect but he was not perfect at first. They worship under different names twenty-four lords, each with his sign and his attendant goddess or Shasanadevi. Jains are strict vegetarians, do not use animal food on pain of loss of caste. Every Jain filters the water he uses in drinking or cooking for fear of killing insect life. He also takes his food before sunset, so that he may not destroy any animal life unawares by eating in the dark. Jains in Bombay traditionally pay respect to other Hindu gods, besides their own. *Ahimsa paramo dharmah* is their slogan.

RELIGIOUS PRACTICES (HINDUS)

Whatever their philosophical beliefs may be, all Hindus, in practice are idol-worshippers and adorers of various deities, personification of natural phenomena. This is true of Hindus in Greater Bombay also. In the religious practices of the higher class Hindus, Devayajnya is replaced by *Devapuja* i.e. sacrificial observances by daily worship. The former are now-a-days reserved for special occasions of the various *samskaras* (sacraments). Images of various deities are worshipped daily at home and in temples and on special festive occasions.

In the house of a devout Hindu will be found a godroom or a specially assigned nitch in the wall in which is kept a *devhara* (a handy shrine made of wood or metal) or a *chouranga* (wooden stool) to accommodate the house gods. These are small images of gold, silver, brass, copper and stone usually of Ganapati, Mahadeo, Vishnu, Durga, Surya as also a conch and a small bell. An elaborate and complete form of *devapuja* (image-worship) as prescribed by various religious digests on the subject usually consists of sixteen *upacharas* (ways of service). They are *avahana* (invocation), *asana*, *padya*, *arghya*, *achamana*, *snana*, *vastra*, *yajnopavita*, *anulepana*, *pushpa*, *dhoopa* and *naivedya*. These are the acts of making various offerings such as a seat, water to wash the feet, oblations, water to drink, bath, clothing, sacred thread, anointment, flowers, incense and food. This is followed by a *namaskara* (bow), *pradakshina* (going round from left to right) as a mark of respect, and *visarjana* ceremonial emersion of the deity.

In observing the *upacharas* the worshipper has to follow a number of intricate rules. For instance, he must not sit on a seat of mode of bamboo or stone or on bare ground, but he should sit on a woollen blanket or silken garment or deerskin. The bathing of images is done with milk,

curds, clarified butter, honey and sugar (i.e. *panchamrita*) in the prescribed order, followed by pure water. The water used in bathing the images of gods is regarded as very sacred and it is used for sipping (*achamana*) by the worshipper and members of his family and friends. It is called *tirtha* in a dignified manner. It may also be sprinkled on the worshipper's head. The flowers to be used for worshipping the images differ according to the deity. Vishnu is pleased by an offering of jasmine flowers, basil leaves, while *arka* flowers and *bilva* leaves are liked by Shiva. Ganapati likes red flowers and so on. The flowers offered on a day are removed the next day by a worshipper when he is about to go through the performance next day. Such flowers are called *nirmalya* and great merit is attached to placing such flowers on one's head by way of homage to the deity worshipped. Only the flowers offered to Shiva are not to be used in this way, according to tradition. Lamps are to be fed by ghee or *til* oil. Camphor is burnt before the images. For *naivedya* nothing must be offered that is declared unfit for eating in the *shastras*.

Ganapatipujana : This consists of inviting the presence of the elephant headed god, Ganapati on an areca-nut placed in a handful of rice in a leaf cup or a metal cup and offering worship to the deity. This symbolic worship is observed at the inception of any auspicious religious act with a prayer to the deity to ward off obstacles. All over Greater Bombay, there are a number of temples dedicated to Ganapati, but perhaps most prominent and crowded are those of Siddhivinayaka at Prabhadevi, and the Ganesh temple at Phadke Wadi, Vithalbai Patel Road in Girgaum. In Maharashtra, eight temples of Ganesh and the one at Pule in Ratnagiri district are well-known where pilgrimages are frequently held. The eight temples are at Morgaon near Jejuri, Siddhatek, about 30 miles from Daund, Madh about four miles from Khopoli, Pali in Raigad district, Theur about 12 miles from Pune, Lenyadri about three miles from Junnar, Ranjangaon, 30 miles from Pune and Ozar near Narayangaon in Pune district. Many of the Hindus in Bombay visit the eight temples of Ganapati. The shrines in these temples are believed to be self-born (*swayambhu*) and are called *ashtavinayakas*. Hundreds and thousands of Bombayites frequently pay their respects to the Siddhivinayaka Mahaganapati temple at Titwala, 38 miles from Bombay V.T.

Rama and Krishna : Temples dedicated to the 7th and 8th incarnations of Vishnu, namely Rama and Krishna are numerous. The Rama temple generally has three idols, viz. those of Rama, Lakshmana and Seeta and that of Maruti in front as the fourth. Krishna's temples are generally those of Lakshmi-Narayan, Vithoba-Rakhumai or Muralidhara. Viththal temples are quite numerous the chief among them being at Wadala, Shiva temples are also many. Worship of Dattatreya i.e. the Hindu trinity is not rare. Reading of *Gurucharitra* i.e. the story of Datta and

observance of Thursday as a fasting day in his honour is followed as a cult. Datta temples are particularly believed to have special powers of searing or exorcising spirits and ghosts.

Congregational Prayers : Occasions for Hindus to meet in religious gathering and offer congregational prayers occur many times in a year. The ten-day celebration of Ganesh festival is one such. It is celebrated with great pomp, fan-fare and festivities. The public celebrations at Lalbaug, Parel, Dadar and Girgaum are on a grand scale. The anniversaries of different deities, religious fairs, sacred days like Ekadashi and Shivaratri, holidays like Vijaya Dashami and Makar Samkrant are such occasions. For women who are Suvasinis the worship of Mangalagauri and Mahalakshmi, Haladikunku ceremonies are special occasions to meet in religious gatherings. The *Satyanarayan puja* has of late, become a popular form of congregational worship. It is in its origin a thanksgiving service held in honour of Satyanarayana in fulfilment of a vow made by the worshipper. But it is celebrated on a community scale by public contributions also. People gather together to receive *tirtha prasad* and join in singing *bhajans*.

Purana, Katha Pravachana and Kirtana : The religious minded Hindu, particularly when he has taken the *saguna* devotion (idolatry) attaches great religious merit to the uttering and hearing of God's name or of his favourite deity and attending different kinds of religious expositions known as *purana*, *kirtana*, *katha* and *pravachana* delivered by professionals. These are specially trained people.

Puranik : The readers and reciters of sacred books are known as Puraniks. They read the *Ramayana*, the *Mahabharata* and the *Bhagavata* in Sanskrit and expound it in the regional languages. They are sometimes engaged by a temple management or a rich person. At times, a Puranik is engaged by some one who has made a vow to certain holy books or it may happen that a *puranik* voluntarily offers to read and expound trusting that the listeners will remunerate him for his service. These readings take place either in the morning or in the afternoon or at night from eight o'clock to about midnight.

Before the reading begins, one of the chief listeners worships the Puranik, rubbing his brow with sandal-dust, throwing flowers over his head and flower garland around his neck and offering him some fruit or sweet-meats. Other listeners pay what they can in money or grain either before or after the reading. When the Puranik has been worshipped, he begins to read at times illustrating the verses by interesting, humorous or coarse tales to suit the taste of his audience. The Puraniks are often good rhymesters. They often enliven the mythological tales by applying them to local incidents and by humorous touches cause much merriment among his audience. A course of reading generally lasts from a fortnight to four

months. During this period, the Puranik is asked to dine or is presented with uncooked food by different listeners on different days. When the course of reading is over some of the chief listeners join in giving the Puranik a substantial dinner, a head-dress, some clothes and money.

Pravachanas : The *pravachanas* are learned religious discourses delivered by *shastris*, well-versed in the knowledge of Hindu scriptures. A *pravachankar* need not be a professional lecturer or puranik. His topic for discourse may be a highly metaphysical one, and as such may interest only a learned audience. Because of its religious nature, a *pravachana* is usually delivered at a temple, the lecturer sitting on a low stool and there is no musical accompaniment.

Kirtana : A *Kirtana* is a musical discourse in which God and religion are described and expounded in prose and poetry. A *Kirtankar* is also known as Haridas or Haradas, a devotee of Vishnu or Shiva. Of the nine forms of *Bhakti* (devotion), *Kirtana* is one, and the objective of a *Kirtankar* is to express his devotion to God, sing his praise and at the same time lead his hearers to the path of faith, devotion and moral living.

Narada is the mythological personage who was a great *kirtankar* and who taught Dhruva and Pralhada this art. In Maharashtra, the tradition of *kirtana* is very old. Dnyaneshwar, Namadev and Bhanudas were the great early *kirtankars*. Ramadas and his disciples also performed *kirtan* but after Namadev, the credit of wide dissemination of the art of *kirtan* goes to the great Marathi Saint Tukaram.

Two schools of *Kirtana* are generally followed at present, the Narada and the Varkari. In the Narada type of *kirtana*, the preacher chooses as his text a Sanskrit verse from the sacred books or a song of a poet saint, makes out a philosophical theme of it in the *purvaranga* or first part and follows it up in the *uttararanga* or second part, expounding the principle by an illustration, usually a story. In the Varkari type of *kirtana*, the distinction of *purvaranga* and *uttararanga* is not observed. There is no continuous story. The preacher quotes themes by way of reciting *abhangas* rhymes and songs of famous poet-saints, one after another and immediately expounds them with illustrations and commentary. Off and on he pauses and starts a *bhajan* in which his accompanists and even the audience join. A *kirtan* is usually performed in a temple, or other places of worship. When a few people have gathered, the preacher stands up holding in his hands a *chipli* (cymbal) and a *vin* (lute). He is accompanied by *tabla* or *mridanga* (drum) and harmonium players and one or two of his disciples who play the accompanists, pick up the refrain and follow up his singing. When the *purvaranga* is over, the preacher who rests awhile is garlanded, *abir-bucca* (scented powders) are applied to his forehead and his disciples sing a song or two. For the general audience the real interest in the *kirtana* mounts up in the *uttararanga* (second part)

wherein the preacher shows his skill in keeping his audience interested and alert, bringing in a story about some local event, and he is not afraid of cutting jokes and invoking laughter so long as it helps to prevent mental drowsiness in the audience with short breaks of music. A *kirtana* lasts for two to three hours, at the end of which the preacher cleverly connects the *purvaranga* with the *uttararanga*. Quite often the Haridas is well-versed in Hindustani and Karnatak music and among his audience, people are not wanting who are more interested in his musical performance. At the close of the *kirtana*, most of the audience embrace the preacher, touch his feet and pay their contributions by placing coins in the *arati* (a tray with burning camphor). Some modern *kirtankars* among whom are to be found a number of women also follow current events with intelligence and in the course of their discourses allude to them in their comments on the verses from religious and devotional works. They often select a story from recent history for the *uttararanga*. The Haridas preachers have undoubtedly contributed to much mass education and cultural uplift of the masses.

VARKARI CULT

The *Varkari Sampradaya* (Cult) is a socio-religious movement of a standing of centuries, and derives its title from the two words *Vari* and *Kari*, meaning, a visit to, and, who undertakes it, respectively. A *Varkari* has to commit himself to the vow to visit every year the sacred city of Pandharpur in Sholapur district on the *Ekadashis* in the bright halves of *Ashadha* and *Kartika*. He has also to visit the temple of Alandi near Pune on the *Ekadashis* of the dark halves of these two months.

The cult adopts and preaches the principle of universal brotherhood and yet it keeps within the bounds of Vedic religion. Saints from all sections of the Hindu social hierarchy are known to have been staunch followers and great preachers of the cult which now pervades the whole of Western Maharashtra, Vidarbha, Marathwada and parts of Karnataka too. When exactly the cult came into existence and who was its first sponsor, it is difficult to determine. It will perhaps be more correct to say that it has evolved itself as a devotional movement. The deity that is universally worshipped by the *Varkaris* is Vithoba or Viththal of Pandharpur. Even the Shankaracharya has composed Sanskrit verses to pay homage to the deity. The known tradition of the sect runs through Viththalpant (father of Dnyaneshwar), Namadev, Bhanudas, Eknath, Tukaram, Chokhamela, Janabai and Narhari Sonar, all saints of great reputation for piety and devotion. They made it a mission of their lives to inculcate the importance of *bhakti* in the minds of the masses through the vehicle of *kirtana* and *kathas* (religious discourses). After Tukaram, the prestige of the cult is being maintained by the *Varkari* saints who belong to one of the two persuasions known as *Vaskars* and *Dehukars*.

To get himself initiated in this sect, the intending *Varkari* approaches another experienced *Varkari* of his choice and puts before him a copy of the *Dnyaneshwari* (Dnyaneshwar's commentary on the *Bhagawadgeeta*) and places on it a rosary (string of 108 beads made of dry wood of the *tulasi* plant) and worships them. The *guru*, the selected *Varkari*, administers the oath and the vows which the intending *Varkari* accepts as binding on him. Then the *Guru* has to pick up the rosary and put it on his neck while the other assembled *Varkaris* pronounce *Pundalika Varade Hari Viththal*. No fees are paid to the *guru* for this; only sweets are distributed to all by the new entrant in the cult, which conjoins very stringent vows which are to be practised by every *Varkari*. He must observe *satya* (truthfulness), *ahimsa* (harmlessness), chastity and perfect temperance. A *Varkari* has to bear on his body twelve *mudras* (sacred marks) in *gopichandana* (white earth) and carry with him when on pilgrimage a *pataka*, flag of light scarlet colour and a pair of cymbals. He must daily worship the *tulasi* plant and recite the hymns known as *Haripatha*. He has to be perfectly tolerant respecting other's deities and actions also.

The Prarthana Samaj in Bombay found much to appreciate and follow in the *Varkari* cult which the leaders of the Samaj called *Bhagawat Dharma*. Men like Ranade, Bhandarkar and Chandavarkar always selected some text from Tukaram, Eknath or Namadev for their Sunday sermons and prayers at the Prarthana Samaj Mandirs in Pune and Bombay.

ANIMISTIC BELIEFS AND SUPERSTITIONS

In the scheme of life of a modern, educated Hindu rites and rituals have no place, unless current law makes it obligatory. Generally speaking he is a God fearing, benevolently inclined human being, tolerant and patient. There are others who are sceptics and even atheists, but that is true only so far as their intellectual leanings are concerned. In practice all are alike. The teachings of Theosophy under the leadership and influence of the late Dr. Mrs. Annie Besant made many Hindus, Gujaratis and Marathas, and even Parsees a tolerant set of people, respecting all religions, their founders and saintly persons from anywhere. The general mass of people is tradition-bound. But in spite of all this, strangely enough, the religious faith of the working class population that has gathered in Bombay in search of jobs from every nook and corner of the country, is a curious mixture of animism and tenets of Hinduism. They follow the Hindu law of inheritance and call themselves Hindus. They will not be able to say whether they are *smartas* or *Bhagawatas*. They worship in all temples but their chief objects of blind faith will be Bhairav, Biroba, Jakhai, Janai, Jokhai, Kalkai, Khandoba, Vetali, Mhasoba, Satvai, Vaghoba and such others. They have brought faith in these demi-gods from their native places and it persists.

Even among the so-called high caste or high class Hindus belief in incantations, witchcraft, ghosts, evil spirits, oracles and the evil eye is not altogether absent. If a person is seized with uncommon sickness or suffers from some unexpected calamity it is customary to trace the occurrence to natural causes, displeasure of gods, witchcraft or the evil eye or even an evil spirit. To find out the cause several experiments are made. A flower is stuck to the breast of an idol and its fall on one side or the other determines the cause of the misfortune, if the cause is the evil eye, the mother of the sick child throws salt and red chillis into the fire muttering *drishta mishta aligelichi, Bhut-khet papichandalachi*. The evil eye is very much feared by women. Belief in ghosts is also shared by many even in a city like Bombay, where there are few big trees for the ghosts to reside. Male ghosts are called *Khavisas* or *jhotingas*. The female ghosts are called *jakhins* or *hadals*. Some of these are believed to make their homes in water and they carry away handsome youths by drowning them while enjoying a swim. There are distinct names for the ghosts of Brahmans, Musalmans and out-castes. A ghost wanders and attacks a living person either because, he was murdered or ill treated or because he hankers after a house, a wife or a treasure. Ghosts are said to live in large trees, lonely places, empty houses, and old wells. They are generally seen or heard at midnight. They take any shape at will. If a person sleeps under a haunted tree or even a branch thereof or defiles the ghost's ruin or old well the person is believed to be seized. The ghosts of the murdered persons are chiefly dangerous to those who murdered them. The ghost takes possession of the culprit, maddens him, destroys his sleep, kills his family and makes him miserable in every way. Many people make a living by appeasing or exorcising these angry spirits. They have their peculiar technique and art and some people do have faith in all this. Such people are not rare in Greater Bombay and all this is part of their religion and god-fearing nature.

MUSLIMS

Muslims form a fair proportion of the population of Greater Bombay as the Census figures of 1971 amply show. They believe in only one God and one Prophet Mohamed and their only religious book is the *Koran*. Known as followers of Islam in a general way, in practice, there are number of distinctions made between Muslims and Muslims according as the original territory they come from and the language they speak at home. A number of group appellations signifying community of origin, social status and occupational traditions are current among the people and they are used as surnames. There are about fifty trades, callings and professions which they have followed in times gone by and follow even now. Generally the groups among Muslims are classified as (1) Sayyids, (2) Shaikhs, (3) Mughals and (4) Pathans.

These groups follow various professions and have formed a kind of community of their own such as *Attars* (perfumers), *Manyars* (bracelet-sellers), *Tambats* or *Misgars* (utensils makers), *Barudgars* (fireworks-makers), *Kalaigars* (tin-smiths), *Patvegars* (silk tasset-twisters), *Shikalgars* (armourers). Most of these groups are Sunni Muslims of the Hanafi school and religious minded. They generally marry among themselves or with any of the regular Muslim communities and do not follow Un-Islamic customs. Besides these, there are Memons, Bohras and Khojas who have originally come from Cutch-Kathiawad and others from Gujarat districts. They are Shias and each one of them have their community organisations and social codes of conduct. There are also the Tambolis who usually trade in betel-leaves and keep pan-shops. These groups too generally marry among themselves though there is no impediment of a religious character for mixed marriages.

Food : What the Muslims in Greater Bombay eat differs according to their means and native customs. Rich and well-to-do Memons, Bohras, Khojas and others usually take tea or coffee in the morning with bread and butter and eggs. They have generally two meals a day; lunch at about 12 noon or 1 p.m. and dinner at about 8 p.m. or 9 p.m. They also take tea at about 4 or 5 in the afternoon. They are usually engaged in trade and business and most of them are shopkeepers. Their staple food is wheat, rice and pulses eaten with fish or mutton and occasionally fowl. In the case of poor people, dry fish is a substitute for fresh fish and mutton. For an occasion like the *Bakri-Id* festival, almost every Muslim manages to procure mutton. Bombay Muslims prefer mutton to beef and pork is of course prohibited on religious ground. When public dinners are held on weddings or other festive occasions, *biryani* constitutes as a delicacy. It is a dish of rice, mutton, saffron, ghee and spices. Another dish is *zarda* which is sweet and made of rice, sugar, saffron, almonds, pistachio, nuts and ghee. This is the same as the *sakharbhat* or *kesharibhat* of the Hindus. Poorer sections of the Muslims will hold public dinners when *khushk halva* and *pulav* will be served. *Pulav* is made of rice, ghee and mutton. Such dinners are given on occasions of birth, of circumcision, initiation, marriages and also on the fortieth day of a death. Men and women do not dine together. Women are served after the men have finished. In the dining hall mats and carpets are spread for guests and on the carpets large sheets of cloth called *dastavkhwan* are spread in order that the carpets may not be spoiled. At dinner the guests sit in two rows facing each other. A man with an *aftaba* (water jug) and a *chilamdri* (basin) comes in and beginning with the most aged, most respectable or most learned man pours water over the hand of the guests. The seating arrangements in public dinners are generally without any distinction of caste or creed or status. Several

young friends of the host stand between the rows of guests and pass the dishes. When all dishes are served, the host says *Bismillah* i.e., 'Please begin in the name of Allah' and the guests begin to eat, a group of more than two eating from the same dish. While they dine, a boy or two stand with water pots or glasses ready for serving water to any one who wants it. When the dinner is over the *dastavkhvans* are neatly rolled and removed and water is poured on the hands of each guest and a tray of *pansupari* (betel-leaves and other accompaniments or readymade eatable pan) is passed around. The women take their dinner in the same way as men but wait for sometime after the dinner is over. Muslims of higher status and those who have come under the influence of western customs and manners dine at tables and sit on chairs for that purpose. They eat also from separate dishes. Fruits, sweets and some western dishes are also served. Wines and liquors are not altogether absent, but since the *Koran* has condemned intoxicating beverages, they are generally not served, at least publicly. But at small parties where only intimate friends are invited, service of wines is not uncommon. Tobacco is smoked by many, some chew it also. Snuff too is not quite uncommon.

Dress : Bombay Muslims are generally well-dressed, the turban, the fez, the Kashmiri cap or a head-scarf will necessarily be found on the head of a Muslim, but among the younger people now-a-days, the head-wear is disappearing. But till lately, a shirt, a waist-coat and a *sherwani* in different styles used to cover the body of every Muslim when he was outdoors. The transformation of fashions in dress, from the Moghul and the Persian patterns to the Western styles is almost complete in the younger generation. However, some of the older patterns still persist. At the time of prayer, a Muslim may wear a *lungi* (loin-cloth) reaching down to the ankles and a long shirt. The *sherwani* and *pyjama*, a pair of loose trousers and *Salwar* (loose trousers worn by Punjabis and Peshawaris) have an imprint of traditional wear. *Chunidar pyjamas*, tight fitting trousers in the Uttar Pradesh style are also worn by some. Head-gears known as *safu* or *pheta* are worn on ceremonial occasions. The *sapha* of the Bohras and Cutchis and Khojas, has a gold embroidery running on one side of the cloth and is exhibited at every round. A skull-cap and a made-up turban is also worn by them. Among Muslim women, there are those who use *pyjama* and shirt and others who wear saris and blouses. Muslim women generally cover their head with one end of the sari and wear a veil called *burqua* whenever they go out in public. Blouses are more in vogue than *cholis*. The Memon and Bohra women wear long *pairhans* and *izars* (trousers) and *odhani* (a loose and thin cloth particularly covering the head and falling on the shoulders up to the waist). The material used for these is expensive and often silk with silver embroidery is used. Almost all Muslim brides receive ornaments and

clothing at the time of their marriage. The rich give to their daughters, ornaments of gold and precious stones which consist of ear-rings, bangles, necklaces, bracelets and rings. These ornaments are of modern designs and are made to order or purchased readymade. The poor Muslims give silver ornaments which often consist of *todas* closely united chain ornaments worn on the ankles, *pazeb*, another ornament worn round the ankles and *jahanj*, large silver rings loosely worn below the ankles. Sometimes, *thusi*, a necklace of gold, is given as a mark of better social status. Men usually do not wear any ornaments except marriage or engagement ring of gold or silver.

Birth : After the birth of a male or female child, the father or any male Muslim present there, recites the *azam*, the prayer call in Arabic, in the ears of the child, the idea being that the first sound that should enter the child's ears must be that of prayer to Allah. For the first three days, the child is given honey and the mother is given wheat gruel prepared in pure ghee. On the sixth day called *chhatti* the mother and the child are given a full bath, dressed in clean clothes, a dinner as a mark of thanksgiving is also given and alms distributed. The name of the child is also declared on the sixth day. Usually, the name is given on the very first day to the newly born. For forty days, the mother abstains from regular daily prayers, but after forty days, she starts her usual routine after a bath with water in which *neem* tree leaves are put. Most Muslims teach their children the *Koran* before the age of ten either by engaging a tutor at home or sending them to a nearby mosque, where the old institution of *maqtab*, school, exists. There are a number of such *maqtabs* in Greater Bombay which are maintained from the collection of contributions from the Muslims. Sometimes, the *kalmas*, five fundamental teachings of Islam are taught at home by the parents themselves. All Muslims are careful about circumcising their male children before they are seven or eight years old. They also perform the Bismillah ceremony at the age of five in which the eldest member of the family or the learned among those present makes the child, male or female, recite certain verses from the *Koran*, generally the first five believed to have been revealed to Prophet Muhammad and after this ceremony either sweets are distributed or a public dinner is given. Poor Muslims distribute only dates on this occasion. This ceremony is supposed to mark the beginning of the educational career of a child, very much akin to the *vratbandha* or thread ceremony of the Hindus.

Marriage : Muslims have no objection to marriage between cousin both parallel and cross, the marriage between first cousins being preferred, but a sister's daughter is under the incest taboo. Polygamy and widow marriages are quite current, though not on a large scale. A widow can marry her deceased husband's brother or relative and similarly a widower

can marry his deceased wife's sister or relative. There is no objection to divorce though it is regarded as a necessary evil and it is resorted to as a last recourse. The offer of a marriage usually comes from the bridegroom's parent. Any courtship before marriage is totally unknown among Muslims, though sometimes a casual view of the bride from a distance may be connived at. Two male witnesses must bear testimony to the celebration of the marriage. The testimony is considered essential. These witnesses directly approach the bride and after repeating the name of the bridegroom and his age ask her whether she is willing to accept him in marriage or not. After hearing personally what the bride has to say, they declare her intention to the public and the marriage is then registered in a special marriage register or the marriage sermon is recited. It is called *khutba-e-nikka*. The bride's father or *vali*, the lawful guardian gives away the bride to the bridegroom in marriage. After the marriage ceremony is over, the father-in-law and son-in-law embrace each other and dates or sweets are distributed with cold sweet drinks. A musical entertainment by *quawwals* (a band of male singers who generally recite verses in Urdu) generally follows. Immediately after the bridegroom leads the bride to his home, the *jalwa* ceremony is performed. This ceremony acquaints them with each other. They are made to see each other's face in the mirror or to read the *Koran* together the next day, a dinner is given to the public or near relatives by the bride's father. The custom of inviting friends and relatives for the first five Fridays after marriage still prevails, although there is no religious compulsion in this matter. Muslims do not observe any special ceremony when the girl attains puberty. But at the end of the seventh month of pregnancy, the couple is made to sit together and women-folk sing songs and make merry for a few hours.

Death : When a Muslim is about to breath his last, the *Sura-e-Yasin* from the *Koran* is recited in a low voice near the dying man. *Kalma* or the religious formula, *La-ilah-il-lallah, Muhammad-ur-Rasul-illah* is repeated so that the dying man may also repeat it. Drops of honey or water are dropped in his mouth. As soon as life is extinct, the eyes and the mouth are carefully closed and arrangements for the funeral are made without delay. As a rule the burial is not unnecessarily put off. The body of a male is bathed by males and that of a female by females and *kafan* i.e. an unstitched garment consisting of *kafni* and a loin cloth is put on the dead body. In the case of a woman, an *odhani* (scarf) is added to the *kafan*. Camphor, rose or sandal scent is sprinkled over the *kafan*. The body is then placed on a bier called *janaza* (a cot-like wooden structure), always kept in every mosque in the city. The mother generally says, "I withdraw all the claims upon you as a nurse" and if desired the wife and others also withdraw their claims. Then amidst the waiting of the

women, the *janaza* is taken on the shoulders of the men who repeat the *kalma* as they walk and change their shoulders until they reach a mosque where the last prayers on the dead body are offered by keeping the *janaza* in front, all standing without prostrating. If the body is carried directly to the graveyard the last prayers are offered in the open near the graveyard. At the burial ground the grave is dug and kept ready before the body arrives. The grave is dug in north-south direction and the head is tilted a little to the west so as to face Mecca. After the grave is closed, the learned among the present usually the *pesh imam* recites portions from the *Koran* and all present pray for the peace of the soul of the dead person. A *pesh imam* is a learned man appointed in the mosque to lead the prayers. He is paid out of public contributions. Generally, if the graveyard is not far from the house of the deceased, the mourners come back and console the family members of the deceased and offer departing prayers by reciting portions of the *Koran* and withdraw. Although not religiously prescribed, a custom of *ziyarat* on the third day after the death takes place in which relatives and friends sit at home or in a mosque and read the *Koran*. After the recitation, an offering of flowers and scent is carried to the grave. The custom of observing the tenth and fortieth day by giving a dinner to the relatives, friends and the poor is fast getting out of vogue. Once in a year, on a particular day, the Muslims offer prayers, distribute alms to the poor and feed the orphans in the name of the dead person. They also visit the graveyard on that day. No distinction is made between one Muslim and another either in the mosque or at the burial ground. The recitation of prayers at marriage and funeral ceremonies is conducted by any Muslim without any kind of distinction of caste, creed or status. But, often the *pesh imam*, conducts the ceremonies. Where *kazis* are available, they conduct the marriage ceremonies. Very few people attend the mosque five times a day, but most Muslims attend the Friday prayers as well as Ramzan and Bakri-Id prayers. The institutions of state *Kazis*, *Khatibs* i.e. sermon deliverers, and *Pirzadas* i.e. keepers of shrines are fast dying out.

CHRISTIANS

Christians in Greater Bombay include mainly the East Indians i.e., descendants of the converted Hindus and Muslims from Salsette and Vasai. Bombay, Bandra, Kurla, Thane and Vasai were once Portuguese possessions and during that rule, many embraced Christianity either willingly or because they were forced to do so on one pretext or another by their Portuguese overlords. Their ranks have also been reinforced by immigrants from Goa. Thus together they constitute the Roman Catholic Christian community and owe allegiance to the Pope in the Vatican. Among the Christians are also a considerable number of Protestants who are comparatively recent converts and yielded to

the blandishments of Protestant missionaries of various schools and cults under the British regime. Christians also include a number of Anglo-Indians and Eurasians.

Indian Christians in Greater Bombay are a considerably educated and cultured community following the liberal professions as well as other callings which are humble enough like cooks, tailors, carpenters, nurses, etc. But they also boast of a number of eminent lawyers, physicians and surgeons, engineers, highly placed Government servants, teachers in schools and colleges and priests. They are also musicians, but very few among them may be in business. The Christians have a happy blend of oriental and occidental culture, with perhaps a greater leaning towards the west. The men generally dress after the western style. The women of higher and lower classes stick to the sari in various styles. Their food is cooked in the Indian way, *i.e.*, highly spiced rice forming the staple cereal. The better off follow western table manners and have similarly adopted many forms of western social life.

The Catholics have their religious rites and ceremonies regulated by the canon and liturgical laws of Roman Catholics all the world over. But for actual government administration, they are under the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Goa who appoints their pastors. They have a number of Churches all over Greater Bombay. The sermons and non-liturgical services are mostly in Marathi and Konkani. The Protestant Christians also are mainly descendants of the converts from Ahmadnagar district and conform to many of their traditional ways and practices of Hindu origin. Thus they have retained their Hindu names and surnames and dress as also their ancestral language *viz.*, Marathi. They have among them many highly educated and well placed people, but the poorer are employed as ordinary labourers or artisans and are scarcely distinguishable from their Hindu counterparts. A middle class is however rising up which is getting more and more westernized in every way, only the women still refuse to give up the sari.

Various Christian missions, whether Catholic or Protestant have rendered great services to the cause of education and health having run a number of schools, colleges, hospitals, orphanages, poor-houses all over Greater Bombay. They are not necessarily confined to Christians only, though some preference is shown in the matter of benefits to those who are Christians.

BENE ISRAELS

Bene Israels *i.e.* children of Israel, are also known as Jews, and because the ancestors of those who are now in Greater Bombay used to press oilseeds and produce oil and kept Saturday as a holiday, they were

formerly called *Shanwar* Telis. Hardly any member of this community now follows the avocation of oil-pressing. Their origin is doubtful but they came to India from Yemen or from the Persian Gulf. There is no certainty about the date of their arrival, but probably they did so about sixteen hundred years ago. They appear to have landed on the coast of Rayagad district and spread from there to various parts of India. They belong to two endogamous divisions, white and black. According to their story, the white are the descendants of the original immigrants and the black of converts or of the women of this country. The names in common use among them are Abraham, Benjamin, David, Moses, Solomon and Samuel and among the women Leah, Mariam, Rebeca, Rahel etc. The surnames are village names marking their former settlements *e.g.*, Divekar, Navgaonkar, Thalkar, Kihimkar, Rohekar, Ashtamkar, Ziradkar etc., all from Rayagad. They look more or less like Indians and their complexion is similar to those of natives of Maharashtra and Konkan, but quite many among them are fair especially women, their home language is corrupt Marathi. They say their prayers in Hebrew which many read fluently but few understand. They have some of their men and women in the liberal professions but most educated men and women are clerks. Others are workers.

Bene Israels worship one God and use no idols or images. They have never attempted any conversion of others. Of late many have left the country and settled in Israel. They meet for their congregation in a synagogue which is a building, surrounded by an enclosure inside, it is a square room with windows to the right and left and in front in the westwall is the arch, a cupboard like frame in which are kept the manuscripts of the laws of Moses written on parchment. The minister stands facing the arch in the centre of the synagogue saying prayers and the congregation join in, seated on benches and chairs.

Apart from the staple food usually eaten in the country, the Bene-Israelis eat the flesh of animals, fowl and fish as admissible under the levitical law. The community follows a number of ritualistic observances chiefly concerned with such important life incidents as birth, circumcision, marriage and death. There are also occasions for feast. On the eighth day after the birth of a child (male) whether or not it is sabbath, the child is circumcised by the minister or an operator in the synagogue. The wound is dressed and the child is blessed by the minister and called by a new name chosen from the Old Testament. If the child dies before it is circumcised, the operation is performed after death, but no prayers are offered. There are also ceremonies connected with cradling, purification of the mother on the fortieth day after the birth of a male child or the eightieth day after the birth of a female child shaving and ear boring.

Marriage : The offer of marriage generally comes from the boy's side. For the engagement ceremony both the parties with their guests meet by arrangement at the bride's house and rings are exchanged. The marriage is celebrated on some subsequent Sunday. Presents called *basis* are taken to the bride's house and exhibited before the bride and her relations. The bridegroom is taken, to the accompaniment of songs, into the *syua-gogue* and asked to stand, face to face to the girl. The minister recites Hebrew texts and the bridegroom, standing in front of the bride, with a silver cup in his hand containing a silver ring and grape juice, looks towards the guests and says, "With your leave I perform the ceremony." The guests say, "with God's leave". The bridegroom goes on, "And with our elders leave, do I perform this ceremony." The guests say, "And for his infinite mercy." The bridegroom says, "May joy increase among the children of Israel." The guests again say, "With God's leave." The bridegroom says, "Praise be to the Lord for His goodness to us." The guests say, "And may it spread in Jerusalem." The bridegroom, after a short prayer, looks towards the girl, calls her by her name and says, "You have been betrothed and married to me by this cup whose wine you shall drink; by the silver in the cup and by all that belongs to me, I wed thee before these witnesses and priest, in accordance with the laws of Moses and of the Israelites". He then drinks half the wine and says twice over, "By this you are being wed to me" and then bending, pours the rest of wine, not leaving a single drop in the glass, into the bride's right hand and pushing the ring over the tip of her first finger says: "See! you are married to me by this ring according to the law of Moses and the Israelites." After this is repeated three times, he takes a glass tumbler with some wine in it, and a necklace of gold, puts the rest into her mouth, dashes the glass to pieces on the floor. Sometimes, the priest reads the *ketuba* (written covenant). Before reading the last sentence, he takes the fringes of the four corners of the bridegroom's *sisid* (veil) and says thrice over, "God commands that he who marriages shall feed his wife well, clothe her and perform the duty of marriage." All these the bridegroom promises to fulfil. Then the guests invoke a blessing, and the bride and the bridegroom sign the paper which sets forth the marriage covenant in the presence of two witnesses and the minister. The bridegroom then delivers the paper to the bride saying "Take this marriage covenant, henceforth all that belongs to me is yours." The minister then blesses the husband and the wife. Next comes the *aher*, giving of presents. They then proceed to the bride's house. Next day, they go to the bridegroom's house. The marriage covenant is generally rigidly observed. However, in case of violation of the contract, the innocent party is allowed a divorce and the liberty of marrying again.

Death : When a male member of the Bene Israel community passes away, the nearest kinsmen weep and wail, the widow breaks her bangles and necklace of gold. The body is covered with a white sheet and the great toes are tied, together with a thread. Arrangements are made to inform relatives and friends to collect funeral material and dig a grave. Grave clothes are prepared which for a male consist of trousers, two *kafni*, shirts, one short and one long, a cap, a *dupeta* (turban) a cloth to tie the hands, a cloth for the eyes, a towel, a loin cloth, *mot* (sheet) and a *sisid* i.e. shroud. A woman is dressed in the same way as a man but with a robe or sari in addition. The body is then rubbed with soap and washed twice in warm water. While the minister stands by seven jars of water are poured over it from the head to the feet and dashed on the ground. It is then wiped dry, dressed in the newly made grave clothes, the *sisid* (surplice) is drawn over a handkerchief and a *sabja* twig are placed in the right hand and then rotted in a broad sheet and the face left partly open for the mourners to take a last look. By the time the coffin is brought and washed, a white sheet is spread inside and is set in front of the door. The minister asks the mourners to forgive the deceased any faults he might have committed. They answer, they are forgiven. Flakes of cotton wool are laid on the eye lids and a handkerchief is laid over them. The face is covered with a sheet. After the minister has recited a funeral dirge, the body is carried out of the house by four or five men and laid in the coffin. A wooden frame is dropped over the coffin and on the frame a black cloth and flower garlands and *sabja* leaves are spread. Headed by the priest the deceased's four nearest relations lift the coffin on their shoulders and repeating Hebrew verses, walk to the funeral ground, helped at intervals by other mourners. Entering the graveyard they place the coffin near the grave. The body is lowered into the grave with head to the east, resting on a pillow filled with earth. If any one has dust from Jerusalem, a little of it is put either in the eyes or in the shroud or the pillow case. The mourners and the funeral party stand near and repeat sacred texts, throw a handful of earth into the grave and turn away. The diggers then fill the grave and when it is full, the funeral service is recited by the *hazam* or the *kazi*, followed by *kaddish* by the mourners. The close relatives and friends of the deceased go to the mourner's house and partake of some food. Near the cot where the deceased breathed his last, a mat is spread, and nearby are set a lighted lamp and an earthen pot filled with cold water. The women mourners sit, sleep and dine on the mat day and night for days together, feeding the lamp and keeping it alight. The first seven days are kept strictly as days of mourning. Every morning ten religious-minded men say prayers in the house of mourning. On the morning of the seventh day, the closest relations of the deceased go to the burial ground. The minister says prayers, the mourners say *kaddish* and go back to their homes. At the deceased

house, *Ziarat* ceremony is held where the *jikhir*, i.e. David's Psalms are recited, the food blessed by the minister is shared among men and women. At the end of the first month, in the eleventh month and at the end of the 12th month, a *ziarat* ceremony is held before which the mourners and their relatives and friends visit the graveyard and say prayers for the dead.

PARSEES¹

As a consequence of the fall of the Persian Empire in A.D. 641 at the hands of the Arabs who gave the fireworshipping followers of Zoroaster the two alternatives, the *Koran* or the Sword, a handful of the subjects of the Persian Empire, ardent devotees of their faith, crossed the Ormaz and went to Diu in Kathiawar in A.D. 766 and at last sailed towards the West Coast of India and landed at Sanjan, in A.D. 785 then in possession of the Jadhav Rana of Sanjan. Several ships came this way and they brought all these refugees who spread to Navsari, Billimora and other places. The Parsees of today numbering a little over a lakh in India and 1,25,000 all over the world are the descendants of these handful of refugees from Iran. During the last 1300 years this infinitesimal minority which has freely joined the mainstream of Indian nationalism has left an enormous impress on the socio-economic make up of India.

Sir James Mackintosh, Recorder of Bombay from 1804 to 1811 says, "The Parsees are a small remnant of one of the mightiest nations of the world, who flying from persecution into India were, for many ages, cast in obscurity and poverty, till at last they met a just government under which they speedily rose to be one of the most popular mercantile bodies in Asia."

Thus we see that after the advent of the British in India, the dormant qualities that lay concealed in the Parsee bosom for several generations obtained free scope. Some indications of this may be cited here. It was a Parsee, Hirjee Readymoney who was the first from India to go to China in 1736 and build up trade connection between that country and this. It was a Parsee, Lowjee Wadia who built the first dockyard in Bombay in 1750 and thus accelerated foreign trade. It was again a Parsee, Dadabhoy Nosherwanjee who first opened a cotton screw in Bombay in 1776 and thereby gave a fillip to the textile industry in Western India. The pioneering Parsees of those days first spread the trade along the Malabar coast, afterwards extended it to China and England and almost all parts of the world and have produced within the last two centuries merchant princes like the Rustomjees and Banajees, the Jamshetjees and the Camas, the Jejeebhoyes and the Petits, the Meherjees and the Patels,

¹ For details refer R.E. Enthoven's, *The Tribes and Castes of Bombay*, Vol. III, 1922.

the Adenwalas and the Tatas, all names that have elevated the Indian people to the dignity of a commercial nation.

As years rolled on, the Parsees made themselves indispensable to the English, who ever since their arrival in India, looked upon them for support and co-operation. The responsible post of Broker to the East India Company, for instance, was enjoyed by a Parsee who rendered signal services to the beleaguered inhabitants. About a decade earlier, when the English established a mint in Bombay, they were in need of a good coiner. They at once hit upon a Parsee, Ratanji of Surat. During the Anglo-French conflict in the beginning of the 19th century, the Government of Bombay was in great financial difficulty. A Parsee, Pestonjee Bomanjee Wadia stood by them, helped them at a most critical period and was chiefly responsible for averting a serious crisis.

How the Parsees were pioneers in the domestic and social life in Bombay may also be indicated here. The honour of introducing gas light into India falls to the lot of a Parsee, Ardesar Kharsetji Wadia who for the first time lit his Mazagaon house with gas on February 20, 1834. Similarly, the first private residence in Bombay to be installed with a special electric dynamo was that of his grandson, Naorosjee Wadia in 1897. Jamshetji Tata was the first to own an automobile in Bombay in the closing years of the last century. The first cotton textile mill in Bombay was started by Cowasji Nanabhai Davar which led the way to the greatness and prosperity of the city of Bombay. Jamshetji Tata was the founder of the first hydro-electric works and the first iron and steel works. The first printing press and a journal was also started by a Parsee. There are numerous charities of a communal and cosmopolitan character which are also due to the philanthropy and generosity of several Parsees.

In comparison to their achievements, their number in the population of India is astonishingly small. They were only 100,772* according to the 1961 Census. Their percentage works out at about 0.02 per cent. But as an outstanding community, the Parsees have excelled all others in almost every field of human activity—commerce, industry, agriculture, horticulture, education, politics, public life, social work, scientific achievements, charities etc. They are influential far beyond their numerical importance.

The Parsees are mainly concentrated in Maharashtra and even within Maharashtra, they are mainly confined to Greater Bombay. The proportion of the Parsee population of India residing in Maharashtra is 76.95 per cent, Greater Bombay alone accounting for as much as 69.53 per cent.

* According to the Parsee Panchayat the total population of Parsees in India in 1971 was 91,266, of which Bombay had 64,667.

In the city of Pune they are a little over 3000, in Thane 1100 and in Nasik 750. The only other State having a substantial population of Parsees is Gujarat accounting for 17.58 per cent of the Parsee population of India. In Gujarat, they are mainly agriculturists. The sex ratio of Parsees in Greater Bombay is 1,034 females per 1000 males.

Parsism or Zoroastrianism was founded by Zoroaster (properly Spitaman Zaratushttra) over 2500 years ago and is practised, more or less, in its original form. Zoroaster flourished in such ancient times that sometimes, it has been suggested that he was a mythical personage. The greater part of Zoroastrian scriptures are not in existence today. A large number was destroyed when Alexander the Great invaded and conquered Persia, and the rest by Arab Mussalmans. They are called Zendavesta.

Avesta means the holy text and *Zend* is its commentary. The language of the scripture is called Avesta which bears an intimate relationship with Sanskrit. Mazda means God. The religion preaches reverence to all the elements, the Sun and Fire, Water, Air and Earth. Fire is kept perpetually alive in many Parsee homes even today. It is enjoined on the Parsees that they must face the Sun or fire when they pray. Their code of ethics is *Humata, Hakta* and *Huvanstha* i.e. Good thoughts, Good words and Good deeds. Amongst these kindness to man and animal, liberality and charity are enjoined. Spreading education is highly commended. Miserliness is disapproved. Charity is recommended but it should not be indiscriminate. Public charity is more commendable than private charity.

The religion is primarily a dualism in which the principle is good. Ahur Mazda and the powers of evil and darkness Angre Mainyosh, are opposed in a struggle for cosmos and man. Today the Parsees interpret this dualism in terms of monotheism whereby Ahireman becomes only a creation or a junction of Ahur Mazda. In this struggle which Ahur Mazda would eventually win, man is called upon to fight on his own option actively on the side of the good. At a time when sacrifice and magical rites governed the relationship of man to Gods, Zaratushttra proclaimed that religion has its truth in its moral significance and not in external practices of imaginary value. Asceticism in any of its forms is inimical to life and is not allowed; injurious creatures such as vermin and snakes are to be destroyed as the embodiment of evil. The contrast to Hinduism and Buddhism is clear in these principles. Herein may be traced the roots of the standard of life and economic ethics of the Parsees which is so much at variance from the environment they live in.

Venerated as revelation is the Holy Book of *Avesta*, a collection of hymns (*Gathas, Yashts*), rituals and provisions of the law (*Yasna, Vendidat*) and prayers (*Khorda Avesta*). This canon preserved only in

fragments today is attributed to Zaratushttra according to tradition. Mediaeval Iranian literature in *Pehlavi* and correspondence between Indian and Iranian Parsees are of religious and historical interest.

Every child between the ages of seven and eleven must be invested with the *Kusti* and *Sadra*, visible symbols of the followers of Zoroaster. This is the *Navajot* sacrament. The *Kusti* is a sacred thread gird round the waist. *Sadra* is a shirt of white linen which must always be worn next to the skin. They are worn by both males and females. Use of coconut, vermilion mark on the forehead are borrowed from Hindus. The *Kusti* is a symbol of innocence. It is made from the wool of a sheep. Seventy-two threads are grouped into six parts. The coming of a child is enthusiastically welcomed in every Parsee family. In the seventh month of pregnancy, the pregnant girl receives a new dress from her mother-in-law and the *agharni* ceremony is held. Later she receives a similar new dress from her mother. Full rest is allowed to the mother after delivery.

Marriage : Marriage as ordained by Ahur Mazda must be celebrated in a splendid manner. Loose and flowing garments for the bride and the bridegroom are given. The groom carries a shawl which is considered an emblem of greatness. Red pigment marks are made on the foreheads of both. The mark is supposed to be a ray of the Sun and the one on the forehead of the bride is a ray of the moon. As the Sun and the moon are eternal helpmates, so have the husband and wife to be helpmates of each other till they live. The bride sits on the left side of the groom. There are two witnesses from either side, best-man and the bride-maid. All witnesses have to be married. The officiating priest blesses the couple in the following words. "May the Creator, the Omniscient Lord grant you progeny of sons and grandsons, heart-ravishing friendship, bodily strength, long life and an existence of 150 years." Marriage paths are administered which record the free consent of both to be united in wedlock. A Sanskrit translation of the marriage prayer is recited by way of grateful reverence of the desire of the Raja of Sanjan. The prayer in ancient Persian is called *Tandurusti* prayer. This is a form of final benediction.

Funeral : When a Parsee dies, an elaborate but simple funeral ceremony follows. When on his or her death bed, a pated prayer of repentance is recited. The dead body is washed clean and clothed in white. Haoma water is placed in the mouth and the body is shown to a dog. The corpse bearers take the body to the Tower of Silence called Dokhma. It is placed in an iron bier called *gehan*. The largest portion of the rites serve to save man, earth, fire and water from being defiled by Ahriman and the demonic powers. All that is dead is taken to be impure and since neither the earth, nor fire, nor water should be defiled, the dead are cast to the vultures in the Tower of Silence.

Internal Organisation : Concerning the earlier epoch of the Parsees in India little information is available on the internal structure and organisation of the community. Since the Parsees in the civil sphere did not have at their disposal codified laws, matters in dispute such as those concerning inheritance, marriage, etc. were decided by respected priests and reference to and through interpretations of the rules of conduct laid down in *Avesta*. This practice came to an end in Bombay in 1673 with the setting of the Parsee Panchayat which consisted of five members belonging to the distinguished Parsee families in Bombay. Adopting Hindu traditions this institution set itself to two tasks:

(1) In future the civil disputes among Parsees would be decided by this body whereby judgments, mostly fines and sanctions and in extreme cases ex-communication would be considered as irrevocable and respectfully accepted.

(2) Parsees coming to Bombay from the village communities would be helped by the Panchayat materially and socially.

As a rule the membership of the Panchayat ran hereditarily in rich families which gave to that institution the appearance of plutocracy. The clergy played in these times no prominent part in the Panchayat. It had the greatest authority in the second half of the 18th century which could be attributed essentially to the personal prestige of the members. In 1778, against the objections of the clergy, the Panchayat was confirmed and legitimised in its authority by the English. Since 1830, an increasing loss in the authority of the Panchayat could be observed. It lacked the courage to take strong action against the abuses in the community as well as to enforce its decision. In addition, since 1838, it was desired legitimacy by the Government to represent the community externally. With this the Panchayat became a corporation whose functions increasingly were reduced to that of administration of charities and foundations of general social services.

The decline of the Panchayat created a vacuum in the administration of justice for the elimination of which the Parsee Law Association was founded in 1855. In 1865, it succeeded in putting through the Legislative Council the enactment of the Parsee Marriage and Divorce Act of 1865 and the Parsee Succession Act which are in force even today. The Parsee Panchayat administers today over 1,000 foundations of crores of rupees.¹

Parsee leaders like Dadabhai Naoroji, Pherozeshah Mehta and Dinshaw Wacha realised that the future of the Parsees cannot be separated from fellow Indians. Accordingly they became prominent leaders in the Indian National Congress and in the civic life of the country, notably in Bombay.²

¹ For details see Chapter 18.

² Refer account of Public Life given in Chapter 18.

It is quite remarkable that the Indian members of the British Parliament were Parsees viz. Dadabhai Naoroji (1892-1895), Muncherji Bhownagree (1895-1906) and Shapurji Saklatvala (1922-1929). What Sir Pherozeshah said in this connection may be cited here. "To ask the Parsees to isolate themselves and their interests from those of the other natives of this country is to preach something not only equally selfish but a great deal more shortsighted. In our case, it would be almost a suicidal policy. Its ultimate effect would be only to reduce us to insignificance. We are a power in this Presidency as a small but enlightened and enterprising portion of the natives of this country, and as such without common interests, common sympathies, and common co-operation, we might still remain an interesting community but of no account whatsoever in the great march of events moulding the lofty destinies of this magnificent land."

HINDU CUSTOMS

The major part of the customs of the Hindus consists of ritualistic practices related to various religious ceremonies known as *samskaras* (sacraments). These ceremonies which principally consist of purifying rites are conducted under the directions, according to orthodox practice, of a Brahman priest. Regarding the exact number of these *samskaras*, there is a great divergence of views among the *Smriti* writers. According to some, sixteen *samskaras*, as they are *nitya* (usual) must be performed and the rest twenty-four, as they are *naimittik* (special) ones are left to choice. They are observed by almost all castes except the backward class. The chief of these customary rituals are those at birth, backward class. The chief of these customary rituals are those at birth, thread-girding, marriage, pregnancy and death. The *garbhadhana* (a young bride's coming of age) ceremony which used to be once performed separately and with much pomp as then girls were married at an early age, has now become a part of the marriage rite and receives scant attention.

Pregnancy and Birth : The prospect of child birth is watched with anxiety and eagerness by the family and in her first pregnancy, the young wife is treated with great care and tenderness both at her parents' and at her husband's. Her *dohale* (longings) as they are believed to fore-shadow and influence the characteristics and sex of the child are fondly noticed and promptly satisfied by the family elders. She has to observe a number of taboos. Because of her delicate condition, she is considered to be particularly open to attacks of evil spirits and following the current folk lore, she complies with a number of 'do's and 'dont's. The *grihyasutras* prescribe for the benefit of the pregnant woman a number of observances of a magico-religious nature such as *pumsavana*, *anavalobhana* or *garbha-rakshana*, *Simantonrayana* and *vishnubali* and those who believe in the efficacy of Vedic *samskaras* follow them to a varying extent.

The young wife generally goes to the house of her parents for her first confinement. A majority of the expectant mothers in Bombay are under medical care of the public hospitals or private maternity homes. Almost all of them deliver the child in hospital or maternity homes. Even the foot-path dwellers are no exception to this. Most of the rituals which used to follow immediately after birth in the past are almost extinct. For a month or more mother and child are rubbed daily with oil, bathed and every day, the mother is given a decoction of pepper, dry ginger, cloves and other spices.

Panchavi and Shashthi : The *shashthi* ceremony is performed on the sixth day by worshipping a small copper pot full of water on which leaves float and whose opening is fixed by a coconut daubed with *kumku* and turmeric powder. Some plantains and betel-nuts and a red flower are placed by the side of the copper pot which represents Brahma who is believed to come in the guise of an old dame to write on the child's forehead its destiny. A blank sheet of paper, a reed pen, an ink stand, and a penknife are also kept near the offering and the elderly people in the house keep awake the whole night lest any evil should happen.

On the night of the fifth or the sixth day after birth, a ceremony known as the worshipping of the *panchvi* (Mother Fifth) and *shashthi* (Mother Sixth) is observed among all Hindu Communities. It is not a Vedic *samskara*, and as such the configuration worshipped and offerings made differ according to usage. But a common belief exists that those nights are full of danger to the newly born baby. Only by worshipping Mother Fifth and Mother Sixth can the child be saved from evil spirits. With the spread of education, the practice of sending women to hospitals and nursing homes is becoming more and more popular and many of the old customs which used to be observed at home are not observed now. The woman stays in the hospital for ten days, is looked after by qualified doctors and nurses and is generally discharged on the tenth or eleventh day.

But those who still remain at home for confinement have to conform to practices that are traditional. The mother is held impure for ten days and no one except the midwife touches her. The family observes *suher* (ceremonial impurity) for that period. On the eleventh day, the mother and child are given a purificatory bath, their clothes are washed and the whole family goes through a cleansing process.

Naming Ceremony : The *Barse* or naming ceremony is usually held on the twelfth day from birth. Women neighbours, friends and kinswomen are invited to attend the naming ceremony. Each of them bring some present for the mother and child. In the women's hall, a cradle is

hung to the ceiling and a carpet is spread under it. Now-a-days a ready-made cradle is purchased. A small oblong granite stone is rubbed with oil and laid in the cradle and the mother taking her baby in her hand stands on one side of the cradle and says to the woman who stands on the other side, 'Take Govinda and give Gopala.' Then the woman receives the stone and the child is laid in the cradle by the mother or by some matron who takes the child in her arms from the mother. The mother then whispers in the child's ear its name which in common consultation has been settled beforehand. The guests then gently swing the cradle and sing a *palana* (cradle song) lulling the child to sleep. The ceremony closes with the distribution of boiled gram and sweet-meats to the guests. Some days after the naming ceremony, the mother goes to the well and waving lighted lamps drops into the well, two betelleaves and one nut. This is called the worship of the *jaladevata* (watergoddess).

Chaula : The *chaula* or *chudakarma* (first cutting of the hair on the child's head) ceremony has place in the Hindu *samskaras*. It is also customary with many backward communities to give ceremonial attention to the first shaving or cutting of hair (*javala*) of the child. At present, it is only among Brahmans that the rite is usually gone through in the case of boys at the time of the *upanayana* (thread-girding). Before performing the ceremony, Ganapati, Varuna and the Matrikas are worshipped and a *homa* offering is performed.

Upanayana or Vratibandha : The thread girding ceremony or *munja* as it is popularly known, is prescribed for all Hindus claiming a place in the first three Varnas, viz., Brahmans, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas. In essence, it is a purificatory rite, initiating a boy to *Brahmacharyashrama*, stage of studenthood. In Greater Bombay, besides Brahmans of all subcastes, Pathare and Kayastha Prabhus, Panchkalashis, and Sonars gird their boys by performing their *upanayana*. The *Manusmriti* prescribes that a Brahman boy when he is eight should go through this *samskara*; a Kshatriya boy when he is ten and a Vaishya boy when he is twelve. The proper time (Muhurta) for it occurs in the fair season, in the months of *Magha*, *Phalgun*, *Chaitra*, *Vaishakh* and *Jyeshtha*.

In Bombay it is usual to perform this ceremony at public places, specially appointed for the *upanayana* and wedding ceremonies known as *Mangala Karyalayas*. These places are decorated with plantain trees, mango twigs and flowers. Invitations to attend the ceremony are sent to friends and relatives. About a fortnight before the thread girding, friends and relations ask the boy and his parents to dinner or lunch and give them presents of clothes and money. This is called *kelvan* or *gadagner*.

First some temple is visited particularly Ganapati's temple and the deity is prayed to be present at the thread ceremony with his two consorts Riddhi and Siddhi. Then the relatives and friends are invited.

Ghana : Early morning of the lucky day, the priest comes and sets up the *Ghatika* (water clock). This is followed by the *ghana ceremony*. Two *musals* (pestles) are tied together with a *khan* (bodice cloth) and a basket filled with wheat is set before the boy and his parents. Not less than five *suvasinis* (women with their husbands living) take the pestles in their hands, set them upright in the basket and move them up and down as if to pound the wheat in the basket. They sing songs while music plays. A *suvasini* takes a handful of corn and grinds it in a hand-mill (*jate*) to the handle of which a *khan* (bodice cloth) is tied. This is only customary and it is no part of the proper religious function.

Propitiatory Rites : Prior to the *upanayana* ceremony, usual propitiatory rites are gone through with the same procedural details as before the performance of any auspicious *samskara*. Ganapati and the *matrīkas* (mothers) are worshipped, and the *punyahavachana* (the holy day blessing) is performed. This is the time for near relations and friends to give presents to the boy and his parents. These presents are called *aher*. After this, 27 areca-nuts representing the guardians of the place of ceremony called *Nandis* (joy-bringing agents), six areca-nuts representing the *mandapa-devatas*, are placed in a winnowing fan and worshipped with flowers and *Kumkum*. The winnowing fan is carried into the house and laid in the family god-room. The ceremony of *chaula* (shaving the boy's head) follows if it was not performed in childhood. The father takes a razor and in a corner of the *mandap* scrapes some hair from the boy's head. These hair with sacred grass (*kusha*) and *shami* leaves is laid in the mother's hand who puts them on a lump of bullock dung. The barber then sits in front of the boy and shaves his head except some locks and the top knot (*shendi*). The boy is then bathed and taken to the dining hall. Boys called *batus*, girt with the sacred thread but not married are served with food. They eat and the boy's mother sitting in front of the boys and setting her son on her lap feeds him and herself eats from the same plate. This is called *matribhojana* (the mother's meal). It is the last time when the boy and his mother eat from the same plate. As soon as the mother's meal is over the boy is taken to the barber who shaves all the locks that were left on his head except the top-knot. The boy is bathed and made ready for *upanayana* ceremony.

Mangalashtakas : As the lucky moment draws near, the friends and kins people take their seats. The father sits on a *pat* (low stool) placed on the *Vedi* with his face to the east, while the boy stands before him facing west. The priests hold between them a curtain marked with

a vermilion *swastika*. The boy's sister stands behind the boy with a lighted lamp and a coconut in her hands. The priests recite the *mangalashtakas* (lucky verses) and guests cast *akshatas* (rice mixed with *kumkum*) at the boy and his father. At the fixed moment (*muhurta*) the priests stop chanting, the musicians redouble their notes, the curtain is pulled to the north and the boy lays his head at the feet of his father. The father blesses him and seats him on his right. *Pan*, perfume and rose water are distributed among the guests who then withdraw usually receiving a present of a coconut each. It is now-a-days getting customary for the guests to make some present to the *batu* (boy) on this occasion.

Upanayana : The *upanayana* ritual now begins. The priest and other Brahmans throw *akshata* over the boy's head and seat him on a *pat* to the father's right. A *sthandila* (earthen altar) is traced in front of the father, blades of *darbha* (sacred grass) are spread over it and a *homa* (sacrificial fire) is kindled on it. The priest ties a cotton string round the boy's waist and gives him a *langoti* (loin cloth) to wear. He then rolls a yellow *pancha* (short waist cloth) round his waist and a white one round his shoulders. Another cotton string is hung on the left shoulder of the boy in the manner of a sacred thread. Offerings of *ajya* (ghee), sesamum, and seven kinds of *samidhas* (sacred fuel sticks) are made on the sacrificial fire. The boy is made to pass between the sacrificial fire and his father, sips three *achamans* and repeats texts. He then goes back between the fire and his father and takes his seat.

The boy folds his hands and approaches the Acharya (preceptor-priest) and makes a request to initiate him into *Brahmacharyashrama*. The Acharya grants his request, hands over to him a consecrated *yajnopavita* (sacred thread) and a *danda* (staff) of *palasha* tree and gives him general instructions as to how to acquire knowledge. The Acharya then takes the boy out to see the Sun and makes him repeat a prayer to the Sun.

The Acharya makes four offerings of *samidha* (sacred fuel sticks) to the fire and then the *kumar* makes an offering of one *samidha* and wipes off his face thrice with words purporting, "I anoint myself with lustre and may Agni and Indra bestow on me insight, offspring and vigour." The Acharya concludes the sacrifice with final oblations and sprinkles sacred water over the head of the *kumar* and in all directions. The Acharya and the *Kumara* both then stand and offer prayer to the *Yajnadevata* (sacrificial god), the *kumara* bends his knees, embraces the teacher's feet and requests him to recite the *Gayatri* (sacred verse in praise of the Sun), and the Acharya recites it *pada* by *pada* i.e. syllable by syllable and makes the *Kumara* repeat it after him. The Acharya then advises the *Kumara* how to behave in his career of studentship and tells him of the rules and observances to be followed by a Brahmachari. Money presents are then made to the priests who bless the boy and his father.

In the evening, the *bhikshavala*, begging procession goes to the temple of Ganapati. The boy who is attended by the priest bows before the gods and the procession returns home with music and company. On returning home, the boy is seated near the altar, the priest sits near him and places a *rowali* (bamboo basket) or a *sup* (winnowing fan) before him. The mother of the boy comes and stands before him near the altar. The boy says to her in Sanskrit "*Bhavati, bhiksham dehi*" (Lady, give me alms) and holds the bamboo basket before her. The mother blesses him and puts sweet balls, rice and coco-kernel into the basket. Other married women follow her example; the boy repeats the same words to each of them and they present him with sweet balls and money. The contents of the bamboo basket go to the priest who gives part of the sweets to the boy and keeps the rest for himself.

The last rite of the *upanayana* ceremony is *medha janana*. A small square mound is raised and a branch of the *palasha* tree is planted in it. The boy pours water round the plant, prays *Medha*, the goddess of mind, to give him knowledge and wealth.

The *upanayana* ceremony used to be extended over four days, but of late, the whole procedure is wound up in a day. The areca-nut Ganapati and the areca-nut Varuna are, as at the beginning of the ceremony, invoked and then bowed out to indicate that the ceremony is over and it is time for friends and kinsmen to leave. The boy is now a *brahmachari*, (an unwed student wedded to learning) and now on for some years, he should learn the Vedas at the feet of his Guru and after completing his studies should undergo the *samavartana* (return) ceremony. But all this is ancient history. According to current practice, the *sodmunj* or *samavartana* follows immediately after the *upanayana*. The boy discards the *munja* (triple sacred grass waist cord) and his *langoti* (loin cloth), puts on a silk bordered *dhori*, a coat, a shoulder cloth, a *jari* cap and a pair of shoes, takes an umbrella and sets out on a journey, as if to go to Banaras. The priest or the boy's maternal uncle as may be the custom meets him on the way and promises to give him his daughter in marriage so that the boy may marry and become a *grihastha* (householder).

Marriage : The present day customs and ceremonial practices of Hindu marriages are described hereafter in three broad classes : (1) The traditional Vedic form which is mainly based on rites laid down in the *grihyasutras*, i.e. body of rules regulating the performance of certain rites and duties enjoined in the *samskaras* in which vedic *mantras* (sacred texts) are freely used. This is generally used by professional priests for conducting the marriage ceremonies of Brahmans and allied castes. (2) The Pauranika form which more or less excludes Vedic texts and is used by a number of communities, other than Brahmans and allied groups within the Hindu

fold, (3) modern forms or variants of the Vedic form preached by the sponsors of such movements of reformism or revivalism among the Hindus.

Marriage is a *samskara*, a sacrament that can be established after going through a number of ceremonial details which have their foundation in the *grihyasutras*. Mahamahopadhyaya P. V. Kane has drawn up a fairly exhaustive list of these ceremonies from as many *grihyasutras* as he could read and as such delineates the ambit of the scriptural form of Hindu marriage. *Vadhuvaragunapariksha* (examining the suitability of a girl or bridegroom); *Varapreshana* (sending persons to negotiate for the hand of the girl); *Vagdana* or *Vangnishchaya* (settling the marriage); *Mandapa* (erecting a pandal); *Nandishraddha* and *Punyahavachana* (holy day blessing and repeating this is an auspicious day three times at the commencement of most religious ceremonies); *Vadhugrihagamana* (bridegroom's going to the bride's house); *Madhuparka* (reception of the bridegroom at the bride's house); *Snapan*, *Paridhapana* and *Samvahana* (making the bride bathe, put on new clothes and girdling her with a string of *darbha*); *Samanjana* (annointing the bride and bridegroom); *Vadhuvaranibandha* (tying an amulet string on the bride's hand); *Vadhuvaranishkramana* (the coming out into the pandal of the bride and bridegroom from the inner part of the house); *Parasparasamiksha* (looking at each other); *Kanyadana* (the gift of the bride); *Agnisthapana* and *Homa* (establishing the fire and offering the *ajya* oblation into fire); *Panigrahana* (taking hold of the bride's hand); *Lajahoma* (offering of roasted grain into fire by the bride); *Agniparinayana* (going round the fire); *Ashmarohana* (making the bride tread on a mill-stone); *Saptapadi* (taking seven steps together); *Murdhabhisheka* (sprinkling of holy water on the heads); *Suryodikshana* (making the bride look towards the Sun); *Hridayasparsha* (touching the bride's heart with a *mantra*); *Prekshakanumantrana* (addressing the spectators); *Dakshinadana* (gift to the Acharya); *Grihapravesha* (entering the bridegroom's house); *Grihapraveshaniya Homa* (sacrifice on entering the bridegroom's house); *Dhruvarundhatidarshaṇa* (pointing out the Pole Star and Arundhati to the bride); *Agneya Sthalipaka* (mess of cooked food offered to Agni); *Triratna vrata* (keeping observances for three nights after).

Certain other rites and ceremonies mentioned in mediaeval digests which are in practice at present are *Seemantapoojana* (honouring the bridegroom and his party on their arrival at the bride's place), now observed before *Vangnishchaya*; *Gauriharapuja* (worship of Shiva and his consort) observed by the bride before *Kanyadana*; *Indrani* or *Shacheepuja* (worship of Indrani or Shachee, consort of God Indra); *Taila Haridraro-pana* (applying of turmeric paste to the bodies of the bride and the bridegroom); *Ardrakshataropana* (showering of rice grains on each other's head

by the bride and the bridegroom); *Mangalasutrabandhana* (tying of the auspicious string of beads round the bride's neck); *Uttariyaprantabandhana* (tying together ends of garments of the bride and the bridegroom); *Airanidana* (presenting the bridegroom's mother with several gifts); *Devakosthapana* and *Mandapodvasana* (taking leave of the invoked deities and taking down the pandal).

The type of the marriage ceremony followed by the orthodox Hindu conforms to the Brahma form. In olden days the marriage customs and rituals were very elaborate. Now-a-days however many of the rituals are gone through hurriedly, while many of them have become extinct. The following account is therefore mainly of historical interest as it throws a light on the culture of the Hindu society. "The gift of a daughter, after decking her with valuable garments and honouring her with jewels etc., to a man learned in the *Vedas* and of good behaviour whom the father of the girl himself invites." The custom of consulting and comparing horoscopes while fixing up a match which was strictly observed in the past is gradually falling into disuse as the parents of the couple hold that considerations of dowry or good looks are more important than the agreement of stars. Social conditions among advanced classes have by now improved to the extent of allowing the boy and the girl, if not to court each other, at least to cultivate acquaintance to be able to make a free choice. This has become possible because the boys and girls are not married as children as before. They are grown up.

As soon as a girl is approved, the fathers of the boy and the girl draw up an agreement regarding what money the father of the girl should pay to the boy and what ornaments and dresses the boy's father should present to the girl. The auspicious day for the wedding is fixed and both families busy themselves with the wedding preparations. Two lists of purchases are made, one of sundry articles and the other of clothes. The list of sundries is headed with *shri* in praise of Ganesha and then starts, with *haladkunku*, turmeric and red-powder, for these are auspicious articles. Arrangements are made for procuring rice, pulses and other provisions. The list of clothes may include silk and cotton waist clothes, robes, bodice cloth, shoulder clothes and such articles of ceremonial dress. The building of the marriage porch is also begun on an auspicious day. But now-a-days most of the marriages are celebrated in halls which are available on rental basis. Decoration and other arrangements in the hall are entrusted to contractors.

Marriage invitations are sent to friends and relations as before a thread girding ceremony and the boy and the girl are feasted by their kinspeople. The formal invitation is known as *akshata* and with the well to do, it forms an elaborate social ceremony. The head of the family writes a letter asking the house and family gods to be present during the marriage

festivities. He marks it with red powder and places it in the *devhara* (god-house). House to house or personal invitations may be arranged jointly or separately. At both the houses before either party starts, the priest takes two silver cups and fills them with grains of rice mixed with red powder. One cup he hands over to the lady of the family who is to go with the party and the other he keeps in his hands. If it has been so arranged, the girl's party may call at the boy's but not before they lay a few grains of *akshata* (coloured rice) and a coconut in front of the house gods, bow low to them and ask them to be present at the wedding. They then go to the temple of Ganapati, leave a few grains of *akshata* near the god and pray him to be present at the marriage booth to ward off danger and trouble. They then visit the houses of kinspeople, friends and acquaintances for extending invitations.

Halad (Turmeric rubbing): The boy at his house is seated on a *chouranga* set inside a *rangoli* square with his feet resting on the ground. His mother mixes in a cup some turmeric powder with scented oil and his sister dips in the turmeric mixture the ends of two mango leaves which she holds, one in each hand and touches the boy's feet with them. The head, knees and shoulders are also touched likewise. This is done five times and four other married women follow suit. The boy is then rubbed with turmeric by one of the women and is bathed ceremoniously near the entrance of the marriage booth while the musicians play on their instruments and drums and women sing *haldi* songs as they empty a few pots of water on his head, letting the water trickle from the points of mango leaves. The boy then goes into the house, puts on a fresh waist-cloth, and prepares to join his parents in the propitiatory rites of *punyaha* and *vachana* (holy day blessing); *devaka-sthapana* (guardian enshrining) etc. When the boy's bath is over what remains of the turmeric and oil mixture after being used for him (*ushti halad*) is put in a *sup* (winnowing fan) along with a *sari* and bodice, some rice, red powder, betel-nut, betel leaves and two coconuts, and a servant, accompanied by five married women and music, carries it on his head to the girl's place. The ceremony of applying turmeric and giving bath as at the boy's place is repeated for the girl; the boy's sister presents her with the *sari* and bodice, rubs her hands with turmeric and her brow with red powder and fills her lap with coconut, betel-nut and grains of rice. The laps of the girl's mother and sister are also filled, turmeric and red powder are exchanged with and other married women of the house and the party withdraws. The boy and the girl are now considered sacred. They are called *navaradeva*, bridal gods, and may not leave the house till the wedding is over.

Propitiatory Rites: On the marriage day or the day previous, as a prelude to the wedding ceremony, a number of propitiatory rites are gone through both at the bride's and the bridegroom's houses.

They are *punyahavachana*, *matrikapujana*, *nandishraddha*, *grahamukha*, *mandapadevata pratishtha* and *devakasthapana*.

Vangnishchaya (Betrothal) : The boy's father goes to the girl's house with musicians, kinspeople, the family priest and servants carrying plates filled with ornaments and other articles. After the guests are seated in the marriage hall, the officiating priests from both sides exchange coconuts and embrace each other. After the priests, the fathers embrace and then the elder males from both sides exchange coconuts and embrace. A *rangoli* square is traced in the marriage hall and *pats* are set in the square. The girl's father sits on one *pat*. Meanwhile, the girl, on whose brow a flower chaplet has been fastened, with her head covered with a piece of broad cloth called *aginpasoda* is led by her sister and seated on a *pat* close to her father. The boy's father sits in front of them, with priests to his left repeating *mantras*. The girl's father worships Ganapati and Varuna. He marks the brows of their priests with sandal paste and presents them with turbans. The fathers then mark each other's brows with sandal and exchange turbans. Then each of them takes five betel-nuts and five turmeric roots and ties them to the hem of the other's waistcloth. They then hold the two bundles in which turmeric roots and betel-nuts were tied near each other, the priest rubs them with sandal and over them sprinkles water from the Varuna pot. The contents of both bundles are mixed and made into one heap and distributed among the assembled guests. Next Shachi (Indra's wife) is worshipped. On a leaf plate a pound or two of rice is spread and on the rice, a betel-nut is set and worshipped. At this Ganapati and Varuna worship, the boy's father has to place before the deities double the amount placed by the girl's father. The priest repeats *mantras*, lays on the girl's right palm, a drop of curd, milk, honey and sugar and she sips it. The girl's sister ties a marriage ornament on the girl's brow and the priest tells the girl's mother and her other relations that the boy's people have come to ask for the girl. They agree to let her go. The girl now leaves her place and sits on another *pat* in front of a picture of the house gods and throws grains of rice over it. The boy's father presents her with ornaments and clothes. She is dressed in the new clothes, the ornaments are put on her and she is seated on a *pat*. The boy's mother lays before her a plate with rice, a betel-nut and betel-leaves, a coconut, red powder, and a water pot. She or some one on her behalf, washes the girl's feet and rubs turmeric on her hands and face, applies red powder to her brow and sticks rice grains over the red powder. Then, telling the house people that she is filling the girl's lap, she drops into her lap a handful of wheat, a coconut, a *vida* and some sweetmeat balls. The girl makes over the contents of her lap to someone else close by and walks away. The male guests have their brows marked with sandal, presented with *vidas* and coconuts and the mendicant priests are paid *dakshina* and all retire.

After the guests have left, the priest takes a thread of the same length as the height of the girl and adding to it threads as many as the years of the girl's age, makes them into a wick. He then puts the wick into a lamp, lights the lamp before the god *Gaurihara* and feeds it with oil brought by the boy's relations in a brass pot. What remains of the wick after the wedding days are over, is carefully kept and burnt in the lamp at the worship of *Mangalagauri* which the girl performs in the month of Shravana. After the lamp is lighted, the girl's mother is seated near it. The boy's mother begins to wash her and her relations' feet, but as the boy's side is considered higher in prestige than the girl's, the girl's mother objects and the boy's mother desists. The girl's mother's lap is filled with a sari and a bodice piece, some rice and a coconut. The laps of her relations are filled with rice only.

Seemantapujana : The *Seemantapujana* (a boundary worship) was, it appears, originally performed when the boy crossed the border of the girl's village. When the boy and the girl live in the same village, the boundary worship is performed either in a temple or at the boy's house, either on the marriage day or on the day before marriage. When the ceremony is to be performed at the boy's house at the direction of the priest, an elderly married woman of the girl's family takes bamboo baskets and trays and lays in them a number of usual articles of worship and presentation. The girl's relations, with music and the articles go in procession to the boy's place. There the men are seated on carpets and arranged seats. The girl's priest sets a *chouranga* (high stool) near two pots and covers it with a piece of broad cloth. The boy who is ready dressed, sits on the high stool and the girl's parents sit on the *pats* in front of him. The girl's father, taking a silver or leaf cup, fills it with rice, grains and worships his family priest and presents him with a new turban. The boy is next worshipped. The girl's mother takes the water pot, containing warm water, pours it first on the boy's right foot and then on the left and the girl's father wipes his feet dry, marks his brow with sandal and sticks grains of rice over it. He hands the boy a new turban and the boy gives his older turban to some relation and puts on the new one. He is then handed a sash which he lays on his shoulders. The boy's sister is given a flower chaplet which she ties round the boy's turban. The girl's father lays on the boy's right palm *madhuparka*, a mixture of milk, curds, butter, honey and sugar. He sips it, flowers and grains of rice are thrown over him and a nosegay is placed in his hands. All the while the family priest repeats devotional *mantras*. The girl's mother washes the boy's sister's feet and presents her with a bodice cloth. The girl's parents now leave their seats. The mother goes into the women's hall and washes the feet of the boy's mother and his other kinspeople, fills their laps with rice and coconut and presents them with sugar. While this is going on in the women's hall the girl's

kinsmen mark the brows of the male guests with sandal and present them with *vidas* and coconuts and the mendicant priests with copper. Then the girl's kinspeople go home.

Varaprasthana: Next comes *varaprasthana* (starting for marriage). The girl's father accompanied by his priest goes to the boy's home. Laying a coconut in the hands of the boy and his priest, makes them a formal invitation to his house to perform the marriage.

In the evening before the marriage the boy is dressed in a new turban and shoulder cloth which were presented to him by the girl's relations. His family priest, who all the time goes on muttering invocatory verses, places a coconut in the boy's hands and leads him before his house gods and the boy lays the coconut before the gods and bows low before them. He is next taken before the elders of the house and bows before each. Then he is led to the house door and curds are laid thrice on his right palm and thrice he sips them and wipes his hand. He is seated on a horse or in a carriage. His relations and friends form a procession to escort him to the girl's place. On the way, to quiet evil spirits, coconuts are broken and thrown away as the procession passes on. When the bridegroom reaches the bride's house, cooked rice, spread all over with red powder is waved over his head and thrown over at some distance in the street. A married woman of the bride's house brings an auspicious earthen jar filled with cold water and spills the water over the horses legs and she is given a bodice piece by the boy's relations. The boy is taken off the horse and a married woman pours over his feet milk and then water and waves a lighted lamp before him. The girl's father leads the boy to the marriage hall and seats him on a *chouranga*. Meanwhile the priest writes the name of the God Ganesh, the day, date, month and year on a wall. The priest sprinkles grains of rice on the square and installs a *ghatikapatra* in a bigger water vessel to determine the auspicious time for the marriage. And then while he repeats *mantras*, he makes both the fathers worship the *ghatika*. He then draws two *patrikas*, marriage papers in which are written the names of the bride and the bridegroom, their fathers and the auspicious time, gives them to the fathers to worship, reads the papers and makes them over to the fathers to worship.

Madhuparka: If possible, before the boy and girl are married, otherwise, soon after the marriage, the *madhuparka* (honey mixture) ceremony takes place.

At the Marriage Hall: The bridegroom takes off his turban and coat but keeps the marriage wreaths (*mundavali*) on his brow. He is made to stand on a *pat* in the marriage hall with his face to the east. A silk waist-cloth (*antarpata*) marked in the centre with a red *swastika* is stretched in front of him and as the auspicious moment draws near, the bride is led by her maternal uncle to the marriage hall and set on a *sahan pat* (sandal

grinding stone) in front of the groom on the other side of the *antarpata*. The bridegroom's sister stands behind the bridegroom and the bride's sister stands behind the bride as the maids of the pair each with a lighted lamp and a coconut. The bride is given a garland of flowers to hold in her hand and the groom the *mangalasutra* (auspicious necklace of black beads) or a garland as may be the custom. The priests begin to chant the *mangalashtakas* (auspicious verses) and the guests shower *akshata* on the pair at the end of each verse. When the lucky moment is reached, the priests stop chanting and the *antarpata* is withdrawn to the north. The *shingi* (horn-blower) sounds a blast and at the signal, the musicians raise a deafening din and outside of the house crackers are fired. The couple who upto this time have been looking at the *Swastika* garland each other. If it is the *mangalasutra* in the groom's hand, he fastens it round the bride's neck. The priest gives the groom and the bride a few handfuls of rice and they drop the rice on each other's heads. The priest then tells them to remember their family goddesses and then asks them to sit. The assembled guests are then entertained, each is given flowers, a sprinkle of rose-water, a smear of *attar*, *pan-supari* and in some places a single or a pair of coconuts. Then the guests are regaled with spiced milk or sweet drinks. The Brahmans, assisting in the ceremony are paid their usual *dakshina* for their labour in connection with the auspicious events.

Kanyadana: The boy holds out his open hands, the girl lays her half-open hands in the boy's who holds her thumbs with his. Over their hands, the girl's father holds his open palm slanting and the mother pours cold water from a jug on her husband's hand which falls on the hands of the girl and the boy and from them drops into the plate. When this is done, all sit and the girl's parents join their hands, repeating the names of the boy and the girl, their fathers, grandfathers, great grandfathers and families. Those rituals of *Kanyadana* (giving away the daughter) on the part of the bride's parents followed by that of *Kanyapanigrahana* (accepting part of the bride) on the part of the bridegroom are accompanied by words of solemn pledges. The two family priests take a plate with water and a silver or preferably a gold coin in it and dipping mango leaves into the water, sprinkle it over the heads of the boy and the girl and chant benedictory *mantras*. This is called *Suvarnabhisheka*. After this the priest proceeds with *Sutradeshtana* and *Kankanabandhana*. He takes two threads and winds one thrice round the necks of the couple and the other thrice down their waist. The thread which was wound round their necks is pulled down over the feet and the thread which was wound round the waists is drawn up over the heads. The threads are next wetted with coco-milk and rubbed with turmeric and the girl's priest winds one round the boy's right wrist and the boy's priest winds the other round the girl's right wrist. These are called *lagna-kankanas* (marriage wristlets).

Vivahahoma : After the completion of the *Kanyadana* ceremony the bridegroom leads the bride from the marriage hall to the *bahule* (raised platform) in the marriage pandal. In a *sthandila* (earthen altar) on the *bahule*, the priest kindles a sacrificial fire. To the west of the altar is placed a flat stone; to the north are raised seven small heaps of rice in a row running east-west, to the north-east is placed a heap of paddy on which is set an earthen water pot filled with mango leaves and a coconut on the top. To the west of the altar, on two pots, sit the couple facing east, the bride to the right of the groom. On the four sides of the altar is then spread *darbha* grass and to its north are set four *dronas* (leaf-cups), mango leaves, *darbha* grass and a *sup* (winnowing fan) containing *lahyas* i.e. parched grain. The sacrificial fire is fed with oblations of ghee, *samidha* (sacred sticks) and *durva* grass. A little ghee is sprinkled over the *lahyas*. The bride's brother comes and seats himself in front of the bride facing her. He puts two handfuls of *lahyas* in the bride's hands and the bridegroom holding the hands in his left hand covers them with the right. Both the groom and the bride then stand with their hands covered and throw the *lahyas* over the fire. Then the bridegroom taking the bride's right hand walks with her round the sacrificial fire and the earthen water-pot and then makes her stand on the flat stone. These three acts viz. *lajahoma*, *agniparinayana* and *ashmarohana* are repeated thrice in succession. The groom then throws the remaining *lahyas* in the fire, pours more ghee on them and this concludes what is known as the *vivahahoma*.

Saptapadi : After the *vivahahoma* comes the *saptapadi* i.e. seven steps rite. The bridegroom and the bride take their seats in front of the altar and the sacrificial fire is rekindled. Both of them leave their seats and thrice the groom takes a handful of rice and throws it into the fire. He then leads the bride to the row of rice-heaps at the north of the sacrificial fire. As he walks by her side the bride puts her right foot on the rice-heaps one by one and at each step, the priest chants a sacred verse. As soon as the seventh heap is stepped on, the priest asks the bridegroom's sister to press down the bride's big toe. The bride then stands on the flat stone and the bridegroom leads her once round the fire. When this turn is finished the bridegroom and the bride again take their seats on the *pats* and feed the fire with ghee and parched grain. After the seven steps are taken, the boy and the girl are taken outside the house and the priest points to them *Dhruvatama*, the Pole-star. They look at it, bow to it with joined hands and come back into the house.

With the performance of the rites of *panigrahana*, going round the *vivahahoma* and *saptapadi*, the Hindu marriage is considered to be final and irrevocable. The concluding ceremonies that follow the rite of 'seven steps' are *varat* (the homeward return of the bride and the bridegroom in a procession), *vadhupravesha* (the ceremonial home-entering of

the newly wed wife into her husband's house) and *namakarana* (the bride's getting a new name). A ritualistic closure to the marriage ceremony is put with rites whereby the deities that had been invited before the ceremony began are taken leave of and the marriage booth is dismantled. Several noteworthy practices accompany these rites. The bridegroom carries off an image of the goddess Annapurna from the god room of the bride's house while he is there to bow to the gods. When the couple starts for the *varat*, the bride's sister puts a little curd on the bridegroom's right palm and he sips it. When they reach the bridegroom's house, his parents receive the couple and on the threshold the bridegroom's sister sets a wooden measure of unhusked rice for the bride to overturn it with her feet. The couple then sits on *pats* set before the house gods and after performing some rites, the bridegroom whispers the bride's new name into her right ear.

Non-Vedic Form : Marriages of the non-Vedic form generally fall into five categories according to the considerations forming part of the marriage settlement. In *salankrita Kanyadana*, the bride's father besides the ornaments he gives to his daughter, stands the marriage expenses of both sides. He pays for the travelling and reception of the groom and party who come all the way from their place of residence to hold the ceremony at the bride's house. In *Kanyadana*, the expenses of the bride's father are much restricted. In the *Varapaksha-Vadhupaksha* form, the parties bear each, their own expenses, and the groom's party gives a feast to all. In the *hunda* form of marriage, the girl's father pays a price for the bride. In the *dej* form, the proposal of the marriage comes from the boy's father who has to pay a *dej* (bride-price) to the girl's father.

Marriage Rules : Before settling a match, it has to be ascertained that the *kuli* (sect) and *devak* (crests of marriage guardians) of the boy's and the girl's fathers are not the same, but are suitably different and by usage not interdictory. Sameness of *devak* by the mother's side and even of surnames do not bar marriage. The prohibited degrees of kindred for marriage beyond agnates vary according to the custom of the community. As regards cross-cousin unions, except the brother's daughter and the sister's son type, which is tolerated, or even preferred among many, other types are generally disallowed. Marriage with a wife's sister is allowed and a brother may marry his brother's wife's sister. Polygamy which was once allowed and practised is now prohibited by law. There are no social restrictions on widow marriage among many communities, though such a marriage was generally considered disreputable in the past. As a rule only widowers marry widows and their children do not get as large a share of property as those of the first marriage. Divorce is socially allowed among many but the remarriage of a divorced woman is conducted perfunctorily as a widow remarriage.

Reformed Ceremony : A modified version of the traditional marriage ceremony and the attendant ritual has been recommended by the Dharmanirnaya Mandal of Lonavala. This version which omits many of the ritualistic details in the orthodox form, considering them as not being the essence of the sacrament of Hindu marriage, includes the following items in the following order :—

(1) *Upakarma* : Procedure preparatory to making the *samkalpa* on the part of the bridegroom.

(2) *Samkalpa* : The solemn declaration that he intends to enter the householder's state i.e. *grihashashrama*.

(3) *Punyahavachana* : This literally means saying three times " May this be an auspicious day" on the part of the assembled when requested by the bridegroom that they do declare that to be an auspicious day.

(4) *Kanyadatu Samkalpadikam* : A solemn declaration on the part of the gentleman who gives away the bride that he intends performing the marriage ceremony of the bride with a view to her acquisition of *dharma* (religious merit), *artha* (worldly prosperity) and *kama* (love) after obtaining the position of a householder's wife.

(5) *Vadhuvarasatkara* : Honouring of the bride and the bridegroom, in the case of the bride by the bridegroom's party and in the case of the bridegroom by the bride's party.

(6) *Kanyadana* : The giving away of the bride or offering the hand of the bride to the bridegroom in marriage. At this stage a variant is introduced to suit modern times, where occasionally the boy and the girl choose themselves as partners in life and wish to marry. Instead of the parent saying to the bridegroom " In offer etc." as in the orthodox form of marriage, the bride offers herself to the bridegroom reciting the appropriate formula. The bridegroom then accepts.

(7) *Niyamabandha* : The binding down of the bridegroom to certain vows in respect of the bride.

(8) *Akshataropanam* : The placing of unbroken grains of rice on each other's head by the couple.

(9) *Mangalasutrabandhana* : Tying the sacred thread of beads round the neck of the bride by the bridegroom and also garlanding each other.

(10) *Panigrahana* : The taking of the bride's hand by the bridegroom.

(11) *Homapurvagam* : The introductory offering of oblations to several deities such as the god of fire, the god of creation, god *skanda* etc.

(12) *Pradhanahoma* : The principal offering of oblations.

(13) *Lajahoma, Parinayanam* and *Ashmaroha* : The offering of oblations consisting of rice flakes; going round the consecrated fire, and making the bride stand on a slab of stone.

(14) *Saptapadi* : The taking of the seven steps together. The technique of this ritual is somewhat elaborate. At each step, the bridegroom recites a formula which is really a mild command and request to the bride.

(15) *Homottarangam* : The conclusion of the marriage sacrifice.

(16) *Sansthajapa* : The offering of prayer to the deity of fire by the husband and the wife. At the end of the prayer both ask for a blessing from the deity.

(17) *Abhisheka* : Sprinkling of consecrated water over the head of the bride and the bridegroom by the priest accompanied by the giving of blessings.

(18) *Karmasamapti* : The conclusion of the ceremony. Here the father of the bride declares that the ceremony is concluded and prays that God be pleased by this act of performing the sacrament of the daughter's marriage.

(19) *Saptarshi Dhruvapraasthanam* : Praying to the seven sages with Arundhati and Dhruva (the Pole-star).

(20) *Ashirvada* : Here the father of the girl gives her advice as to how to lead married life, and the assembled guests bless the couple.

(21) *Grihapravesha* : Entering the husband's home. This is accompanied by *mantras* of request from the bridegroom and the bride and of joint resolve to lead a happy married life.

Civil Marriages : A common form of civil marriage for all communities in India was provided by the Special Marriage Act III of 1872. Under this Act, parties willing to get their marriage registered had to declare that they did not profess any of the following religions viz. Christian, Jew, Hindu, Muhammedan, Parsi, Sikh, Buddhist or Jain. This Act was amended by Act XXX of 1923, making it possible for Hindus, Buddhists, Sikhs and Jains (but not Christians, Jews, Parsis and Muhammedans) to declare their religion and yet get their marriages registered. Marriages registered under this Act are legal although they may be against the religious customs of the caste or community of any of the couple. Under the procedure at present prescribed, the parties wishing to get married give a notice to the Registrar of Marriages about their intention to marry within three months from the date of notice and specify each one's condition, rank or profession, age, dwelling-place and length of residence therein. After the expiry of fifteen days, if no valid objection is forthcoming, the Registrar grants a marriage certificate after the couple have signed a declaration form in which each has to affirm that he or she

is at the time either unmarried or widower or widow; does not profess any religion or does profess a particular religion; has completed the age of 21 years (if not the guardian has to attest his consent to the marriage); is not related to the other in any prohibitive degree of consanguinity or affinity; and in the case of a minor, the consent of the father or guardian has been given to the marriage and not been revoked. Two witnesses have to attest their signatures to the declaration.

There has been a progressive increase in the incidence of marriages recorded by the Registrar of Marriages, Bombay since 1924. Every marriage, whether civil or ritualistic, has to be registered in the Registrar's office as per law.

Death and Funeral Rites : When an elderly male is on the point of death, a suitable spot in the house is cowdunged, *tulsi* leaves are spread over the spot and a blanket is placed over the leaves. The dying person is laid on the blanket with his feet to the south. A few drops of water from the sacred Ganga are poured into his mouth, a Brahman recites verses from the *Vedas*, another reads the *Bhagawadgeeta*, and his relatives ask him to repeat *Narayan*. His son takes the dying man's head on his lap and comforts him till he draws his last breath. When life becomes extinct, there is lamentation and weeping. If the moment is found to be unlucky, there has to be a performance of *shanti* to prevent further trouble and calamities. This is done on the eleventh day of the death. The chief mourner and his brothers, if there are any, are bathed one after the other outside the house. The chief mourner takes a blade of *kusha* grass, touches his brow with it and passing it over his head, throws it behind him. He dresses himself in waist cloth and shoulder cloth. The barber shaves his head except the top knot. The chief mourner is dressed in a new waist cloth and shoulder cloth which is tied to his sacred thread. A blade of *kusha* grass is tied to his sacred thread and the shoulder cloth, another round his top knot and a third blade of the *kusha* grass is made into a ring and put round his third right finger. The dead body is brought out of the front door by the nearest male relations and is laid on the outer steps of the house on a small wooden plank, the head resting on the steps. Elderly men bathe the body and leave it bare except for a loin-cloth. A piece of gold and emerald are put in the mouth. A few drops of Ganga water are poured in the mouth and sprinkled over the body. The two thumbs and the two great toes are tied together with cloth and the body is laid on the bier and covered from head to foot with cloth. The wife of the deceased breaks her glass bangles and the *mangalsutra*, rubs off the red mark on her brow, takes off her bodice and puts on a white robe. The custom of shaving the hair of the widow which was current among Brahmins and other high caste Hindus in the past has now practically disappeared and a widow with a tonsured head is now rarely to be seen.

After this the chief mourner starts walking with a fire pot hanging from a string in his hand. The bier is raised and carried by four of the nearest kinsmen. No woman goes to the cremation ground. Half-way to the burning ground, the bier is lowered and without looking back, the bearers change places. When they reach the cremation ground, an earthen altar is made and the fire from the pot is poured over it. A few chips of firewood are thrown over the fire and it is fed with ghee. Close to the platform, a spot in the ground is sprinkled with water and sesamum seeds are thrown over it. On this spot, the funeral pile is built by the mourners and round it, blades of *kusha* grass are strewn. The pile and the bier are sprinkled with water and sesamum seeds; the cloth is pulled off the body; and thrown aside; and the body is laid on the pile with head to the south. Pieces of sandalwood and *tulasi* leaves are thrown over the body and if the deceased died at an unlucky moment seven dough balls are made and laid on the head, the eyes, the mouth, the breast and the shoulders. Then from a mango leaf, ghee is dropped on the several balls and the loin-cloth is cut so that the body may leave the world in the same state in which it came into the world. The chief mourner lights the pile at the head, if the deceased is a man and at the feet if the deceased is a woman and the other mourners throw the rest of the fire under the pile. The funeral priest all the while repeats *mantras*. When the skull bursts, the chief mourner carrying on his left shoulder an earthen pot filled with cold water, takes his stand near where the head of the corpse lay and another of the mourners picking up a pebble, makes with it a small hole in the earthen pot and from the hole, as the chief mourner walks round the pyre, water keeps trickling. At the end of the first round, when the chief mourner comes back to the south, a second hole is made with the stone and a second stream trickles out. After the second round, a third hole is made and when three jets stream out, the chief mourner throws the pot backwards over his shoulders and the water spills over the ashes. All the mourners come together and one of them ties round the pebble with which the pot was broken, a blade of *kusha* grass and calls it *ashma* (stone of life). To cool the spirit of the dead, which was heated by the fire, the chief mourner pours water mixed with sesamum on the ashes and to quench the spirit's thirst pours water over the *ashma*. All the mourners then start for home.

Obsequies : At the house of mourning, the spot on which the deceased breathed his last is smeared with cowdung and a lighted lamp is set on it. As the mourners come they look at the lamp to cool their eyes which were heated by the fire at the cremation ground and repair to their homes. The chief mourner bathes, puts on a fresh waist-cloth and shoulder cloth. As no fire is kindled in the house, relatives and friends send cooked food. The family of the deceased keeps the mourning for ten days, during which they eat no betel or sugar and drink no milk. They are also not allowed to rub

their brows with sandal paste or red powder, to anoint their bodies, to shave their heads or to wear shoes or turbans. For ten days, the *Garud Puran* is read to the family every evening and the listeners are not allowed to dine until they have seen a star in the sky. Generally on the third day, comes *asthisanchayana* (gathering of bones) when the chief mourner accompanied by the priest goes to the burning ground with the waist cloth and shoulder cloth he wore at the burning, the *ashma*, the water pot and the cup and after washing the two clothes spreads them to dry. He bathes, puts on the fresh washed waist-cloth and ties the shoulder cloth along with his sacred thread. He takes a little cow's urine, sprinkles it on the ashes of the dead, picks out the pieces of unburnt bones and throws the ashes into the sea. When he has thrown the ashes into the water, he sits on the spot where the feet of the deceased lay and raises a *vedi*, a three-cornered altar. He sets an earthen jar in each corner of the altar and one in the middle, fills them with water and throws a few grains of sesamum into each. Close to the jars, he lays the *ashma*. Near the four earthen jars, he places four small yellow flags and in the mouth of each jar sets a rice-ball. He makes eight dough balls, shaping them like umbrellas and footprints and four cakes which he lays near the jars. The cake near the middle jar and the water in the middle jar are meant to appease the hunger and thirst of the dead, the dough umbrella is made to shade him from the sun and the shoes are to guard his feet from the thorns on the way to heaven. The cakes laid close to the corner jars are offered to Rudra, Yama and the ancestors of the deceased. Many of these rituals are now-a-days gone through hurriedly or are obsolete.

On the morning of the eleventh day, the priest kindles the sacred fire on an earthen altar and heaps firewood over it, feeds the fire with a mixture of *panthagavya* (five gifts of the cow viz., its urine, dung, milk, curds and butter) in order that all uncleanness caused by the death may vanish and the chief mourner and his brothers drink what is left of the *panthagavya*. On the same day, a *shanti* ceremony is performed to turn aside any evil that may befall the family if the deceased died under the constellation called *tripad* or *panchaka*. Various obsequial oblations are offered and allied rites are also performed.

Shraddha : The *Sapindishraddha* (obsequial sacrifice and feast of the dead in honour of seven generations of ancestors) generally takes place on the morning of the twelfth day after death, though, if necessary it may be delayed for a year. This is a highly complex ritual and is performed under the guidance of a priest. By virtue of this ritual, the deceased who has been a corpse so far changes into a guardian spirit and unites with the mourner's *pitamaha* (grandfather) and *prapitamaha* (great grandfather). The *pitrus* (guardian spirits) are then ceremonially dismissed. The mourner is now free and pure. The priest touches his brow with

sandal paste and blesses him saying, "May you live long and gain as much merit from the ceremony as if it was performed in Gaya itself." An offering called *patheya shraddha* is also performed on the twelfth day. Commodities like shoes, clothes, an umbrella, food and water are given away to mendicant Brahmans, so that the dead on his journey to heaven may not suffer from want of these amenities.

On the 13th day a feast is held to which the four corpse-bearers are specially asked, but persons whose parents are living do not attend it. *Shraddha* ceremonies are also performed on the 16th and 27th day and sometimes thereafter on the death day in every month for a year of which the six-monthly and the *bharani* oblations (i.e. the *shraddha* performed on the fifth of the dark half of the month of Bhadrapada) are essential. After a year has elapsed, the oblations of the first anniversary day are celebrated with great solemnity. The annual *shraddha* is performed on the day corresponding to the day of death in the latter half of the month of Bhadrapada. Women dying in the life-time of their husbands have special oblations offered to them during their husband's life time. This takes place on the ninth day of *pitru paksha* and is called the *avidhavanavami day*.

Specific Funerals : The funerary rite is modified to meet particular situations. In case a *brahmachari* (a lad girt with the sacred thread) dies before *sod-munj* (loosening of the *munj* waist-band) the *sod-munj* rites are performed on the dead body before it is carried to the cremation ground. There it is subjected to *arkvivaha* (marriage with the twig of *rui* or *calotropis gigantea*) rites and cremated with the same observances as at the death of a married man. A woman dying while in menses has to be subjected to special purificatory rites before she can be cremated with the sacred ritual. A woman dying in child or birth within ten days after parturition is similarly treated. As the religious law lays down that if a woman dies after the sixth month of pregnancy, it would amount to murder to cremate her with the child, her husband or son has to take out the foetus after performing the necessary operation. If the child be alive, it has to be taken care of, if dead, it is buried. Of late, this practice has been dropped, the chief mourner performing cleansing rites to atone for cremating the pregnant woman with a child in her womb.

If a child dies before it cuts its teeth, it is buried. It is the custom with some to bury a person dying of small-pox, lest with cremation, the small-pox goddess may get irritated. The dead body of a leper also is buried. The dead body of an heirless person is cremated out of charity and the usual death rites are performed by his caste men, such an act being considered highly meritorious.

Non-Vedic Funeral : What has been described so far in regard to funerals applies to high caste Hindu castes like Brahmans and others who follow them. But generally speaking, all Hindus cremate their dead whether

with Vedic rites or Pouranik rites. Backward communities burn or bury their dead. The rest of the procedure is very much like the Vedic ritual. However, some of the variants are worth noting. Dhors, Mahars, Mangs and Ramoshis practise burial. Chambhars, Ghisadis and Kunbis wash the dead body with hot water. Among the Govardhans, the dead body when bathed is laid on the bier in a wet waist cloth instead of a new dry one. At the crematory, the body and the bier are dipped in water before they are laid on the pyre. Some communities dress the dead male in new clothes, a turban, waist cloth and coat. Some do not cover the body of a married woman with a shroud but dress her in a yellow robe. If a woman dies before her husband she is dressed in a green robe and bodice, her brow is marked with horizontal stripes of Kunku, her head is decked with flowers, a *vida* is put in her mouth and a *galasari* (necklace of black beads), toe-rings which are emblems of the married state are put on in her honour. Her lap is filled with fruits and flowers.

The dead body, whether of a man or woman is usually covered with a white cloth called *kafan* and carried on a ladder like bamboo bier. Jains dress the dead male in silk waist cloth and the same procedure is followed in the case of a widow's body. Usually the dead male when laid on the bier, is covered all over, except the face with a winding sheet; a widow who is dressed in a robe only is covered entirely by the sheet; no sheet is used to cover a married woman who is dressed in robe and bodice. Among many backward communities parched grain is carried in a new winnowing fan and strewn on the way till the mourners reach the cremation ground. When a woman dies in child birth, *rala* grains are thrown behind her body as it is borne to the cremation ground and a nail is driven into the house to keep her ghost away from coming in. If the dead belongs to the Varkari sect, a *bhajan* party accompanies the funeral procession.

Among all communities, the chief mourner with others visits the spot of cremation and they sprinkle it with water and cow's urine and gather the ashes and bones and throw them into the sea water. Food and water are offered to the soul of the dead. The type of food and the way of offering differs with each community. Among the Kunbis, for instance, the chief mourner makes an earthen linga on the spot, sets round it hollow castor stems and close by fixes yellow coloured flags and earthen pots with milk and water. Through the hollow stems he lets water drop on the ground saying, "Let us give the dead water to drink." When all the mourners have thus poured out water, they burn frankincense and offer cooked food and rice balls to the dead. A caste feast is generally held on the 12th or 13th day of death, when the chief mourner is presented with a turban and then he is free to attend to his usual work.

RELIGIOUS FESTIVALS

The city of Bombay is often described as an epitome of India and rightly. Its population is composed of men and women of all castes, creeds and communities from all States in India and even from foreign countries, though of course the proportion of the foreigners is small. Naturally many languages are spoken by them, many religious and social practices are followed by them and their customs and festivals are those of their original territories. Even after a long domicile they have not given up these observances and they speak their mother tongue at home. Whichever the language spoken and whichever the province of origin the population of Bombay is predominantly Hindu and several of their feasts and festivals are common too.

HINDU FESTIVALS

Most of the Hindu festivals have a religious aspect associated with them. There are so many *vratas* inasmuch as, a resolve to adore a particular deity is made and worship with prescribed religious rites has to be offered to the deity in whose honour a particular festival is observed. *Vrata* in its broadest sense means a vow. Vows are observed in religion either as an obligatory performance on specified occasions or performed by an individual for his own benefit to gain particular ends. *Vratas* impose a certain amount of self-restraint as in the case of fasts.

The religious festivals have an element of *vrata* in them in the sense that a person observing the festival has to perform some religious rites, entertaining a resolve to perform them and in that sense all religious festivals are primarily *vratas*. Some *vratas* such as Maha Ekadashi, Mahashivaratri, Vatasavitri, Haratalika, Rishipanchami are, however, observed more as days of dedication and devotion to deities, and so we term them simply as *vratas* as against festivals in which the element of gaiety predominates over the spirit of religious piety.

The common Hindu festivals and *vratas* observed in Bombay by the Hindu population in general are given below.

Gudhi Padva : *Chaitra Pratipada*, otherwise called *Gudhi Padva*, which falls on the first day of Chaitra of the Shalivahana Shaka is celebrated as the New Year day. It is recognised as one of the 3½ *muhurtas* i.e., auspicious days suitable for making any new beginning or observing any auspicious event. There are many stories that are associated with this festival, all originating from the Puranas but the most popular one connects the festival to Rama's return to Ayodhya after his 14 years banishment in the forests and his victory over Ravana and regaining of Seeta whom Ravana had craftily kidnapped.

In the morning of *Gudhi Padva*, the ground in front of the house is decorated with attractive designs of *rangolis*. All members of the household

take a refreshing oil bath early in the morning and put on new clothes. A bamboo staff with a coloured silk cloth at its end and a bright goblet atop is worshipped and a garland attached to it. It is then erected close to the front door amidst rejoicings. This is called *gudhi* and the day is called *Gudhi Padva*. A concoction of tender *neem* leaves flavoured with black pepper, gram pulse and sugar is taken by all as *prasad* on this occasion. It is supposed to put an end to all small bodily complaints.

Ramnavami : This festival falls on the 9th day of Chaitra. It is celebrated in honour of the hero of the *Ramayana*, Ramchandra. This day is observed as his birthday in all Rama temples and the festival begins with *kirtans* from *Gudhi Padva*. The programmes end on the 9th day with the cradling of the image of Rama and recitations venerating the deity. Immediately, thereafter, dried and powdered ginger mixed with sugar, called *sunthavada* is distributed as *prasad*. The cradling ceremony of the Divine baby Rama evokes devotion and maternal affection among women who flock to temple to witness the ceremony where the Haridas acts as the nursing mother.

Hanuman Jayanti : Hanuman is popularly known as Maruti and is worshipped alone or in the company of Rama to whom he was singularly devoted. He is said to be the incarnation of Shiva. This day i.e. the 15th of Chaitra is celebrated as his birthday. He is regarded as born at sunrise and it is at that time that the birth celebration takes place in every Hanuman temple. There are scores of temples dedicated to him in Bombay of which the temple on Proctor Road near G. T. Hospital is the most prominent. Devotees flock to Hanuman temples on Saturdays and offer the image sweet oil, *udid* seeds and garlands of *rui* leaves for protection from the evil influence of the planet Saturn. Perhaps, he is the most widely worshipped of all Hindu gods by young and old men and women, educated and uneducated alike.

Akshaya-Tritiya : This is one of the most important auspicious days according to the Hindu calendar and is counted as half of the three and half *muhurtas*. It falls in Vaishakh on the 3rd day and marks the beginning of the warm season. It is a day for commemorating one's dead ancestor by making to them offerings of *til*, water and cooked food. Gifts of umbrellas, pots and pans, cows, cash and clothing are made to Brahmans. Offering of a fresh earthen pot of cold water is also made. Any work started or any thing done on this auspicious day is believed to be everlasting.

Naga-Panchami : The 5th day of Shravana is celebrated by worshipping the cobras and serpents, either alive or in the image form. The day is observed as a feast and milk is offered to reptiles. Snake charmers move from place to place carrying cobras with them. They are given small coins and reptiles are fed with milk.

Narali-Pournima : The full-moon day of Shravana is celebrated in Bombay by offering coconuts to the Arabian Sea. The business community and the fishermen take prominent part in these offerings. The offer of coconuts is made to calm the sea and from that day onwards seafaring and fishing in the seas are resumed. To celebrate the festival, the people go in large numbers to the sea and offer a coconut.

The day is also observed as Rakhi Pournima. Sisters tie a *rakhi* made of silk on the wrists of their brothers thus binding them to give their brotherly affection and protection. This has a more social significance than religious.

Janmashtami : This is a popular Hindu festival which is also observed as a *vrata* with a fast on the 8th day of the dark half of Shravana. This is done in commemoration of the birth of Lord Krishna, the eighth incarnation of Vishnu. *Kirtans* are held in the temples of Vishnu and Murlidhar. In Greater Bombay, this day is followed by bands of young men going in processions and dancing in honour of Krishna. Earthen pots filled with curds are held hanging at a considerable height from the ground in different public places or junctions of streets or places of worship and teams of young men break these curd pots after reaching them by forming human pyramids. The onlookers enjoy and share the glee of the dancing young men by pouring vessels full of water on the moving parties. Fruits and currency notes are attached to these pots and they are received as rewards by these bands of young men.

Ganesh-Chaturthi : This festival is observed in celebration of the birth of God Ganesh on the fourth day of Bhadrapad by installing earthen images of Ganesh in every Hindu household. The fourth day of every month is dedicated to Ganesh whether in the bright half or dark half of a month and many people observe it as a day of devotion and fast. But the fourth day of Bhadrapad is the principal day dedicated to the worship of Ganesh and it is observed on a grand scale. Ganesh is the God of learning, and no religious work or festival in Maharashtra starts without first paying homage to him. The beginners start their learning with an obeisance to him in the terms *Shri Ganeshaya Namah*. Ganapati is also believed to avert troubles and is therefore invoked as *Vighnaharta*. At the beginning of any auspicious function or worship of any deity, the worship of Ganapati is obligatory. As in the case of other festivals, all members of the household rise early in the morning and take a refreshing bath and set themselves to the task of making preparations for the worship of the deity which takes place at noon. In this case, it consists of fetching flowers, red which is preferred, and tip leaves of all kinds and *durva*, grass varieties being preferred, and shoots in lots of 21. This number is very important in the worship of this deity. This done, finishing touches are given to the reception hall where the Ganapati image is to be received and installed on a decorated

dias surrounded with an ornamental arch, overhung with rows of fruits and flowers. The image of Ganapati is then installed under the guidance of a priest and prayers are offered. The principal food offering of the day, *naivedya* to the deity, consists of a sweet preparation called *modak*; 21 such *modaks* are served to the deity on a plantain leaf plate on which the usual articles of food are also served.

According to family tradition, the Ganapati image is kept in the house for one day, five days, seven days or ten days. After performing *uttarpuja*, farewell worship, images from every lane, street or colony are taken in a procession to the accompaniment of prayer songs and music and amidst shouts of *Ganapati Bappa Morya*, *Pudhalya Varshi Lavkar Ya*, for immersion to the sea-shore. The principal places of Ganapati immersion are Girgaum Chowpati, Dadar Chowpati and Juhu Beach. The shouts exhort the deity to bless all and to return early next year.

Besides the individual worship in every household, several public worships are held in a number of localities and under the auspices of public bodies lasting for ten days. The public Ganapati festival provides entertainment and rejoicing and also offers an opportunity to the people to come together in a common cause. The institution of public Ganesh festivals was introduced purposefully by Lokamanya Tilak in 1893 and it has become an integral part of the cultural life of Bombay. Besides providing entertainment, the festival serves as an educative agency of the young and old through instructive lectures and discourses; dialogues and elocution competitions and playlets on social, religious and political subjects. These public celebrations were introduced originally to create public and political consciousness under the guise of a religious festival. Of late, it serves to encourage fine arts, crafts such as drawing, painting, image making, music, besides serving its traditional aims and objects.

Closely associated with the Ganapati worship is the Gauri worship which is particularly popular among Bombay's fishermen, Agaris, Prabhus, Chowkalshis and Panchkalshis. The Gauri images are immersed with the Ganapati images on the seventh day of Bhadrapada.

Vijayadashami or Dasara : This is one of the few major festivals which are celebrated throughout India. It falls on the tenth day of the bright half of Ashvina and follows the nine hectic days of Navaratra or Durgotsava and is in fact the culminating ceremony thereof. It is one of the three and half *Muhurtas* (auspicious days) selected particularly for new enterprises, and in the past, military campaigns. The distinctive characteristic of the day is the exchange of leaves of *apta* plants, brought from an appointed place, beyond the limits of the town. The leaves are called 'gold' and are exchanged as mark of good feelings. This is called *seemollanghana* or *shilangana* in popular parlance.

After a scented bath and putting on new clothes in the morning, the tools of trade, vehicles, books and accessories of vocations are worshipped. The *zendu* flowers, mango leaves and ears of freshly harvested corn are very much in demand for decoration by way of *torans* and garlands at the top of gates, door-frames, etc. on this day. As it is considered an important day for Saraswati, the goddess of learning, children are initiated in the art of writing the first letters of the alphabet before the deity on this auspicious *muhurta*. Advantage is taken of the *muhurta* for opening any new establishment.

The day is spent in gaiety and hilarity and exchange of *apta* leaves and sweets. Conferences accompanied by entertainment programmes, known as *Dasara sammelans* are held. Formerly, there was a custom of offering to the Devi, the head of a buffalo or a goat by way of sacrifice on this day but that has fallen into disuse. Thousands of persons visit the temple of Mahalaxmi to worship the Goddess. A *darshan* of the Goddess is regarded as a great religious merit on this day.

The celebrations of Vijayadashami or Dasara are preceded by the Navaratra festival from the 1st day of Ashvina to the 9th. During these nine days, Goddess Durga is worshipped by installing *ghatas* i.e., metal pots filled with water with a coconut placed at the top on mango leaves on the first day of Ashvina. At some places five pots are kept, one upon the other after putting therein articles such as five dried dates, five pebbles, five pieces of dried coconut kernel, etc. around the *ghatas*, grains are sown on the ground and the *ghatas* are worshipped. The *ghatas* so installed are worshipped for nine days. On the tenth day the proceedings are terminated.

Kojagiri Pournima : This is the full-moon day of Ashvina. It is also called Navanna Pournima i.e., new food day, and from this day, the new grain of the recent harvest may be eaten. Since Lakshmi, wife of Vishnu is regarded as the agent of good fortune she is worshipped and propitiated this night, when she is believed to be abroad and a light must be shown outside the house; otherwise she may refuse to pause and give her blessings. For the same reason, every one must keep awake all night lest the careless man who sleeps fails to win her favour. Apart from its religious significance most of the people pass the night in gaiety and drinking of sweet milk.

Diwali or Deepavali : This literally means a row of lights. The festival is not only a row of lights, crackers and sweets, but it is also a row of festivals and followed intermittently by many more. Every Hindu, pauper or prince, man or woman, young or old looks forward to this festival of delightful memories and visions. The festival proper starts with *Dhana Trayodashi* on the 13th day of the dark half of Ashvina and ends with *Yama Dwitiya* or *Bhaubeej* on the second day of the bright half of Kartika.

The intervening three days viz., Narak Chaturdashi, Lakshmipoojana and Balipratipada form the core of the festival.

Dhana Trayodashi is dedicated to the poignant memory of an unfortunate young prince who met with an accidental death on the 4th day of his wedding and is intended to propitiate Yama, the God of death, to save one from such a calamity. It is said once Yama called his messengers together and asked them if ever in their gruesome career, they had felt compunction while doing their duty of escorting souls to the domain of the dead. They said that such a thing happened but once in their career. That was when, in the midst of wedding celebrations of the son of a king, the prince was bitten by a serpent on the fourth day of the ceremony and succumbed to the fatal bite. It was with great grief and painful reluctance that they managed to carry along the soul of the unfortunate prince and they sincerely wished that such a harrowing tragedy should never take place again. God Yama was moved by this account and declared that those who celebrated the five days beginning with *Dhana Trayodashi* with rows of lights would not be subjected to such a death. As God Yama's abode happens to be in the South, most of the lights on this day are turned southwards. It is also usual on this day to collect for worship coins of gold and silver, probably as a preparation of Lakshmi Poojan.

Narak Chaturdashi : On the 14th day of the dark half of Ashvina, every one wakes up early in the morning and takes a scented oil bath to the accompaniment of lighting of crackers, thereafter the bitter Karita, a diminutive wild cucumber, is crushed under the feet in token of killing Narakasura* and apply to the forehead the *Kumkum* mixed with oil as representing his blood. After the whole household has had its ceremonial bath, a great variety of refreshments and sweets are served and partaken of in company of friends and relatives. This is of course, followed by the inevitable feast and exchange of presents and greetings. It is customary to call the newly married daughter and her husband for the feast on this day when presents befitting the parents' position and means are made to them.

Apart from the semi-religious aspect, the festival has a social significance which is peculiarly modern. Obviously the festival connotes an unusually fine and powerful allegory on social work. Narakasura means literally the demon of hell whose fortress is the dump of dirt, filth and garbage. It is the accumulation of these and ignorance which makes it possible to carry away thousands of women and children to their untimely death, and what is worse, the continuous sickness and confinement to bed. Although men have a prominent part to play in the campaign for mitigation of this evil, it is mainly the thorough but unobtrusive educative work of women of the type of Satyabhama of old and 'the Lady of the

* The *Bhagawat Purana* narrates the story of a demon called Narakasura who became a terror to the three worlds.

Lamp' of our own times which can effectively attack and subjugate the fortified 'hell' and restore the unfortunate victims to health and happiness through enlightenment. This explains and justifies the presence of Satyabhama on this particular war like occasion as did the presence of Florence Nightingale on the Crimean war front.

Lakshmipoojana : The worship of Lakshmi, Goddess of wealth, is performed in the evening of the last day of Ashvina by householders and merchants to the accompaniment of lighting, music and refreshments when friends, relatives, guests and customers are treated to *pan-supari* and *prasad* in the form of coriander-seeds and gur.

Bhaubeej : This is the concluding day of the Diwali festival and falls on the second day of Kartika. It is very similar to the Rakshabandhan ritual held on the Narali Pournima day and is observed in honour of the memory of the visit of Yama, the God of Death, to his twin sister Yami who served him a sumptuous feast and was, in return, presented costly ornaments and rich raiment. Every sister looks forward to a visit by her brother on this day or the sister is taken to the brother's house. Where there is no brother, a cousin, however distant or an adopted brother takes his place and *vice versa*. It is even laid down that one should not, on this day take food, prepared by his wife but only by his sister or cousin as the case may be. There are instances where persons having no sister or cousin have adopted sisters even from other communities in order to fulfil the obligation enjoined by this delightful festival day.

Diwali holidays have, of late, assumed a great social importance and mutual greetings are exchanged on this occasion as during the Christmas holidays.

Makar Sankranta : This is a very important religious observance and festival. It falls on the 14th or 15th of January in the month of Pausa. Sankranti means "the apparent passing of the sun from one *rashi* i.e. the sign of the Zodiac to the next following" and the *rashi* in which the sun enters is designated as the Sankranti of the name of that *rashi*. There are twelve Sankrantis in a year, in one of which the sun appears to pass from the Mithuna to the Karka *rashi* and in the other he appears to pass from the Dhanu to the Makara Sankranta. Of these two, only the latter is observed with religious rite and exchange of mutual good wishes throughout Bombay. Women with living husbands worship earthen pots called *sugads* on this day, after putting in them wheat grains, cotton, turmeric, etc. and after worship distribute them among at least five women with husbands living. The day is observed with a feast of sweet dish. In the evening, ladies go round Hindu houses in the neighbourhood where the housewife of the house applies turmeric powder and vermilion to their foreheads, gives them sweet sesamum, speaks sweet and presents them with some articles such as small utensils, mirrors, combs, fruits, etc. These

mutual visits continue upto the Ratha Saptami. Men, women and children greet one another with mutual exchanges of goodwill, and exchange sweetened sesamum or sweetened balls of sesamum mixed with groundnuts and cashewnuts. The day following Sankranta is called Kinkranta.

Holi or Hutashani Pournima : This is the last major festival in the Hindu calendar. It falls on the full moon day of Phalguna, though in practice it starts from the 5th day of the bright half and lasts till Ranga-panchami i.e., the 5th day of the dark half of Phalguna. It marks the end of everything that is low and rotten in the passing year by burning and bowling it out and making way for the coming year by colour and songs of the bewitching spring. In Bombay, this festival is observed for two days. The first day is Hutashani Pournima or Holi. On this day in the evening, public bonfires are lit in all Hindu localities by worshipping Holi deity and lighting logs of wood, offering coconuts to it. A sweet dish of *puranpoli* is prepared. The next day is *Dhulvad*. It is spent in rejoicing.

Vratas : The following are some of the *vratas* which are predominantly religious and pious in their conception :

Vata Savitri : This is a vow as distinct from a festival that is observed by married Hindu women in emulation or imitation of the virtuous ancient lady, Sati Savitri who was able to reclaim her husband's life from the God of Death by virtue of her unswerving constancy to her chosen spouse. It is observed on the full moon day of Jyeshtha, supplemented by a fast on the preceding three days.

Married ladies whose husbands are alive observe their vow by bringing sand from the bank of a river or seaside and keeping it in a basket. The basket is wrapped in two pieces of cloth and then idols of Satyavan and Savitri are worshipped in it. Portraits of Savitri, Satyavan and Yama are drawn and worshipped. The *sankalpa* states that the worship is for the purpose of securing long life and prosperity to the husband, children, grand children of the worshipper accompanied by her own eternal welfare.

As Savitri is supposed to have been under a *vata* tree, when Yama came to take her husband's life, ladies worship this tree on Vata Pournima day and distribute fruits and flowers as *prasad*. The story is well-known all over India. Savitri is cited as the very acme of conjugal fidelity and it is the aim of every Hindu woman to emulate her example.

Ashadhi and Kartiki Ekadashis : Every eleventh day in the bright as well as the dark half of a month is known as Ekadashi, and devout Hindus fast on this day in propitiation of Goddess Ekadashi. Of all the Ekadashis, however, those falling on the 11th day of the bright halves of Ashadha and Kartika are considered most important and are observed by many. Hindus belonging to the *Varkari* sect observe this fast very piously. Many of them strive to visit the Vitthal temple at Pandharpur. However,

those who cannot visit Pandharpur make it a point to pay their respects to the Vitthal temple at Wadala. About one and a half lakh devotees visit the temple at Wadala on the Ashadhi as well as Kartiki Ekadashis. Vishnu who is specially venerated on Ekadashi is supposed to start his four-month long sleep on the Ashadhi Ekadashi and so it is known as *Shayani* (sleeping) Ekadashi and the one in the bright half of Kartika is called *Prabodhini* because he is supposed to wake up on that day. The period between the two Ekadashis is called Chaturmasa, four months' period, in which devout people arrange recitations and discourses on religious themes and certain food items such as onions, garlic, brinjals, etc., are not consumed.

Haratalika : This is purely a vow and is not a festival in any sense. It falls on the third day of the bright half of Bhadrapad and is observed by ladies exclusively. Originally intended for observance by unmarried girls it is now undertaken by married ladies. Even widows observe it with a fast. The peculiarity of the fast is that cooked food and water are a taboo during its continuance. Along with Parvati, her friend Haratalika who helped her to run away from her father's house to observe the *vrata* is given equal prominence and worshipped in the course of the *vrata*.

Rishipanchami : This is a vow observed by ladies by honouring the sages of the ancient past and seeking their protection. This falls on the 5th day of the bright half of Bhadrapad month. Now-a-days this *vrata* is restricted particularly to those whose menses have stopped. Some ladies observe this vow from their childhood. Any food obtained by tilling the ground with the help of oxen is a taboo in the observance of this vow and only such things as wild grains, roots and tubers obtained without tilling the ground have to be consumed, during the observance of this vow. This vow is observed for a minimum of seven years.

This vow has two aspects; one is the need of strict observance of hygienic rules of personal cleanliness, and the other is the honouring of our ancient sages who after austere penance left for us the fruit of their experiences so that we may profit by them. The names of the seven sages are, Kashyapa, Atri, Bharadwaja, Vishwamitra, Gautama, Jamadagni, and Vasisththa.

Mahashivaratra : The Mahashivaratra falling on the 14th day of the dark half of the month of Magha is regarded as an important fasting day. Worship and devotion offered to God Shiva on this day is considered to be effectively ridding one from the worldly worries and troubles.

Those wanting to observe the *vrata* are supposed to take meals on the night of Magha Vad. 13. On the morning of Magha Vad. 14, after bathing they worship Shivalinga devotionally with a *rudrabhishek*. During the worship, if possible, one lakh, one thousand and 108 *bel* leaves are offered to the deity and the whole day is observed as a fast. The night is spent in singing prayers to God Shiva, and the next day the fast is broken.

a coconut. Round about are tied necklaces prepared of cloves, cardamoms and mango leaves. Then the vessel is carried by a woman on her head to the nearest tank or canal accompanied by another woman who carries five or seven four cornered lamps burning with wicks of safflower colour. After taking bath she applies a mark on the forehead with powder of red-oxide. The women thus gathered sing *panjra* songs in praise of the river god, live in the mid-stream with clothes on and sink the vessel under water. Grain oblations are made to the river deity and flour lamps are floated on water. Then they return and observe the birthday rite (*bij*) of the river god and distribute victuals (*sesa*) after offer to water. This festival is observed by some males also by sitting on the bank of a canal or tank for forty days and keeping vessels full of water nearby. They make oblations to the river deity thrice a day and go through the usual form of river worship. The last day of *Chaliho* celebration is the day of taking leave from water as the floods are now supposed to retreat **.

Tijri : This festival which is mostly observed by married women and unmarried girls falls in Shravan, pronounced by Sindhis as Savan, Vad. 3. Four days before the festival women sow wheat or jowar seeds in earthen pots and allow them to sprout. On one day of the festival, they decorate their palms with *mehendi*. They observe a fast on the day and in the afternoon, the earthen pots containing the sprouts of wheat or jowar grain sown earlier, are kept in a swing. They rock the swings with pots on, singing songs and performing a dance called *jhimir*. They drink flavoured water (*sherbat*). At night, they worship the moon on its appearance by offering milk, flowers, rice etc. and break the fast.

This festival is observed by married women for long life of their husbands and by unmarried girls for securing a good husband.

Thadari : This festival is observed on two different dates. The first one which is called Nandhi Thadari (lesser Thadari) is observed on Savan Sud. 7. The other is celebrated on Savan Vad. 7. Both the festivals are celebrated in honour of the consort of Shiva or female energy, the mother goddess in the form of Sitala, the small-pox goddess. On the previous day, women prepare sweet cakes called *bhajivans* and also a custard preparation. On the festival day, it is customary not to burn fire and stale food, cooked on the previous day is consumed. The women sing songs, go to a temple and make offerings. The peculiarity of this festival is that generally even women gamble on this day. The children and grandchildren approach their parents and grandmother demanding money. Lakshmi, goddess of wealth, passes through the palm of one who gambles on this day. Married daughters with their children visit their parents' place.

* V. T. Thakur, *Sindhi Culture*, University of Bombay, publication (1959), pages 123-24.

Mahalakshmi : This is one of the festivals which is observed by Sindhis in honour of Goddess Lakshmi. This festival falls on Ashvina Vad. 8. All members of the family tie a thread around their wrist which is called *sagro*. It is made of 16 yellow threads of cotton and has sixteen knots. In the case of unmarried persons, two *sagros* are tied. On the day of Mahalakshmi, people go to the house of a Brahman priest and carry with them sweet cakes and lamps prepared out of flour. They untie the *sagro* and on reaching the Brahmin's place, they hear the story of the Raja Mangli who had two queens. After conclusion of the story the persons return home, leaving the sweet cakes, etc. at the Brahmin's place. Some portion of the sweet cakes is taken back home as *prasad*.

Now-a-days the *sagro* is not kept on the wrist for 16 days. They generally tie it on Ashvina Sud 8. and remove it either on the same day or the next.

Guru Nanak's Birthday : One of the peculiarities of the Sindhi culture is that they observe the main festivals of the Sikh religion and amongst them the birthday of Guru Nanak, the first of the ten *gurus* of Sikhism, is celebrated with much fervour and on a grand scale. This festival falls on Kartik Sud. 15. i.e. full moon day. Sindhis and Sikhs call it *Guruprabh*, and its celebration commences 48 hours before the actual day when the recitation of *akhand path* of the *Granth Sahib* begins at a convenient place. Four or five persons are posted to recite from the holy scripture, turn by turn, for about two hours each. A person is appointed to coordinate the function and look after the comforts of the persons who recite from the *Granth Sahib*. *Dhupias* i.e. incense burners burn incense beside the "Sevari of Maharaj" day and night till the *bhog* ceremony is over. *Jyoti*, flame, fed with pure ghee is kept burning during the period of *akhand path*. The entire recitation of the holy book takes 48 hours. After 24 hours have elapsed, the ceremony of *madh path* i.e. recitation of half of the holy book is performed with the blowing of conch shells and ringing of bells.

After the completion of the recitation of the holy book which is over on the day of the festival, a *kirtan* is held at the same place followed by a *katha*. The life story of Guru Nanak is told by prominent persons. A *kavi durbar* is also held. The *karah prasad* is then distributed to all those who are present. The end of the function is *Guruka langar* (free kitchen) which is open to all persons without any distinction of caste, creed or religion. All the persons sit in the same row and eat the same food which is all vegetarian. It consists of rice, curry, chapatis, *bhaji*, *chaini* and sweet *bundi*. The place where the function takes place is gaily decorated and in the midnight a swing with the photograph of Guru Nanak is brought and rose petals are showered on it.

The Sindhis like other Hindus observe Ram Navmi, *Akhna Tij* i.e. Akshaya Tritiya, Janmashtami, Ganesh Choth, Gopashtami (when the cow is worshipped), Dasara, Diwali, Tirmuri (Sankranta) and Holi in the same way as other Hindus. On Ganesh Choth, women observe a fast and break it after moon-rise. During Diwali on *Lakshmi Pujan* day, models of houses are also worshipped. A peculiar custom among them is that they put milk, gold or silver coins and ornaments in a vessel and dip a finger in it and they apply it to their forehead and mouth. They usually say:—

Diyari Jo Diyo Ditho Nandho

Vaddo Chibhand Mitho

(After Diwali, the fruit of Chibhand becomes sweet.)

MUSLIM FESTIVALS

The percentage of the Muslim population in Greater Bombay is 17.24. The following are some of the important festivals observed by the Muslims of Bombay and Maharashtra:

Muharram: The name of the first month of the Muslim year is **Maharram** and the first ten days of the month are known by that name. This festival is in fact a solemn occasion since it is associated with the memory of Hussain, the second son of Fatimah, the Prophet's daughter.

Strictly speaking, this is no occasion for festivity and rejoicing. In fact, several pious Shiah and Sunni Muslims observe fast, recite the *Koran* at home during the ten days and the tenth day is observed as *Ashurah* i.e. mourning day. It is the Muslim belief that the future Qiyamat (destruction of the world) will be on a Friday of these ten days of Muharram. The Shiahs observe this as an occasion of immense pain and sorrow. They weep and wail, beating their breasts during these ten days. Cots are upturned, mats are wound up and the bare floor is made the sleeping place during the period. They wear only black clothes. The highly orthodox Shiahs condemn even processions. Some Muslims go to Karbala, the place of historic battle and offer prayers by reciting the *Koran*.

The 9th and 10th of Muharram are observed by Muslims as **Sunnat Roza** i.e. an optional fast. They do not eat anything from sunrise to sunset. Sunnis prepare sweets and distribute them to the poor, Shiahs do not observe a fast. They offer *fatiah* in *imambara*.

The preparation of the festival starts with the construction of a temporary structure or some large hall called *Ashur Khanah* (literally ten day house). As soon as the new moon appears, people gather together in the various *imambaras* and offer *fatiahs* over some *sherbat* or some sugar in the name of Hussain. The *fatiah* conclude thus: 'O God! grant and reward of this to the Soul of Hussain.' The *sherbat* and sugar are then distributed. The *imambara* is generally a temporary structure or some large hall fitted up for the occasion.

There are no functions for the first six days and the 'Alam-I-Quasim' i.e. the *tabut* is taken out in public procession from the seventh to the ninth day. This is to represent the marriage of Quasim, the son of Hassan to the favourite daughter of Hussain just before the latter died. The three days are spent in enjoyment with fancy dresses of tigers, bears, etc. The Muslims go to the *naziyah* and offer *fatiahs* to *alams*. In the evening before the 10th day which according to the Muslim mode of computing time is the tenth night, the *taziyahas* and the *alams* are taken out in procession. On the following day, the *taziyahas* and *alams* are taken out in procession to a river or a tank, and they are immersed in it after the ornaments are removed.

The 10th day, the *Ashura* of Muharram is a *sunnat* feast and is observed by all Sunnis. It is considered to be an excellent day, for God is said to have created many things on this day. At about 3 p.m. the Sunnis prepare *sherbat* and *kichara* of seven pulses, and *fatiah* is said in the name of Hussain and of those who were martyred with him at Karbala. On this day, some go to the burial grounds and place flowers on the graves of their friends and say *fatiah*.

Akhiri Chahar Shambal: This feast is held on the last Wednesday of the second Muslim month, *Safar*. This feast is celebrated to commemorate the fact that the Prophet experienced some mitigation of the disorder which terminated his life in the next month, *Rabi-ul-Awwal*. Sweet cakes are prepared and *fatiahs* are said over them in the name of the Prophet. A curious custom which is said to have no religious sanction, in Islam, known as drinking of the 'seven *salams*' takes place on this day. A plantain leaf or a leaf of mango tree or a piece of paper is taken to a Mulla who writes seven short sentences from the *Koran* upon it. The writing whilst it is wet is washed off, and the mixture is drunk. The purpose is to ensure peace by the person for whom it was intended. The purpose is to ensure peace and happiness for the future. It is, however, learnt from local Muslims that this festival has lost most of its importance.

Milad-un-Nabi: This feast is also known as *Bara Wafat*. It is held on the 12th day of the 3rd Muslim month *Rabi-ul-Awwal*. This name appears to have derived from *bara* i.e. twelve and *wafat* i.e. death, because many Muslims believe that the Prophet died on the 12th day of *Rabi-ul-Awwal*.

On the morning of the 12th day, the *Koran* is read in the mosque and in private houses and *fatiah* are said over cooked food and it is distributed among the poor. The story goes that as an orphan Mohammad was fed by Halima, a poor woman. As a baby, he refused milk from the right breast of Halima which was meant for the woman's own son. One day, Gabriel cut the chest of Mohammad, washed the heart with sacred water and prepared him to be a Prophet and a reformer of the world. He also got for him *Koran* from God. As Mohammad started preaching that

God was one, he had to leave Mecca and to go to Madina where he acquired 330 disciples in the first instance. He slowly spread his message and regained Mecca and passed away on the 12th day of Rabi-ul-Awwal in the year 1775.

Both in private houses and mosques, meetings are held at which the story of the birth, miracles and death of the Prophet is recited. They keep awake throughout the night and *namaz* is performed. The *Koran* is recited in mosques during this night. Some, however, observe this day as the 'Jashan-i-milad-i-sharif' or the feast of the noble birth. They believe that the Prophet was born on this day and as such it is a birth anniversary of the Prophet.

Sahab-i-Barat : This feast signifies the 'night of record' and is observed on the night of the 14th day of the eighth month of *Shaban*. It is believed that the destiny of man is recorded for the coming year. The word *barat* means acquittal. It is said that God, on this night, makes a record of all the actions men are to perform during the ensuing year. Muslims observe a *sunnat* fast on the 14th and 15th day of the eighth month and keep awake all night and offer prayers for their well-being and also of others. *Fatiah* are said over cooked food for the benefit of the deceased ancestors and relatives. The *Koran* is read in the night and there are illuminations.

On this day, they go to the grave-yard and offer prayers to the dead.

Ramzan : Ramzan is observed during the ninth month of the Muslim year, Ramzan. Prophet Mohammed, while he was doing penance in Gharebward, a cave, in Mecca in his fortieth year is believed to have acquired *Koran* sent by Allah through Gabriel. The observance of this month is one of the cardinal practices in Islam and express commands regarding it are given in the *Koran*.

Throughout the entire month, Muslims begin their fast early in the morning to break it only after sunset. All luxuries and also such habits as smoking, chewing and snuffing are avoided during this period and complete fast during day time is observed. During the nights, Maulavis deliver lectures on Islam. In addition to *Isha*, the night prayer, an additional prayer viz., *tara-vi* (20 *rakhaths*) is offered and a part of the holy *Koran* is recited. On *Badi-Rat* or the best night (*Shah-e-Kadar*) which falls on the 26th or 27th day recitation of the holy book is completed. On the *Badi Rat* all keep awake till 4 a.m. when the reading of *Koran* is completed and sweets are distributed. It is believed that if a person offers sincere prayers, repenting for his misdeeds on this night, he is forgiven and his desires, if any, are fulfilled. The last day is *Khubda* day i.e., the first day of Shawwal. On this day, the observance culminates with great pomp and show. All wear new clothes and each member in the well to do family distributes among the poor wheat or rice or other

foodgrains to enable the poor to participate in the common *namaz*. They go for the *namaz* to the *Idgah*, open space where a wall is constructed on a raised platform. The distinguishing feature at the time of *namaz* is that the rich and the poor stand together in a row, shedding the cloak of social status. The *namaz* at the *Idgah* is seldom missed by any one. The entire Ramzan month has assumed great religious importance. This festival is also known as Id-i-Ramzan or Mithi-Id or Id-ul-Fitr. The Muslims who observe *roza* are named as *rozagar* and are very particular about offering *namaz* during this month and spend this month with great piety and sanctity.

Bakri-Id : The feast is also known as Id-i-Qurban or Id-ul-Kabir or Bar-i-Id and Id-ul-Zuha. This festival falls on the 10th day of Zil Hajja, the 12th month of the Muslim year. The feast has a foundation in Chapter XXII of the *Koran*.

The Prophet's injunction lays down that a Muslim should offer a part of his cattle to God when he benefits. The legend goes that before the birth of the Prophet Mohammad, there was Ibrahim (Abraham) a Prophet who condemned polytheism and animal sacrifice before images. It is he, who constructed the Kaba. He beheaded the minor idols, sacredly placed the sword in the hand of the presiding deity and proclaimed that the crime was committed by the deity itself. The enraged mob threw him into the fire but the angels and God saved him. God commanded that he should sacrifice his only son, Ismail, begot at the ripe age of eighty. Though Satan tried to dissuade him, Ibrahim executed the Lord's command. However it was only a test and his son was restored to life. An orthodox version is that God desired Ibrahim to sacrifice to him the best he loved. The best he loved was his youngest son, Ismail, who was made to prostrate blind-folded. Ibrahim with his eyes covered, drew his sword across his neck, repeating the words "Bismillah-Allah-Ho-Akbar". In the meanwhile, however, the arch-angel Gabriel snatched Ismail from under the blade and substituted a broad tailed sheep in his stead. Ibrahim found to his surprise when he unfolded his eyes that a sheep was slain and his son was standing behind. Animal sacrifice appears to have come into vogue since then.

On the 10th day of Zil Hijja, the festival of Bakri-Id is observed by paying a visit to an *Idgah* and offering *namaz*. It is performed early in the morning. After the morning prayers, the Muslims return home and the head of the family chooses a sheep or a goat and places its head towards Mecca and says, "In the name of the great God verily my prayers, my sacrifice, my life, my death, belong to God, the Lord of the world. He has no partner; that is what I am bidden; for I am first of those who are resigned." And then he slays the animal. The flesh of the animal is divided into three parts, one third being given to relations, one third to

the poor, and the remaining third reserved for the family. It is considered highly meritorious to sacrifice one animal for each member of the family. Apart from its religious aspect, the festival is observed as a great occasion for rejoicing. The festival is celebrated for three days and the time is spent in merry making and rejoicing.

BUDDHIST FESTIVALS

The followers of Buddhism form approximately seven per cent of the population of Greater Bombay, most of them being the followers of the late Dr. B. R. Ambedkar who resolutely embraced Buddhism with his numerous followers, chiefly from the Mahar community in October 1956.

Every full moon day is an auspicious day for the Buddhists. Some specific events have happened on these days and they are celebrated as festivals. The moon is worshipped on her appearance and after worship the fast observed on this day is broken. Non-vegetarian food is strictly avoided on these days. In the same manner, many Buddhists observe every Thursday in memory of Dr. Ambedkar as he died on a Thursday.

Vaishakhi Pournima : The full moon day of the month of Vaishakha is particularly auspicious because Gautam Buddha was born on this day. He also attained perfect knowledge or enlightenment on this day. He died also on this day. All these events have enhanced the importance of Vaishakhi Pournima. The neo-Buddhists honour both Buddha and Ambedkar by garlanding their photographs and taking them in a procession. Fast is observed, prayers are said, meetings are held and speeches delivered on the achievements of Buddha and Ambedkar.

Ambedkar Jayanti : The 14th of April, anniversary of the venerable doctor's birth is observed as a festival. He was born on this day in 1891. A visit to his statue is organised and the statue garlanded. The principal function is organised at venerable Chaityabhoomi on the Dadar Chowpaty. Besides, many programmes are arranged in several localities in the city and suburbs. Prayers are offered in honour of Lord Buddha and Babasaheb Ambedkar in the presence of Bhiku, a Buddhist priest. Every neo-Buddhist eats sweets on this day.

Nag Panchami : This festival is observed on Shravana Shudha 5 in honour of the Naga people who were devotees of Buddha. It synchronises with the cobra worship of Hindus on this day. The image of Buddha is worshipped, and *khir*, a sweet dish is offered to him. The day is spent in merry-making and feasting.

Vijaya Dashami : This festival coincides with the Hindu festival of the same name. For Buddhists it is important for two reasons. Firstly, it was on this day that Emperor Ashok announced that he would never use force to win over or conquer people but he would persuade them.

The Emperor conquered Kalinga Desha after massacring thousands of people. He was much perturbed over the killings and repented for his act. Secondly, the day is celebrated as a festival because it was on this day in 1956 that many members of the scheduled castes embraced Buddhism following Dr. Ambedkar's lead. They wear white clothes on this day which is called *dharmachakra parivartana*. A huge procession of the pictures of the Buddha and Ambedkar ending in a meeting where homage is paid to both is a feature of the day. Sweet dishes and merry making form part of the day's programme.

Deepavali : The festival is observed on Ashvina Vad. 30. It ends the period of three months during which Buddhist monks are required to stay at one place. Dwelling places are cleaned and whitewashed. In the evening lamps are lit in front of the house. Worship and prayers are offered to the Buddha's image. The festival coincides with the Hindu festival of the same name, but extends over four days.

December 6 : This day is celebrated as the death anniversary of Ambedkar who expired on that day in 1956. It is celebrated in a very solemn manner. A total fast is observed by many, but those who cannot do so avoid non-vegetarian food as a rule. Dr. Ambedkar's image is worshipped in every house. The day is called *parinirwana din* and meetings are held to remember his services to the neo-Buddhists.

Holi : This festival is observed on Phalguna Shuddha 15 and it coincides with the Hindu festival of the same name. After worshipping the image of the Buddha, they exchange pieces of coconut kernel and dates.

Besides all these festivals, the following days are also observed as festivals though they are not celebrated on a grand scale:—

(i) **Jyeshtha Pournima** : This is observed to commemorate the Buddha's teachings of the Mahasamaya Sutta to the inhabitants of Kapilavastu.

(ii) **Ashadhi Pournima** : Lord Buddha preached for the first time the principles of his Dhamma to his five friends which were later on called as Dharmachakra Parivartan. The Buddha Bhikkus stay at one place from Ashadha Pournima. They do not move out for a period of three months.

(iii) **Ashwina Pournima** : On this day the Buddha preached in the heaven (*Devaloka*) to his mother, Mahamaya Devi and other goddesses. He also returned after three months.

(iv) **Vasant Panchami** : It is celebrated on Magha Shuda 5. *Khira*, a sweet dish, and yellow flowers of *sarasa* are offered to the image of Lord Buddha. The yellow colour is prominent on this day. Even the *khira* is of saffron colour.

CHRISTIAN FESTIVALS

A major part of the Christian population in Maharashtra State resides in Greater Bombay and Thane districts. Most Christian festivals are observed with rituals which are common around the whole world. The social practices associated with these festivals vary from people to people and country to country. Christians in Maharashtra live mainly on the coastal regions and have mainly been farmers and fishermen. Their festivals bear the marks of these ancestral avocations.

The Christian year is a series of feasts, commemorating the expectation, birth, life, death, resurrection and glory of Christ and is a continual reminder of His teachings. The year is divided into cycles of festivals which are incorporated in the liturgy of the official prayers of the Church, the most important of which is the mass.

The mass is a sacramental representation of the sacrifice of Christ on Calvary and of his last supper and is offered daily by every priest. A large number of people attend the daily mass. The Sunday mass is obligatory on all Catholics and includes a sermon. It is a common sight to see churches crowded on Sundays with worshippers dressed in their best clothes. Sunday mass fosters religious devotion and also offers an opportunity for meetings and social contacts among the people.

The prayers of the mass vary to some extent according to the cycle of feasts and it is through the mass that seasonal festivals are emphasised and celebrated. The main annual cycle of festivals is called the temporal cycle and follows the sequence of the life of Christ. This cycle is divided into three parts : Christmas, Easter and Pentecost. The cycles of these great feasts are divided into three periods, the time before, during and after the feast, their purpose being to prepare for the feasts, to allow them to be celebrated with solemnity and to prolong them for several weeks.

Along with the main cycle of feasts is a lesser one called the sanctoral cycle comprising the feasts of saints.

The Christmas cycle commemorates the incarnation of Christ, that is, his assuming the nature of man. The period of preparation of Christmas, which marks the beginning of the Christian calendar, is a penitential period of four weeks called Advent. Advent represents four millenniums before Christ, during which the particulars and prophets of the Old Testament foretold and awaited the coming of Christ. During these weeks, the liturgy remembers the fall of the first man, the consequent misery of humanity and the longing for the promised Messiah so eloquently expressed in the Old Testament.

The Christmas season starting with Christmas Day, December 25, celebrates the happy event of Christ's birth. Following, upon Advent,

it is a season of great joy, because of the gladdening of Christ's birth. The Christmas mass is celebrated at midnight; priests wear white vestments, the organ is played and the key note is universal joy.

Correspondingly in every Christian home, Christmas is a joyful family feast. There are prevalent in Maharashtra many western customs such as the exchange of greeting cards, the singing of carols on the nights preceding Christmas and the building of Christmas cribs representing the birth of Christ in a stable at Bethlehem. To the building of such cribs much ingenuity and artistic skill is devoted. One of the customs which may have originated in this country itself is the exchange of choice Christmas sweets, the variety and fineness of which are matters of family pride.

The Christmas festival season extends over two weeks and includes the New Year day on January 1. Though this festival has no religious significance, it has become a joyous practice to hold a midnight service to bring in the New year. On the social plane, dances and parties are held throughout the night to usher in the new year in a jubilant mood.

The sixth of January is Epiphany and marks the visit of the Three Wise Men of the East to the Infant Jesus. Liturgically, Epiphany is of great significance because it is the first manifestation of Christ's Divinity to the world. Some weeks after Christmas begins the annual forty day season of prayer and penance called Lent, to correspond with the forty days fast that Christ undertook before beginning his ministry. Lent starts with Ash Wednesday, usually in February, on which day people are marked with the Cross in ash as a reminder of death that comes to all. Lent begins with this sombre awareness of human destiny and lasts upto Easter Eve.

Lent is the period of contemplation of the teachings, sufferings and death of Christ and a sharing in them through penance. The churches are crowded during this season and the prayers of the mass are full of reminders to do penance. The last two weeks of Lent are called Passion Weeks, when the altars are stripped bare and statues draped in purple and no organ is played in Church. With the last Sunday in Lent, Palm Sunday, begins the Holy Week. On this day, blessed palms are distributed and processions are held in remembrance of the entry of Christ into Jerusalem just before his betrayal and death, when he was welcomed by the people with waving palms.

The main events of the Holy Week are on Thursday and Friday. Thursday, called Maundy Thursday, is the day of Christ's Last Supper when he instituted the Holy Eucharist and of his agony in the garden and betrayal of Judas. The ceremonies in the Church are mainly devotional dramatisations of the events.

There is the washing of the feet of twelve selected people, usually from among the poor by the priests to represent the washing of the feet of the twelve apostles by Christ before the last supper as an act of humility. The Blessed Sacrament is exposed on Thursday night through Friday and worshippers make frequent visits to the Blessed Sacrament.

Friday called Good Friday, commemorates the death of Christ on the Cross. In the afternoon, from 3 o'clock, to coincide with Christ's agony, on the Cross, there is special adoration of the Cross, after which take place dramatic representations of Christ on the Cross, the taking down of his body from the Cross, the grieving of Mary, his mother over the dead body, the procession to the grave and burial. All these ceremonies of Holy Week are conducted with much solemnity and seriousness. People wear mourning dress, white or black. Bell and music are stilled; only a harsh wooden clapper is used to call attention to the chief parts of the ceremonies.

Easter Sunday marks the end of Lent and commemorates the joyful resurrection of Christ from the grave. It is liturgically, the principal feast of the year and all the movable feasts are dated from it. It occurs on the first Sunday after the full moon after the spring equinox and thus correspondent to the ancient festival of spring. It also coincides with the old Jewish festival of Passover or release from Egyptian bondage.

The ceremonies of Easter Sunday, like those of Maundy Thursday and Good Friday are lengthy and solemn. Easter Sunday liturgy starts well before midnight on Holy Saturday with the blessing of holy water. During the service, the sorrow of Holy Week is dramatically replaced by the joy of Easter with the pealing of bells, the playing of the organs and the chanting of the old Jewish hymn of praise, Alleluia. A significant symbol of Easter is the Paschal candle, a specially blessed candle that marks the victory of Christ over the darkness of sin and death. This candle is kept lighted in the Churches on all the Sundays of the Easter season.

Socially, Easter is second only to Christmas in importance. It is also a family festival. In the days immediately after Easter, the priest visits every house in his parish and blesses the houses with the newly blessed holy water. In Bombay, this rite is quickly gone through but in towns and villages, it is a very special occasion. However, the houses are painted and kept in repairs for it and all the home members make it a point to be present for the occasion.

Since the solemnising of weddings is not allowed during Lent, Easter brings in the wedding season. Weddings among Christians are celebrated with much pomp and gaiety and this adds to the joyousness of the Easter season.

Forty days after Easter is the feast of Ascension of Christ into Heaven. Ten days after is Pentecost Sunday, as important as Easter, for it marks the descent of the Holy Ghost on the apostles and the gift of the tongues to them, and consequently it is the birthday of the Church. For it was on Pentecost Sunday that the apostles began their first converts.

Pentecost is almost the last of the great feasts connected with the life and death of Christ. A few days after, is the feast of Corpus Christi or of the Blessed Sacrament which is celebrated now because the actual day of its institution, Maundy Thursday, comes in a season of penance and mourning. The feast of Corpus Christi is kept up in different churches on different Sundays with a day-long adoration and processions and its celebration becomes the annual parish or church feast.

The Friday of the week after Corpus Christi is the feast of the Sacred Heart, the feast of the love and providence showed to men by Christ, God and man, Redeemer and Sanctifier. Then after a period of Sundays, the cycle comes full circle with the beginning of Advent. Side by side with the main cycle of feasts relating to Christ himself, is the annual calendar of saints' feasts.

The most important of these are the various feasts of Mary, St. Joseph, the apostles, the angels, important saints and saints held in local veneration.

The principal feasts of Mary, mother of Christ, are connected with the main events of her life, beginning with the immaculate conception or her conception free from the taint of original sin, on December 8. The other feasts of Mary are her Nativity on September 8, the Annunciation or the day when the future birth of Christ was revealed to her, the feast of her sorrows when she shared in the passion of her son and her Assumption when after death, she was assumed into heaven, this last feast coinciding with the day of India's Independence, August 15.

Besides these feasts of the Calendar, the month of May is especially dedicated to Mary and in the evenings of this month, people and especially children, gather for devotion to Mary, Our Lady of Perpetual Succour, every Wednesday at St. Michael's Church, Mahim, which is attended by several thousands, week after week, all round the year.

The most popular of these feasts is the feast of Mary's Nativity on September 8 which coincides with the feast of the famous shrine of Our Lady of the Mount in Bandra. Here, the feast is kept up for a week and there is a constant stream of devotees and pilgrims at the shrine with offerings and petitions. A fair is also held below the mount at the time of the feast. Several hundred thousand people visit this famous mount near the sea to venerate the ancient statue that is held to be miraculous.

On November 1, is the feast of all Saints, followed the next day by the feast of All Souls, a day of prayers and remembrance of the dead. In the month of May is yet another special devotion to the Holy Cross, specially in Salsette and Vasai. The countryside in these predominantly Christian areas is dotted with crosses erected on roadsides, or on hill-sides or on the seashore, some built into special shrines and chapels and all tended with care. During May, for the feast of the Holy Cross occurs in this month, people of the nearby villages gather at the cross every evening for prayers and after the service, the gathering remains as a social meeting, reinforcing friendship.

At the end of June is the feast of St. Peter, the chief apostle of the first Pope. Peter was a fisherman and so to the Christian fishermen in Greater Bombay, this day is a patronal feast and is celebrated with much verve and pomp.

Among the local festivals are the feasts of St. Gonsalo Garcia, February 5, the first Indian born saint, chiefly venerated in Vasai, and the older and more wide spread feast of St. Francis Xavier, the great apostle of the East and the patron saint of India whose body is venerated in Goa and whose feast is celebrated with much enthusiasm in Bombay on December 3.

ZOROASTRIAN FESTIVALS

Not more than a hundred thousand in all, the Parsees form a small but a very important community in India. A heavy concentration of them is to be found in Greater Bombay. Their festivals are called Jashans. The Parsee year according to present reckoning has 365 days. There are twelve months of 30 days each and extra five days are added at the end of the 12th month. Each day as well as each month is dedicated to a presiding deity the Creator Ahura Mazda (later Hormazd), the omniscient Lord or His spiritual Beings and named accordingly after presiding deity. The last additional five days of the year are dedicated to the deities presiding over the five *gathas* or the hymns composed by the Prophet Zoroaster, and they are named accordingly.

The Parsee year begins with the first day Hormazd of the first month, Farvardin and ends with the last *gatha* day, viz., Vashishtoist. The Jashans or the festivals of the Parsees have religious, seasonal and historical importance. They are divided into three groups. It is, however, difficult to divide the Jashans in exclusive groups. Religious importance permeates all Jashans, e.g., Jashan of the birthday of the Prophet has historical as well as religious importance. Similarly the seasonal festivals are also religious festivals. The Jashans are celebrated on solemn as well as festive occasions. On the solemn occasions, the Parsees rise early, take bath and spend time in prayer and ceremony and in attending the fire temple

and religious congregation. On the Jashans of festive occasions the Parsees rise early, decorate their houses with flowers and *rangoli* prints, a sign of good omen. They celebrate the seasonal festivals known as Gahambars.

In their prayers and ceremonies, Parsees offer homage to Ahura Mazda, Amesha Spentas and Yazatas. They offer thanksgiving and invoke blessing of God for spiritual and material welfare of all mankind, the country, the community and the family. In the formula of Articles of Faith, Parsees pledge themselves to follow the path of piety and virtue, to put into practice the principle of good thought, good word and good deed, taught by the Prophet.

On the Jashan or festival days generally, the Jashan ceremony is performed in the fire temple or in private houses where there are facilities for the same. In the Zoroastrian ceremonies, the fire plays an important part. It is regarded as representative of God, and as such, presence of fire in Zoroastrian ceremonies is absolutely necessary. Other requisites are water, fruits, flowers and milk. Prayers of thanks giving are offered and blessings are invoked. After prayers and ceremonies on festive occasions, Parsees spend time in rejoicing. They prepare special dishes on the occasion. Besides the ordinary dishes, they prepare special sweet dishes of *sev* (vermicelli), *ravo*, a sweet dish made of wheat flour, ghee, sugar and milk and curd, *dhan* (rice), and *dal patio*, a dish of fish.

The principal festivals observed by Parsees are given below:¹

1. *Navroz* : This is the New Year Day celebrated on the 1st day Hormazd. It is also known as Pateti wrongly pronounced as Papeti. It is a day of repentance, because this is the day on which Parsees take stock of what was done in the preceding year and recite prayers of repentance. On this day, they pray, invoke blessings of God, send good wishes to relatives, friends and acquaintances. They greet each other and do *hama-zor* (united in strength) by joining both hands with those of others and by wishing *sal mubarak*, may new year be auspicious. Parsee women also greet in the same manner. Often they embrace each other in affection while pronouncing the words of greetings, blessings and good wishes. On this day, Parsees send presents to relatives, friends, subordinates and dependents. They perform acts of charity, particularly by giving alms to the poor in cash or kind and also to the sick and the needy.

2. *Rapithvin* : It means mid-day and is celebrated on the 3rd day, Ardibehesht. This was the festival in ancient Iran and it announced the advent of the hot season. According to Parsee reckoning, a day is generally divided into five *gahs* or watches. Rapithvin is the second watch beginning

¹ Although this narrative is of great interest for studying the traditional customs of Zoroastrians, very few of the festivals are celebrated by the Parsees of Bombay who are a highly urbanised section.

with noon or midday and extending upto 3 p.m. It is, therefore, the hottest part of the day.

The prayer of *Rapithvin gah* is recited only in the first seven months and not in the last five months of the year. The *Rapithvin Jashan* is celebrated to mark the return of the *Rapithvin gah*. Strictly speaking, the prayer for *Rapithvin gah* is recited from the first day of the month *Farvardin*, but it is officially celebrated on the 3rd day, *Ardibehesht* because, the 3rd day is dedicated to *Ardibehesht Amshaspand* who presides over the 2nd watch of the day and also over heat and fire.

3. *Khordad Sal* : This means the year beginning with day *Khordad*. This is observed, as the name implies, on the sixth day, *Khordad*. This day is observed as birthday of the Prophet *Zoroaster*. The recorded birthday of the Prophet is the first day *Hormazd* of the first month *Farvardin*; but it appears that the first day *Hormazd* of the Eastern provinces of Iran corresponded with the sixth day, *Khordad* of the western provinces. This *Jashan* of the day *Khordad* was also known in ancient Iran as "*Navrozi Buzurg*" the great new year day. Many events of religious and historical importance are stated to have taken place on this day *Khordad* of the month *Farvardin*.

4. *Farwardagan Jashan* : This means *Jashan* of *Farohar* or the guardian spirits. It is celebrated on the 19th day, *Farvardin*. This is the *Jashan* of the solemn occasion of remembering the soul and guardian spirits of the departed *Zoroastrians* particularly of those who departed during the preceding year. On this day, the *Parsees* generally visit the fire temple, near the Tower of Silence and ceremonies in honour of the souls and *Farohars* of the departed persons are performed there.

5. *Ardibehesht Jashan* : This is celebrated on the 3rd day *Ardibehesht* in honour of *Ardibehesht Amshaspand*.

6. *Maidyozarem Gahambar* : This is celebrated on any one or all of the five days from the 11th day, *Khorshed*, to the 15th day, *Daepmeher*. This was the festival of mid-spring in ancient Iran when the creations of Nature are full of sap and milk.

7. *Khordad Jashan* : *Jashan* of *Khordad* is celebrated on the 6th day, *Khordad*, in honour of *Khordad Amshaspand*.

8. *Tiryan Jashan* : *Jashan* of *Tir* celebrated on the 13th day. *Tir*, in honour of *Tishtrya* (*Tir Yazat*) who presides over rain and brings rain water and prosperity to the country.

9. *Mydyoshem Gahambar* : This is a seasonal festival of mid-summer. This is celebrated on any one or all of the five days from the 11th day, *Khorshed* to the 15th day *Daepmeher*. This was the festival of the season of cutting grass in ancient Iran.

10. *Amardad Jashan* : *Jashan* of *Amardad* is celebrated on the 7th day. *Amardad*, in honour of *Amardad Amshaspand* presiding over immortality and vegetation.

11. *Shaharewar Jashan* : *Jashan* of *Shaharewar* is celebrated on the 4th day *Shaharewar* in honour of *Shaharewar Amshaspand* presiding over holy kingdom of God and metals.

12. *Paitishahem Gahambar* : This is the festival of the harvesting season. The *Jashan* is celebrated on any one or all of the five days from the 26th day, *Astad* to the 30th day *Aneran*. This was the festival of the season of harvesting foodgrains in ancient Iran.

13. *Mehragan Jashan* : This is *Jashan* of *Meher* and is celebrated on the 16th day *Meher*. *Meher* (*Avesta Mithra*, *Vedic Mitra*) is the *Yazata* presiding over sunlight, truth and justice. The *Jashan* in honour of *Meher* was celebrated in ancient times with great pomp and rejoicing. This was the festival of the Sun. In ancient times, Iranian sun-worship had spread in Asia Minor, Greece, Rome and also in other countries of Europe. In ancient times, the first day *Hormazd* of the 7th Month *Meher* was the day of autumnal equinox; but it appears that the *Jashan* was celebrated on the 16th day *Meher*. In pre-historic times, the Iranian year began with autumnal equinox.

14. *Jamshedi Navroz* : This is new year day of King *Jamshed*. It is celebrated on the 21st of March of the Christian calendar. This *Jashan* is popularly observed in recent times in Iran and the adjacent countries. It was instituted primarily for revenue purposes in 1099 A.C. by Sultan *Jalal-ud-din Malikshah*, the King of Persia on the advice of his Grand Vazir *Omar Khayyam*. It is tied down to the Gregorian Christian calendar and the new year (*Jamshedi Navroz*) is fixed on the 21st of March. As stated above, members of the *Fasli* sect of *Parsees* celebrate their *Navroz* or New Year day on March 21 and other festivals accordingly.

15. *Ayathrem Gahambar* : This is the festival of the season of returning to winter residence. It is celebrated on any one or all the five days from the 26th day of *Asad* to the 30th day *Aneran*. In ancient times, this was the festival of the season of returning of the cattle to winter residence and of the mating season of the animals.

16. *Avan Jashan* : This festival of *Avan* is celebrated on the 10th day *Avan*. This *Jashan* is in honour of *Avan*, the *Yazata* presiding over celestial waters and beneficent currents of Nature. On this day, the *Parsees* generally go to the nearest sea or river and offer prayers to *Avan Yazat*. They offer flowers, sugar, milk and coconut to the waters of the sea or of the river or of the well.

17. *Adargan Jashan* : This Jashan of Adar is celebrated on the 9th day, Adar. Adar or Atar Yazat presides over the fire. Particularly on this day, the Parsees go to the fire temple and offer homage to the holy fire.

18. *Farvardin Jashan* : This is a Jashan in honour of Farohar or the guardian spirits and is celebrated on the 19th day Farvardin. From the 5th century of the Christian era up to the 11th century in intercalated year the fire epagomenae (the Gatha days) were kept after the month Avan. Hence the Adar was the first month of intercalated year; and as such it had the same importance as the first month Farvardin of the non-intercalated year. The 19th day, Farvardin is, therefore, celebrated as the Farvardagan Jashan which is celebrated on the 19th day Farvardin of the first month Farvardin.

19. *Dae Dadar Jashan* : Jashan of Dae Dadar is celebrated on the 1st day, Hormazd, 8th Day Daepadar, 15th day Daepmeher, 23rd day Daepdin or any one of these days. The Jashan is celebrated in honour of the Creator, Ahura Mazda.

20. *Jashan-i-Sadeh* : This is the festival of the 100th day celebrated on the 10th day Avan. Traditionally, this festival was instituted by the Iranian King Hoshang of the Peshdadian dynasty in pre-historic times. Tradition says that King Hoshang accidentally discovered fire and instituted this Jashan in thanksgiving for this divine gift of God and in commemoration of that event. It appears that in ancient Iran this festival marked the approach of winter. According to Bundahishn, the approach of winter was announced by igniting fires on the 9th day Adar of the 10th month; Dae. It appears that the Jashan was celebrated on the next day i.e., on the 10th day Avan. It is called the festival of the 100th day, because the 10th day Avan of the tenth month Dae is the 100th day after the first day. Hormazd of the 7th month Meher which was in ancient times, the day of autumnal equinox, which was the day of new year's day in Iran in pre-historic times, as noted above (see *Mehrigan Jashan*).

21. *Disa Jashan* : Jashan of the day of death of Zoroaster is celebrated on the 11th day, Khorshed. This day is traditionally observed as the day of passing away of the Prophet Zoroaster though the recorded day of his death is the 11th day, Khorshed of the 2nd month Ardibehesht. Jashan and other ceremonies are performed in the fire temples and in the houses of Zoroastrians. Prayers are offered, public meetings are held and lectures are delivered on the life and religion of the Prophet.

22. *Maidyarem Gahambar* : This is the seasonal festival of mid-winter. It is celebrated on any one or all of the five days from the 16th day Meher to the 20th day Behram. This is a festival of winter.

23. *Bahman Jashan* : Jashan of Bahman is celebrated on the 2nd day Bahman. The Jashan ceremony is performed in honour of Bahman,

the Amshaspand, presiding over animal kingdom. Throughout this month, particularly on the second day Bahman, the 12th day Mohor, the 14th day Gosh and the 21st day Ram, the Zoroastrians abstain from taking flesh. They make special arrangements to give fodder to animals and to give in charity for the welfare of animals.

24. *Aspandarmad Jashan* : The Jashan of Aspandarmad is celebrated on the 5th day, Aspandarmad. The Jashan ceremony is performed in honour of Aspandarmad who presides over the earth. This Jashan is also known as Jashan-i-Burzi-garan, the festival of the cultivators. Cultivation of land is an act of merit in the Zoroastrian religion. It is stated that one who cultivates land cultivates holiness and promotes religious virtue and industry. This is the Jashan of the deity presiding over the earth and hence it is a special festival of the farmers and cultivators of land.

25. *Farvardagan Jashan* : This is a festival in honour of Farohars. It is celebrated during the last ten days of the year from the 26th day, Astad to the 30th day Aneran (the five lesser days) and the five *gatha* days (the five greater days).

The last ten days of the Parsee year are specially dedicated to the Farohars (Avesta *fravashi* or the guardian spirits of the departed Zoroastrians). The ceremonies are performed in honour of Farohars. According to the Zoroastrian belief, the Farohars of the departed Zoroastrians visit their family residence in this world during the last ten days of the year. These days of Farvardagan are, therefore, celebrated with religious zeal and fervour. The houses are cleaned and whitewashed. A place is set apart for keeping vases and vessels containing holy water and flowers, the emblem of the Farohars. The days are spent in prayers, ceremonies and acts of charity.

These ten days are also known as *muktad*-holidays. This word *muktad* is a corrupt form of the Sanskrit *muktaatman* which is Sanskrit translation of Avesta *ashamnam*, the first word of the prayer specially recited in honour and remembrance of the Farohars.

The last day of the year viz., the fifth *gatha* day is popularly called Navroz but in ancient writings, it is correctly called the night of Navroz, in other words the new year's eve, which it really is.

26. *Hamaspahmaedem Gahambar* : This is the seasonal festival of approaching spring. It is celebrated on any one or all the five *gatha* days. This is the seasonal festival marking the end of winter and approaching spring. It is also the time set apart for performing religious duties and meritorious deeds.

SIKH FESTIVALS

There are quite a good number of Sikhs in Bombay. Most of them have migrated to Bombay in pursuit of industry, trade, and other jobs.

They hold *gurparbs* to commemorate the Gurus. Famous among the *gurparbs* are those connected with birthdays of Guru Nanak and Guru Gobind Singh, and martyrdom of Guru Arjun Dev and Guru Teg Bahadur.

1. *Guru Nanak's Birthday* : This festival, 'Gurparb' as it is called, falls on Katak (Kartik) Sud 15 i.e., the full moon day and is celebrated in honour of the great saint, Guru Nanak, the first of the ten *gurus* of the Sikh religion. The day is celebrated as the birth anniversary of Guru Nanak who was born in 1469.

The celebrations commence some 48 hours before the actual day when the recitation of *akhand path* of *Granth Sahib* begins at a convenient place or at the Gurudwara. Four to five *granthis* are posted to recite the holy scripture turn by turn for two hours each. A *sevadar* (attendant), is appointed to co-ordinate the function and look after the comforts of the persons who recite the *Granth Sahib*. *Dhupias* (incense-burners) burn incense beside the *Swari of Maharaj* i.e., the throne where the holy book is recited, day and night till the *bhog* ceremony is over. A *pyoti* (flame) fed with pure ghee is kept burning during the period of the *akhand path*. It takes 48 hours to complete the recitation of the holy book.

After the completion of the recitation of the *Granth Sahib* (which is over on the actual day of celebration i.e., Katak Sud 15), a *kirtan* is held at the same place followed by a *katha*, an explanation of the holy word of the *guru* from the holy book. The life story of Guru Nanak is told by prominent people. A *kavi darbar* and singing of orders are held thereafter. The *karah parshad* is then distributed among all those who are present at the time. The end of the function is the *guru ka langar* (free kitchen) which is open to all persons without any distinction of caste, race, creed, sex, etc. All the persons rich and poor sit in one row and eat the food cooked in the same kitchen. It is all vegetarian. The devotees offer cash, flour, pulses, sugar, etc. for the *langar*.

A procession of the photograph of Guru Nanak is also taken out on this festival. It is attended by many Sikhs.

2. *Baisakhi* : This is another important festival of the Sikhs and falls always on the 13th of April of every year. It is an important festival for the Sikhs for the simple reason that on this day, Guru Gobind Singh gave a militant aspect to the followers of Guru Nanak and raised an army of saint sepoys to fight the brutalities of the Moghul Emperors. When Guru Teg Bahadur was beheaded in Delhi, Guru Gobind Singh took up the cudgels against the mighty Moghul Empire with supreme courage and determination. He realised that a strong mass and a band of faithful, selfless volunteers, sparked with patriotism and vigour were needed to defend the *Dharma*.

On the Baisakhi day, Guru Gobind Singh and his Five Beloved ones, fully dressed in military uniforms were seated on a raised platform. Explaining the purpose of the meeting, the Guru told them that he wanted to form an organisation of men who would profess unflinching devotion to the Khalsa i.e., one who is pure and whose code of conduct would be marked by self-abnegation and self-immolation. Their duty will be to protect the weak from tyranny and cheerfully lay down their lives to protect their *Dharma*. They will observe perfect equality among all without making any distinction on the basis of caste, creed, religion, sex etc. Guru Gobind Singh, therefore, instituted the custom of baptism by water stirred with a *khanda*, a double-edged sword. He replaced the institution of "Charan Panhal" (i.e., drinking the water with which the Guru had taken bath) which was in vogue ever since the time of Nanak. Sons of the sword, the Sikhs, were from henceforth given the name of 'Singhs' or lions.

The Baisakhi day is celebrated in Bombay on two days, viz., 12th and 13th April. The former is called Baisakhi-Di-Raat and the latter as Baisakhi-Da-Mela when many cultural and other entertaining programmes such as folk songs, *dogri* songs, *bhangra*, etc. are arranged in the evening at spacious places like the Vallabhbhai Patel Stadium. It is also celebrated in the Gurudwara in the same manner as the celebration of Guru Nanak's birthday. The *amrit chakhna* (baptism ceremony) is also performed on the same day. Baisakhi happens to be also the New Year's day.

3. *Hola Mohalla* : This is an important festival of the Sikh community and it synchronises with the Hindu festival of Holi which is celebrated on *Phalgun Sud. 15*. The *Hola Mohalla* festival is, however, celebrated for three days viz., *Phalgun Sud. 14*, *Sud. 15* and *Chaitra Vad. 1*.

The religious part of the festival is the same as described in respect of the birthday of Guru Nanak, and it is celebrated with great pomp and vigour at Anandpur in the Punjab. The day's celebrations begin 48 hours before the main day i.e., *Chaitra Vad. 1*. On this day, a procession is carried out and arms are prominently displayed. Even 'mock' battles are arranged with a view to imparting training to the younger ones in the use of arms. This was essential in the early history of the Sikh religion since they had to give a tough fight against the Muslim invaders. The offensive attack thus arranged in the mock manoeuvre is called *halla*, a severe offensive attack. This festival is typically celebrated by the Sikh community at Nanded.

4. *Guru Arjun's Martyrdom Day* : This is the day on which Guru Arjun Dev was done to death by the then Muslim ruler of North India. He was the fifth *Guru* of the Sikhs. He became a *guru* on the death of Guru Ram Dass, his father, in 1581 A.D. Guru Arjun Dev used to preach the teachings

of Guru Nanak and in his era, many non-Sikhs were drawn to Sikhism voluntarily. Even some of the Muslims accepted Sikhism. This was not tolerated by the Moghul Emperor. The Guru was summoned to Lahore and was made a prisoner and was handed over to Murtuza Khan who was told that the Guru should be made to embrace Islam or else tortured to death. Since Murtuza Khan failed to convert him to Islam, he handed him over to a Hindu Minister, Chandulal, who had developed enmity with the Guru ever since the latter had disagreed to the marriage proposal between the Guru's son Har Gobind and his daughter. The Guru was tortured in many ways. It is said that he was made to sit on a red hot iron plate, burning sand was poured over his body, etc. He could not withstand all these tortures and ultimately died in 1606 A.D. This happened on *Jyeshtha Sud. 4* and the day is celebrated as the martyrdom day of Guru Arjun Dev, the first martyr of the Sikhs. He was a gifted poet and compiled the *Adi Granth* (the nucleus of the *Granth Sahib*) in 1604 and he was the first Guru to introduce a new type of dress for the Guru.

5. *Guru Nanak's Death Anniversary* : Since Guru Nanak happens to be the first Guru of the Sikhs, he occupies an important place in the Sikh religion. The passing away of Guru Nanak is, therefore, celebrated as a solemn day. It is held on *Ashwin (Assoo) Vad. 10* and on this day, the life and teachings of Guru Nanak are preached to the audience. A procession of a portrait of Nanak is taken out from the main parts of the city and it ends either at a Gurudwara or at a public place where a pandal is constructed. Like the birthday of the great Guru these celebrations also commence 48 hours before the main day i.e., on *Asoo Vad. 8*. The celebrations end with a *Guru Ka langar*.

6. *Guru Teg Bahadur's Martyrdom Day* : The martyrdom day of Guru Teg Bahadur, the 9th Guru of the Sikhs is observed on *Maghar (Margashirsha Sud. 5)*. On the death of Guru Har Krishna, he became the ninth guru of the Sikhs in 1664. During his tenure, the community was divided into many factions. Nevertheless, he could carry out the work of spreading the Sikh religion. He loved peace and quietude. In order to protest against the tyranny of the Muslims, he personally went to Delhi to tell Aurangzeb about converting to Islam by force. He was encouraged in his mission by his only son Govind Rai who subsequently became the tenth and last guru. His son at that time was a child of eight years. He was persuaded to accept the creed of Islam. However, Aurangzeb's efforts bore no fruits. The Guru was slain and was cut into four pieces and the fragments were hung on the four gates of Delhi. The place where the Guru was sacrificed bears the name *Sis Gunj* and is situated in *Chandani Chowk* in Delhi. This happened on *Margashirsha (Maghar) Sud. 5* which is observed as a martyrdom day of Teg Bahadur.

7. *Guru Gobind Singh's Birthday* : This is observed on *Paush (Poh) Sud. 7*. Guru Gobind Singh was the last guru of the Sikhs and it was he who established the Khalsa. It was founded in order to give a united and strong fight to the Muslims who were persecuting the Hindus and others perpetually. He also discontinued the practice of successions of gurus and in their place, the *Granth Sahib* was installed.

Gobind Singh became a Guru of the Sikhs at the tender age of 9. He was a man of the noble character, selfless devotion and so he occupies a unique place in the Sikh religion. The way of celebrating the birth anniversary of Guru Gobind Singh is the same as that of Guru Nanak.

8. *Basant Panchami* : The festival falls on *Magh Sud. 5* and is celebrated to commemorate the day on which Guru Har Gobind (the 6th Guru) liberated the 52 captives from the Gwalior Fort. The yellow colour occupies a prominent place in this festival probably because the rabi crop of mustard is ripe at this time and it takes a yellow colour. On this day, the Sikhs usually wear yellow clothes and even in the preparation of certain dishes, the yellow colour is used. It is a very charming scene to see yellow colour all around.

9. *Prakash Din* : This festival is observed on *Bhadan (Bhadrapad) Sud. 1* when the *Grantha Sahib* was first read over. It is celebrated to commemorate the compilation of the holy *Grantha Sahib*. The manner of celebrating this festival is the same as of other festivals.

All the Sikh festivals are celebrated in one set fashion. The celebration of the festival begins 48 hours prior to the festival day when the continuous recitation of the holy *Grantha Sahib* begins. It is concluded on the day of the festival when a *kirtan* is held. It is followed by lectures on the life of the Guru in whose honour the festival is held and a *kavi* marks the conclusion of the function. The day's functions end with the *Guruka langar*, the free kitchen, which is open to all irrespective of caste, creed, religion, etc.

JAIN FESTIVALS

The Jains form only 1.5 per cent of the total population of Maharashtra, but in Greater Bombay they are 32.07 per cent of the total population. They belong to two groups viz., Murti-pujaka and Sthanak-vasi. The former are again divided into Shwetambara and Digambara sects. The theory of the origin of the two sects is that Parasnath, the 23rd Tirthankara, wore clothes while Mahavira, the 24th, did not, and the two sects follow their respective examples. The Digambaras now wear ochre coloured and the Shwetambaras wear white clothes. The principal difference at present is that the images in Digambara temples are naked and bare while those of the Shwetambaras are clothed and also decorated with ornaments and jewellery.

Pandit Sukhalaji, a renowned Jain scholar states, "It is a distinguishing character of the Jain festivals that none of them, however, small or big, celebrates or extols a desire for acquisition or self-gratification or a feeling of fear, temptation or astonishment. Whatever the occasion for the festival, a landmark in the life of the Tirthankaras or something else, the sole objective of the relevant celebrations is knowledge and the purification and perfection of character."

The following are some of the important festivals observed by the Jain community :—

1. *New Year Day (Veer Samvat)* : This is celebrated on Kartika Sud. 1 on which day, the Veer Samvat begins. It is believed that the first Gandara (disciple) Gautama achieved the ultimate knowledge of omniscience (*kevaladnyana*) at the dawn of this day when he overcame his attachment to his guru, Lord Mahavira, the last and 24th Tirthankara who attained *nirvana* on the previous day which is observed as Diwali day.
2. *Dnyana Panchami* : This festival falls on the 5th day of the bright half of Kartika. On this day, the Jains are considered to acquire spiritual knowledge in the uplift of the soul. There is a legend about this festival which is connected with Prince Varadatta. Religious books are to be worshipped on this day. Incense sticks are to be burnt before them and a design of *swastika* is to be drawn with five types of grains, rice and flowers. Sweet dishes should be offered and a lamp of five is to be lighted. By observing the austerities, Varadatta and Gunamanjari were cured of their diseases and became happy. Those who are unable to celebrate the fifth day of the bright half of every month in this manner can celebrate the fifth day of the bright half of Kartika. They offer special worship and pay respects to *sadhus* and *sadhvis* and attempt to acquire more knowledge. A similar festival called *Shuta Panchami* is observed by Digambara Jains on Jyeshtha Sud. 5 on which day their saints Pushdanta and Bhutabali completed the writing of the sacred book, *Shatakhandagama* which is worshipped by all Jains.
3. *Chaturmasi Chaturdashi* : This festival falls on Kartika Sud. 14 which is the last day of *chaturmasa* (the months of rainy season) which begins with Ashadha Sud. 14. During this period free movements of Jain monks are prescribed with a view to avoiding the possible destruction of germs, vegetation, etc. They are ordained to stay at one place during this period. Even pilgrimages to holy places such as Shatrunjaya hills near Palitana are prohibited.
4. *Kartika Pournima* : This is the day on which the austerities of *chaturmasa* undertaken by Jain ascetics are ended. The day has a special significance. The austerities of *chaturmasa* undertaken by Jains are ended on this day and prohibited food can be taken from this day after observance of quarterly *pratikramana*. On the occasion of *pratikramana*, Jains observe

fast for two days on 14th and 15th of Kartika which is called *chhath*. *Sadhus* who are prohibited from moving from one place to another during the period of *chaturmasa*, are free to start on their journeys. Mount Shatrunjaya, one of the holiest places of Jain pilgrimage, which remains closed during the *chaturmasa* period is opened on this day and many people go on a pilgrimage to that city of temples. Some of the Jains who cannot afford to visit this place, visit other nearby Jain *tirthas*. Others celebrate the function at home when the paintings of Shatrunjaya on cloth called *pat* are exhibited at the outskirts of the town. Devout Jains take *darshan* of the *pat* and refreshment of sweet drink is sometimes freely distributed amongst them.

5. *Mauna Ekadashi* : This is observed on Margashirsha Sud. 11; *mauna* (silence) according to Jainism is a means of self-purification which gives mental peace to those who observe it. 150 *kalyanaks*, the holy days of the anniversaries of birth, *nirvana*, etc. of the Tirthankaras fall on this day which is regarded as very sacred. The anniversary of the birth, *diksha* and *kevaladnyana* of Mallinath, the 19th Tirthankara, also falls on this day.

6. *Paush Dashami* : This festival is celebrated on the occasion of the anniversary of Lord Parshwanath, the 23rd Tirthankara on Margashirsha Vad. 10 called Paush Dashami. This is celebrated by chanting *mantras* with the observance of complete fast on the 10th and the partial fast on both, the preceding and succeeding days of Margashirsha Vad. 10. The use of luxurious articles, including soft bed etc., is avoided on this day. It is believed that those who observe this fast for ten years and ten months are blessed with moral, material and spiritual happiness.

7. *Meru Trayodashi* : This festival is observed on Paush Vad. 13 in commemoration of the birth anniversary of Lord Adishwarji or Rishabhdev, the first Tirthankara of the Jains. Special worship is offered on this day at temples where seven silver pots are placed one above the other in the form of a conical pile which is locally called *meru* and decorated with flags from all sides. A fast is also observed on this day in the usual manner.

8. *Rohini Vrata* : This *vrata* is observed with a fast every year by Jain females in honour of Rohini, the queen of Ashoka, on the occasion of the *nakshatra* known as Rohini. The legend of king Ashoka and queen Rohini is narrated in this connection. With a view to receiving timely help from *Paramatma* like the queen, Jain females observe this *vrata* for seven years and seven months.

9. *Aayambila Vrata* : This *vrata* is observed from Chaitra Sud. 7 to 15 by devout Jains who take only one meal in a day in one sitting. The food which is without fat or oil, spices and sometimes salt is consumed during this period. *Shripal Rasa* is read in the *Upashraya* and other religious rites are also performed during the period.

10. *Mahavira Jayanti* : This is celebrated by all sections of Jains with pomp and show on Chaitra Sud. 13 in commemoration of the birth of Lord Mahavira, the 24th and last Tirthankara of the Jains. King Siddhartha and his wife Trishala who were devout followers of Parasnath, 23rd Jain Tirthankara gave birth to a child named as Vardhamana in 599 B.C. in Videha. After the birth of the child, the family gained much wealth and prosperity and so the child was named as Vardhamana who was later on known as Lord Mahavira. When he was twenty years old, his parents died and after two years, he succeeded in obtaining the permission of his elder brother and other relatives for adopting the ascetic way of life which was started on Kartika Vad. 10. He passed the next twelve years of his life in deep meditation and severe penance with hardships. Thus at the age of 42, he earned omniscience and attained the highest knowledge and *kevaladnyana* on Vaishakh Sud. 10 on the bank of the river Rujupati under a *sal* tree. In the next thirty years, he visited various places, including Mithila, Rajagriha, etc. and preached many vows. He attained *nirvana* in Ashwin (Aaso) Vad 30 in 527 B.C. at Parapuri.

On the day of Mahavira Jayanti, Jains go to the temple of Mahavira or any other temple and perform religious ceremonies at shrines. Besides, morning processions are taken out with the idol of Mahavira and discourses on the life of Mahavira and his teachings are given with other religious and cultural programmes.

Jains of the Digambara sect celebrate Veerashasana Jayanti on Shravan Vad. 1 on which day, Lord Mahavira after achieving omniscience gave his first religious sermons on Mount Vipulachala.

11. *Chaitra Pournima* : On Chaitra Sud. 15, Jains visit the temples and offer prayers before a photographic chart of the Shatrunjaya hills. Those who can afford to visit the hills go on a pilgrimage there. The other celebrations are the same as those gone through on Kartika Pournima.

12. *Akshaya Tritiya* : Akshaya Tritiya is considered as one of the most auspicious days of Jains. It is celebrated on Vaishakh Sud. 3. On this day, Rishabhdev, the first Tirthankara of Jains, broke his continuous fast undertaken for six months by accepting sugarcane juice from Shreyans, the king of Hastinapur. The idol of Rishabhdev is bathed with sugarcane juice and worshipped on this day.

The *varsi tap* observed from Phalguna Vad. 8 to Vaishakh Sud. 3 of the following year by the Jains is terminated on this day. The *vrata* starts with a fast on Phalguna Vad. 8 and 9 and thereafter the fast is observed for alternate days. They have to observe fast on the 8th and 14th days of each lunar fortnight in spite of non-fasting days according to their turns. The fast observed for a year is terminated on this day by accepting sugarcane juice in small pots from relatives.

13. *Paryushana Parva* : This is the most sacred festival among all festivals celebrated by Jains which provides an opportunity to observe continuous religious activities. Those who do not observe any religious activities on other days also perform religious acts at least during *paryushana*. Jains of both sects viz., Shvetambara and Digambara celebrate it with strict austerities though the period of celebration is altogether different.

Shvetambaras observe this *parva* from Shravan Vad. 12 to Bhadrapad Sud. 4, especially for self-purification and is regarded as a *mahan parva* by Jains who observe complete or partial fast by taking only one meal in a day during the period of these eight days. *Kalpasutra*, an important Jain scripture written in Prakrit, narrates the lives of the first and last Tirthankaras and of other ancient saints and the preaching of the Tirthankaras is read out. At some places, the life stories concerning the important events in the lives of Lord Mahavira and the other prominent Tirthankaras viz., Rishabhdev, Parshwanath, Neminath etc., are read and explained to the gathering by monks and nuns.

The *samvatsari* or the annual *pratikramana* which is the last of the five periodical *pratikramanas* or expiation of sins directed to be performed during Paryushana is celebrated on Bhadrapad Sud. 4 by the Jains who observe fast on this day. Greeting cards are exchanged amongst relatives and friends and each person asks forgiveness of his relatives, elders and friends for any verbal, mental or physical injury that he might have caused directly or indirectly in the last year.

Though the birthday of Mahavira really falls on Chaitra Sud. 13, it is conveniently celebrated on the fifth day of this *parva* i.e., on Bhadrapad Sud. 1 on which day the metal idol of the Tirthankara, which is kept on a silver dish in a chariot specially decorated for this occasion is taken out in procession. Before starting the procession the devotees make bids for the priority of leading the procession. The highest bidder sits by the side of the idol in the chariot with men in front of it and women follow the chariot and sing songs in praise of Lord Mahavira. The procession terminates at the house of the highest bidder where the idol is kept for a day, is taken out through the main streets. Then, it is returned to the temple.

The fast observed for eight days is broken on Bhadrapad Sud. 5. On this day, a procession of monks, nuns and devotees who observe fast is taken out which terminates at the temple.

The Jains of the Digambara sect observe *paryushana* known as *Dasalakshana parva* from Bhadrapad Sud. 5 to 14 every year. In the mornings of these days, the eight-fold worship is offered and the gathering in the temple is explained, one of the ten *dharma*s contained in the *Tatvarthasutra* which is one of the holy scriptures of Jains. Most of the Jains

observe complete fast on all these days, while some observe a partial fast by taking one meal a day. Anant Chaturdashi which falls on Bhadrapad Sud. 14 is the last day of this *parva*. It is considered a sacred day on which a fast is generally observed by all. *Paryushana* is one of the most important festivals of the Jains and so it is observed by all, poor and rich who also give donations for charitable purposes.

14. *Diwali* : Jains celebrate *Diwali* as *nirvana din* or the day of emancipation of Lord Mahavira. This is a common festival to Jains as well as Hindus. The *nirvana* of Lord Mahavira took place at the age of 72 in 527 B.C. which is known as the commencement of the Jain era, *Veer Nirvana Samvat*.

The *nirvana* of Lord Mahavira took place in the night of *Diwali* i.e., Ashwin Vad. 30 (*amas*). When Gautam Swami, the great saint who was away from the place came to know about the event, he was overwhelmed with grief and began to mourn. Afterwards, the supreme truth dawned on him and he attained *kevaladhyana*, on the day of Kartika Sud. 1, which is celebrated as a festival day. *Diwali* is also celebrated as the festival of light by illuminating houses with a number of lamps.

Lord Mahavira is worshipped at midnight and early in the morning next day and *mantras* are chanted in honour of Lord Mahavira and Gautam Swami. The Jains meet their relatives and friends and the new year's greetings are exchanged. Though the ceremonies like *lakshmipujana* have no place in the Jain religion, they are performed at some places. Bhau Beej which falls on Kartika Sud. 2 is also celebrated by Jains as Sunanda, sister of Lord Mahavira hosted her other brother Nandivardhana with a view to comforting him in his grief at the *nirvana* of the Tirthankara. Thus, the festivals of *Diwali*, New Year and Bhau Beej are generally celebrated in a similar manner to Hindus but with some different religious backgrounds.

JEWISH FESTIVALS

Most of the Jewish population in Maharashtra is concentrated in Bombay, Raigad, Thane and Pune districts. Except for a very small number of Jews of Iraqi or European origin in Greater Bombay, the bulk belongs to a single homogeneous section known as Bene Israel. This section adopted Marathi as its mother tongue. So far as religious ritual goes, there is little variation from the observations of Jews from other parts of the world but there are distinctive native features so far as social usages are concerned. In particular the Bene Israel have adopted their own Marathi names for their festivals and these names are still in frequent use, though their Hebrew or English equivalent tend progressively to replace them.

As the Jewish day commences and ends at sunset each festival begins at sunset of the preceding day and ends at sunset. Thus the Sabbath, which

is observed on Saturday each week, actually commences at sunset of Friday of our ordinary calendar and ends at sunset on Saturday. The Jews, Bene Israel as they are called in Maharashtra, observe the following important festivals and fasts during a year.

1. *Rosh Hashanah* : The First of Tishri or New Year's day. Jewish New Year's day used to be called *navyacha san* in the past. According to Jewish tradition, the first of Tishri ushers in the Days of Awe, known in Hebrew as the 'Yommim Noroim'. It is an occasion on which every Jew must strive to reconcile himself with the Almighty and with his fellowmen. Prayers are offered at the synagogue, the Jewish place of worship. On the return from the synagogue on the New Year's Eve, a service is held in the evening when the seven things viz., sweetened apple (i.e. apple and honey), green garlic (with roots and leaves), beet root, dates, white pumpkin, fish and head of lamb or goat are kept on the table. After prayers the articles are shared by all those who are present. The meals are taken after this function.

The Rosh Hashanah is marked by much rejoicing among the Jews. A feast is held where mutton or sweets, in two or more varieties are high lights of the dinner. Family reunions are a special feature, sons, daughters and sons-in-law coming from far and near. New clothes and ornaments are worn. Fruits and home-made delicacies are sent after the midday meal to relatives and friends. Presents are given to married daughters and sons-in-law in the first year of their marriage.

This festival is also known by three different names and each name has a special meaning attached to it. It is known as the day of judgement when the God, the King of kings judges the deeds of the people done during the last year. It is also called the day of remembrance i.e., it has a reference to the days when Abraham prepared to sacrifice his son at God's command. The other name given to the New Year's Day is the day of blowing the *shofar*. The blowing of a *shofar* is an important feature of the day's celebration. The *shofar* is a musical instrument made out of a ram's horn by flattening it by heat. In the old days, the blowing of *shofar* served many purposes viz., heralding the New Year, the crowning of the king, etc. When the *shofar* is blown on the New Year's Day, it means that a day of peace, prosperity and happiness will be ushered in. The festival promotes the solidarity of home life and contributes to the well-being of the family and the community. The first of Tishri always falls on Monday or Saturday.

2. *Fast of Gedaliah* : This fast which is observed on the 3rd of Tishri is one of the four fasts of community mourning. It is observed in memory of the murder of Gedaliah, the governor of the Jews. He was appointed by Nebuchadnezzar. His assassination brought great hardships to the Jewish people. The fast is called *Gedaliahcha upavas*. It is broken by consuming

lamp. The time of lighting them is immediately at the appearance of the stars.

The lights are lit at a height of about five feet from the ground in a frame specially provided for the purpose against the interior wall to the right as we get out of the front door. These lights are required to be stationed in such a way that their light should fall on the mezuzah at the front door. The festival is spent in merry-making and in a most joyous way. Now-a-days, there are public functions for eight days when various items of entertainment are staged e.g., fancy dress competition, lyrics singing competition, debates, etc. Sweets and presents are distributed to children.

6. *Fast of Tebet* : This fast which is observed on the 10th day of Tebet is called *tebetcha upavas* in Marathi. It is one of the four fasts of community mourning and is known in Biblical phraseology as the Fast of Tenth Month. This fast was not observed by the Bene Israels of Maharashtra in olden days but was introduced among them by David Rahabi. This fast might have been instituted to commemorate the first siege of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon in the sixth century B.C.

7. *New Year's Day of the Trees* : On the 15th of Shebat, the Bene Israels of Maharashtra celebrate a festival which is called by them *eliyahu hannabicha oorus* but in fact is observed as Rosh Hashana Leilanoth i.e. New Year's Day for the trees. It is also called *vanaspaticha divas* in Marathi. It is said that Elijah, the Prophet appeared to some Bene Israels at a village Khandala in Alibag taluka of Raigad district and then ascended to heaven. On this day, the Bene Israels purchase various kinds of fruits and place them in a plate along with *malida* i.e., a composition made of bread of rice flour besmeared with sweets. New fruits are purchased by Jews since it is a season of harvest of fruits in the land of their forefathers. The plate is placed on a clean white sheet. They invoke Elijah, the prophet, and say *Veiteniekha* i.e., the verses of blessing prayers in gratitude are offered to the Almighty who has given so graciously every thing for man's use and benefit. After the prayers, the contents of the plate are distributed among the members of the family. By observing this festival, the debt which mankind owes to the trees and forests is remembered. Trees give us not only shade and fruits but are useful in many other ways and this is emphasised in the festival.

8. *Fast of Esther and Feast of Purim* : These two festivals are observed on the 13th and 14th day of Adar respectively (Adar II or Ve-Adar in a year with an additional month). A fast is observed on the 13th and a feast on the 14th. It generally coincides with the Hindu festival of Holi. Historically this festival goes back to the ancient days following the dispersion of 586 B.C.E. when a large Jewish community developed in the Persian Empire. Esther whose other name was Hadassah was the Queen

of Persia. She was a Jewess. At that time Haman was the king's prime minister who was all powerful. Esther's cousin Mordecai was somehow not in the good books of Haman. He decided to kill Mordecai. This, however, was not sufficient. Haman wanted to exterminate all Jews. At last, he obtained an order from the king to destroy all Jews and 13th of Adar was selected for the massacre. This news however, reached Mordecai and through him Esther whose timely intervention saved the lives of the Jews. Haman was exposed and ultimately hanged.

This fast commemorates the day that Haman had chosen for killing the Jews. It also recalls the fast that Esther had ordained upon the Jews as the feast of lots. Haman wanted to make his plot of annihilation of Jews successful and accordingly, he had cast lots to decide the best day on which Jews could be killed. In Persian 'lots' are called 'Purim'. This gives the explanation for the feast being called Feast of Purim.

On the 14th of Adar i.e., on the feast of Purim presents of sweetmeats prepared at home are sent by one family to another. Generally on the festival of Purim, the dish of *puranpoli* is prepared.

9. *Feast of Passover* : This festival is also known as Pesach. The Jews abstain from using sour liquid as well as any leaven during the period of the feast. It is also called *valhandancha san* in Marathi. This festival commences on the 15th of Nisan and lasts for eight days. The festival of Passover has many beautiful symbols and observances and most significant of all is the seder service held at home for the first two evenings of the holiday. It is in the nature of a historical drama enacted at the festal table around which are gathered members of the family. The head of the family leads in the narration of the story of the Exodus from Egypt and the family, particularly the little children take an active part. This holiday is celebrated in memory of the deliverance of the ancestors of the Jews from Egyptian bondage. For eight days from the 15th of Nisan to 22nd the Bene Israels eat unleavened bread. It is also called *bhakricha san* in Marathi.

This feast is one of the pilgrim feasts, the other two being that of Sukkoth and Shabouth. These three pilgrim feasts have agricultural as well as historical background. The Passover Festival marks the beginning of liberty of Israel and the end of Egyptian bondage. A great marvel is connected with this festival. When the Egyptian king was persecuting the Jews prior to their liberation he was told not to harass them. However, the pleadings had no effect.

The task of liberating a host of men in bondage was assigned to Moses, the towering figure of the Old Testament. When Moses saw an Egyptian beat a Hebrew, he killed the former and had to flee to Midian where God gave Moses his divine mission to "bring forth my children, the sons of

Israel out of Egypt". Moses approached Pharaoh and asked him to liberate Hebrews, but Pharaoh refused and God struck Egypt with nine plagues, such as infestations of frogs, flies, insects, sky-darkening, sand storms, etc. Still there was no change in Pharaoh's heart but the 10th plague, the destruction of the first born children of Egypt had the desired effect and Pharaoh at last allowed the Jews to go.

10. *Feast of Pentecost or Shabouth* : The festival which falls on the 6th of Sivan and lasts for two days was not originally observed by the Bene Israels in India. It has a historical importance for Jews. It commemorates the giving of Torah i.e., the Mosaic Law, by the Almighty from Mount Sinai. It thus marks the spiritual birth of Israel. By virtue of Torah, Israel has been a spiritualised force in the world and bears a profound message for our times. This festival has no local name.

It is also called the Feast of Weeks. This festival has an agricultural, religious and national significance in Jewish history. In Biblical times this festival was mainly an agricultural feast. It is known in the Bible as the feast of the harvest and also as the day of the first fruits.

11. *Fast of Tammuz* : This fast which falls on 17th of the tenth month, Tammuz is one of the four fasts of community mourning, the other three being, the Fast of Tebet, the Fast of Ab and the Fast of Tishri. In Biblical phrase, the fast is called the fast of the Fourth Month. It has historical importance. In the days of the first Temple, the Babylonian army, besieging Jerusalem breached the walls on the 9th of Tammuz. Almost five centuries later, the Romans breached the walls on the 17th of Tammuz. Since the second destruction of the temple was of more lasting effect, the fast was decreed for the 17th of Tammuz which is observed in the most solemn manner. The period between the 17th of Tammuz and the 15th of Ab is given a special treatment in the sense that all auspicious functions like marriage, etc. or purchase of clothes are not undertaken. They are, as it were, inauspicious days.

12. *Fast of Ab* : This is an important fast among the Jews. This fast which falls on the 9th of the month of Ab is also one of the four fasts of community mourning. According to the Biblical mode of expression, it is called the "Fast of the Fifth Month". It is also called *birdiacha san* in Marathi by the Bene Israel. It is so named because, this fast is broken on the evening of the ninth of Ab by consuming rice with curry of *birdi* (*wal*), one of the pulses grown in Thane and Raigad districts. *Wals* are kept in water for a day and night till they sprout. The outer skin is removed and then they are cooked with spices, etc. A legend is told about this festival. The forefathers of Bene Israel of India were survivors of a shipwreck when only seven couples could reach safely the shore. They landed at Navgaon village in Raigad district. Since they were hungry, they ate *wal* in a raw state. The day on which they landed at

Navgaon was 15th of Ab and hence on this day Bene Israels even now consume *wal* curry or some other preparation of it. This version, however, is not accepted by some Jews who think that the consumptions of *wal* in raw state is done to commemorate the memory of their forefathers who were compelled to eat anything that was available during their hardships.

The food which is consumed on the 8th of Ab is served on banana leaves to symbolise the fact that the Israelis had no household utensils from which to partake of food at the time of the loss of their dominion and power. During the preceding eight days the Jews abstain from consuming meat, wearing of new clothes, celebrating marriages, etc.

The fast has historical importance. It is a major fast day in Jewish tradition. It commemorates the destruction of the first and second temples, the two events, though almost 500 years apart, took place on the same day i.e., 9th of Ab. That is an occasion of immense pain and sorrow. Jews squat on the floor without any footwear and offer prayers bewailing the destruction of the temple.

In the month of Elul i.e., the last month of the year, many devout Bene Israels observe fasts for forty days, beginning with the 2nd of Elul to the 10th day of Tishri on which day the fast of Yom Kippur is observed. The fasts are observed on all days except Sabhath i.e., Saturday and the two days of Rosh Harshanah i.e., New Year's Day.

The month of Elul precedes the month of Tishri and because many festivals and fasts are observed in the month of Tishri, the month of Elul gets a special significance.

Those who are unable to observe the fast for forty days are said to observe them at least on Mondays and Thursdays. While fasting they take their meals only once a day after sunset.

FAIRS

In Greater Bombay, ten fairs are held in a year where there are more than 25,000 visitors. Most of the persons attending, are from the City itself or the neighbouring towns. As the city is a great centre of retail and wholesale trade, people attend these fairs mainly with a religious motive or for enjoying the fun of a get-together. The account of the main fairs in Bombay is given below.

Mahashivaratri Fair at Kanheri Caves, Borivli : The fair is held on *Magh Vad*. 14 which is believed to be the favourite day of Lord Shiva and lasts for one day only. The site of the fair is at Kanheri Caves, eight miles to the north of Borivli railway station. The distance from Borivli to the caves can be covered by bus. Persons belonging to the Kamathi community who are generally construction workers mainly visit the fair. They offer worship to Bheema, second of the Pandavas who according to the belief

among them once lived in one of the caves there. There is neither a regular temple nor any image of Lord Shiva at the caves, though there are many images of Buddha and his disciples. People arrive at the caves in the morning, offer fried gram, parched rice, coconuts, flowers, etc. at the main entrance to the caves and return home the same evening.

Mahalakshmi Fair at Mahalakshmi, Bombay : The fair is held in honour of Goddess Mahalakshmi twice a year, viz., from *Ashwin sud. 1* to *Ashwin sud. 10* i.e., *navaratra* and from *Chaitra sud. 1* to *Chaitra sud. 10*. The fair held in *navaratra* is more important and is called *mahayatra*. On an average two lakhs of pilgrims from city and suburbs attend the fair held in *navaratra*. The inner shrine of the temple is well decorated with ornamental designs and legendary figures. On both sides of the image of Goddess Mahalakshmi there are the images of Goddesses Mahakali and Mahasaraswati. The temple of Mahalakshmi is situated in an area named after Goddess Mahalakshmi, on a hillock at the extreme west of Bombay Island. The temple is at a distance of about one mile from Mahalakshmi station on the Western Railway. It can be reached by BEST buses.

It is said that in the middle of the 18th Century, the construction of Worli causeway was undertaken by Government but the work could not be completed for many reasons. One day, the contractor, Prabhu by caste, had a dream in which he was told by the goddesses that they were lying at the bottom of the sea and desired that they should be taken out and installed in the temple to be constructed on a nearby hill, and if that was done the construction of Worli causeway would be smooth because of their blessings. According to the advice of the goddesses, the images were taken out of the sea, and installed in the temple which was later built on the hill in 1830. The present images of the goddesses, it is said, are the same as those salvaged from the sea.

In course of time it was decided by prominent persons to hold an annual fair in the month of *Ashwin sud. 1* to *Ashwin sud. 10*, which are auspicious days for the worship of the deities. The main entrance of the temple faces the east. A flight of stone steps leads to the *mahadwara* of the temple. Drums are kept at the top of the *mahadwara* which are sounded twice a day, early in the morning and in the evening. Inside the *mahadwara* to the left is a lamp-pillar which is approximately 15 feet high. The hereditary Bhopis of the temple reside in the houses constructed on the left of the main gate. The open space in front of their houses is occupied by shops selling materials of worship such as coconuts, incense-sticks, flower garlands, etc.

The temple is opened at 5 a.m. every morning when the images are bathed with water and scented etc., and clothes, ornaments and flowers and flower garlands are put on them. *Kumkum* is also applied to their foreheads. A learned *acharya* is appointed by the trustees on a part-time basis for

reciting the *sapt-shati patha* daily in the morning. *Arati* is performed at about 7 a.m. and *mahanaivedya* of rice, cakes of wheat flour, sweets and vegetables is offered. *Kirtans*, *pravachans* etc., are also arranged. It measures about 25' x 15' and its floor is paved with marble stones. The *Sabhamandap* is open on all sides and at the centre of it, facing the deities, an image of a wooden lion is installed on a stone pillar, both covered with silver plates. The pillar is erected on a stone platform measuring 2.5' x 2.5' and four feet high. At the entrance of the *sabhamandap*, a pit for lighting sacred fire (*yajna kunda*) 2.5' x 2.5' and two feet deep is provided which is used for performing *havan* during the period of the fair and on such other occasions. Images of several saints are inscribed on the top of the *sabhamandap*, on three sides viz., north, south and east. A hall, 35' x 25' constructed behind the shrine is used as a *dharmashala*.

The image of Mahalakshmi is in the centre of the platform and those of Mahakali and Mahasaraswati are to her right and left, respectively. In front of these images, three small stools made of silver are placed. A gold plated mask of Goddess Annapoorna is installed on the middle stool. Silver footprints of a goddess are placed on another stool and the third stool is used for keeping worship utensils. *Dhuparati* is performed at sunset and *shayana arti* is performed at about 10-30 p.m. After this the temple is closed. During the period of the fair, on festival days and on other special occasions, the temple is kept open upto midnight.

Devotees in large numbers flock to the temple for *darshan* of the goddesses on Tuesdays, Fridays, Sundays as these days are considered to be more auspicious for their worship. It is customary to make vows to the deities for getting a child, prosperity, for regaining eye sight, etc. On fulfilment of their desires, devotees offer cradles, small umbrellas, artificial limbs like eyes etc., made of silver and some offer cloth, coconuts, bangles, combs, mirrors, etc. Some also distribute sweets or sugar as *prasad*.

The *mahayatra* starts on *Ashwin sud. 1*, and ends on *Ashwin sud. 10*. As the temple is situated on a hill and as there is no sufficient space around to accommodate shops and stalls in the compound of the temple the fair is held at the foot of the hill. The duration of the fair is of ten days, but no special programmes except *bhajans*, *kirtans* and *pravachans* are arranged in the temple from the 2nd to the 9th of *Ashwin*.

Ashwin sud. 1, being the first day of the fair, a *ghata* (metal pot) is installed in the temple early in the morning and special worship is offered to the deities. An *abhisheka* is also performed.

On *Ashwin sud. 9*, the most important day of the fair, the *ghata* is removed and a sacred fire (*homa*) is lighted in the *yadnya kunda* and a large number of devotees gather for the *purnahuti* and offer coconuts, incense-sticks, *dhup*, etc. to the *homa*. In the evening of *Ashwin 10*, most

pilgrims offer leaves of the *apta* tree to the deities as a token offering of gold.

The second or *Chaitra* fair starts on *Gudhi Padwa* day on *Chaitra sud. 1* and lasts till *Chaitra sud. 9*, programmes of *bhajan*, *kirtan* and *pravachan* are arranged during this period. On *Chaitra sud. 1*, a *ghata* is installed in the temple and a flag is hoisted on a pole just adjacent to the entrance of the *sabhamandap*. On *Chaitra sud. 9*, the *ghata* is removed and the sacred fire (*homa*) is lighted. Thousands of pilgrims attend this fair every day.

An adequate number of policemen are deployed for maintaining law and order at both the fairs. Volunteers of local associations also provide minor amenities to pilgrims at the temple as well as at the fair. The temple trust is registered under the Bombay Public Trusts Act, 1950. The board of trustees includes prominent citizens.

Shri Lakshminarayan Fair, Gowalia Tank : This fair is held from *Ashwin sud. 12* to *Ashwin vad. 6* in honour of God Narayan and Goddess Lakshmi to commemorate the inception day of the deities at Gowalia Tank. It lasts for ten days and during this period about 1,20,000 pilgrims attend it.

The deities are draped in rich clothes which are changed according to various seasons and festivals. The daily worship of the deities is performed according to what is known as the *Pushti Marga Sampradaya* as laid down by Vallabhacharya, founder of the *Sampradaya*. Though the period of the fair is ten days the first day of the fair i.e., *Ashwin sud. 12* is the most important day and *patotsava* is celebrated on this day. On other days, no special programmes are arranged except *bhajan*, *kirtan*, *pravachana*. On the first day of the fair, a special worship (*panchamrita abhisheka*) is performed on the deities lasting for half an hour.

After this a sacrificial offering is made. After completion of the special worship, *raj bhog* is offered to the deities. The *patotsava* ceremony is performed under the supervision of one of the trustees. On this day, the temple is kept open from morning to 22-30 at night except during the *Bhog* period. The fair is held on the Gowalia Tank *maidan* which is adjacent to the temple. Pilgrims of all castes and creeds visit the temple to worship the deities and attend the fair every day. About 1,20,000 pilgrims from Bombay city and its suburbs attend the fair during these ten days.

In addition to the fair, the festivals such as *Makar Sankranti*, *Ram navmi*, *Rang Panchami*, *Vasant Panchami*, *Gokul Ashtami* are also celebrated in the temple. On *Kartik sud. 1*, an *annakot* is offered to the deities and the *prasad* is distributed amongst devotees. The affairs of the temple are managed by Seth Gokuldas Tejpal Charities Trust which has been registered under the Bombay Public Trusts Act, 1950.

Shri Vithoba Fair, Vadala : The fair is held at Vadala (west) in honour of God Vithoba in the month of *Ashadh* every year. The temple of Vithoba

is situated on Katrak Road near Vithoba market. One can approach the temple from Vadala Road railway station on the harbour branch of the suburban line of the Central Railway. The fair is held from *Ashadh sud. 10* to *12*, the important day of the fair being *Ashadh sud. 11*. It is said that a *guru* of the *Varkari* sect and a great devotee of God Vithoba was living about 150 years ago at the place where the present temple is situated. He was a regular visitor to Pandharpur and went on foot for the *Ashadhi Ekadashi*. In one of his visits to Pandharpur he expressed inability to go there to his fellowmen in the following year due to old age. One of his followers said to the *guru*, "you are a devotee of God Vithoba; so you may pray him to come to Bombay." The *guru* said, "Let us hope so; after all it depends upon the mercy of God Vithoba." The same year, the *guru* and his followers took the palanquin procession to Pandharpur as usual. While bathing in the river Chandrabhaga, they were surprised to find that one of the followers of the *guru* had found an image of God Vithoba. The *guru* and his followers were happy and brought the said image to Bombay and installed it in the *guru's* hut on *Chaitra sud. 13*. The followers of the *Varkari* sect then discontinued the practice of carrying a palanquin to Pandharpur from the next year.

Images of God Vithoba and Goddess Rakhumai in their traditional posture of hands on their waist are installed in the shrine of the main temple on a platform of marble stones. The image of Rakhumai is to the left of Vithoba at a distance of about 1.5'. The height of the image of Vithoba is 3.5' and that of Rakhumai is 3'. The images are made of black stone. Small images of Vithoba and Rakhumai made of silver are kept behind the main images in a *devhara*. A silk turban, a *dhoti*, an upper garment and a shoulder cloth of cotton are put on the image of God Vithoba while the image of Rakhumai is draped in a saree and a blouse of cotton. During the fair and on special occasions, rich clothes of silk are put on the deities. A nose-ring, a necklace of black beads and silver bangles are the ornaments of daily wear of Rakhumai. During the period of fair and on special occasions, precious ornaments, such as locket and chain of gold and earrings and crown both of silver are put on the image of Vithoba; and bangles, necklace, a nose ring, all of gold, a waist belt and a *painjan*, all of silver, are put on the image of Rakhumai.

The shrine of the deity is opened at 4-30 a.m. every day to perform *kakad arati* at 5 a.m. which is followed by an *abhisheka*. Thereafter the deities are bathed with cold water. Scented oil is then applied to the images and clothes and ornaments are put on them. After application of sandalwood paste and *kumkum* on the forehead and other parts of the body, garlands of flowers are put on them. The images of Ganapati, *Shivalinga* and other deities are also worshipped in a similar manner, accompanied by chanting of the *mantras*. The *arati* is performed in the

main temple from 6-30 a.m. to 7 a.m. and the same is afterwards waved before other images. *Tirtha* (holy water) and *prasad* are distributed amongst devotees present at the time of the *arati*. It is customary to offer a *naivedya* of cooked food to the deities daily except on days of fasts. The temple is closed for *darshan* from 12 noon to 3-30 p.m. when it is again opened and garlands of flowers and *tulsi* leaves are offered to the deities. The evening *arati* is performed at 7 p.m. and *prasad* is distributed amongst the devotees present. The temple is closed for the night at 10 p.m. after performing the night *arati*.

There is a general practice of making vows to the deity for getting a child, prosperity in business, relief from bodily or mental ailments. On fulfilment of the vows, clothes, ornaments etc., are offered. Some also distribute *gur*, sugar, etc. according to means. The annual fair starts on *Ashadh sud. 10* and lasts for three days i.e., up to *Ashadh 12*. On *Ashadh sud. 10*, a special worship called *maha abhisheka* is performed by a prominent person. The pilgrims attend the fair from this day and worship the deities with *kumkum*, flowers and leaves of the *tulsi* plant. On *Ashadh sud. 11*, which is the important day of the fair, pilgrims from all walks of life attend the fair. They worship the deities by offering flowers and coins before them and praying for mercy. The pilgrims in groups called *dindis* reciting *bhajans* visit the temple throughout the day from all parts of Bombay.

The programmes of *bhajans*, *kirtans* and *pravachan* are also arranged. To enable the pilgrims to have *darshan* of Vithoba and Rakhumai, the temple is kept open throughout the day and up to 3 a.m. on the following day. There is no programme on *Ashadh sud. 12*. Those persons who could not take *darshan* during the earlier two days, visit the temple to pay homage to the deities. Besides the annual fair there is a programme of palanquin procession (*palkhi*) of a portrait of Vithoba and Rakhumai at about 10 a.m. on *Chaitra sud. 13*, the day of inception of the deities, taken round the adjacent locality. This is attended by about 3,000 persons. *Maha abhisheka* is also performed in the temple on certain festival days viz., *Ashwin sud. 10* (Dasara), *Ramnavmi*, and *Gokul Ashtami*. These are celebrated in the traditional way.

Mankeshwar Fair, Reay Road : Fairs in honour of God Mankeshwar (Lord Shiva) are held in the months of *Shravana*, *Ashvina* and *Magha* of which the fair held in the month of *Shravana* is considered to be the most important. On an average three lakh pilgrims attend this fair. Women are not allowed to enter the shrine. The *pindi* (spout) of Lord Shiva is installed in the temple which was lying buried under a tree. One of the forefathers of the present owner of the temple had a dream in which Lord Shiva said to him, "I am in the earth under a tree; take me out from

there and build a temple". Accordingly the *pindi* was unearthed and installed at the place where it was found and a temple was built.

The temple is situated at Reay Road. The nearest railway station is Dockyard Road. The main fair is held from *Shravana vad. 5* to *Shravana vad. 9*, both days inclusive. The other fairs are held on *Ashwin sud. 15* (*Kojagiri*) and *Magh vad. 14* (*Mahashivratri*). The temple is said to be about 600 years old. Its renovation was carried out over 100 years ago. It is a stone structure measuring 60' x 40'. A passage about 8' wide and 325' in length paved with stones, connects the temple entrance to Reay Road. The shrine is to the left of the *sabhamandap* (auditorium). The floors of both the shrine and the *sabhamandap* are paved with marble stones. The door of the shrine is plated with silver sheets, both from inside and outside. The new built *kalash* at the top of the dome of the shrine is said to have been built by the present owner in 1942.

The spout, *linga*, of Lord Shiva in the shrine is said to be *swayambhu* *linga*. It is installed in south-north direction. It is covered with a silver image of a hooded cobra. The image of *nandi* made of stone is installed at the entrance to the shrine in the *sabhamandap*. There are also stone images of Ganapati, Kalabhairava, Shitala Devi and Hanuman in the temple. In a small room in the southwest corner of the *sabhamandap* silver images of Shiva, Parvati and Ganapati are installed.

On *Ashwin vad. 14*, *Ashwin vad. 30*, *Kartika sud.* and *Chaitra sud. 1*, the deity is draped with a *pagdi* (turban) of *jari* cloth, *shela*, *pitambar* and adorned with a *mukhavata* (mask) of silver plated with gold. On *Ashwin sud. 15* rich clothes and precious ornaments are put on the deity. Cooked food is offered daily. Special *naivedya* of *panchapakvanna* is offered to the deity on festive days.

It is customary to make vows to the deity for getting a child, prosperity, etc., and it is believed that the deity is capable of fulfilling the desires of its devotees. On fulfilment of their desires, the devotees offer *pooja* (worship) to deity with coconut and distribute sweets, sugar or *gur* as *prasad*. Some also offer clothes and ornaments. Three days of the fair from *Shravana vad. 7* to *Shravana vad. 9* are regarded as very important. On *Shravana vad. 5* and 6, there are no special programmes, in the temple except *bhajan*, *kirtan* and *pravachan* arranged in the *sabhamandap* of the temple. At midnight on *Shravana vad. 7*, the images of Lord Shiva, Parvati and Ganapati of about two and a half feet in height prepared out of sandalwood paste are installed on the wooden platform specially erected over the *Shiva-pindi*. After installation of these images, no one is allowed to enter the shrine. The image of *panchamukhi* Mahadeo is kept at the door of the shrine to enable devotees to worship. The sandalwood paste images of the shrine are kept for three days, up to the morning of *Shravana vad. 9*, when the images are taken out of the shrine and are kept

in the *sabhamandap* on big wooden stools (*chowrangas*) to enable the devotees to have *darshan*. At about 1 p.m. a special *puja* is performed by the owner of the temple and the images are then kept in decorated chariot. It starts from the temple followed by large congregations of devotees, musicians, *bhajan* groups etc., through the main streets of Bombay and it terminates at Bhaucha Dhakka (Ferry Wharf). At this place, the images are transhipped to a big country boat after worship. The boat is taken out two miles in the sea, accompanied by about 300 to 400 people and the images are immersed ceremoniously in the sea. The whole ceremony is conducted with great pomp and display.

The second fair is held on *Ashwin sud. 15*. A *mahapuja* of the deity is performed between 9 a.m. to 12 noon and decorated with costly dress and precious ornaments. A *naivedya* of *panchapakvanna* is offered to the deity. No one is allowed to enter the shrine during the performance of the *puja*. At night at about 8-30 p.m. a *palkhi* procession of the image of *panchamukhi* Mahadeo made of silver is taken out from the temple through the main streets of Mazagaon locality and it returns to the temple at about 11-30 p.m. The image of *panchamukhi* Mahadeo is again worshipped and *prasad* is distributed. On an average 1,000 devotees attend the procession. The third fair is held on *Magh vad. 14*. On this day, the devotees visit the temple and offer flowers and leaves of *bel* tree to the deity. On an average, 4,000 to 5,000 devotees attend the fair. On this day *laghu rudra* is performed at night from 9 p.m. to 3 a.m. by eleven Brahmans at a time. At 6-30 a.m. next morning the *puja* of the deity is performed by the priest of the temple and *naivedya* consisting of cooked rice and curds is offered.

Pir Syed Ahmed Ali Shah Kadri Urus, Dongri : This *urus* is held annually in honour of the great saint, Pir Sayed Ahmed Ali Shah Kadri on 6th, 7th and 8th of *Rajab*. The present *dargah*, it is said, was constructed about 100 years ago, and stands on a stone platform, and measures about 25' x 25' with a circular shape at the back i.e., the eastern side of the platform. The tombs of Pir Sayed Ahmed Ali Shah Kadri and his *mujavar* are in the shrine. Both the tombs are made of bricks and lime and measure 6' x 3'. The tombs are worshipped in the morning by offering flowers and burning incense sticks etc. The evening worship of the tombs is carried out by the *mujavar* of the *dargah*. The tombs are given a bath every Thursday morning with rose and other scented water.

It is believed that the saint and the *mujavar* in whose honour the *urus* is held are capable of fulfilling one's desires and therefore many devotees offer vows in order to get a child, relief from bodily or mental afflictions, etc. On fulfilment of their desires, they offer the things promised.

On the first day of the *urus*, the procession of sandalwood paste called *sandal* is carried out at about 2 p.m. This procession attended by large

numbers of persons moves through Dongri, Paydhoni, Nagpada areas and returns to the *dargah* in the evening. The sandalwood paste is then applied to the tombs. This ceremony is called *sandal chadhana*. On the second day of the *urus*, the programme of *Kawwalis*, *gazals*, etc., are held.

On the last day there is yet another procession of the sandal (i.e., sandalwood paste and *galaf*) from the *dargah* at about 1 p.m. It moves through important parts round about the *dargah* and returns to it by about 8 p.m. The sandalwood paste is applied to the tombs and the *galafs* and flower-nets are spread over them. Prayers are offered and *fatihah*, *milad*, and *kurankhani* (reading of the *Koran*) also take place. The pilgrims are mostly Muslims.

Hajrat Makhdoom Fakih Ali Saheb Urus, Mahim : This *urus* is held in honour of the great saint, Hajrat Makhdoom Fakih Ali Shah and is generally celebrated on the full moon day in December and lasts for ten days. The *dargah* is situated on the western side of Cadell Road and the main entrance known as *Buland darwaja* faces the east. The *dargah* has five huge domes on the top. Besides the tomb of the saint, there are other tombs also including those of Bibi Fatima, the mother of the saint. The maid servant and the she-goat of the saint were buried near the *dargah*. It is said that the saint performed many miracles in his life time and had brought back to life a dead she-goat which he loved very much.

The *dargah* is opened in the early hours of the morning and thousands of devotees attend it throughout the day and it is closed after the night prayers are offered. Devotees visiting the *dargah* carry with them flowers, incense sticks and sweets which are offered to the saint's tomb.

It is believed that the saint is capable of fulfilling one's desires and those who come to the *dargah* generally make vows before it in order to get a child, success, and on fulfilment of their desires offer sweetmeats to the *dargah*. On the first day of the *urus* on the full-moon day in December, the *sandal* (i.e., sandalwood paste and *galaf*) is brought in a procession on behalf of the Dargah Sharif Trust. The paste is applied to the various tombs and a new *galaf* is spread over the tomb of the saint and his mother. The holy *Koran* is read and prayers offered.

On the remaining nine days also processions from different parts of the city terminate at the *dargah*, carrying with them sandalwood paste and the *galafs* which are offered to the tombs of the saint and his mother. The pilgrims are mostly from the city and besides Muslims, there are many people of other denominations among them.

Shaikh Misry Urus, Vadala : The *urus* of Shaikh Misry is held every year at Antop Hill in Vadala (East). It lasts for four days i.e., from a day prior to the full-moon day in November and up to two days after the

full-moon day. The most important day of the *urus* however is the full-moon day. It is held to commemorate the death anniversary of the great Muslim Saint Sheikh Misry who died on the 16th of *Rajab* some seven hundred years ago.

The *dargah* which was built about two hundred years ago measures 100' × 100'. However the main Shrine measuring 60' × 70' is constructed of marble stones. The *dargah* is opened after the morning prayers are held at the nearby mosque and the tomb of the saint which is inside the *dargah* and just below the central dome is worshipped by burning incense sticks and *lubhan*. The prayers are offered and holy passages from the *Koran* are read. It is believed that the great saint is capable of fulfilling one's desires of getting a child, prosperity, and as such the devotees promise many things to the saint. On the fulfilment of their they desires, offer *galaf*, sweets and cooked food to the saint.

On the second day of the *urus* the *sandal* is taken out in procession and after it reaches the *dargah*, the sandalwood paste is applied to the tomb and a new *galaf* is removed. Flowers are offered and incense sticks are burnt. On 16th of *Rajab* the tomb is washed with rose water and prayers are offered. The functions on the other days of *urus* are those of prayers, reading holy passages from the *Koran*, etc. The persons attending the *urus* are mostly from Greater Bombay and belong to various religions, though Muslims are in a majority. It is said that the saint was an inhabitant of Egypt and was on a mission to India to spread Islam. He died while engaged in this work about seven hundred years ago. The *urus* is held in his memory.

Mount Mary Fair, Bandra : The fair is held in honour of Mary, the mother of Jesus Christ, and is celebrated during the Octave (Sunday to Sunday) following the feast on the 8th of September. The shrine of Our Lady of the Mount, popularly known as Mount Mary, is one of the most famous Christian shrines in India. Situated on a verdant hill-top, opposite Mahim causeway and overlooking the sea, the church with its twin spires soaring into the sky, presents a picturesque landmark to all who cross the Mahim creek.

The shrine is a modest little hermitage. It was founded by Jesuits about the years 1568 to 1570. This was the cradle of Christianity in Bandra. In 1640, the hermitage was enlarged into a chapel and it is said that in 1679, it had become a famous place of pilgrimage, frequented by Christians and non-Christians. When the Marathas overran Salsette in 1739, the chapel was destroyed by the Portuguese authorities at the instance of the English in order to prevent its strategic position from falling into the hands of the victorious Marathas. On this occasion, the popularly venerated image of the Blessed Virgin was ferried across the creek for safe custody

to St. Michael's Mahim, whence it was brought back for re-installing it in the chapel built nearby in 1761.

The present edifice was built in 1904 and is a fine example of Gothic architecture. The auditorium is about 125' × 40' and is paved with marble slabs. The altar is of pure marble. The statue of Our Lady is about 5' high and holds an image of the Child Jesus in her right hand. In 1954, the church was raised to the status of a minor Basilica. The statue is covered with a veil. It is adorned with a necklace and bangles and crowned with gold gilt silver crown. A beautiful rosary hangs from the right hand side. The walls are covered with paintings, depicting the life of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

The Basilica is in charge of a rector. He is assisted by a committee of wardens. Divine services in the form of masses are conducted daily. Devotees come to pray and ask for favour and make their thanksgiving in coins or offering consisting of candles or wax images. Most of the pilgrims to this shrine are from Greater Bombay and the neighbouring Thane district.

Mount Poisar Feast (Fair), Borivli : The fair and the feast of Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception is celebrated in honour of the Mother of God, Mary who was conceived without the stain of Adam's sin. The fair is held at the Church of Mount Poisar on the Sunday following the 8th December every year and lasts for a day.

The church of Our lady of the Immaculate Conception is situated on a hillock at the village Mandapeshwar, now merged in the municipal area of Borivli which is 32 kilometres from Churchgate railway station. Buses ply between Borivli railway station and the church, the distance being about a mile.

The church of Our Lady of Immaculate Conception was built by Fr. Antonio de Porto in 1544 by orders of King D. Joao III of Portugal. It underwent major repairs from time to time. At present, it is said to be one of the oldest among the existing churches in Greater Bombay.

Though the present structure of the church is plain and simple it presents a beautiful appearance. The roofs of the sanctuary and the side chapels are high arched roofs of finely carved stone in ornamental compartments. An exquisite statue facing the west in standing position with folded hands of Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception is installed on the main altar with statues of Jesus Christ and St. Joseph on either side. The side altars are dedicated to St. Francis of Assisi and St. Francis Xavier who visited this church three times between 1544 and 1548. At the other end of the Church, there are two statues of St. Teresa and St. Anthony with Jesus Christ in his arms. A candle stand is kept in front of both the statues which is used by devotees to burn candles. The side walls of the church

are decorated by hanging 14 wall plaques, seven on each side, which depict various important events in the life of Jesus Christ.

The statue of Our Lady of Immaculate Conception is adorned with only a crown and a veil. The morning and evening masses are offered on Sundays and feast days, masses are also offered on an octave day which falls on the 8th day from the day of feast.

On an average 25,000 to 30,000 devotees mostly from Bombay city and suburbs attend the feast. The devotees belong to other religions also, though Catholic Christians predominate.

The devotees attend the morning mass, offer coins, wax candles etc., and pray for blessings of Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception. It is customary to make vows to the deity for getting a child, an eye-sight etc.; and on fulfilment of their vows, devotees offer artificial limbs made of wax candles etc. to the deity.

Besides the major fairs described so far, there are more than 80 minor fairs held in Greater Bombay. There are about 66 fairs with an estimated congregation of about 5,000.¹

FOOD

The dietary and food habits of the inhabitants of Greater Bombay should have ordinarily been those of the people of the coastal districts of Maharashtra, because Bombay forms part of the Konkan coast, but that is not so, because of the peculiar position of Bombay in the economy of the State and the country. The people of Bombay means the conglomeration of peoples from all parts of the country and they have brought with them to Bombay the peculiar habits. Thus while the Panjabees and Sikhs from the Panjab and the migrants from Uttar Pradesh have wheat as their staple food, those from Kerala, Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh stick to rice and preparations from rice as their staple food. The main division of all, however is that while some are vegetarians, others are non-vegetarians. There are many other sects and castes such as Varkari, Swaminarayan Panthi, Lewa Patidars, Malis, Brahmans, Jains, etc. which abstain from meat. Many others generally speaking may be described as non-vegetarians, though that only means that they do not refrain from eating meat and fish whenever they can.

Among the well-to-do vegetarians, rice is the staple food but it is supplemented by wheat and its preparations. Jowar and Bajari find place in the dietary whenever wheat could be dispensed with. Light meals are taken in the morning by all those who have to attend offices, factories and schools and it is usual for them to carry with them tiffin boxes to have lunch in afternoon. The other meal is taken at night. Rice is usually

¹ Information about some of the fairs is given in Chapter-19 in Vol. III of this Gazetteer.

accompanied by a spoonful or two of ghee, a curry, onions, spices and tamarind or *kokam* dressing, plus some vegetables fried in edible oil, spiced and preferably added with some fresh cocoanut scrapping. Butter milk or curds is mixed with a little rice and usually eaten at the end of the meal. *Chatnis*, *Koshimbirs*, *papads* etc. are the usual adjuncts to a full meal. Tea or coffee as soon as they leave their bed has become a diehard habit. Some eat biscuits or slices of bread with it.

The culinary art of the people as expressed in their daily food, feast menus and holiday dishes, has its own peculiarities, every caste group claiming some distinguishing features. Rice being the main food item, various types of preparations are made therefrom. Rice is used in two forms. *Ukda* (parboiled) and *surai* made without boiling the paddy. In the preparation of boiled rice two processes are followed: one known as *bethabhat* is prepared by boiling the rice (cleaned and washed) in about twice the quantity of water till it swells soft, for the other kind known as *velnabhat*, the rice is boiled in an excess quantity of water and then strained dry when the grains get sufficiently soft. The strained rice-water may be salted to taste and drunk as *pej*. The rice is eaten with different kinds of curries. *Tur* split pulse is generally preferred though some prefer the *mug* split pulse. The pulse is boiled, spiced and a *phodni* of *jire* (cumin seed) and *asafoetida* is used as dressing. Gur and tamarind or *kokam* are its necessary adjuncts. Its variation, *sambar* is thicker. It is prepared from a variety of pulses and hot spices, onion, scraped cocoanut all fried in oil and pasted on a curry stone, are its special ingredients.

Several special dishes are prepared from rice-flour. *Ayate*, *ghavan* and *pole* are pan-cakes each prepared according to its kind, after mixing the flour in water, milk or butter milk and adding to it a little salt and gur, scraped coconut kernel, chopped green chillies, coriander leaves, onion, etc. The mixture thus prepared is spread over heated ghee or oil in a pan and fried. *Amboli* is a similar pan-cake thicker in kind and prepared from rice and *udid* flour and *methi* mixed together in water and fermented over night. Of the same mixture are prepared *idalis* by steaming them in small dishes in a closed vessel. *Vade*, *gharge* and *unde* are cakes made from dough of rice and *udid* pulse flour and fried in deep oil. *Vades* are flat and round like *puris*; *gharge* are similar to *vade* but the dough is sweetened with gur and pumpkin, cucumber etc. boiled soft. *Undes* are globular in size. *Patolya* is another preparation made especially on the Dasara day. About an ounce of kneaded rice flour dough is spread on a green turmeric leaf to a particular thickness; an ounce of scraped coconut kernel sweetened with jaggery is laid on the dough, the leaf is folded double and such *patolyas* are steamed in a number.

Shevaya i.e. vermicelli made of wheat flour are eaten with gur or sugar. *Sandhans* are made of rice-flour (granules), coconut milk and juice of ripe

mangoes or jack-fruit; they are cooked in steam like pudding. *Modaks* are balls stuffed with coconut kernel, cashewnut pieces, sesame, sugar, etc., in a rice or wheat flour covering and steam boiled, particularly prepared to propitiate Lord Ganesh. Popular holiday dishes are *puranpoli*, *shrikhanda*, *basundi*, *khir*, *dudhpak* and very many other dishes that sweetmeat makers sell ready-made. Milk and its products play a major part in such dishes, the other important ingredient being wheat. All these preparations are peculiar to vegetarian Hindus, whatever their original State may be.

Non-vegetarians even among Hindus form a big majority, but this does not mean that meat or fish is a necessary part of their daily diet. But certain communities among Hindus do take fish almost daily and meat occasionally once a week or so and on festive occasions. The most common form of meat is *mutton*. Hindus will not touch beef and Muslims will not touch pork. But Christians, and Parsees and Jews have no objection to consume either besides fish and mutton. Eggs form part of the daily diet of almost all non-vegetarians.

Food habits of all inhabitants of Greater Bombay have undergone many changes. Quite many people have started taking the midday meal in hotels. This has become necessary owing to living conditions more than out of willingness to do so. Quite a large number of people have to travel long distances from their homes to their work places and back everyday and have therefore to miss their morning meal. This has also led to taking to such food as they can get and that is not always in keeping with their traditional food. Consumption of fruit, particularly bananas is noticeable on a much larger scale than before among Bombaites. Similarly wheat and its various preparations have also found an important place in the daily diet of the Bombaites. *Chapaties* of wheat are a common diet in most households whether of the vegetarians or the non-vegetarians. Some people replace *chapaties* by *puris* which are really small *chapaties* fried in oil or ghee or *vanaspati*. They are more in vogue in hotels and restaurants. Wheat is consumed in various other forms. *Shira* made from *rava* gleaned from wheat flour is a favourite dish. It is made with the addition of ghee and sugar. *Vanaspati* has replaced ghee in most kitchens after World War II. Quite many sweet dishes are prepared from wheat with the addition of sugar and ghee for festive occasions prominent among them being *jilebi*, *gheever*, *balushai*, *chirote*, *karanjya* and others. Names of all these articles may not be the same in Gujarati, Kannada, Telugu, Tamil, Malayalam, Punjabee and Bengalee.

Sweetmeats from other provinces like *Rasagulla* and *Sandesh* from Bengal and *halwas* from Delhi are freely available in sweetmeat shops of Bombay. Non-vegetarian items of food are egg-omlettes, mutton-cutlets, *kababs*, *khima*, *kurma*, *pulava*, etc.

Time was when no two Brahmans touched each other while taking food on low wooden stools. Taking meal even was a religious rite. Each plate had to be encircled with water to the accompaniment of Sanskrit *mantras* and a little oblation had to be made to various deities before starting the meal. The low wooden stools are fast disappearing from households and food is now taken on tables. Chairs and tables have become necessary and furniture in most kitchens, even in quite small apartments and flats. For saving space, there are folding chairs and tables, but they are there. Service by women of the household, taking their meals after men have finished, has almost disappeared. Food is served on the table by servants and waiters or every one helps himself by the aid of spoons, forks and knives. This is done in imitation of the western table manners, perhaps without due attention to whether it is convenient or not. In public places such as restaurants and hotels, tables and chairs, plates, spoons, forks and crockery have become quite fashionable and they have come to stay permanently. Except in costly hotels and restaurants however, the standard of cleanliness and hygienic considerations do not get their due place. While coffee or desserts have come in as the last food items, beer or wines have not yet become quite fashionable, though they are not altogether absent on occasions and at some places. Westernisation in respect of food is not yet so general as it is in respect of dress of the males of all castes and communities.

DRESS

Time was when quite a variety of apparel and head wear was noticeable in the streets and houses of Bombay and one could easily tell from mere appearance of a person to which caste, community or religion the person belonged. But at present there is such a uniformity in the dress of at least males that it is not possible to name the province, caste, community or a religion of any one from mere appearance. The intonation of the person speaking English or any other language may alone betray it. The only head dress that is prominently noticeable is the turban of the Sikh while most others go bare headed. Trousers and bush shirts plus sandals or shoes form the ensemble of the male dress. Some people are seen in full European suits with a collar and a neck-tie but they are far and few between.

This is mostly true about younger persons of any community, caste or creed. Some distinguishing marks are still to be found in the case of the elder people of any community, particularly, the Muslims among whom are included the Khojas, Bohras and their sub-sects. They still use long coats akin to *sherwanis* or *achkans* of North India and loose or tight pyjamas and also golden turbans of their communities. Some use what is known as the Jinnah cap of fur. The white turbans of people from the Southern States or the various coloured Brahman, Prabhu, Surati,

Kathiawadi or Baroda turbans are conspicuous by their absence and could perhaps be seen in the museum. This state of things need not be regretted at all; perhaps it contributes, in its own small way, to the promotion of the feeling of one Indian nationhood.

Still the dress of people at home has not ceased to conform to traditional patterns. The *dhotar* worn by middle class Hindus from Maharashtra still holds its own. This is equally true of Gujarati Hindus and Hindus from the Southern States, though the manner of wearing it differs in the case of every one. The *uparna*, upper cloth, of Hindus from Maharashtra has practically disappeared and its silk or gold-bordered variety is to be seen only in ceremonies like the wedding or the *upanayana*. Underwears which were nearly unknown fifty years ago have now firmly come into vogue. Under the pants there is necessarily a short or long underwear and under the shirt there will be a vest or *mul sadra*. But until a few years ago, an upper class or middle class Hindu was generally clad in a *dhotar* and a *sadra* while indoors; outdoors he wore a *dhoti*, a coat, a cap or a *rumal* or handwear and sandals. He also wore an *uparane*, a shoulder cloth. On important occasions, he wore his usual clothes, a *rumal* with a *jari* border or a silk piece, a long coat of white satin or yellow silk. The Brahman turban or *pagadi* has become almost extinct. Since the days of non-co-operation, a long shirt called Nehru shirt, a Gandhi cap with *dhotar* or *pyjama* became fashionable, but even that has fallen into disuse at present. Some young men don the *sherwani* and *survar* after the Delhi or Lucknow style and wear shoes called *chadhao*.

The chief item in a Hindu woman's dressware is the sari and the *choli*. The nine yard sari is now worn by only old women from Hindu community. This is from 45 to 48 inches in width and is more generally known as a *lugade*. These are more often woven on hand-looms and power-looms but some mills also manufacture them. *Cholis* used to be made from similar cloth-piece called *khans*. These *lugadis* and *khans* are manufactured all over Maharashtra and some in Karnatak and Tamil Nadu and such distant places as Indore, Maheshwar, Madurai and others. But these are going or have gone out of fashion. Young girls and even women are taking more and more to the five or six yard sari and blouse made out of various kinds of mill cloth. Saris whether nine yards in length or six, have borders of some colour and a *padar* at the two ends of which one is more decorative than the other. Mostly these are of cotton but for festive occasions there are silk saris or with *jari* borders. They are called *shalus* also and are known as *Paithani* or *Banarasi* after the names of the places where they are made. Among Bombay's Marathi speaking women, particularly among the Pathare Prabhu women, it was fashionable to wear a shawl over the body while going out and this was followed by

others too, but this fashion no longer obtains even among the Prabhus who set the fashion.

The mode of wearing the *lugade* or nine yard sari among all Hindu women is with the hind pleats tucked into the waist at the back centre. This mode of wearing the sari is known as *sakacch nesane* as opposed to *gol nesane* the round or cylindrical mode of wear. The latter is popular among young girls and women. This is the mode followed by all women from Gujarat and North India but not those from the Southern States. The old fashioned *choli* has now almost disappeared. Its place has been taken by brassiers and blouses. Once upon a time, the *polkas* covered the whole back and hands. Then the hands became shorter and now a days the blouse worn over a brassier and the *cholis* have such low cut necks and more than half the back and belly bare that it is for all practical purposes a reversion to the *cholis* of the elderly women. Frocks in the western style or blouse and skirt are fashionable only among girls or Christian women and some Parsee women too.

Children have naturally a dress of their own. The swaddling clothes, *baloti* for the child consist of a triangular piece of cloth which can be tied round the child's waist so as to cover the buttocks and the front. The traditional wear for the baby, whether a boy or a girl are the *topade*, *kunchi* and *angade* or *zable*.

In the case of people who have come to Bombay from other States, this description of female and child dress generally holds good with certain variations. Thus women coming from Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Panjab and Kashmir use *salwar* and *kameej* with an *odhni* while those from the Southern States wear their saris differently. But even in the case of all these and those hailing from Gujarat, the wearing of sari tends to be uniform on the pattern of the cylindrical sari in the Maharashtra style.

ORNAMENTS

Ornaments are almost a necessity to all classes of people, particularly their women and a considerable amount of capital is thus unproductively locked up. Ornaments differ according to community and economic status as also on the basis whether they are worn by men and boys or women and girls. They are worn on the hands, in the ears, on the nose, on the neck, across the short dress on the arms, on the wrists, on the fingers, round the waist, on the legs and on the toes. A person with a complete set of ornaments may not wear them all at the same time. It is no more a fashion now for men to wear ornaments extensively. Gold earrings, *bhikbalis*, finger rings, and necklaces like *kanthi* and *goph*, a *kade* on the wrist and a *dandakade* on the upper arm are still found in use among the rich. There is often the silver or gold waist belt called

kargota. A boy's ornaments in a rich family are gold wristlets, *bindlya*, *kades* and *todes*, a waist chain called *sankli* silver anklets, *valas*. But no boy when he is seven or eight will wear all these except the waist chain. A young man following modern fashions takes a fancy to wear round his neck a gold chain with or without a central locket. Buttons, studs, collar pins, tie pins, wrist watches made of precious metals and set with precious stones and rings with jewels set in gold are in the use of modern young men.

Women's ornaments used to be too numerous to mention once upon a time. From top to toe there were ornaments and ornaments. But that is out of fashion now. Now-a-days women prefer practically to have no ornaments for the head and the hair except for the bride at the time of wedding. They are content with a flower string or a single flower in the hair. But formerly, women among the well-to-do used to wear for the head, *muda*, *rakhadi*, *kogada*, *phul*, *gulabache phul* and *chandrakora*, for the neck *thushi*, *galasari*, *Putalyachi mal*; and *tika*; for the ears *bugadi*, *karaba*; *kudi*, *kapa* and *ghuma*; for the nose, *nath*, *phuli*, *moti*; for the upper arm *vaki* and *bajubanda*; for the wrist *bangadis*, *goth* and *patalya* and for the ankles *todes*. A middle class woman wore all the ornaments worn by the rich and a poor woman only a gold or silver gilt nose-ring, a necklace of gold and glass beads strung in a silk cord, *galasari*, a pair of gold or gilt earrings or *bugadi*. Other ornaments used to be added if funds permitted such as toe-rings *jodvis*, silver armlets, *vaki*, strings of gold coins such as *putalyachi mal* and the gold hair ornament *ketki*.

But ornaments of females have undergone considerable changes particularly among the rich. Diamond necklaces and bracelets, pearl necklaces, earrings and bangles are preferred to golden ones. Ornaments used to be heavy and often lacked any workmanship. Ornaments were looked upon more as investment and insurance against a bad day than a taste for aesthetics. The tendency now is to wear ornaments that are lighter, fewer and artistically better shaped. Head ornaments have gone out of fashion. Ear ornaments like *kudi* and *choukada* of diamonds or pearls or some times a single pearl or a precious stone decorates the ears of a young woman. *Mangalsutras* have become necklaces and of various types, the black beads being stringed together in different patterns. There are also *chandrahara*, *chaplaha*, *bakulihara*, *pushpahara*, *Mohana-mala*, *ekdani*, *kolhapuri saj*; collars made of gold have taken the place of *thushi* and *sari*. Similarly *goth* and *putalya* and *todas* are fast disappearing to yield place to bangles and bracelets of various delicate and decorative patterns.

All this holds good in the case of Gujarati and South Indian women residing in Bombay and even in the case of Muslim, Parsee and Christian women. Inferior stones are quite popular among women of low income

group families. Girls follow their mothers or often they set the fashion for mothers.

GAMES, SPORTS AND AMUSEMENTS

Greater Bombay population is so varied and so representative of practically all States of the Indian Union and all religious and social groups that it is rightly called the epitome of India. The games, sports and amusements indulged in by men and women and children are, therefore so numerous that any attempt to make an exhaustive list of them is certain to be futile. There are of course some games and sports and amusements that are common to all as for instance Cricket and Bridge, the Cinema and Television are of interest to all of them. Games played by children of all communities and nationalities will also be found to be the same or similar with slight variations. In the early play activities of the children could be marked a number of games of the imitative or make believe type wherein various roles like that of a cartman, horse driver, engine driver, music-player, palanquin-bearer are performed with close loyalty to real life. *Ghoda-ghoda* (horse), *Gadi-gadi* (cart), *Ag-gadi* (railway train), *Palkhi* (palanquin) are games of the sort played with no set rules but, with a good team spirit, every player having some part to perform. *Bhatukli* is the game of house keeping often played very enthusiastically by girls in which only secondary roles are assigned to boys. Doll's marriage is very often part of this popular play or as an independent game by itself when planned on a somewhat grand scale.

In the case of games of more or less organised types, the method of counting out and choosing players is by itself an interesting process. One player in the group, generally the leader does the counting out. He repeats a rhyme or gingle, touches one player on the chest or head for each accent of the formula, always beginning from himself and then touching the one on the left and so on all around the group in a regular order. The player on whom falls the last accent is 'out' i.e. he is eliminated from the succeeding counts. The procedure is repeated until one player is left out who becomes the 'It'. The toss up or *oli-suki* (wet and dry) is a very simple and well known method of choosing players.

Shivashivi (ordinary tag) : The players scatter over the playing area and one player is chosen as the 'It' who chases the rest in an attempt to touch one. Any player tagged by the 'It' becomes 'It' and the old 'It' joins the other runners. The players add to the zest of the game by venturing as close as possible to the 'It' and tempting him with their proximity and suddenly dodging away. A number of variations are noticeable in the tag game. *Chhapapani* is a tag game with the restriction that the 'It' cannot touch any player that squats and the player who squats cannot get up unless touched by some other player who is on his

feet. *Andhali Koshimbir* (Blind man's buff) is a game in which one player is selected for making him blind-folded and is made to stand in the centre. Other players circle round him. The blind-folded player tries to catch any of them and when a player is caught it is his turn to be blind-folded.

Lapandav is the game of hide and seek. There must be some hiding places in the playing area. The 'It' is chosen and he is blind-folded. The players run and hide somewhere. One of them signals with a short to declare that all of them have hidden themselves. Now the 'It' unfolds his eyes and starts searching the hidden players who rush to the spot and touch an object previously agreed on before the 'It' can touch them. The player touched by the 'It' before he is able to touch the object becomes the next 'It'.

In *Vagh-Bakri* i.e., the tiger and the goats, all players but one become goats and file behind the leader who becomes the *dhanagar* i.e., shepherd. Each player holds the one in front by the waist. The extra player who becomes *vagh* or tiger moves from side to side in front of the shepherd and tries to touch any one of the goats, the shepherd protecting them by moving himself as the tiger moves. The goat touched by the tiger becomes the new tiger and the old one joins the goats.

Abadabi is a game in which a soft ball either of rags or rubber is tossed up in the air for all to catch and the player who succeeds in doing so hits with the ball any other player who tries to dodge him. The game can continue indefinitely, the players running about either to get the ball or to avoid being hit by it.

Khamb-Khambolya is a game which can be played in a place where there are a number of pillars as for instance a temple hall. The number of players is one more than the number of pillars or posts. Each player is allotted a pillar except the 'It' who has no pillar. Each of the players holds his pillar fast while the 'It' goes from one pillar to another saying *Khamb khambolya dere ambolya* which means 'Oh pillar, please give me a cake' and the players so addressed ask him to go to the next door neighbour. Meanwhile, other players exchange signals among themselves and while the attention of the 'It' is attracted in some other direction, dash across to exchange places. The 'It' who is on the watch for a vacant pillar dashes for one and makes the pillarless player the next 'It'.

Major Games : A number of major games, both Western and Indian are played by the people. Characteristically, Indian major games require small playing area and practically no equipment. Of the major Indian games the well-known are *Atyapatya*, *Kho-kho*, *Hututu* (*Kabaddi*), *Langadi*, *Viti-dandu* and *Lagorya*.

Atyapatya is a game of feints, played between two teams, each of nine players. The playfield consists of eight breadthwise strips known as *patis*

or trenches, each 23 feet long and 13 inches wide and laid out one after another equidistantly at 11 feet. The first *pati* is called the *kapal-pati* and the last one the *lona pati*. The *sur-pati* (central trench) 89 feet long and 13 inches wide intersects the eight *patis* in the middle to form on both of its sides 14 squares. The space between two consecutive *patis* is called *kondi*. The game begins with the 'attackers' who first stand outside the court near the *kapal pati*, trying to dodge and slip through the *kondis* by crossing the *patis* without getting tagged by the defenders, who move to and from *kapal pati* each on his designated *pati*. If any of the 'attackers' successfully crosses all the *pati* from *kapal pati* to *lona pati* and makes a return trip from the *lona pati* to the *kapal pati*, a *lona* or game is scored and the game starts afresh. This way, they proceed till the time of seven minutes is over. Then the defenders' become the attackers.

Kho-kho is a game of chase played between two contesting teams, each of nine players. There is a rectangular playfield of 101' x 51' with a centrally located lengthwise strip of 81' x 1' with two wooden posts, each four feet high fixed at two ends. By toss, the teams decide to be chasers or the runners. Eight of the chasers sit in a row on the mid-strip between the posts equidistantly and with no consecutive of them facing the same direction; the ninth player is an active chaser. At a time three runners get into the fair field to play and when they are out, the next group of three immediately enters the field and the active chaser moves from post to post along the lengthwise strip in chase of the runner whom he tries to tag. While chasing he can give a *kho* signal by a touch of hand on the backside of any of the sitting chasers and make the latter an active chaser and himself sit in the latter's place. If *khos* are given in quick succession, it becomes difficult for a runner to escape being tagged. A tagged runner is out.

Hututu is an outdoor game contested by two teams of nine players each within a rectangular field of 40' x 30' divided by a central line into two equal halves. Eight feet away from the central line on both sides are two parallel lines crossing the entire width of the field. Two lobbies, each 3 feet wide run along the lengthwise sides. Each team alternately sends a raider into the opponents court to tag or touch the opposite players. The game starts with the raider crossing the central line to enter the opponent's court giving out a continuous *hututu* without taking fresh breath. He tries to tag as many opposite players as he could without losing breath in the opponents' court. The opposite players struggle to detain the raider until he loses breath while he is in their court. If they succeed the raider is out, but if the raider successfully struggles his way to his court without losing breath all the opposite players that were in touch with him during the struggle are put out.

Langadi, for a long time this game was being played by boys and girls alike, like an ordinary tag game only with the change that the 'It' instead of running used to hop while tagging the other players. In 1935, the Akhil Maharashtra Sharirik Shikshan Mandal framed rules and regulations for the game and gave it a standard form. Two contesting teams each of nine players decide by toss who should be the defendents and the attackers. The game is played in a circular field of 15 to 20 feet in radius according to the age or height of the players. One player from the attacking side, enters the field hopping through a marked entrance and tries to touch and put out the defenders who run or dodge within the boundary. Only three defenders enter the field at a time. The hopping chaser must not while in the field touch the ground with any part of the body except the hopping foot. The game consists of two innings on each side and each inning is of seven minutes duration. This game is played in most of the schools in Bombay.

Vitidandu is a game contested between two teams, each of nine players, the number of players often depending upon the local variations of the game within different parts of Greater Bombay. It is played with two playing implements a *dandu*, a stick of solid wood and a *viti* 2.5 inches thickness and parabola shaped.

Lagorya is a game contested between two teams of players—attackers and fielders, the one trying to knock from a distance a pile of *lagoryas*, seven conically arranged discs, by an overhead throw of a soft ball, and the others trying to catch the ball in fly either direct or after the first bounce. Points are scored according to the success of knocking the *lagoryas* and fielding the ball.

Dances : Various types of dances, generally of the nature of folk dances are current among the people. Some devotional dances are presented by professionals while a few are danced for the mere joy of rhythmic movements.

Bhondala : *Hadga* or *Bhondala* is a typical rain dance performed by girls, unmarried or newly married, daily during the period (13 to 16 days) the sun is in the 13th constellation of the zodiac called *hasta* or elephant. A paper drawing of the lotus-seated goddess, Lakshmi with elephants on two sides facing each other with garlands in their trunks and with men and women dressed as kings and queens in cars on their backs is pasted on a wall in the house. On the ground in its front, is placed on a *pat* with a drawing of an elephant in *rangoli*. A string of flowers, garlanding the goddess, and another with green fruits and vegetables like the guava, pomegranate, chilli, *bhendi* etc., hanging are stretched and tied to two pegs in the wall to the right and left of the picture. The girls bathe in the morning, offer turmeric and red powder to the goddess and in the afternoon dance in ring formation with arms interlocked round the *pat* with

the elephant drawing and sing especially composed songs of the *hadga*. On invitation they go from house to house where there is a *hadga* worship, repeat the songs and dance and retire after accepting *khirapat* (light refreshment). For each of the days of dance period, there is one more string of flowers hung and one more song sung and on the last day takes place a complete rehearsal of dance and songs, a grand *khirapat* and the ceremonial immersion of the deity and the flower strings in a pond or sea.

Mahalakshmi : On the 8th of the bright half of the month of *Ashwina*, during the first five years after her wedding, the young wife, as is the family custom, has to worship Mahalakshmi. Married girls who are asked to the house, meet and worship at noon an embossed image of Annapoorna goddess, and in the evening an idol of Mahalakshmi prepared from cooked flour of rice is given a human shape adorned with ornaments and dressed in a gorgeous *sari*, flowers, turmeric and red powder and food are laid before the goddess. Each worshipper offers silk threads to the goddess and is required to blow an empty *ghagar*, waterpot, there at least five times. During the night each of the girls holds a *ghagar* in her hands, make a rhythmic musical sound by blowing across the mouth of the *ghagar* and starts dancing in a circle before the goddess. During the dance one of the girls starts blowing and dancing with greater animation than the rest, a sure sign that the goddess has entered into her. She presently sways her hands and is seized with the power of the goddess. Her friends ply her with questions which the goddess in her is believed to answer. After a while the goddess leaves her and the girl falls in a swoon. The idol is immersed next morning in a nearby well or tank without much ceremony.

Gondhal : Among some Hindu communities, it is customary to have performed a *gondhal* dance on the occasion of a thread-girding or marriage ceremony as a ritual of thanksgiving to the family goddesses who are generally Ambabai, Bhavani and Durga. Only *gondhalis* who are professional dancers and devotees of the deities, can give the dance. The dance always takes place at night. At night the dancers bring their musical instruments, a *divti*, (torch) and the dress of the chief dancer. In the largest room of the house, on a wooden stool, they spread a *chckhan*, (bodice-cloth) and on it lay 36 pinches of rice and sprinkle on it turmeric and red powder. In the middle of these pinches of rice is set a *tambya*, (waterpot) filled with milk and water and lines of sandal are drawn over the pot. On the stool in front of the pot are laid betel-nuts, bananas, dates and lemons. With the help of the chief Gondhali, the head of the family worships the pot as goddess Tuljabhavani, offering it flowers and rice, waving before it a lighted lamp fed with ghee, burning camphor and frankincense. Five male members of the family light five torches and go five times round the goddess, shouting the words *Aee Bhavani Jagadamba*

(Mother Bhavani, Mother of the World). The head dancer dressed in along white lily coat, reaching his ankles and wearing cowri-shell necklaces and gling bell anklets takes his stand in front of the goddess. A second of the troupe stands to the right of the headman holding a lighted torch and three others stand behind him playing on a drum, a fiddle and cymbals. On either side of the Gondhali troupe, sit the members of the family, men on one side, women on the other. The head dancer touches the lighted torch with sandal paste, bows low before it and says "Khandoba of Jejuri, come to the *gondhala*, Tukai Yamai, mother Bhavani come to the *gondhala*". He begins singing and dancing going forwards and backwards. The musicians play their drum, fiddle and cymbals and the torch-bearer serves as a butt for the dancer's jokes. The chief, after dancing at a slow pace, without turning round and with little movement of the feet, repeats a story from the *Ramayana* and explains its meaning. The performance lasts for several hours and sometimes is kept up with frantic enthusiasm till day-break. Occasionally one of the guests becomes possessed and a spirit in him says why it has entered his body. At the end of the dance, a lighted lamp is waved round the goddess and the dancers retire after receiving a suitable present.

Kadak Lakshmi is the devotee of the goddess Ambabai of Kolhapur. The dance is always performed by two, a woman and a man. The man is dressed like a woman, has long hair, no beard but keeps moustaches. With the percussion sound of the drum, the woman starts dancing. She has on her head a box like thing in which an image of the goddess Amba is kept. With a bunch of peacock feathers in her right hand, she starts from one direction towards the opposite direction and making a sort of obeisance by crossing arms over her breasts, she stands marking time as if in a trance.

The male then takes a whip in his hand and with a yell takes a round and then starts whipping himself. After repeating this performance of chastising himself for a number of times and pretending that the goddess is not still satisfied with the penalty he has imposed on himself, takes out a pock-needle and tying his biceps muscles with a string pierces the needle and blood oozes out. While whipping and piercing, he trembles as if he is possessed. The movements, expression and the yells coupled with taking out blood, tend to create an atmosphere of a supernatural phenomenon and an average person is easily led to believe that the dancers are really possessed.

The *Phugadi* dance is usually played by girls in pairs. Two girls stand facing each other, keep their feet together with a distance of two or three inches between the toes, cross arms, keep them straight and hold each other's hands, balance the body backwards and each time, stepping the right foot a few inches to the right and sliding the left along with it, start

an anti-clockwise movement. As the footwork quickens, the movement gathers in tempo till the dancers get swung in a whirl. The dancers sing out recriminatory couplets and blow rhythmic breathing sounds with the mouth known as *pakwa* to keep time and zest to the dance.

There are various types of *phugadis*. *Ekahatachi phugdi* is danced while holding only the right hands, the left hands being kept resting on the hips. In *Gahana phugadi*, the players bend the legs and hold the great toes and then start rolling on the back and then sit. In *bhui phugadi*, the dancers start with a full squatting position and arms resting on knees and then scrape the feet alternately in oblique kicks balancing the steps with backward and forward movements of the arms.

Jhimmas as dances fall in the same category of *phugadi* with this difference that they could be danced individually and there are no whirling movements done in pairs. In a way, they are calisthenic movements repeated with rhythm of songs and *pakwa*. Acted in pairs and groups they lead to a competitive zest.

Taking into consideration the enormous population of Bombay which is packed in a compact area of a few square miles, one cannot but deplore the meagre facilities that are there for outdoor games and physical exercises. Inevitably outdoor activities in games like cricket, football, hockey are confined to members of such well-to-do sections of society as can afford it, both from the point of view of the necessary leisure and material means. People enjoying a somewhat affluent status enjoy such outdoor amenities like swimming, boating, horse-racing, etc. There are richly endowed clubs of such people and their membership too is quite considerable. Tennis and badminton must also be considered as the close preserves of the more lucky sections of society¹. However, the various gymkhanas in the city and the suburbs, as also the college and school gymkhanas and playgrounds provide for outdoor physical games to young members of the general public and meet to a certain extent, albeit to a very small extent, the need for play and sports.

The craze for cricket among school boys is limitless and their enthusiasm for this game finds expression in many improvisations in the verandahs and terraces of old and new residential buildings to the immense annoyance of the inhabitants. If there is a road under repairs young boys turn it into a cricket field. If the streets and by-lanes are inundated by storm water and waist-deep pools are formed, they enjoy bathing and swimming in them. Such is the pitiable condition of thousands of boys and girls in Greater Bombay for lack of enough parks and playgrounds and swimming pools.

¹ Information about various Gymkhanas is given in Chapter 18 in Vol. III of this Gazetteer.

A place like the Chowpatty sands and the Mahim Bay used to be once upon a time, the venue for boys to indulge in Indian games like *kho-kho* and *atyapatya*, but nowhere is this scene to be witnessed now-a-days. But here too schools make some arrangements for cultivating physical build up by organising plays like *kabaddi*, *kho-kho* etc. These cost little or nothing and teams of boys as well as girls are known to attain proficiency in them.

Among the indoor games, playing cards occupy an important place. There are numerous private clubs in which people enjoy playing at cards. Bridge and rummy and patience are quite notorious as means of killing time; the old game of *ganjpha* and *songatya* are now almost forgotten. But chess has attained well deserved prominence. Similarly carom holds an honourable place in many homes, probably because young and elderly people alike can participate in it at one and the same time.

But, all these hardly enjoy the prestige that football, hockey, cricket and hard court tennis enjoy not only in this city or country but all over the world. Institutions like the Bombay Cricket Association, Cricket Club of India, Indian Hockey Federation, Western India Football Association, Indian Football League, Bombay Provincial Hockey Association etc., in this city constitute ample evidence of this fact. Players belonging to all communities have distinguished themselves in all these games as not only all India, but also world champions.

TABLE No. 9

SECTIONWISE POPULATION FOR GREATER BOMBAY MUNICIPAL CORPORATION—1981

TABLE
SECTIONWISE POPULATION FOR GREATER

Serial No.	Name of section	Area in Km ²	Total Population (including Institutional and Houseless Population)		
			Persons	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6
	All Sections	*429.89	8,243,405	4,652,646	3,590,759
1	Upper Colaba ..	2.45	35,692	20,019	15,673
2	Middle and Lower Colaba ..	3.20	53,735	29,881	23,854
3	Fort South ..	1.83	17,459	11,702	5,757
4	Fort North ..	0.36	24,384	14,368	10,016
5	Esplanade ..	2.62	36,953	21,762	15,191
6	Mandvi ..	0.69	31,972	20,653	11,319
7	Chakala ..	0.18	21,020	12,108	8,912
8	Umerkhadi ..	0.38	61,974	34,591	27,383
9	Dongri ..	1.19	32,347	18,151	14,196
10	Khara Talao ..	0.23	28,351	15,567	12,784
11	Kumbharwada ..	0.17	40,204	24,816	15,388
12	Bhuleshwar ..	0.17	67,109	42,625	24,484
13	Market ..	0.33	35,920	22,810	13,110
14	Dhobi Talao ..	0.46	53,608	31,350	22,258
15	Fanaswadi ..	0.41	45,513	25,968	19,545
16	Khetwadi ..	0.62	69,974	38,771	31,203
17	Tardeo ..	0.59	61,356	34,623	26,733
18	Girgaum ..	0.46	56,564	31,533	25,031
19	Chaupaty ..	0.43	25,863	14,296	11,567
20	Walkeshwar ..	2.36	85,380	46,612	38,768
21	Mahalaxmi ..	2.75	146,256	80,175	66,081
22	Mazagaon ..	2.20	81,051	49,763	31,288
23	Tadwadi ..	1.45	72,393	44,485	27,908
24	1st Nagpada ..	0.38	24,947	13,559	11,388
25	2nd Nagpada ..	0.35	40,679	23,169	17,510
26	Kamathipura ..	0.24	51,755	28,769	22,986
27	Byculla ..	2.17	184,886	111,317	73,569
28	Parel ..	2.26	156,850	90,403	66,447
29	Sewri ..	4.57	193,829	114,181	79,648
30	Naigaum ..	1.72	135,039	77,826	57,213

No. 9

BOMBAY MUNICIPAL CORPORATION—1981

Scheduled Caste Population			Scheduled Tribe Population		
Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
7	8	9	10	11	12
399,076	216,081	182,995	84,073	46,140	37,933
1,792	1,021	771	139	88	51
2,296	1,290	1,006	2,467	1,305	1,162
575	343	232	66	61	5
825	435	390	30	17	13
1,481	851	630	161	105	56
612	404	208	681	365	316
90	89	1	....	....	....
1,199	568	631	284	152	132
3,352	1,648	1,704	214	139	75
360	179	181	7	7	....
1,250	652	598	64	43	21
662	425	237	240	162	78
318	169	149	6	5	1
1,238	712	526	326	179	147
202	109	93	109	61	48
1,667	830	837	86	52	34
4,906	2,565	2,341	174	95	79
287	163	124	12	9	3
197	93	104	47	32	15
774	434	340	121	71	50
11,635	6,079	5,556	537	280	257
3,131	1,772	1,359	678	422	256
2,257	1,215	1,042	139	85	54
5,406	2,770	2,636	290	172	118
636	363	273	5	5	....
4,143	1,685	2,458	698	356	342
7,721	4,228	3,493	347	213	134
6,566	3,612	2,954	620	374	246
8,031	4,662	3,369	2,588	1,441	1,147
10,986	5,935	5,051	610	358	252

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TABLE

Serial No.	Name of Section	Area in Km. ²	Total Population (including Institutional and Houseless Population)		
			Persons	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6
31	Matunga	1.57	63,294	34,196	29,098
32	Sion	11.03	265,691	148,595	117,096
33	Dadar	5.87	343,878	194,380	149,498
34	Mahim	1.50	102,075	54,093	47,982
35	Prabhadevi	1.98	147,474	87,645	59,829
36	Worli	3.70	191,754	111,866	79,888
37	Chinchpokli	1.93	134,896	87,383	47,513
38	Lovegrove	2.87	62,915	36,000	26,915
39	Slaughter House	0.35	32,645	17,299	15,346
40	Colwada and Bandra Hill	1.25	24,447	12,330	12,117
41	Pali Hill	1.64	41,011	20,457	20,554
42	Danda	0.28	20,371	10,721	9,650
43	Khar Scheme	2.89	139,718	78,240	61,478
44	Khar and Pali	0.77	29,665	15,214	14,451
45	Hill Road and Turner Road	2.04	139,557	76,576	62,981
46	Santacruz West	1.50	50,753	26,981	23,772
47	Santacruz Central	0.79	32,524	17,508	15,016
48	Santacruz East	8.05	196,147	109,721	86,426
49	Vile Parle East	7.44	126,983	68,492	58,496
50	Vile Parle West	1.35	54,661	28,899	25,762
51	Juhu	4.27	43,177	23,209	19,968
52	Andheri West	4.94	197,075	104,839	92,236
53	Versova	4.20	42,363	22,204	20,159
54	Madh	1.50	5,680	3,199	2,481
55	Andheri East	12.99	244,172	139,082	105,090
56	Jogeshwari East	3.16	158,084	89,842	68,242
57	Jogeshwari West	7.38	53,482	32,640	20,842
58	Goregaon & village Maroshi	7.67	17,678	10,957	6,721
59	Aarey	4.66	34,559	20,107	14,452
60	Eksar Pakhadi	8.89	243,838	134,838	109,000
61	Erangal & Daroli	5.65	2,712	1,436	1,276
62	Malad West	4.18	109,126	58,501	50,625

No. 9—contd.

Scheduled Caste Population			Scheduled Tribe Population		
Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
7	8	9	10	11	12
1,489	762	727	80	52	28
11,123	6,108	5,015	2,735	1,536	1,199
43,291	23,387	19,904	3,687	1,986	1,701
1,067	572	495	191	116	75
13,985	7,828	6,157	782	481	301
14,835	8,245	6,590	4,197	2,215	1,982
16,521	8,696	7,825	479	317	162
3,879	2,112	1,767	245	143	102
633	350	283	57	38	19
113	72	41	47	27	20
814	439	375	143	67	76
697	362	335	2,413	1,248	1,165
7,385	3,963	3,422	323	192	131
331	164	167	55	33	22
10,471	5,578	4,893	762	467	295
575	307	268	466	264	202
457	253	204	216	132	84
6,989	3,865	3,124	1,185	669	516
4,679	2,486	2,193	1,046	529	487
906	488	418	341	185	156
1,171	644	527	443	225	218
7,402	3,882	3,520	1,347	695	652
834	466	368	2,827	1,411	1,416
2	2	....	159	79	80
5,286	2,927	2,359	2,678	1,438	1,240
5,206	2,840	2,366	800	438	362
2,538	1,458	1,080	514	322	192
840	480	360	54	33	21
1,753	960	793	2,072	1,062	1,010
7,736	4,226	3,510	2,261	1,239	1,022
15	9	6	238	125	113
1,886	1,012	874	1,251	664	587

TABLE

Serial No.	Name of Section	Area in Km ²	Total Population (including Institutional and Houseless Population)		
			Persons	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6
63	Malad East	7.78	105,739	58,068	47,671
64	Kurad, Dindoshi, Chincholi and Vadhwan.	5.70	76,997	45,231	31,766
65	Valnai, Malavani, Akse & Marve	14.46	69,381	37,682	31,699
66	Manori Island	4.68	3,686	1,880	1,806
67	Kandivali and Charkop	9.69	106,206	58,126	48,080
68	Poisar and Akurli	11.50	66,629	38,211	28,412
69	Borivali and Shimpoli	6.19	97,353	52,125	45,228
70	Eksar and Mandapeshwar	6.11	70,013	37,527	32,486
71	Gorai and Kulvem	14.18	2,537	1,338	1,206
72	Kanheri	1.12	83,281	47,001	36,280
73	Magathane	17.64	73,521	42,598	30,923
74	Dahisar	10.21	62,376	34,785	27,591
75	New Mills, Kurla	1.65	84,936	48,954	35,982
76	Station Takia, Kurla	9.36	23,219	14,209	9,010
77	Swadeshi Mills, Chunabhatti, Khajuribhatti and Kasaiwada.	2.18	123,006	68,397	54,609
78	Bazar Church Hall, Naupada & Seven villages.	9.11	202,846	118,824	84,022
79	Chembur Proper	7.36	256,851	140,282	116,569
80	Mahul, Trombay, Govandi, Vadavali, Borla, Mankhurd and Mandala.	46.92	308,919	173,126	135,793
81	Ghatkopar	13.93	150,710	81,070	69,640
82	Kirol, Ghatkopar	1.71	46,815	25,601	21,214
83	Panjirapol	6.02	186,027	104,097	81,930
84	Vikhroli	15.46	215,868	120,088	95,780
85	Bhandup	15.97	278,461	160,013	118,448
86	Mulund East	8.26	55,747	30,046	25,701
87	Mulund West	4.36	148,154	79,544	68,610
88	Nahur, Tulsi, Gundgaon, Vihar, Sai and Klerobad.	21.83	18,654	10,521	8,133

* The figure 429.89 km.² constitutes the total of the areas communicated by the Corporation area is coterminous with that of Greater Bombay district, for which

No. 9—concl'd.

Scheduled Caste Population			Scheduled Tribe Population		
Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
7	8	9	10	11	12
2,118	1,132	986	1,775	625	550
3,577	1,968	1,609	1,381	734	647
2,693	1,463	1,230	640	335	305
....	....	....	229	126	103
2,296	1,308	988	2,160	1,133	1,027
4,284	2,311	1,973	1,007	546	461
2,376	1,236	1,140	1,281	693	588
1,415	745	670	1,180	608	571
....					
2,613	1,476	1,137	1,134	619	515
2,501	1,370	1,131	2,919	1,533	1,386*
1,849	1,023	826	1,704	911	793
5,972	3,207	2,765	502	305	197
1,026	569	457	37	19	18
6,947	3,762	3,185	397	232	165
10,281	5,619	4,662	1,795	1,066	729
20,765	11,329	9,436	1,069	622	447
17,261	9,498	7,763	3,899	2,191	1,708
6,454	3,496	2,958	1,199	693	506
1,388	691	697	236	133	103
9,402	5,007	4,395	1,949	1,117	832
13,645	7,298	6,347	1,626	898	728
10,393	5,798	4,595	4,124	2,333	1,791
2,041	1,156	855	1,563	857	706
7,545	3,974	3,571	4,156	2,227	1,919
730	401	329	901	491	410

Greater Bombay Municipal Corporation for the 88 sections. The Municipal the area reported by Surveyor General of India is 603.00 km.²

A NOTE ON INSCRIPTIONS IN BOMBAY

Kanheri, with more than a 100 caves, appears to have been a large monastic rock-cut dwelling establishment with a *chaitya* as well as monastic teaching institution of the great Buddhist philosophy. The monastic dwellings at Kanheri are amongst the great creations of Indian architecture and sculpture. The *chaitya* at Kanheri, to some extent, imitates that of Karla, and dates from the late second century A.D. on the basis of inscriptional evidence. The sculpture of Kanheri absorbed not only the Kushan influence in its *mithuna* couples but, later on, in the fifth century, we also find present the influence of Gupta sculpture, apparently from Sarnath. Certain influences from Kanheri are quite evident at Elephanta not only in the size of the sculptures emulating the two great standing Buddhas of Kanheri, but also in the iconography of Lord Shiva at Elephanta. Kanheri is certainly earlier than Elephanta as far as its fifth century sculptures are concerned.

Kanheri has left for historians a large heritage of inscriptions, besides its extremely rich religious and sculptural heritage. Many copper plates and inscriptions found at Kanheri have enabled valuable research in the ancient history of this part of India. Kanheri caves were visited by several foreign travellers. A group of Parsees from Iran visited the caves thrice—twice in 1009 and once in 1021. Their Pahlavi inscriptions appear on a facade of the same cave giving the date and names of the visitors in the party on each occasion. Evidently the Kanheri Monastery must have been a famous monastery even in the eleventh century. The Kanheri plates of A.D. 494 show that the power, domination and rule of the Traikutkas in this part lasted till at least A.D. 533. Several such inscriptions and plates have been discovered at Kanheri.

A very commendable effort has been made in this respect by Dr. S. B. Deo who has compiled a reference index of the inscriptions and copper plates in his Marathi book *Maharashtra Va Gove Shilalekh-Tamrapatanchi Varnanatmak Sandarbha Suchi* (Bombay, 1984). Dr. Deo has given the relevant details of all the inscriptions and copper plates which are discovered in Bombay as well as those preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum, the Asiatic Society of Bombay, the St. Xavier's College, etc. Dr. Deo has enumerated 69 inscriptions and 18 copper plates, either discovered or preserved in Bombay. An important copper plate of the Shilaharas dated A.D. 1026 found at Bhandup has now been kept in the British Museum. This plate in Sanskrit gives the geneology of the Shilaharas and throws a light on the religious nature of the concerned ruler.

Of the 18 copper plates, 15 are now kept in the Prince of Wales Museum, while one each in the British Museum, the Asiatic Society and the St. Xavier's College. Of the 69 inscriptions enumerated by Dr. Deo, 53 are at Kanheri, one at Mehal near Kanheri, and one each at Kondivti, Jogeshwari, Parel and Powai, while the rest of them, probably from other places in Western India, are now kept in the Prince of Wales Museum, the Asiatic Society, the University of Bombay Library and the St. Xavier's College.

Fifteen of the copper plates are in Sanskrit, while language of the three cannot be deciphered. Of the inscriptions, 49 are in Prakrit, 16 in Sanskrit, two in Kannada and one each in Marathi and a mixed language. Many of them are in the Brahmi script, while those in Devanagari are more numerous. Two of the copper plates belong to the Gurjar rulers, eight to the Maitrakas, one to the Rashtrakutas, three to the Shilaharas and four to other rulers which are not identified. Of the inscriptions, one belongs to the Mauryas, five to the Satavahanas, one to the Kushanas, two to the Chalukyas, one to the Kadambas, two to the Rashtrakutas, eight to the Shilaharas, one to the Yadavas, while the dynasty of the rest of 49 inscriptions has not been ascertained.

One of the Kanheri inscriptions mentions the matrimonial relationship between the Satavahan King Vasishtiputra Satakarni with the daughter of Mahakshatrap Rudra. As stated earlier, the Bhandup copper plate gives a geneology of the Shilaharas. One of the Kanheri inscriptions speaks of the spread of Buddhism widely in this part of India, while another mentions the excavation of the important *chaitya* at Kanheri. Most of the inscriptions and copper plates are in the nature of religious grants, and grants of land, land revenue, villages and water cisterns for the illustrious religious work.

These inscriptions and copper plates have opened new avenues for prized historical research.

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PLATES



Town Hall, Asiatic Society



St. Thomas's Cathedral near old Bombay Green



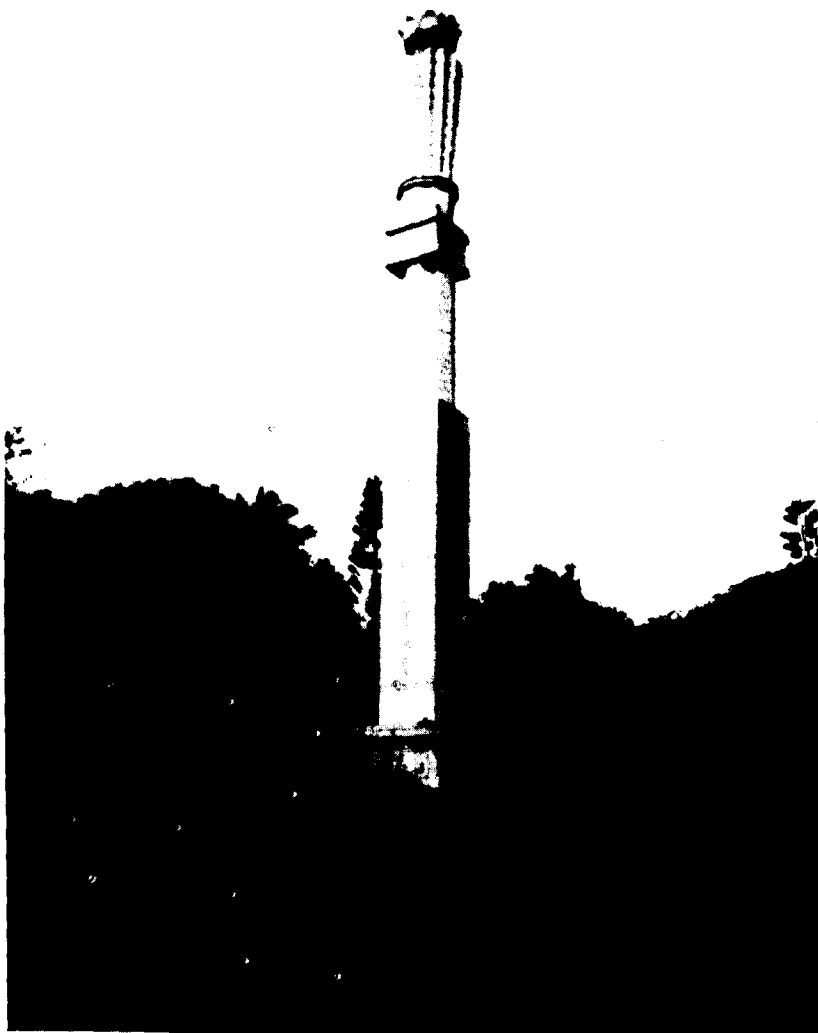
Statue of Lokamanya Tilak, Chowpati



Khilafat House



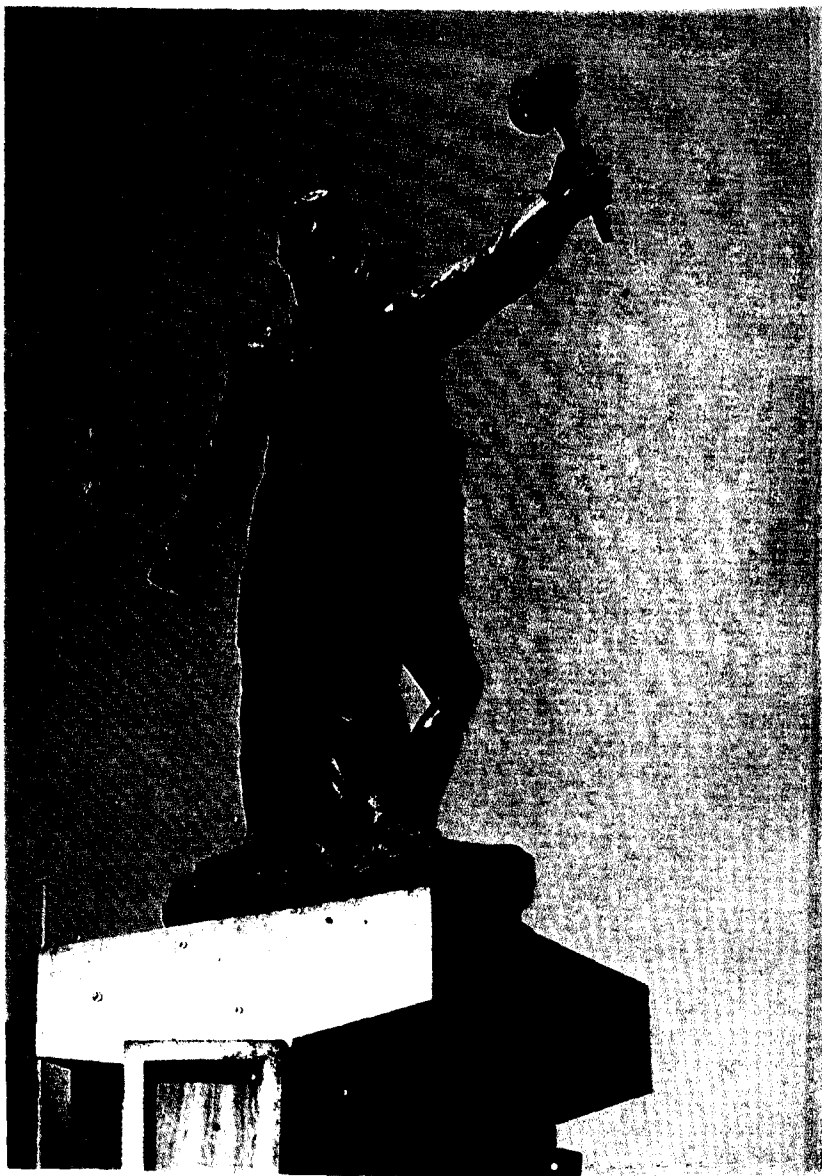
Mani Bhavan, the hallowed house



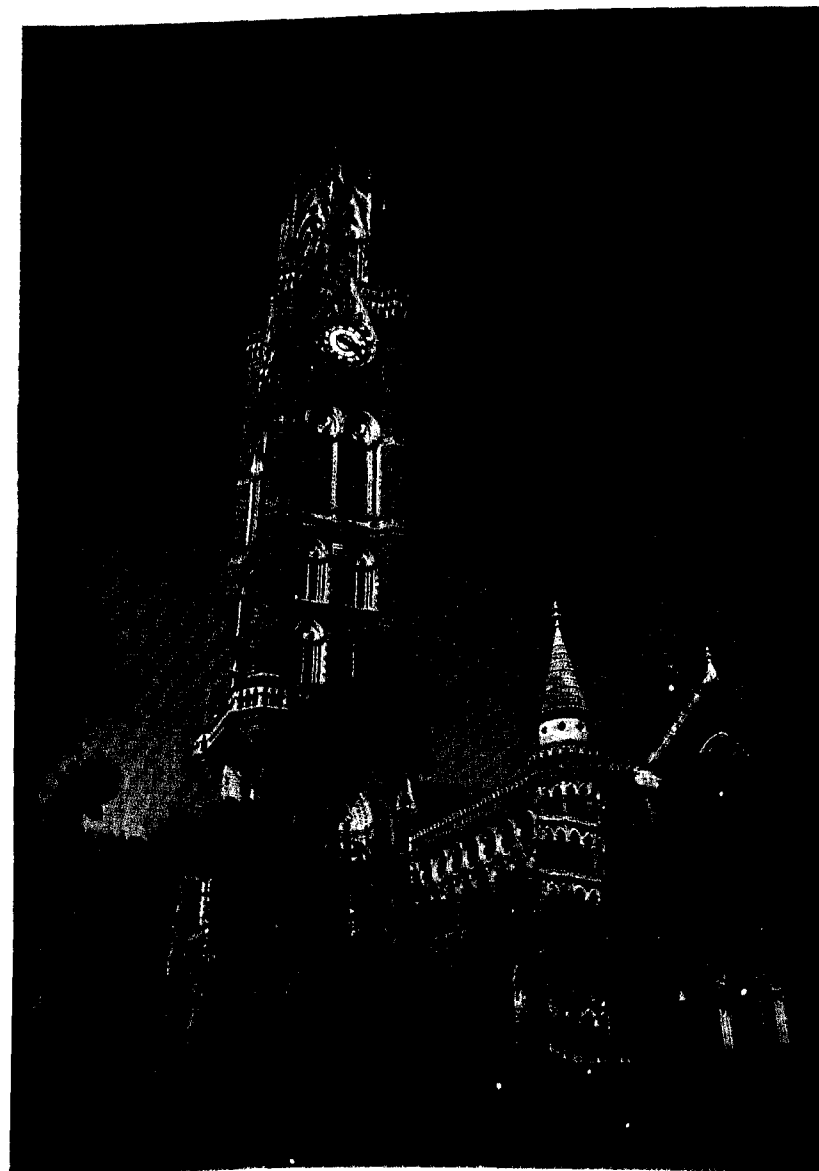
Gandhi Smriti Stambha, Gowalia Tank Maidan



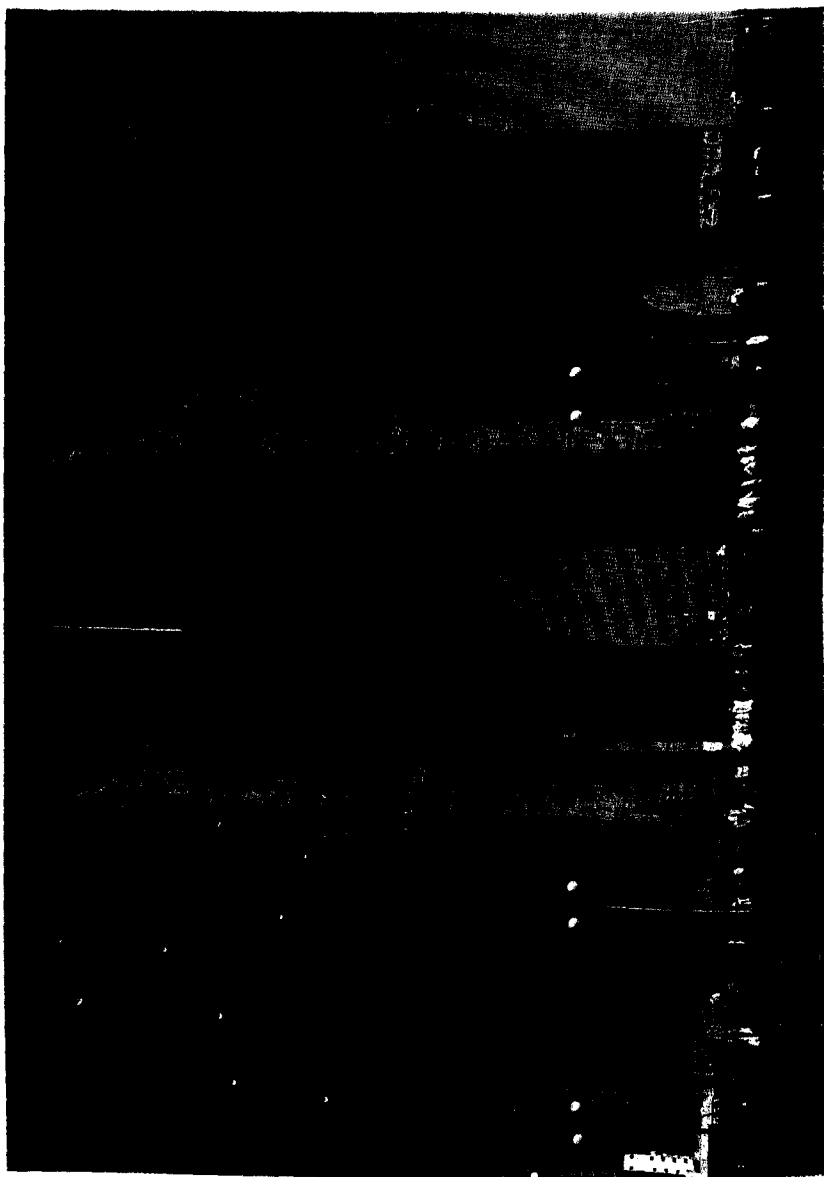
Victoria Terminus Building



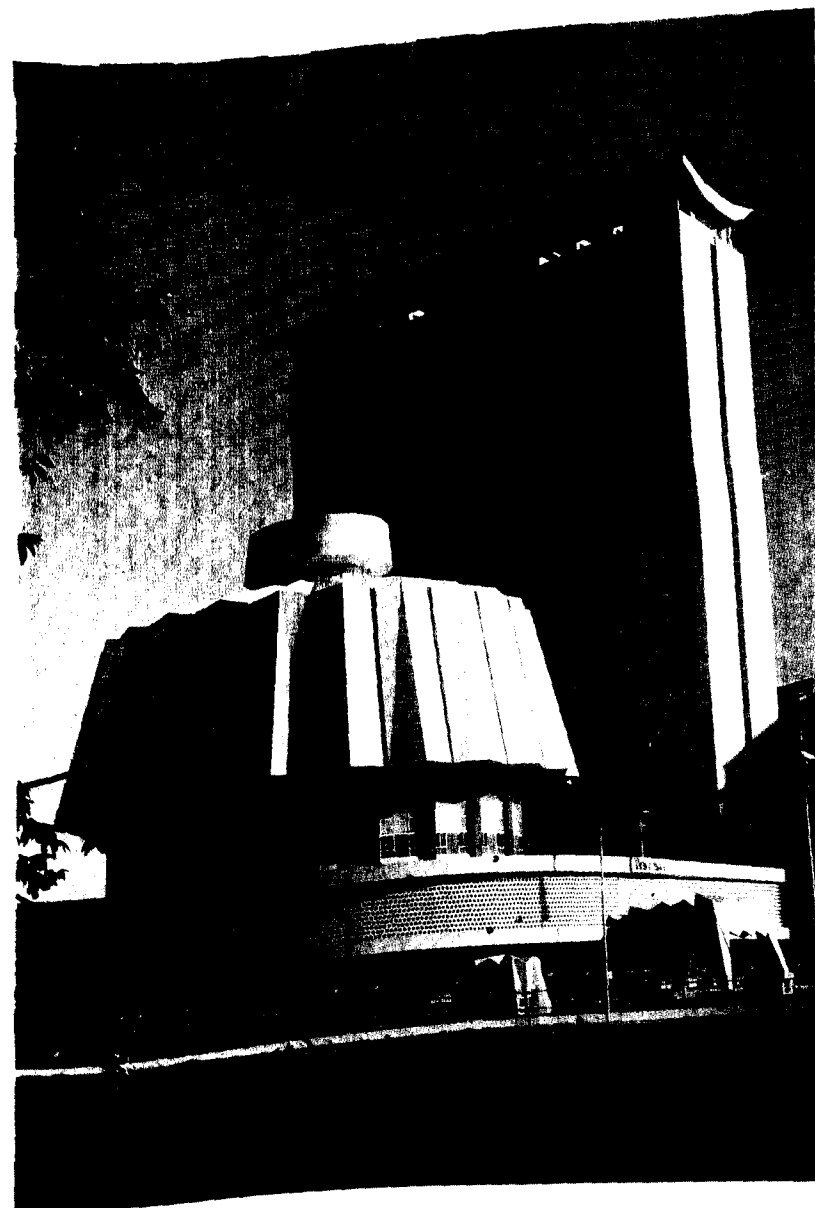
Hutatma Smarak



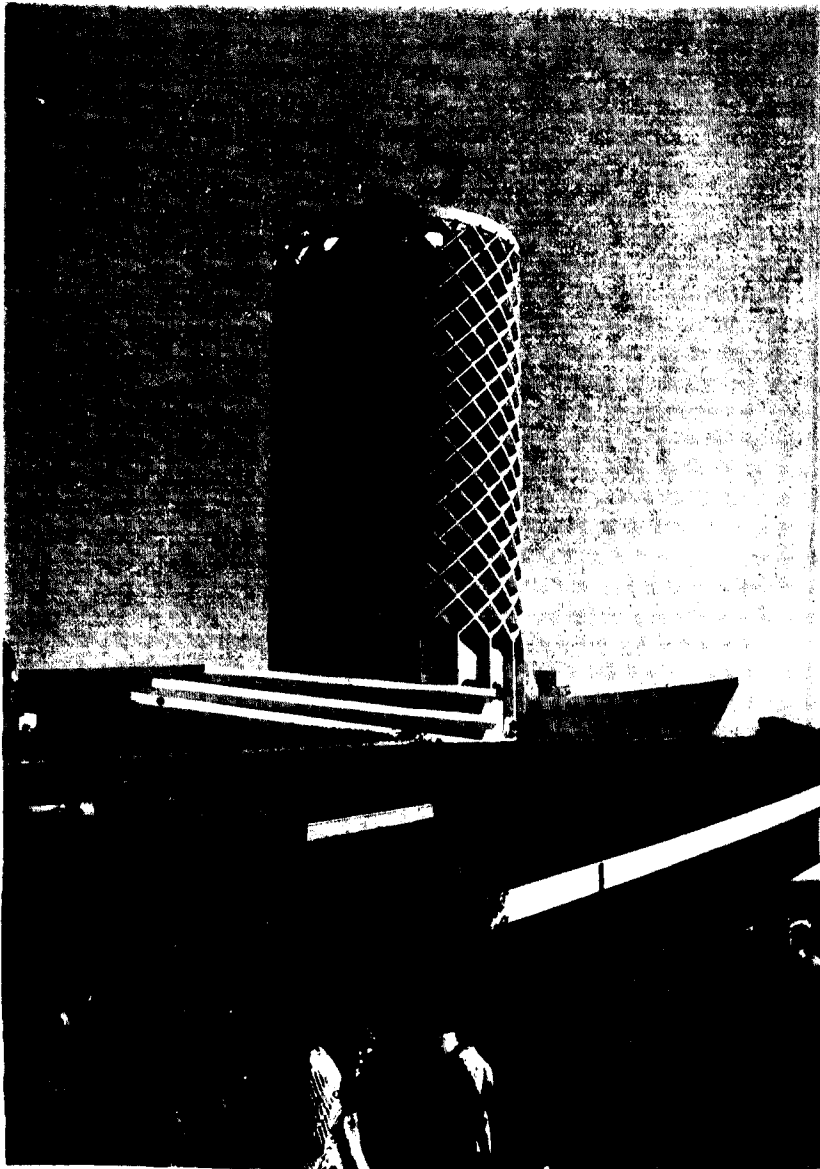
Rajabai Tower, Bombay University



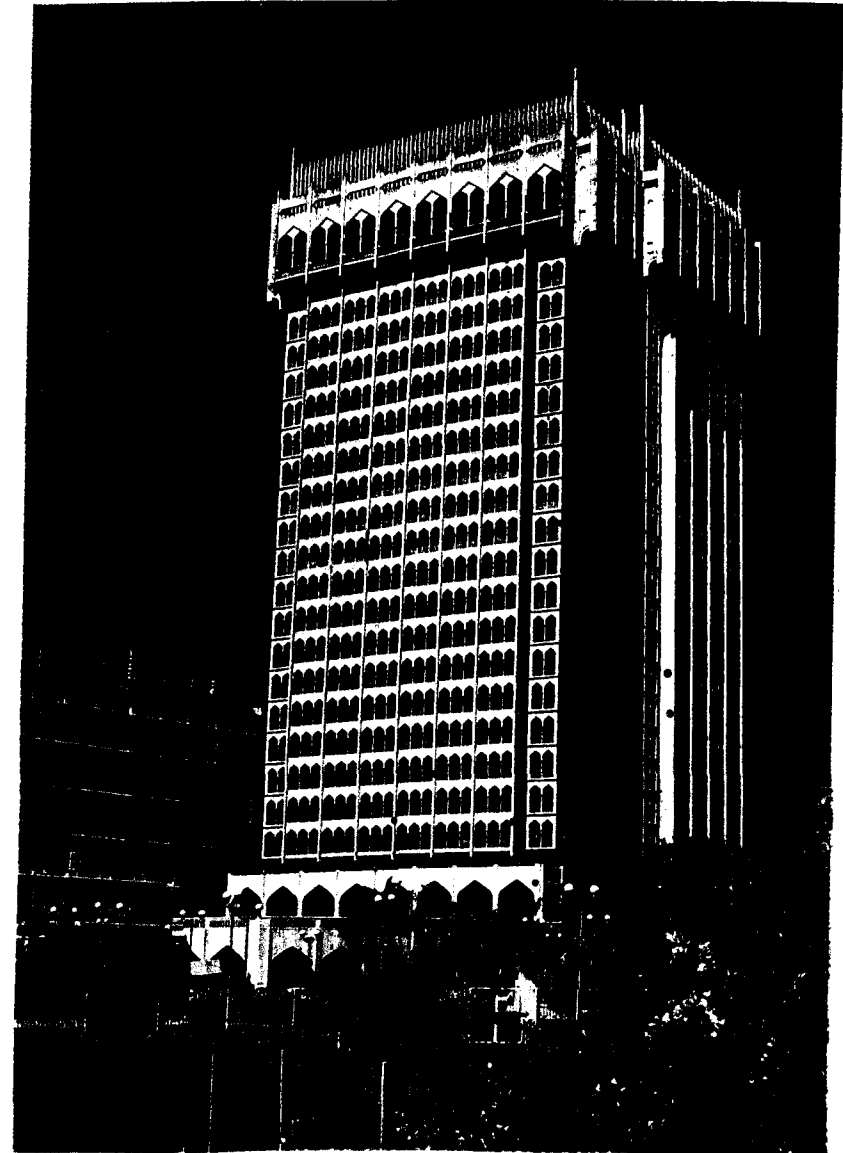
Gateway of India



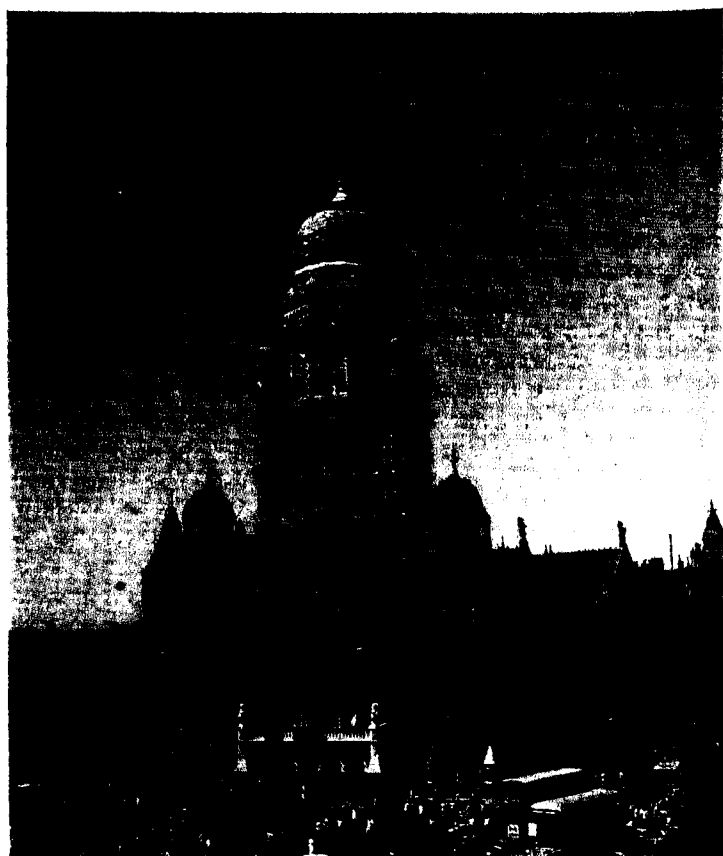
Vidhan Bhavan



Nehru Centre, Worli



Taj International Hotel



Bombay Municipal Corporation, Main Building

INDEX

A	PAGES	A—contd.	PAGES
Aarey, Dairy Technology Institute ..	48	Alexandra Mill (1869) ..	369
Aarey Milk Colony 2, 48, 71, 72, 77		Ali Shah ..	165
Abdul Rehman Street ..	58	All-India Anti-Untouchability League	500
Abhiras ..	131	All-India Congress Committee (<i>see</i> Indian National Congress).	
Abidali, Jafferbhai 468, 494, 529		All-India Home Rule League (1916)	386,
Acts—		(also <i>see</i> Home Rule Movement).	403, 436
Bombay Public Trusts Act (1950),		All-India Textile Workers' Conference	508
720; Bombay Special (Emer-		All-India Trade Union Congress ..	453, 454,
gency) Powers Act (1932), 508,		457, 462, 514, 515,	
510; Bombay Trade Disputes		517, 519	
Conciliation Act (1934), 508;		All-India Trade Union Federation ..	514
Parsee Marriage and Divorce		All-India Village Industries	506
Act (1865), 650; Parsee Succes-		Association.	
sion Act, 650; Special Marriage		All-Maharashtra Political Conference	503
Act III (of 1872), 667; Special		All-Party Conference ..	428-30
Marriage Act XXX (1923), 667.		Al-Masudi ..	143
Acworth, H. A. ..	274	Altekar, Dr., author ..	144
Acworth Leprosy Hospital ..	337	Alve, A. A. 457, 460, 464, 517	
Adderton, Capt. Stephen ..	189	Amana ..	149
Adhikari, G. M. ..	517	Ambada, general of Kumarpala ..	147
Adil Khan ..	166	Ambarnath temple ..	149
Adityashakti ..	136	Ambedkar, Dr. B. R. ..	312, 314,
Advani, H. G. ..	318	318, 432, 462, 495;	
Afghan Church ..	55	499, 500, 513, 522,	
Afghan War ..	295	542, 568, 690, 691	
Aga Khan ..	359	Ambejogai inscription ..	149
Aga Khan Palace 548, 574, 575		Amin, A. K. ..	487
Aga Khan's tomb ..	37	Amir Hussein ..	163, 164
Agra and United Service Bank ..	248	Amoghavarsha I, Rashtrakuta King	138,
Agris, Caste ..	9	139, 142	
Ahmad Bahamani, Sultan of Deccan	158, 159	Amoghavarsha II ..	139
Airport, Juhu ..	42	Anahilvada ..	152, 153
Airport, Santacruz ..	44, 52	Anantapala, Kadamba King ..	146
Airport, Sahar ..	49	Ancient Period ..	127-50
Aiyar, K. Subramani ..	316	Anderson, Philip ..	186, 187, 199
<i>Ajmal</i> , Urdu daily ..	562	Aney, M. S. ..	500, 501,
Akara, modern eastern Malwa ..	130	502, 505, 574	
Akaravanti, modern Malwa ..	130	Angediv ..	163
Akhand Hindustan Front ..	539	Anglo-Vernacular School ..	281
Ala-ud-din Khilji 150, 151, 152, 154, 155		Angre, Kanhoji ..	194, 195,
Ala-ud-din Shah Bahamani ..	159	199, 200, 201	
Albert Museum ..	264	Angre, Manaji ..	201, 202
Albless Family ..	274	Angre, Raghuji ..	202, 203
Albuquerque ..	203	Angre, Sambhaji ..	201
Aldous Huxley ..	43	Angre, Tulaji 202, 203, 206, 208	
Alexandra Dock 36, 41, 79, 357			

A—contd.	PAGES	B	PAGES
Aniruddha, Governor of Dantidurga	138	Babington Smith Committee	.. 442
Anjaneri, copper-plate inscriptions	.. 137	Babulnath temple	.. 8, 596
Anjaria, Prof. J. J.	.. 307	Backbay Reclamation	41, 257, 260, 263
Anjuman-i-Islam (1876)	.. 326	Backbay Reclamation Scandal	.. 434-36
Ansari, Dr. M. A.	.. 429	Badami	.. 135, 136
Antop hill	.. 67	Baddiga-Amoghavarsha III	.. 139
Antonie de Mello de Castro, Viceroy of Goa.	172, 173, 174, 176	Bahadurji, D. N.	363, 387, 524, 525
Aparaditya II	.. 147	Bahadur Shah, Sultan of Gujarat	11, 151, 166
Aparaditya, Shilahara Prince	.. 146	Bai Jerbai Wadia Hospital for Children.	40
Aparanta (North Konkan)	.. 128, 130	Bai Motlibai, widow of Naoroji Wadia.	314
Aparajita, Shilahara King	142, 143, 144	Baird, Sir David	.. 226, 229
Apollo Bunder (Bandar)	7, 236, 263, 358, 363, 585, 586, 588	Bai Sakarbai Dinshaw Petit Hospital for Animals.	34, 316
Apollo Gate	.. 56, 218	Bajaj, Jamnalal	415, 417, 424, 443, 466, 467, 492, 496
Apollo Mill	.. 457	Bajaj, Mrs. Janakidevi	.. 487
Apte, Madhav	.. 312	Baji Rao, Peshwa	23, 225, 230, 231
Ardershir, Dady	.. 229	Bakhale, R. R.	.. 518
Arikesarin	.. 142, 144	Balaji Bajirao, Peshwa	.. 206
Arlington, Lord	.. 176	Balaji Vishwanath, Peshwa	.. 194
Arnold, Sir Edwin	34, 43, 276	Ballard Estate	.. 57
Arse Mahal (Mirror Palace) of Jivanlal Maharaj.	156	Baloo, P., cricketer	481, 500, 525
Arundodaya, periodical	.. 355	Balti	.. 31
Asaf Ali, Mr.	.. 549	Bandra slaughter house	.. 386, 398, 401,
Asaf Ali, Mrs. Aruna	549, 576, 582	Banker, Shankarlal	403, 415, 427, 439, 440, 445, 475, 499
Asavale, R. S.	.. 432, 457	Bank of Bombay (1840)	.. 27, 29, 248, 261, 262, 368
Ashmaka, modern Ahmadnagar and Beed districts.	130	Bank of Western India (1842)	.. 248, 368
Ashoka, Maurya King	.. 128	Bannerji, Surendranath	.. 334, 344, 385, 386, 398
Asiatic Bank	.. 259	Bannerji, W. C.	314, 328, 334
Asiatic Journal	.. 25, 238	Baptista Gardens	.. 63
Asiatic Society of Bombay (Royal Asiatic Society of Bombay).	56, 322, 588, 591, 751, 752	Baptista, Joseph	.. 372, 387, 388, 393, 394, 413, 422, 430, 455, 602
Atmaram Pandurang	.. 315	Bapu Jagannath	.. 283
Atomic Energy Commission	.. 320	Barbosa	.. 7
Atlee, Lord, Viceroy	.. 578, 583	Bardi fort	.. 154
Augustus	.. 276	Bardoli Ashram	.. 400
Aungier Gerald, Governor of Bombay	15, 55, 173, 178, 179, 180, 181, 185, 190, 192, 196, 595, 597	Barnes, Capt.	.. 200
Aurangzeb, Emperor	.. 188, 192	Barras	.. 164
Auty, Naro Govind	.. 225	Bartle Frere, Sir, Governor of Bombay.	588, 589, 590, 592, 598
Avanti, modern western Malwa	.. 130	Barve, S. G.	.. 46
Avery, John	.. 194	Basava, founder of Lingayat sect	.. 629
Azad Maidan (see Esplanade)		Basava, prime minister of Bijjala	.. 140
Azad, Maulana Abul Kalam	395, 417, 420, 429, 502, 529, 531, 537, 544, 549, 578	Bassein, treaty of	.. 11
		Bates, Capt.	.. 206

B—contd.	PAGES	B—contd.	PAGES
Batlwalla, Jamshetji Jijibhai (see Jamshetji Jijibhai).		Bhide, Laxmibai	.. 468
Batlwalla, S. S.	.. 411, 496	Bhillama, Yadava Prince	.. 140
Bazar Gate	.. 218	Bhillama II, Yadava King	.. 149
Bedarkar, K. C.	.. 295	Bhillama V	.. 149
Bedekar, D. K.	.. 515	Bhima Raja (Bimbdev or Bhimadev)	9, 67, 68, 151, 152, 153, 155, 156
Bell, Robert Duncan	.. 509	Bhima Raja's Wadi (Naigaon)	.. 156
Benakata, Wainganga district	.. 130	Bhogashakti alias Prithivichandra	.. 137
Bendall	.. 197	Bhogle, R. K., Communist leader	.. 515, 556
Bene Israels	.. 642-46	Bhoivadi	.. 156
Bengali, Sorabji Shapurji	280, 282, 291, 294, 299, 315, 325	Bhoja, Paramara King	.. 144
Benthall, Mr.	.. 483	Bhongle, Nathurao Sindha	.. 158
Beramji Jijibhai (Byramji Jijibhoy).	275, 288, 292, 294, 296, 299, 302, 304, 315	Bhosle, Janoji	.. 206
Berlin Museum plates	.. 145	Bhulabhai Desai Road	.. 62
Besant, Dr. Annie	.. 385, 386, 387, 388, 398, 402, 407, 413, 429, 635	Bhuleshwar	60-61, 268
Betma plates	.. 144	Bhurgri, G. M.	.. 404, 407
Bhabha, Dr. Homi	.. 320, 321	Bimbakhyar, poem	151, 152, 154
Bhabha Atomic Research Centre	.. 73, 76	Bimbashah	.. 152, 154
Bhadrakamkar, R. H.	.. 411, 426	Bird, Dr.	.. 132, 322
Bhagwanlal, Indrajai	.. 322	Birkett, Mr.	.. 364
Bhagwati, Justice N. H.	.. 312, 314	Birla Education Trust	.. 307
Bhalchandra Krishna, Sir	.. 358, 363	Birla, G. D.	.. 377, 433, 443, 449, 479, 499, 500, 576
Bhandarkar, D. R.	.. 144	Birla House	.. 548
Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.	310	Bijjala, Kalachuri King	.. 140
Bhandarkar, Ramkrishna Gopal	.. 5, 131, 280, 281, 291, 293, 294, 295, 304, 305, 310, 322, 328, 362	Bilhana	.. 139
Bhandarwada Water Works	.. 33, 272	B. J. Wadia Hospital for Children	.. 317
Bhandup plates	.. 144	Blanney, T.	.. 600
Bhansali, J. P.	.. 408	Bleached Dhoties and Fancy Goods Association.	416
Bhanushakti alias Nikumbha, founder of Sendraka Family.	136	Blue Flag Union	.. 461
Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan	.. 61	Blunt, W. S.	.. 299
Bharucha, B. F.	468, 500, 517	Board of Education	.. 279
Bharucha, Dr. Phiroze C. (Sheriff of Bombay).	.. 531	Bocarro, Antonio	.. 12
Bhatavadekar, Bhalchandra	.. 322, 602	Bole, S. K.	.. 393, 395, 411, 432, 455, 531
Bhatia Baug satyagraha	.. 469	Boman-Behram, J. B.	.. 602
Bhatia Maharaj	.. 152	Bomanji Edulji Albless Obstetric Hospital (1890).	315
Bhatt, Dr. P. J.	.. 516	Bomanji Hormusji (Bomanjee Hormusjee).	243, 280, 283, 288, 308
Bhatt, Gokulbhai	.. 443	Bomanji, S. R.	.. 387, 390, 437, 440
Bhau Daji Lad Museum	.. 323	Bombay Act IV of 1922	.. 383
Bhave, Vinola	.. 537	Bombay Act XIII of 1938	.. 601
Bhavnagari, M. M. (Bhowpagree, M. M.)	274, 295, 297, 338, 364, 651	Bombay Act LVIII of 1956	.. 601
		Bombay Act of 1872	.. 602
		Bombay Association (1852)	.. 242, 244, 248, 278, 281, 282-94, 296, 298
VF 4361—51a			

B—contd.	PAGES	B—contd.	PAGES
Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway.	29, 257, 259	Bombay Millhands Defence Association.	355
Bombay Branch of the East India Association.	292, 294-98	Bombay Millowners' Association (1875).	302, 303, 318, 370, 373, 376, 394, 405, 412, 433, 438, 444, 446, 447, 454, 455, 456, 458, 459, 461, 479, 493
<i>Bombay Builder</i>	265	Bombay Municipal Act of 1888	335, 360
Bombay Bullion Exchange	377, 446, 450	Bombay Municipal Corporation (see Municipal Corporation of Greater Bombay).	31
Bombay Bullion Merchants' Association.	405	Bombay Municipality	70
Bombay Castle	183, 192, 216, 218, 228, 592	Bombay Municipal Slaughter House	326
Bombay Chamber of Commerce (1836).	23, 235, 369, 373, 378, 395, 484, 601	Bombay National Mahommedan Association (1882).	363, 405, 406
<i>Bombay Chronicle</i>	357, 398, 424, 437, 439, 447, 469, 491, 492, 504, 505, 562	Bombay National Union	279
Bombay City Improvement Trust	40, 44, 58, 64, 65, 67, 68, 342, 378-84, 510, 593	Bombay Native Education Society (1827).	377, 398, 405, 410, 414, 416, 417, 468, 470
Bombay Coast and River Steam Navigation Company.	29, 258	Bombay Native Piecegoods Merchants' Association.	377, 477, 539
<i>Bombay Congress Bulletin</i> , periodical (see Congress Bulletin).		Bombay Native Share and Stock Brokers' Association.	408
Bombay Cotton Brokers' Association (1915).	376, 414, 445, 493	<i>Bombay Police Secret Abstract</i>	528
Bombay Cotton Exchange	376, 450, 554	Bombay Port	270, 275, 370, 371, 373
Bombay Cotton Merchants' and Muccadams' Association	376	Bombay Port Trust (1873)	282, 298-303, 328, 331, 332, 339, 344, 348, 349, 350, 388, 405
Bombay Cotton Mill	353	Bombay Presidency Association (1885).	597-98
Bombay Cotton Trades Association (1875).	376	Bombay Presidency, Governors, List of.	
Bombay Council	207, 210, 212, 213, 214	Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.	409, 410, 412, 413, 415, 416, 417, 422, 424, 425, 427, 428, 445, 446, 464, 466, 467, 470, 471, 474, 475, 479, 482, 486, 488, 492, 496, 520, 524, 578, 579
Bombay Development Department.	434	Bombay Provincial Muslim League	527, 520
Bombay Disturbances Enquiry Committee.	522	Bombay Public Trusts Act, 1950	720
Bombay Dock Workers' Union	509	Bombay Race Course	69, 593
Bombay Education Society	278	<i>Bombay Samachar</i>	254, 303, 525
Bombay Gas Company	30	Bombay Sanitary Commission	262
Bombay Girni Kamgar Union	515	Bombay Seed Merchants' Association	471
Bombay Grain Merchants' Association.	425	Bombay Shipping and Iron Shipping Companies.	259
Bombay Green	264, 591	Bombay Shroffs' Association	439, 451, 468
Bombay Historical Society	322		
Bombay Industrial Disputes Act (1938).	521, 528		
Bombay Industrial Relations Act (1946).	521		
Bombay Insurance Society	233		
Bombay Labour Association	393		
Bombay Literary Society	591		
Bombay Merchants' Association	441		

B—contd.	PAGES	B—contd.	PAGES
Bombay Special (Emergency) Act, 1932.	508, 510, 527	Buist, Dr.	322
Bombay Spinning and Weaving Company's Mill.	27, 248, 368	Bull Bazar Market	31
Bombay Strike Enquiry Committee.	458	Burma Shell Co.	463
Bombay Suburbs	77	Butcher island	79
Bombay Telephone Company	42	Byculla Club	65, 593
Bombay Textile Labour Union	456	B. Y. L. Nair Hospital	317
Bombay Textile Workers' Union	456	Byramji Jijibhai (see Beramji Jijibhai)	
<i>Bombay Times</i>	248, 255, 369		
Bombay Town Planning Act, 1954	46		
Bombay Trade Disputes Conciliation Act, 1934.	508		
Bombay Trades' Association	395		
Bombay United Spinning and Weaving Co.	368		
Bombay University—	56, 71, 280, 304-19, 408, 588,		
builders of, 308-12; Campus, 71; Colleges, 312-19; Library, 313, 589; Research institutes, 319-23; Vice-Chancellors, 606-07.	606-07, 620		
Bombay Veterinary College	316		
Boone, Charles, Governor of Bombay	195, 196, 197, 591, 597		
Bor Ghat	29, 257		
Bose, B. K.	349		
Bose, Subhash Chandra	478, 482, 515, 530, 532, 539, 579		
Bowcher, George	187		
Brabourne, Lord, Governor of Bombay.	509, 520, 598		
Brabourne Stadium	58, 528		
Bradlaugh	333, 334		
Bradley, B. F.	457, 517		
Brahmanand, P. R.	307		
Brahmin Club (1890)	325		
Breach Candy	62, 249, 594		
Brelvi, S. A.	504, 505		
Bright, John	287, 299		
British India Company	258		
British India Company's Dockyard.	36		
British Parliament	248		
Broacha, Sir Shapurji	377, 381		
Broughton	23, 236		
Brown, Walter	198		
Browne, Captain	172		
Bryce, Mr.	301		
Buddharaja, Kalachuri King	133, 135		
Buddharuchi	132		
Buddhist religious festivals	690-91		
Buist, geologist	80		

B—contd.	PAGES
Cailland, General	216
Cama and Albless Hospital (1886)	34, 58, 274, 315
Cama, Kharshedji Rastamji	282
Cama, K. N.	293, 294, 325, 366
Cama, Madame	345
Cama, Pestanji Hormasji, philanthropist.	315
Campbell, Sir James	12, 322
Cantonments Act of 1889	341
Cape	258
Captain, M. S.	387
Captain, Perin	468, 491, 492, 496
Carnac, Colonel John	215, 216, 221
Carnac overbridge	30, 263
Carnac Road	263
Carnac, Sir, J. Rivett, Governor of Bombay.	254, 598
Carter, geologist	80
Cathedral of St. Thomas (see St. Thomas Cathedral).	
Cavel, Village	132
Caves—	
Chandansar, 128; Elephanta, 134; Gharapuri, 133; Jogeshwari, 72, 128; Kanheri, 128, 130, 131, 596; Krishnagiri, 147; Kondivte, 128; Pandulena, 130.	
Central Bank of Western India	27, 248
Central Khilafat Committee	404, 405, 406, 425
Central Telegraph Office Building	589, 590
Chaityabhoomi, Dadar Chowpati	690
Chakla	58-59
Chandanacharya, poet	149
Chandansar caves	128
Chandavarkar, Sir Narayan G., Justice.	300, 307, 311, 312, 314, 330, 362, 364, 385, 390, 391, 393, 412, 431
Chandavarkar, Vithal	312, 602

C—contd.	PAGES	C—contd.	PAGES
Chande inscription ..	148	Cinema, appearance of ..	43
Chandradityapura, modern Chandor in Nashik district.	149	City of Bombay Mill ..	353
Chandrapura, modern Chandor in Goa.	145	City Improvement Trust (<i>see</i> Bombay City Improvement Trust).	
Chapsey, Ratansey ..	559, 562	City Jail ..	65
Chari, Ananta ..	516	Civil Disobedience Movement 374, 377, (1930-34)—	425, 443-52,
Charles II, English King 13, 15, 171, 172, 174, 196, 619		Businessmen and Civil Disobedience, 443-52.	464, 465-506, 524, 527, 556, 563
Chartered Mercantile Bank ..	27, 248, 261	C. J. Ophthalmic Hospital (1866) ..	30, 314
Chattopadhyaya, Mrs. Kamaladevi ..	467, 468, 469, 470, 491, 492	Claude Auchinleck, commander-in-chief	583
Chaudhari, Z. R. ..	517	Clarke, Sir George (<i>see</i> Sydenham)	
Chaul fort ..	214	Climate—	84-92
Chelmsford, Lord, Viceroy ..	387, 401	cloudiness, 86; humidity, 86; rainfall, 84-85; special weather phenomena, 86; temperature, 85-86; wind, 86.	
Chemulya port ..	146	Clive, Colonel Robert ..	201, 202, 207
Chhadvaideva ..	143	Clive, Lord ..	216
Chhagla, Justice M. C. 312, 314, 554		Cobden, Mr. ..	287
Chhattayadeva ..	143, 145	Cocanada, bombing of ..	542
Child, Sir John, Governor of Bombay. 189, 190, 193, 597		Colaba causeway ..	30, 236, 263, 588, 594
Chimnaji Appa ..	196, 204, 225	Colaba Company ..	261
Chimur, tragedy ..	557	Colaba terminus ..	39
Chinal, Babubhai ..	580	Colaba, Upper and Lower ..	4, 55
Chinchani plates ..	142, 146	Cole, Capt., Royal Indian Navy ..	581
Chinchpokli ..	69	Coleo or Old Woman's Island ..	181
Chintamani, C. Y. ..	429, 430	Collet, Capt. ..	195
Chitnavis, G. M. ..	349	Colliarys (Koliwadas) ..	184
Chitnis, Dr. G. Y. ..	515, 517	Colville, Sir John, Governor of Bombay. 320, 583, 598	
Chitrakuta fort ..	139	Commercial Bank of India (1845) ..	27, 368
Chittaraja ..	145	Communists—	452-64, 545
Chotani, Mia Mohamed ..	404, 406, 407, 422	emergence of, 452-64.	
Chowsy, Dr. J. N. ..	468, 470	Congress (<i>see</i> Indian National Congress).	
Christians—	641-42, 692-96	Congress Bulletin ..	451, 471, 475, 487, 491, 492, 496, 501, 503, 553, 562
religious festivals, 692-96.		Congress Democratic Party ..	407, 410
Churches—		Congress Prabhat Patrika Press ..	492
Afghan, 55; Colaba Church, 588; Mount Mary, 70, 596; Nossa Senhora de Esperanza, 170; Nossa Senhora de Gloria, 595; Our Lady of Egypt, 70; Our Lady of Hope, 12; R. C., 55; San Miguel (Michael), 12, 596; St. Andrew's (Bandra), 12, 70, 170; St. Andrew's (Fort), 24, 588, 592; St. Anne, 70; St. Joseph Roman Catholic, 23; St. Mary's, 24; St. Peter's, 70; St. Thomas Cathedral, 7, 17, 24, 198, 591.		Congress Radio ..	559-62
Church Gate ..	218, 593	Congress Socialist Party (Bombay Unit).	518, 520
		Contractor, geologist ..	80
		Cooke, Humphrey, first British Governor. 13, 15, 174, 175, 176, 177, 597	
		Cooperage Maidan ..	56
		Cooper, Sir Dhunjis' Lah B. 509, 513, 514	
		Coote, Sir Eyze ..	214

C—contd.	PAGES	D	PAGES
Cornwallis, Lord ..	222	Dabhol ..	163
Cotton Contracts Act of 1932 376, 446, 477		Dabholkar, Narayan Vasudev ..	292
Cotton, George ..	602	Dabholkar, Shantaram N. ..	426
Cotton Green, Colaba ..	593	Da Cunha, Dr. ..	185
Cotton, Sir Henry ..	347	Dadabhai Naoroji (Dadabhoy Nowrojee). 245, 246, 280, 281, 283, 289, 294, 295, 298, 299, 304, 308, 314, 318, 327, 328, 330, 331, 339, 346, 348, 650, 651	
Council Hall—	512, 587	Dadabhai Naoroji road ..	56
buildings, 512.		Dadachanji, K. E. ..	411
Court of Directors ..	255, 285	Dadar ..	68
Court of Judicature ..	184	Dahisar river ..	52
Cousens, author of <i>Mediaeval Temples in the Deccan</i> .	148	Dahrasena, Traikutaka King ..	131
Cowasji Jehangir (Readymoney) 30, 244, (Cowasjee Jehangeerjee). 264, 281, 283, 288, 290, 296, 304, 305, 312, 314, 321, 323, 325, 364, 373, 436, 447, 531, 589, 602		<i>Daily Herald</i> ..	473
Cowasji Jehangir Convocation Hall 205, 305, (Bombay University). 312, 588, 589, 590		Dairy, Worli ..	69
Cowasji Jehangir Hall ..	536	Daivadnya Dnatiya Association ..	325
Coyajee, Justice C. ..	314, 531	<i>Daivadnya Samachar</i> , periodical ..	325
Crawford, Arthur, Municipal Commissioner. 336, 593		Dalal, Ardeshir ..	575
Crawford Inquiry Commission ..	336	Dalal, geologist ..	80
Crawford, James Henry ..	253	Dalhousie, Lord ..	255, 256
Crawford market (1869) 10, 31, 75, 267		Dalvi, Mrs. ..	500
Creeks—		Daman fort ..	154
Dharamtar, 53; Gorai, 54; Manori, 3; Manori-Malad, 54; Marve, 52; Panvel, 53; Thane, 2, 53; Varsova, 54; Vasai, 2, 51.		Damanganga river ..	136
Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1932 ..	527	Danby Seymour, member of British Parliament. 287, 288	
Cripps Mission ..	541, 583	Dandi March ..	466
Cripps, Sir Stafford ..	542	Dange, Mrs. Usha ..	515, 516
Cromwell ..	171	Dange, S. A. 424, 452, 453, 454, 457, 458, 459, 460, 462, 464, 518, 556	
Cross island ..	265	Dani, Jainarayan Indumal ..	415
Cross Maidan ..	56, 74, 593	Dantidurga, Rashtrakuta King ..	137, 138, 140
Cruickshank Road ..	263	Das, C. R. 403, 428, 429	
Cuffe Parade ..	593	Dastur, N. J. ..	562
Cumballa hill ..	61, 62, 75	Datwala, Prof. M. L. (also Dantwala) 307, 576	
Cunha, Dr. Da ..	7, 185	Daulatram, Jai Ramdas ..	522
Currimbhoy, Sir Fazulbhoy ..	364, 374, 375, 381, 398, 436	Davar, Cowasji Nanabhai ..	368
Currimbhoy, Sir Ibrahim ..	321, 323, 373, 375	Davar, Dinshaw ..	314
Cursetji Nasarvanji (Cursetjee Nusserwanjee). 244, 283		Davar, Justice ..	351, 353
Curzon, Lord, Viceroy 305, 306, 310, 341, 346, 357, 358		Dave, Rohit Manushankar ..	558
Customs, Hindus ..	651-72	Davies David, English navigator (1626). 12, 168	
Custom House ..	588	Dayal, Goculdas J. ..	437
		Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act, 1879. 541	
		De Chaves ..	198
		Defence of India Rules ..	550, 555
		De Mello de Castro, Antonio, Viceroy of Goa. 14	

F—contd.	PAGES	G—contd.	PAGES
Flora Fountain ..	590	Gaikwad, B. S. ..	517
Food ..	728-31	Gaikwad, Khande Rao of Baroda ..	227, 269, 273
Forbes, author of <i>Oriental Memoirs</i> ..	218, 219	Gaity Theatre ..	341
Forbes Company ..	237	Gajendragadkar, Justice P. B. ..	312, 322
Forests— ..	93-94	Gambier, Robert ..	211
Forests Department, 93; National		Games, Sports and Amusements ..	735-42
Park, Borivli, 93, 110-26.		Ganj-i-Shahidan or Catacomb ..	160
Forjett, Charles ..	250, 251,	Ganapatam (Ganpatrao) ..	164
	252, 264, 591	Gandhi-Ambedkar Pact ..	499
Fort area ..	55-58	Gandhi, Devadas ..	486, 499
Fort Improvement Committee ..	249	Gandhi-Das-Nehru Pact ..	430
Fort Proprietary School (1859) ..	315	Gandhi-Irwin Pact ..	449, 478, 479, 481
Fort St. George ..	592	Gandhi-Jinnah Talks ..	576-80
Fort William ..	221	Gandhi, Kasturba ..	425, 481, 549, 575
Fort— ..		Gandhi, M. K. ..	363, 377,
Bardi, 154; Chaul, 214; Chitrakuta,			387, 390, 391, 395, 396,
139; Daman, 154; Diu, 166;			397, 399, 400, 401, 402,
Dongri, 16, 20, 216, 595; Kalan-			403, 404, 405, 406, 407,
jara, 139; Kenery, 192; Mahim,			409, 410, 411, 412, 414,
163, 228, 595; Parnar, 154;			415, 417, 418, 419, 420,
Reva, 216; Sanjan, 154; Shir-			421, 422, 424, 427, 428,
gaon, 154; Sion, 216, 595;			429, 430, 436, 438, 440,
St. George, 20, 216, 275, 592;			442, 443, 445, 446, 449,
Underi, 192; William, 221.			451, 464, 465, 466, 469,
Fra John de Gloria ..	196		470, 471, 472, 474, 476,
Framji Cowasji ..	279, 364, 365		478, 479, 480, 481, 482,
Framji Cowasji Institute ..	298		483, 484, 485, 486, 487,
Framji Nasarvanji ..	244, 283, 288		490, 491, 492, 498, 499,
Francisco D'Almeida, viceroy ..	161, 163		500, 501, 502, 503, 504,
Francis, Mr. ..	214		505, 506, 507, 524, 525,
Francis, St. Xavier ..	170		530, 531, 532, 537, 538,
Frank Forbes Adam ..	336		541, 542, 543, 544, 545,
Fr. Antonio de Porto ..	169, 170		546, 548, 549, 550, 554,
Fr. Joao de Alphonso de Albuquerque ..	169		556, 563, 573-76, 577,
Fraser, Lovat ..	359, 585		579, 584
Free General Assembly's Institution ..	279	Gandhi, Ranchhoddas ..	383
<i>Free Press of India</i> ..	442	Ganeshkhind ..	208
French Bank ..	261	Gangabai, wife of Narayanrao Peshwa ..	209
Frere, Sir Bartle, Governor of	29, 256,	Garcia da Orta ..	167, 168, 169, 170
Bombay. ..	257, 262, 263, 264,	Garcia, St. Gonsalo ..	696
	265, 266, 269, 272,	Gary, Captain Henry ..	176, 177, 178
	277, 588, 590, 598	Gas Company ..	264
Friar Odoric ..	150	Gaspar Correa ..	7, 164, 165
Friars Jordanus ..	157	Gate of Mercy Synagogue ..	594
Friends of India ..	287	Gateway of India ..	39, 53, 56,
Friends of Soviet Union (1932) ..	516		276, 585, 586, 587
Fryer, Dr. John ..	6, 14, 57,	<i>Gathasaptashati</i> , collection of Prakrit	129
	168, 170, 181, 186	verses. ..	
G		Gautamiputra Satakarni ..	130
Gadge Maharaj Chowk (Jacob's Circle) ..	65	Gavade, S. B. ..	393
Gadgil, G. K. ..	500	Gavande, R. J. ..	517
		Gayer, Lady ..	191

G—contd.	PAGES	G—contd.	PAGES
Gayer, Sir John, Governor of	185, 190,	Gilani, Haji Javier ..	558
Bombay. ..	191, 196, 597	Gilder, Dr. M. D. D. ..	502, 526,
Geary Grattan ..	600		531, 559, 562, 602
Geddes, Prof. Patrick ..	306, 307	Ginwala, F. J. ..	393, 407,
General Post Office ..	57		410, 422, 455, 457
Gell, Commissioner of Police ..	358	Girgaum ..	61
Genu, Babu ..	556	Girgaum road ..	268
Geography— ..	1-79	Girni Kamgar Union ..	392, 393, 456,
Boundaries, 3; Heptanesia, 3-4;			460, 461, 462, 464
Location, size and area, 2;		Girni Kamgar Union (Red Flag) ..	517, 522, 556
Physical growth of Bombay :—		Girni Kamgar Union (Roy Group) ..	518
(1) British period upto 1909,			(1934).
13-18; (2) Fifties to seventies,		Gladman ..	190
44-49; (3) Hindu period, 9-10;		Gloria church ..	595
(4) Inter-war period, 38-43;		Goculdas Tejpal ..	281, 315, 364, 369
(5) Muslim period, 10-11;		Goculdas Tejpal Hospital (1874) ..	31, 265,
(6) Portuguese period, 11-13;			315, 588
(7) Years before Independence,		Goddard, General ..	215, 216,
43; Relief of Bombay, 49-55;			219, 220, 221
Seven islands of Bombay, 4-5;		Godrej, A. B. ..	415, 436
Urban morphology and land		Goggiraja ..	143
use, 74-79; Wards and sections,		Gokhale, G. K. ..	302, 306,
55-74. ..	79-84		311, 313, 332, 340,
Geology— ..			346, 348, 349, 356,
Bombay islands, 81-82; economic			357, 359, 363, 385
geology, 84; groundwater condi-		Gokhale, Mrs. Avantikabai ..	398, 422, 467,
tions, 84; Salsette island, 82-83;			468, 491, 500
structure, 83-84; Trombay island,		Golden Tobacco Company ..	71
83. ..	227, 229	Goodler, John ..	179
George III ..	316, 321, 358, 586	Gordon, General ..	210
George V ..	314	Gorai creek ..	54
George Arthur ..	322	Gorapavali, modern Bhandup ..	144
George Grierson ..	152, 153, 322	Government Central Press building ..	275
Gerson da Cunha, Dr. ..	467, 469	Government Dental College ..	57
Gharpure, Prof. D. R. ..	133	Government House ..	40, 170, 219, 229,
Gharapuri (Elephanta Caves) ..	453, 517		236, 239, 319, 595
Ghate, S. V. ..	500	Government Law College (1855) ..	279
Ghia, M. C. ..	269	Government of India Act, 1919 ..	435
Ghorupdeo ..	6, 14	Government of India Act, 1935 ..	513, 601
Ghorupdeo temple ..	299	Governor's House ..	595
Ghose, Lal Mohan ..	349, 531	Govinda I, Rashtrakuta King ..	143
Ghose, Rash Behari ..	520	Govinda II ..	138
Ghosh, Ajoy Kumar, Communist		Govinda III ..	138
leader. ..	300, 314	Govinda IV ..	139
Ghosh, Man Mohan ..	549	Govindji, Mavji ..	393, 413,
Ghosh, P. C. ..	307		438, 439, 440
Ghurye, G. S. ..	280, 309	Govindji, Vithaldas D. ..	407
Gibbs, Justice James ..	309	Govind Rai ..	704
Gibbs Testimonial ..	499	Gowalia Tank Maidan ..	513, 543, 579
Gidwani, Dr. Choithram ..	196	Granaders ..	191
Gifford ..	160	Grant Duff, historian ..	207
Gilani, Bhadr Khan ..		Grant, J. H. ..	600

G—contd.	PAGES	H—contd.	PAGES
Grant Medical College (1845)	64, 247, 256, 274, 279, 281, 284, 286, 312, 314, 315, 411, 551, 556, 557	Hardinge, Lord, Viceroy	357, 363
Grant, Robert, Governor of Bombay	24, 236, 314, 598	<i>Harijan</i>	541
Grant, Sir Alexander	280, 281, 309	Harijan Fund	580
Gray, Mathew	178	Haripaladeva	147
Great Indian Peninsula Company	27, 242, 256, 270	Harisena, Vakataka King	132
Griffiths, Police Commissioner	400	Harishchandra	137
Grose	6	Harris, Lord, Governor of Bombay	314, 335, 339, 340, 364, 598
Growth of Political Consciousness	282-98	Harris, Mohinuddin	562
Guillam	194	Harrison, Mr. Accountant General	358
G. S. Medical College (1925)	40, 312, 316	Harkness, Prof.	279
G. T. Hospital (1874)	315	Harpaldev, son-in-law of Ramdev	146, 150, 157
Gubbay, A. H.	289	Yadava.	220, 226
Guhalla II	145, 146	Hartley, Colonel	395
Gujarat Association	363	Hasan Imam, president of Bombay Congress Session of 1918.	19, 212, 213, 215, 216, 219, 220, 222
Gujarat Research Society	322	Hatch, Collector of Bombay	358
<i>Gujarati</i>	303	Haveliwala, M. H.	411
Gujarati Social Union (1879)	325	Heber, Bishop	234
Gulabchand, Devchand	410, 438, 439	Heitor da Silveria	165
Gupta, Begraj	376, 456	Hemadri	148, 150
Gupte, Subhash	312	Hemchandra	147
Guru Arjun Dev	703, 704	Henry, George F.	602
Guru Gobind Singh	702, 703, 705	Heptanesia	3-4, 5, 11, 586
Guru Har Gobind	705	Hepper, Sir Lawless	435
Guru Har Krishna	704	Hewlett, Dr.	27, 30, 262
Guru Nanak	702, 703, 704	Hidayatullah, Sir Ghulam Husain	509
Guru Teg Bahadur	702, 704	High Court— building, 37, 265, 588, 589.	30, 37, 56, 265, 588, 589
Gyfford	178		67
H			
Haffkine Institute	12, 20, 40, 319, 342, 595	Hills— Antop, 67; Cumballa, 8, 62, 75; Kanhari, 3, 50, 72; Malabar, 75, 218, 249, 268; Manekji Naoroji, 14, 268, 595; Worli, 68.	511
Haffkine, Dr. Waldemar Mordecai Wolfe.	319	Hilton Young Commission (1926)	355, 399
Haig, M. H., Home Member, Government of India.	451	<i>Hind Swarajya</i> , periodical	369
Haimendorf, traveller	127	Hindoostan Spinning and Weaving Co. (1873).	402
Haji Ali dargah	62, 594	<i>Hindu</i>	630-36,
Hajrat Makhdoom Fakih Ali Saheb dargah and urus, Mahim.	596, 725	Hindus— Beliefs and superstitions, 635-36; death and funeral rites, 668-72; marriage, 656-68; pregnancy and birth, 651-53; religious practices, 630-34; religious festivals, 673-81; upanayana or <i>vratibandha</i> , 653-56.	651-81
Hala, author of <i>Gathasaptashati</i>	129	Hindu Colonisation, period of	9-10
Halai, W. T.	439		
Hallowes, geologist	80		
Hamilton	188		
Hamjaman	153		
Hangal inscription	144		
Hanging gardens	62		

H—contd.	PAGES	I—contd.	PAGES
Hindu Mahasabha	449, 504, 542, 563, 577, 580	Income Tax Act of 1917	437
Hinduism	628	Independent Labour Party	513, 522
<i>Hindu Punch</i> , periodical	356	Indian air-mail line	42
Hindustan Petroleum Corporation	48	Indian Central Banking Enquiry Committee (1931).	511
Hindustani Samyawadi Sangha (1932)	516	Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908.	527
<i>Hindustan Times</i>	442	Indian Currency League (1926)	442
Hindus, <i>Varkari</i> cult	634-35	<i>Indian Daily Mail</i>	447
Hoare, Sir Samuel, Secretary of State	501	Indian Franchise Committee	495
Holford	217	Indian Historical Research Institute.	322-23
Holkar, Tukoji	215	Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau.	373, 394, 395, 405, 410, 416, 433, 435, 437, 440, 441, 444, 448, 449, 450, 451, 468, 471, 477, 485, 499
Holkar, Tulaji	214	Indian Meteorological Department.	55
Holkar, Yashwantrao	224	Indian National Army	579, 580
Home, English chief at Mahim	197	Indian National Congress— AICC, 401, 409, 416, 417, 418, 428, 430, 448, 454, 465, 466, 504, 513, 532, 537, 540, 542, 543, 544, 545, 549, 579, 580, 584; dawn of, 327-45; sessions :—Ahmedabad (1921), 421; Amritsar (1919-20), 403; Bombay— (1885), 328-30; (1889), 332-34; (1904), 347-48; (1915), 384-86; (1918), 395; (1934), 517; (1942), 543; Bezwada (1921), 414; Cal- cutta (1906), 346; (1920), 409, 413; Delhi (1932), 496; Faizpur (1936), 513; Gauhati (1926), 433; Karachi (1931), 480; Nagpur (1920), 437; Ramgarh (1940), 536; Split in, 349-50.	431, 447, 523, 539, 585
Home Rule Movement	386-94, 403, 405, 406, 410, 436, 438	Indian National Liberal Federation	395
	592	Indian Nationalist Party (1926)	433, 442
Hornby House	51, 64,	<i>Indian Patriot</i> , periodical	359
Hornby Vellard	69, 75, 594	Indian Reform Society	287, 288
Hornby, William, Governor of Bombay.	20, 207, 208, 209, 212, 214, 215, 592, 594	<i>Indian Spectator</i>	303
Horniman, B. G.	363, 387, 390, 396, 397, 399, 402, 403, 451, 591	<i>Indian Textile Journal</i>	439
Horniman Circle (Bombay Green)	39, 591, 592	Indian Trade Union movement	453
Hotson, Sir Ernest, Governor of Bombay.	284, 285,	Indian Universities Act of 1904	306
House of Commons	287, 297, 299, 304	Indian Universities Commission (1902).	305, 310
Huges Dock	36, 357	Indira Dock	56
Humberstone, Colonel	222	Indo-Petroleum Co.	463
Hume, A. O.	298, 301, 327, 328, 339	Indra, poet	149
Hume, Joseph	287	Indra III, Rashtrakuta Emperor	139, 142
Hunter, Sir William	272	Indradatta, Traikuta King	131
Hussainbhai Lalji	479		
Hutchinson, H. L.	517		
Hyder Ali of Mysore	208, 220, 221, 222		
Hydraulic Press	274		
I			
Ibrahim Rahimtulla road	59		
Iftikar-ul-mulk	159		
Ignacio Sarmiento de Sampaio	176		
Ilbert Bill	297, 298		
Imperial Bank of India	511		
Imperial Chemical Industries	39		
Inchbird, Capt.	204		

I—contd.	PAGES	J—contd.	PAGES
<i>Indu Prakash</i>	294, 302, 303	Jagannath Shankarshet road	60
Industrial landscape	77-78	Jagannath Shankarshet (see Shankarshet, Jagannath).	
Infanta Donna Catherine, Princess	13, 171, 172, 196, 619	Jaichuri	158
Inscriptions and Plates—		Jai Hind College	318
Ambejogai, 149; Anjaneri, 137;		Jain Association (1882)	325
Badami, 135; Betma, 144; Berlin		Jains	629-30, 705-10
Museum, 145; Bhandup, 144;		Jairajani, V. V.	469
Chande, 148; Chinchani, 142,		Jaitugi or Jaitrapala	148, 149
146; Ellora Cave, 138; Hangal,		Jallianwala Bagh massacre	400, 405, 406
144; Janjira, 143; Kalegaon,		Jama Masjid	59
149; Kanheri, 139, 142; Khare-		Jambhekar, Balshastri	277, 280, 281
patan, 146; Lonad, 147; Manor,		Jambhekar, R. M., Communist leader	556
137; Miraj, 144; Naneghat,		<i>Jame Jamshed</i>	303
129; Narendra, 145; Nasik, 129;		James Adams, attorney-at-law	184
Parel, 147; Prince of Wales		James, Duke of York and Albany	188
Museum, 143; Purushottampuri,		James, Duke of York and Albany	188
149, 150; Ranavade, 148; Saman-		Jamshetji Jijibhai, Sir	243, 277,
gad, 137; Shilaharas, 128;		(Jamsetjee Jeebhoy)	279, 280, 281, 283,
Thane, 142, 147, 148.			284, 291, 292, 294,
Inscriptions in Bombay	751-52		299, 308, 314, 324,
Institute of Science	56, 321-22		364, 365, 368, 371,
International Institute of Population	73		374, 590
Studies.		Jamshetji Jijibhai Road	63
Irwin, Lord, Viceroy	476, 480, 482	Jamshetji Jijibhai Hospital (1845)	34, 64,
Ishvarsen, founder of Abhira dynasty	131		274, 314
Iskiner, John	253	Jamsetji Jijibhai School of Art	30, 57, 263,
Islamic Research Association	323		265, 588, 590, 591
Ismail Habib mosque	11		143
Ismail, Mrs. Fatima	415, 576	Janjira copper plates	579
Ismail Yusuf College	317	Japanese News Agency	328
Islands—		Jardine, Justice	460
Elephanta, 9, 54; Heptanesia, 5;		Javalkar, D. S.	559, 561
Karanja, 53, 54; Mahim, 5;		Javeri, Chandrakant Baboobhai	559, 561
Mazagaon, 4; Bombay, 4-5; Old		Javeri, Vithaldas K.	407
Woman's 4, 16, 23, 217, 218;		Javle, Dr. M. C.	325
Parel, 4; Salsette, 2, 5, 8, 9;		Jayakar, J. J.	296, 307,
Trombay, 2, 5, 73.		Jayakar, M. R.	314, 322, 407, 410,
Iyer, K. S. R.	479		427, 429, 442, 449,
Iyer, T. N.	328		474, 501, 576
			146
		Jayakeshin II, King of Goa	140, 144
		Jayasimha, Chalukya King	562
		Jerajani, Naval C.	398
		Jerajani, Vithaldas	710-17
		Jews, religious festivals	383, 426, 441,
		Jhabwalla, S. H.	457, 464, 517, 518
			322
		Jha, Ganganath	143
		Jhanjha	415
		Jhaveri, Revashankar	140
		Jimutavahana, Vidyadhara, Prince	438
		Jinnah Hall Fund	

J

Jackeria Bander	269
Jacob's Circle (Gadge Maharaj Chowk)	65
Jacob Mill	37
Jacob Sassoon Mill	353
Jadhav, B. V.	460
Jafar Khan, Viceroy of North Konkan.	158, 159, 160
Jafar Suleman Dispensary (1886)	315

J—contd.	PAGES	K—contd.	PAGES
Jinnah, Mohammed Ali, Barrister	348, 349, 375, 386, 390, 404, 406, 430, 529, 530, 534, 542, 576, 577, 578, 584	Kanheri Caves (see Caves)	3, 50, 72, 128, 130, 131, 132, 139, 142, 751
Jivanlal, Maharaj	156	Kania, Justice	554
J. J. Group of Hospitals (see Jamshetji Jijibhai Hospital).		Kanji, Purshottam	559
J. J. School of Art (see Jamshetji Jijibhai School of Art).		Kapardin I	140, 142
Jogeshwari cave	72, 128	Kapardin II	142
Joglekar, K. N.	452, 453, 457, 460, 464, 517	Kara, Maniben	516, 517
	470		518, 520
Johri, C. B.	302	Karaka, D.F.	299
Joshi, G. V. (Sarvajani Kaka)	520	Karandikar, R. P.	390
Joshi, Laxman Shastri	388, 393,	Karanja island	53, 54
Joshi, N. M.	394, 441, 454, 455, 457, 458, 518	Karanja Pass	181
	322	Karanja, Behram N., Mayor of Bombay (1939-40).	500, 531
Joshi, P. M.	442	Karhad	139
Joshi, Prof. G. N.	455, 461, 515, 516	Karim Khan	207
Joshi, V. H.	244	Karka'II, last Rashtrakuta King	139
Jugunnath Bapoo		Karkara, ruler of Achalapur	139
		Karkare, G. V.	314
		Karna Satakarni	131
		Karnik, D. B.	516, 520
		Karnik, V. B.	461, 516, 517, 520
		Karsondas Mulji	278
		Karve, Maharshi Dhondo Keshav	312
		Kasle, Govind	460, 464, 517
		Kasturba Gandhi Memorial Fund	580
		Kasturba Memorial Isolation Hospital	65
		Kattawate, A. V.	328
		Kaur, Mrs. Amrit	494
		Kaur, Mrs. Harnam	472
		Kavadi-dvipa	145, 146
		Kavishwar, Sardul Sing	467
		Kavle, Purushottam Pant, Rajguru of Bimbdev.	154
		Kayastha Prabhu	9
		K. C. College	318
		Keatinge, Colonel	211, 212, 216
		Keigwin, Capt. Richard	188, 189, 190, 193, 196
		Kelkar, N. C.	390, 501, 504
		Kelly, Patric, Police Commissioner	451, 492
		Kemp's Corner Fly-over	62
		Kenery fort (Khanderi)	192
		Kennedy, Capt.	225
		Kennery Light house	265
		Kennoway, Mr.	222
		Kenya Betrayal	425
		Kesari	350
		Keshideva	147
		Ketkar, G. V.	469
		Khadilkar, K. P.	427, 429, 468

K

Kabradi, K. N., editor of <i>Rast Goftar</i>	294, 324, 334
Kabadi, W. P.	470
Kadambi, Prof. Sundararaman	328
Kakkala, Rashtrakuta King	143
Kal, periodical	351
Kalachuris	131, 136, 139
Kalbadevi	60
Kalanjara Fort	139
Kalapesi, geologist	80
Kalegaon plates	149
Kalinga	138
Kalikadevi, shrine	59
Kalyan, port	220
Kalyani, capital of later Chalukyas	140
Kamani Engineering Works	73
Kamala Nehru Park	62
Kamat, B. S.	499
Kamati, Rama	198, 200, 250
Kambli, Siddappa Totappa	509, 514
Kanaka, village	132
Kanchi	138
Kandalkar, G. L.	461
Kane, Dr. P. V.	312, 322, 657
Kanga, Jamshetji	314

K—contd.	PAGES	K—contd.	PAGES
Khada (Skanda) Satakarni ..	131	Kothare, A. P. ..	411
Khadakadev, shrines ..	155	<i>Kranti</i> , periodical ..	460, 523
Khalaf Hasan Basri ..	159	Kshatriya Union Club ..	325
Khalsa College 317, 551, 556, 557		K. R. Cama Oriental Institute ..	323
Khan, Abdul Ghaffar 482, 490, 501, 502		Kripalani, J. B. ..	549, 578
Khan, Ali Bahadur ..	467	Krishna, Satavahana King ..	129, 149, 150, 154
Khan, Hakim Ajmal ..	429	Krishna I, builder of Shiva temple at Ellora ..	138
Khan, Ismail ..	556	Krishna II, Rashtrakuta King ..	142
Khan, Liaqat Ali ..	577	Krishna III ..	139
Khan, Mrs. Sofia ..	579	Krishna, Yadav King ..	148
Khan, Sir Sikandar Hyat ..	542	Krishnan, geologist ..	80
Khanda, battle ..	216, 223	Krishnaraja, Kalachuri King 132, 133, 140	
Khare, D. A. 295, 332, 333, 349		Krishnagiri (Kanheri) ..	130, 147
Khare, L. G. ..	398, 424	Krishnagiri National Park ..	3, 132
Khaparde, G. S. 349, 398, 403, 409		Kulkarni, K. P. ..	322
Kharepatan plates ..	146	Kumarapala ..	147, 153
Kharshedji Manakji ..	314	Kumarappa, J. C. ..	562
Khatau Makanji Mill (1875) ..	369	Kumbha Satakarni ..	131
Khatni, A. H. S. ..	422	Kumbarwada ..	61, 268
Kheda (Lowar Mahim) Palace ..	156	Kundaladevi, Kadamba Queen ..	144
Khedgikar, R. A. ..	519, 523	Kundnani, Prof. K. M. ..	318
Kher, B. G., Chief Minister, Bombay Presidency. 426, 469, 513, 514, 524, 525, 526, 533, 537		Kuntala, Southern Maharashtra ..	136
Khetwadi ..	268	Kunzru, H. N. ..	499, 501
Khetwadi and Chaupaty ..	61	Kushana, Emperor ..	129
Khilafat Movement ..	395, 396, 404, 406, 431	Kutb Khan, Gujarat Commandant of Mahim. ..	159
Khimji, Bhawanji Arjun ..	537	Kutb-ud-din, Sultan ..	10
Khimji Mathuradas ..	500		
Kholesvara, General of Singhana ..	149	L	
Khot, R. N. ..	281, 292, 296, 299	Labour Welfare Department ..	528
Khote, R. N. ..	600	Lad, Dr. Bhau Daji (Bhawoo Dajee) 244, 280, 281, 283, 284, 287, 288, 289, 291, 293, 294, 304, 308, 315, 322, 599	
Kim ..	136	Lady Jamshedji causeway ..	70
King Edward Memorial Hospital (1926) ..	40, 66, 316-17	Lady of Salvation, church, Dadar ..	12
King George V ..	358	Lagrange ..	22
Kipling, Rudyard ..	591	Lakadawala, D. T. ..	307
Kirkoe, battle ..	231	Lakes—	
Kirtivarman I ..	135	Powai, 52; 72-73; Tulsi, 52, 74; Vihar, 52, 74, 266, 267, 272.	
Kirtivarman II ..	137	Lakmidas Cloth Market ..	377, 398, 476, 492, 563
Kiwam-ul-Mulk ..	160, 161	Lakmidas Mill ..	353
Knight, Henry Foley ..	534	Lakulisha, founder of Pashupata sect ..	135
Kohinoor Mill ..	37, 457	Lala, Govindji ..	437
Kolis, caste ..	6	Lala, Murlidhar ..	348
Kolhatkar, A. B. 349, 414, 416		Lalabhai Kasturbhai ..	481
Kondane caves ..	128		
Kondvite caves ..	128		
Konkan, famine ..	229, 230		
Kosambi, Prof. ..	470		

L—contd.	PAGES	M	PAGES
Lalji, Hussenbhai ..	427	Macartay, Lord, Governor of Madras ..	222
Lalji, Jafferbhai ..	427	Mackenzie, Dr. ..	313
Lalji, Naranji ..	433, 449, 476	Mackichan, Dr. Dugald ..	280, 309, 313, 321, 364
Lalla Baijnath ..	328	Mackinson Development Plan of Mahim. ..	41
<i>Lallah Rookh</i> by Thomas Moore ..	595	Mackintosh, Sir James ..	229, 236, 322, 591
Lamington, Lord, Governor of Bombay. 358, 360, 598		Maclean, J. M. ..	221, 230, 232, 233, 235, 263
Larsen and Toubro Engineering Co. ..	73	Madan, Janardan Atmaram ..	534
Latif, Dr. Abdul ..	543	Madhavrao II, Peshwa ..	216, 223, 224
Lattalura, modern Latur ..	138	Madhavrao, Peshwa ..	206, 207, 209
Latthe, A. B. ..	526	Madhumati (Muhhammad), Arab feudatory. ..	142
Lawrence, General ..	216	Madon, B. F. ..	442
Lawrence, Lord Pethick ..	579, 583	Madoval (Ahmedabad) ..	164
Laxmi Narayan Fair, Gowalia Tank ..	720	Madras—	
Laxminarayan temple ..	60	postal communication with, 227; evacuation of, 542.	
Layard, A. H. ..	288	<i>Madras Standard</i> ..	359
Legislative Assembly ..	56	Mahabhojas ..	128
Legislative Council of Bombay ..	267	Mahadeva, Yadava King ..	148, 149
Leith, Dr. ..	262	Mahajani, G. S. ..	307
Lele, Visaji Pant, Maratha Governor of Konkan. ..	220	Mahakirti, poet ..	149
Leper Asylum ..	67	Mahalaxmi temple ..	13, 157, 249, 596, 718-20
Leslie, Colonel ..	215	<i>Maharajadhiraja and Konkan-chakravarti.</i> ..	147
Life Insurance Corporation ..	48, 79	Mahashivratri fair, Borivli ..	717-18
Lincoln, Abraham ..	545	Mahatma Phule Market (see Crawford market). ..	57
Lingayat, sect ..	629	Mahmud Begda ..	161
Linlithgow, Lord, Viceroy ..	532, 534	Mahmud Gavan ..	160
Lisboa, Dr. ..	322	Mahomed Dalil, Diwan of Ala-ud-din of Bedar. ..	154
Literary Society ..	236, 322, 591	<i>Mahratta</i> , periodical ..	335
Liverpool ..	261	Makhadum Fakih Ali Paru, shrine of ..	11, 162
Lloyd, Sir George, Governor of Bombay. 382, 392, 423, 598		Malabar hill ..	51, 61, 75, 218, 249, 268
Local Self-Government Bill of 1882 ..	297	Malabar hill reservoir ..	272
Lokhande, N. M. ..	303, 335	Malabari, B. M. ..	328
Lokamanya Tilak Hospital ..	67	Malabar Point ..	4, 236
Lonad inscription ..	147	Malad creek ..	71
London Imperial Institute ..	300	Malaviya, M. M. ..	386, 448, 492, 505, 506
Lopo Vaz de Sampayo ..	165	Malcolm, Sir John ..	231, 234, 236, 257, 322
Lothian, Lord ..	495	Malet Bunder ..	39
Lovat Fraser ..	364, 585	Malet, Mr. ..	211, 222
Love Grove ..	69	Malik Ahmad ..	161
Lotwala, R. B. ..	452	Malik Ayaz ..	161, 162, 163, 164, 165
Lucas, Sir Gervase, Governor of Bombay. 175, 176, 177, 597			
Lumley, Sir Roger, Governor of Bombay. 534, 547, 598			
Lyall ..	216		
Lytton, Lord, Governor General ..	274, 295, 296, 297, 302		

M—contd.	PAGES	M—contd.	PAGES
Malik Kafur ..	150	Masjid overbridge ..	30, 263
Malik Niku ..	10	Massina Hospital ..	595
Malik Sarang ..	160	Master, K. K. ..	469
Malik Soharab ..	159	Master Plan for Greater Bombay ..	45, 46
Malik-ul-Tujjar ..	159, 160	Matani, Mathuradas ..	450, 478, 500
Malla ..	148	Mathariputra Swami Shakasena ..	131
Mallikarjuna ..	147	Mathews, General ..	222
Manakji Kharshedji ..	283, 287	Matthai, Dr. John ..	312
Manakji Limji (Maneckjee Limjee) ..	243, 283	Matunga ..	66-67
Mandapeshwar ..	170	Matunga leper asylum ..	274
Mandavale, H. B. ..	392	Maulana Azad road ..	61
Mandlik, R. N. ..	398, 426	Mavlankar, G. V. ..	314
Mandlik, Vishwanath Narayan ..	280, 282, 288, 291, 293, 294, 296, 298, 299, 322, 599, 600, 602	Mayekar, D. R. ..	414
Mandvi ..	58	Mayor's Court ..	16, 602
Maneckji Cursetji ..	322	Mayurakhandi, capital of Govinda III ..	138
Maneckji Petit Mill ..	354	Maxwell, R. M. ..	492
Maneckji Nasarvanji ..	244, 283	Mazagaon— ..	4, 217,
Mangaldas Nathubhai ..	281, 288, 289, 292, 293, 294, 296, 299, 302, 315	dock, 217; island, 4. ..	241, 595
Mangaldas Market ..	492	Mediaeval Period ..	130-57
Mangalesha ..	133, 135	Meerut Communist Conspiracy ..	460, 515
Mangalpuri, modern Magathan ..	130, 133, 136	Meherali, Yusuf ..	467, 494, 505, 518, 529, 543, 602
Mani Bhavan ..	474, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486	Melville, Lord ..	233
Mankeshwar fair, Reay road ..	722-24	Mehta, C. B. ..	377, 450
Manor plates ..	137	Mehta, Chunilal V. ..	373, 413, 479, 499
Manori creek ..	3	Mehta, Jaisukhalal ..	500
Manori-Malad creek ..	54	Mehta, J. K. ..	383, 410, 414, 420, 422, 425,
Mansukhalal Master ..	479	Mehta, Hansa ..	426, 441, 442, 501, 503, 514, 517, 602
Mantralaya (see Secretariat) ..		Mehta, Dr. Jivraj ..	316, 475, 481, 492, 555
Mantri, Madhav ..	312	Mehta, J. K. ..	426, 427, 479
Manuel Serrao ..	167	Mehta, Hansa ..	468, 491, 492, 500
Manyakheta, capital of Rashtrakutas ..	139	Mehta, Miss Usha ..	559, 560, 561
Marathi Sahitya Sammelan ..	307	Mehta, Mrs. Urmila ..	500
Marco Polo ..	150, 226	Mehta, Pherozeshah Mervanji ..	280, 282, 293, 294, 295, 296,
Marine Drive ..	594	Mehta, Pherozeshah Mervanji ..	298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 305, 306, 309,
Marol ..	71, 156	Mehta, Pherozeshah Mervanji ..	311, 312, 314, 318, 325, 327, 328, 330,
Marquis of Lansdowne ..	272	Mehta, Pherozeshah Mervanji ..	332, 334, 335, 336, 338, 339, 340, 344,
Marshall, John ..	322	Mehta, Pherozeshah Mervanji ..	346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 359, 362, 363,
Marve creek ..	52	Mehta, Pherozeshah Mervanji ..	385, 602, 650
Marwari Chamber of Commerce ..	377, 471		
Mary's Church ..	24		
Masani Minoo ..	518, 574, 602		
Masani, Sir Rustom, Vice-Chancellor of Bombay University (1939-42) ..	499, 531		
Mastarenbas, Charles ..	515, 518, 520		
Masthuwala, Klaborelal ..	443		

M—contd.	PAGES	M—contd.	PAGES
Mehta, Ratanben ..	468	Morarji, Shantikumar ..	479, 543
Mehta, Rohit ..	501	Morland, Sir, H. ..	602
Mehta, V. L. ..	517	Morobadada ..	214, 215
Merchant, Vijay ..	312	Moroba Kanoba ..	325
Merewether dry dock ..	36, 337, 370-71	Mostyn, British agent at Pune ..	207
Merutunga ..	147	Motiwalla, B. N. ..	422
Mestre Diego ..	11, 167	Motlibai, widow of Naoroji Wadia ..	274
Mewale or Baradbet, early name of ..	155	Motwane, Nanak ..	561
Mahim ..		Mount Mary church ..	596
Mhaslapuri-Jogeshwari ..	151	Mount Mary fair, Bandra ..	726-27
Miguel, Saint, church at Mahim ..	12, 170,	Mountbatten, Lord, Viceroy ..	585
(Also see churches). ..	182, 596	Mount Poisar feast, Borivli ..	727-28
Milburn ..	21, 228	Mouzam Ali ..	420
Military Camp Hill ..	53	Mubarak Shah ..	157, 158
Millowners' Association, Ahmedabad ..	307	Mudaliyar, Ramaswamy ..	300
Millowners' Association (see Bombay Millowners' Association). ..		Mudholkar, R. N. ..	334, 349
Minar Mosque ..	59	Muhammad Tughlak ..	158
Mint ..	36, 591	Muhammedan period ..	157-63
Mir Hossain (Amir Hussein) ..	163	Mukba, Muhammad Ibrahim ..	277, 279, 304
Miraben (Miss M. Slade) ..	548	Mukhlis-ul-mulk ..	159
Mirajkar, S. S., Communist leader ..	453, 457, 460, 464, 517, 556	Mukhtyar Khan ..	193
Miraj plates ..	144	Mulgaonkar, A. G. ..	426
Mirat-i-Ahmadi ..	7	Mulji Jetha Market ..	59, 353, 377, 389, 398, 411, 438, 439, 445, 450, 476, 477, 491, 492, 493, 563
Mirat-i-Sikandari ..	161	Mulji, Karsondas ..	282, 450
Mitakshara, commentary on ..	139	Mulla, D. F. ..	314
Yajñavalkya Smṛiti. ..		Mumbadevi temple ..	7, 34, 155, 157, 596
Modak, V. A. ..	280, 304	Mumbai ..	7
Mody Bay foreshore ..	272	Mumbai Marathi Grantha Sangrahalaya ..	322
Mody, Sir Homi ..	314, 375, 412, 431, 436, 447, 450, 451, 461, 479, 481, 493, 530, 531, 574, 575, 602	Mummuni ..	145, 146
Mohamed, Ibrahim ..	470	Munawar, Sayed ..	518
Mohammed, A. H. ..	408, 428, 429, 430	Municipal Act, 1865 ..	599
Mohammed, Dr. Syed ..	549	Municipal Act, 1888 ..	600, 601, 602
Mohamad of Gazni ..	153	Municipal Corporation of Greater Bombay— ..	45-46, 267, 316, 318, 338, building, 57, 590, 591; 339, 359, 364, 373, limits, 45-46. 378, 381, 382, 383, 384, 422, 423, 428, 435, 468, 471, 480, 510, 528, 590-91, 599-605, 621
Mohiuddin Kasuri ..	167	Municipal Nationalist Party ..	422, 423, 424, 435
Monbaym (Bombay) ..	373, 394	Municipal Reforms Act, 1922 ..	422
Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms ..	403, 412	Municipal Reforms Association ..	382
Monteagle, Lord ..	287	Munja ..	144, 149
Moorgay, Mahomed Yusuf ..	280, 308	Munje, Dr. ..	500
Morarji, C. G. ..	500		
Morarji Goculdas ..	293		
Morarji Goculdas Market ..	377, 389, 398, 438, 439, 492		
Morarji Goculdas Mill ..	353		
VF 4361—52a			

R—contd.	PAGES	R—contd.	PAGES
<i>Rashtramit</i> , periodical ..	356	Roy, M. N. ..	516, 517, 518, 519
<i>Rast Gofar</i> , periodical ..	290, 294, 302, 303	Rudradeva ..	149
Ratansi Morarji ..	386, 436	Ruia, S. H. ..	438
Rattaraja ..	140	Ruikar, R. S. ..	515
Ravindra Natya Mandir ..	68	Russell, Bertrand ..	574
R. C. Church ..	55	Rutnagur, S. M. ..	38
Reay, Lord, Governor of Bombay ..	274, 275, 299, 301, 312, 313, 335, 336, 337, 338, 598, 600	Ryon, Sir, Edward ..	287
Reay, Lady ..	275		
Recorder's Court ..	22, 602		
Regulation Act III of 1918 ..	429		
Relief of Bombay ..	49-55		
Religious Festivals—	673-717		
Hindus, 673-81; Buddhists, 690-91;			
Christians, 692-96; Jains, 705-10;			
Jewish, 710-17; Muslims, 686-90;			
Sikhs, 701-05; Sindhis, 682-86;			
Zoroastrians, 696-701.			
Rent Restriction Act, 1939 ..	528		
Reserve Bank of India (1935) ..	57, 79, 511		
Reva fort ..	216		
Revashankar Jagiivan ..	363		
Revati-dwipa, modern Redi ..	135		
Richmond, Messrs. ..	249		
Ricklode Van Goen ..	180		
Ripon Club (1885) ..	335, 341		
Ripon, Lord, Viceroy ..	297, 298, 360, 600		
Rishika, modern Khazndesh ..	130		
Ritchie, Stuart and Co. ..	264		
Rivers—			
Dahisar, 50, 52; Damauaganga,			
136; Mahim 50, 52; Purna, 139;			
Ulhas, 2.			
Rodrigo de Moncanto ..	168		
Roghay, Mahomed Ali ..	277, 299, 326		
Romish Chapel (Haffkine Institute building) ..	170		
Roque Tello de Menezes ..	167		
Rosebery, Lord ..	301		
Round Table Conference ..	449, 450, 464, 473, 474, 483, 495		
Rowlatt Satyagraha ..	393, 396-403, 404		
Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay ..	56		
Branch (Also see Asiatic Society).	322, 591		
Royal Commission ..	261		

S—contd.	PAGES	S—contd.	PAGES
Sardesai, S. G. ..	515, 516	Shah, C. C. ..	554
Sardeshmukh, V. G. ..	408	Shah Jahan, Moghal Emperor ..	241
Sarkar, Jadunath ..	322	Shah, K. K. ..	539
Sarkar, N. R. ..	574	Shah, Prof. K. T. ..	306, 307, 442
<i>Sarvodaya</i> , periodical ..	399	Shah, Pyarelal ..	475
Sashti island ..	5, 128, 132	Shah, V. P. ..	439, 448, 449
Sassoon, Sir Albert ..	273		
Sassoon, Sir David ..	304, 374, 381	Shahid Bhagatsing Marg ..	55
Sassoon Dock ..	55	Shahu ..	194
Sassoon Hospital, Poona ..	427	Shaikh Memon Street ..	59
Sassoon Mechanics Institute ..	30, 264, 588	Shaikh Miary Urus, Wadala ..	725-26
Sassoon, Sir Jacob ..	321	Shaka Kshatrapa Nahapana ..	129
Sassoon, Sir Victor ..	373, 479	Shaktishri, son of Satakarni I ..	129
Sastri, Srinivasa ..	386, 398, 402, 576	Shapkarshet, Jagannath ..	243, 250, 277, 279, 280, 281, 283, 288, 291, 304, 308, 313, 314, 315, 364, 365, 599, 602
Satakarni I, Satavahana King ..	129		
Sat-Tar mosque ..	11		
Sathe, Dr. D. D. ..	317, 387, 388, 398, 407, 410, 411, 412, 420, 422, 424, 468, 504	Shankarshet, Vinayak J. ..	284, 288, 292, 293, 325
<i>Satyagrahi</i> , periodical ..	399	Shanmukhanand Hall ..	67
Satya Shodhak Samaj ..	325	Shankaragana ..	133, 150
Savarkar, Dr. N. D. ..	398, 410, 429	Shantaram Narayan ..	291, 294
Savarkar, Swatantryaveer, V. D. ..	345, 563	Sharadvaiputra ..	132
Sayani, Rahimtula Muhammad ..	280, 282, 301, 326, 329, 345, 599, 600, 602	Share Mania ..	262, 277, 367, 377, 585, 588
Scindia Mill ..	444	Sharma, Bimal ..	555
Secretariat ..	30, 55, 588, 589, 592	Shasthadeva II ..	145
		Shastri, Gangadhar, agent of Gaikwad ..	231
Sendrakas ..	136	Shastri, V. G. ..	288
Sephardic Synagogue (Fort) ..	594-95	Shatshashti, Sashti island ..	144
Servants of India Society, Bombay ..	363	Shaukat Ali ..	395, 410, 411, 415, 416, 417, 428, 431, 479, 496
Branch ..			
Setalwad, Sir Chimanlal ..	305, 311, 312, 314, 340, 354, 375, 386, 413, 449	Shaw, Bernard ..	574
		Sheikh Ali Paru ..	158, 160
Setalwad, Motilal ..	314, 554	Shéndur, peak of ..	52
Setalwad, Mrs. Krishnabai ..	499	Sheth, M. J. ..	549
Seth Gokuldas Tejpal Charities Trust ..	720	Shetty, A. N. ..	509, 515, 517
Seth Gordhandas Sundardas Medical College (Also see G. S. Medical College) ..	40, 316	Shetty, M. R. ..	509, 515, 516, 520
Sethna, Dr. H. N. ..	321, 413	Shinde, Daulatrao ..	224
Sethna, Sir Phiroze ..	447, 450	Shinde, Mahadji ..	213, 215, 222, 223, 224
Seunachandra I ..	149		
Seunachandra II ..	149	Shigde, Vithal Ramji ..	388
Sewri ..	66	Shipman, Abraham ..	172, 173, 174, 176
Shafi, M. M. ..	398	Shipping Corporation ..	48
Shahabuddin, Kazi ..	600	Shirgaon fort ..	154
Shah, Chandulal S. ..	559, 562	Shivaji ..	180, 194
		Shivaji Park ..	68, 594
		Shiva temple at Ellora ..	138

S—contd.	PAGES	S—contd.	PAGES
Sholapur Martial Law ..	475, 482	<i>Socialist</i> , periodical ..	453
Shore, Sir John ..	223	Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals ..	316
Shreemati Nathibai Damodar Thackersey Women's University ..	58, 308	Soddhala, author of <i>Udayasundarikatha</i> ..	149
Shrinagara, capital of Dridhaprahara ..	149	Solankis of Anahilvada ..	151
Shrinivas, Madhavrao, Prime Minister of Bimbdev ..	155	Solanki, Dr. P. D. ..	500
Shrishaila ..	138	Soleyman Badshaw (Suleiman Pasha) ..	166-67
Shroff, A. D. ..	531	Somaster ..	191
Shryashraya-Shiladitya ..	136	Someshvara ..	147, 148, 149
Shurparaka, modern Sopara ..	128	Someshvara III ..	140
Shurparaka port ..	146	Someshvara IV ..	140
Siddharth College of Commerce and Economics ..	318	Somnath temple ..	144, 153
Sidi Kasim ..	192	Sophia College ..	318
Sidi Masud ..	201	Sorabji Jamshetji Jijibhai ..	293, 324
Sidi Sambal ..	181, 192	Soundesha (Khandesh) ..	149
Sidi Saut of Anjanvel ..	* 201	Souter, Sir Frank ..	269, 273
Sidi Yakut ..	193	Southern Maratha Company ..	258
Sikhs, religious festivals ..	701-05	Special Marriage Act (XXX), 1923 ..	667
Silam, S. L. ..	422	Spratt, Philip ..	517
Sindhuraja, Paramara King ..	144	Spring Mill ..	457
Singapore, captured by Japanese ..	541	Standard Mill ..	354
Sinha, Sir Satyendra Prasanna, president of Congress ..	385	Standard Oil Mill ..	463
Sima Botelhi ..	168	Stanhope, Colonel ..	232
Simhavarman ..	137	State Bank of India ..	48
Simuka, first King of Satavahana dynasty ..	129	State Transport bus terminal ..	65
Sindhia, religious festivals ..	682-86	Staveley, Sir Charles ..	274
Singhana ..	149	Stephen, Saint ..	179
Sion—	22, 67,	Sterling, Capt. James ..	201
causeway, 22, 229, 594; fort, 216, 229, 594, 595 ..	594, 595	Sterne's Eliza ..	241
Sir J. J. Parsi Benevolent Institution ..	324	Stevens, F. W., architect ..	587, 590
Sitaramayya, Dr. B. Pattabhi ..	403, 506, 507, 531, 532, 545, 549, 578	Stevens, G. W., journalist ..	43
Slaughter house, Bandra ..	70	Sthanaka port ..	146
Slaughter house, Govandi ..	73	Street lights, starting of ..	30
Sloccombe, Mr. George ..	472, 474	Streynsham ..	178
Small pox hospital ..	34	Stuart, General ..	226
Smith, Samuel ..	347	St. Andrew's Church (Bandra) ..	12, 70, 170
Snakes—	103-09	St. Andrew's Church (Fort) ..	24, 588, 592
non-poisonous, 104-07; poisonous, 107-09 ..		St. Anne's Church ..	70
Soares de Albergaria ..	164	St. Francis Xavier ..	696
Sobani, Haji Yusuf ..	415	St. George Fort ..	20, 216, 275, 592
Sobani, Umar ..	386, 387, 397, 398, 403, 415, 417, 420, 422, 440	St. George Hospital (1892) ..	34, 275, 315, 592
Social Service League ..	393, 458	St. Joseph Roman Catholic Church ..	23
		St. Thomas Cathedral (1718) ..	7, 17, 24, 198, 591
		St. Xavier's College ..	315, 326, 751, 752
		Subahu ..	149
		Subedar, Manu ..	398, 437, 441, 450, 451, 500

S—contd.	PAGES	T—contd.	PAGES
Suez Canal ..	258	literacy (1971), 627; section-wise population, Greater Bombay Municipal Corporation (1981), 744-49; special weather phenomena (Colaba), 92; special weather phenomena (Santacruz), 92; ward-wise population (1971) 623; ward-wise scheduled castes, scheduled tribes population (1971), 627.	
Sukheswala, geologist ..	80	Tagara, modern Ter ..	140
Sukthankar, V. S. ..	322	Tagarapura ..	146
Surat Council ..	171, 186	Tagarapur-Var-Adhishvara—title of the feudatory family during Rashtrakuta period.	140
Surat, French Factory ..	207	Taila II, Mahasamanta of Rashtrakutas.	139
Surat, treaty between Ragunathrao and Bombay Government ..	211	Taila III, last known Chalukya King ..	140
Suratha, modern Kathiawad ..	130	Tailapa, later Chalukya King ..	143, 144
Surve, A. M. ..	411	Tailapa of the Later Chalukya family ..	149
Sutherland, James ..	235	Tairsee, L. R. ..	383, 386, 393, 398, 415, 422, 440
Swadeshi Mill (1886) ..	369	Taj Mahal Hotel ..	36, 55, 586-87
Swadeshi and Boycott Movement ..	342, 360-64, 370, 439, 469	Talcherkar, H. A. ..	393
Swadeshi Wastu Pracharini Sabha ..	361	Tamhanekar, P. T. ..	457, 461
Swally, battle ..	13, 171	Tanha ..	138
Swami Satya Narayan temple ..	595	Tansa Water Works ..	33, 272
Swaraj Fund (<i>see</i> Tilak Swaraj Fund) ..	384,	Tarabai ..	194
Swaraj Party ..	425-27, 430, 433-34, 452	Tardeo ..	64, 268
Swarajya Sabha ..	410, 414, 418	Tarhala, village ..	131
Sydenham College ..	316	Tarkhadkar, Atmaram Pandurang ..	282
Sydenham, Lord (George Clarke), Governor of Bombay. ..	306, 310, 311, 316, 321, 355, 362, 598	Tata Cancer Hospital ..	66
Sydney Low, Sir ..	43	Tata Hydro Power Schemes ..	40
Syed Mohammed, Dr. ..	549	Tata Institute of Fundamental Research ..	55, 320-21
Syed Munawar ..	395	Tata Institute of Social Sciences ..	73
Syer, Sir W. ..	229	Tata, Jamshetji Nusserwanji ..	300, 586, 587
Sykes, Sir Frederick, Governor of Bombay. ..	373, 374, 443, 447, 448, 451, 485, 493, 509, 598	Tata Mills (1915) ..	369
		Tata, Ratan ..	323
		Tata, Sir R. D. ..	374, 375, 412
		Tawade, V. K. ..	461
		Taxi service, starting of ..	42
		Telang, Kashinath Trimbak ..	280, 282, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 302, 305, 309, 310, 312, 314, 322, 328, 340, 599, 600, 602
		Telang, Pandharinath K. ..	398
		Telegraph Department building ..	265, 588, 589, 590

Tables—

Age and marital status (1971), 624; distribution of languages (1971), 628; frequency of annual rainfall, 88; growth rate and proportion of population of each major community (1971), 625; mean wind speed (Colaba), 91; mean wind speed (Santacruz), 91; normals and extremes of rainfall, 87; normals of temperature and relative humidity (Colaba), 89; normals of temperature and relative humidity (Santacruz), 90; population by religion (1971), 625; scheduled castes population classified by literacy (1971), 626; scheduled tribes population classified by

T—contd.	PAGES	T—contd.	PAGES
Television Centre ..	68	Tilak Swaraj Fund ..	376, 396,
Temple, Sir Richard, Governor of ..	258, 264,	410, 412, 413, 415,	
Bombay. 265, 272, 273, 296,		416, 421, 423, 436,	
297, 598		438	
Temples—		<i>Times</i> (London) ..	291, 329, 594
Ambarnath, 149; Babulnath,		<i>Times of India</i> ..	31, 57,
596; Ellora Shiva, 138;		249, 292, 293, 298,	
Ghorupdeo, 6; Khadakadev,		326, 347, 361, 447,	
155; Mahalakshmi 157, 596;		554, 585	
Mumbadevi, 7, 34, 155, 157, 596;		Tipu, Sultan of Mysore ..	222, 225
Parashurama, 128; Parsi Fire		Tod, Colonel ..	232
temple, 57; Prabhadevi, 152;		Topiwala National Medical College	412
Swami Satya Narayan, 595;		Tottenham, Sir Richard, Additional	574
Someshvara, 144; Somnath,		Secretary to Government of India.	
153; Walkeshwar, 13, 149,		Town Hall ..	24, 36,
155, 596.		56, 236, 279, 296,	
Tendulkar, S. R. ..	314	305, 312, 314, 363,	
Textile Labour Enquiry Committee ..	522	389, 591	
Thackersey, Hansraj Pragji ..	375, 398,	Trade Disputes Act ..	464
407, 410, 422, 437,		Trade Unions, Registrar of ..	521
438, 440		Traikutakas ..	131-32
Thackersey, Moolji Damodar ..	366	Tramways ..	42, 48, 272
Thackersey, Punjabhai ..	427	Traverse, Dr. Morris W. ..	321
Thackersey, Sir Vithaldas ..	316, 375,	Tribhuvanamalla, Chalukya Emperor	146
381, 385, 436, 602		Tricandras Morarji ..	436
Thakkar, Amritlal ..	500, 501	Tricandji, Mathuradas ..	423, 424,
Thakoor, K. ..	397	450, 475	
Thakurs, caste ..	156	Tricumdas, Purshottamdas ..	426, 518,
Thakurdas, Sir Purshottamdas ..	373, 374,	555, 559, 562	
381, 412, 429, 430,		386	
442, 446, 448, 449,		Trilokekar, Dr. V. S. ..	209
450, 451, 481, 485,		Trimbak Vinayak, <i>Strsubha</i> of Vasai	
493, 499, 537		and Konkan. ..	2, 5, 73
Thane—		Trombay island ..	273
Creek 2, 53, 76; inscription, 147;		Tulloch, R. E., Major ..	52, 74
plates, 142, 148.		Tulsi lake ..	31, 267, 272
Thaneva ..	145	Tulsi Water Works ..	282, 293,
Thani, modern Thane ..	144	Tyabji, Badruddin ..	294, 295, 296, 298,
Thengdi, D. R. ..	455	299, 301, 302, 314,	
Thomas, Prof. ..	322	318, 326, 327, 330,	
Thomas Rolt ..	185	599, 602	
Thomas Wickins ..	189	Tyabji, Kamruddin ..	291, 299,
Thompson, geologist ..	80	326	
Thornton, Cyril Walter ..	470		
Thorpe Nathaniel ..	196	U	
Tilak, Lokamanya B. G. ..	302, 313,	Ujamsi, Chunilal ..	398
314, 322, 340, 344,		Ulhas river ..	2
349, 350-56, 361,		Umarkhadi ..	59, 229
364, 384, 386, 388,		Underi fort ..	192
390, 403, 407, 408,		United Company of Merchants of	192
409, 452, 676		England.	

U—contd.	PAGES	V—contd.	PAGES
University education ..	304-23	Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute ..	33, 67,
University Library ..	30, 263, 265	274, 318, 337	
University of Bombay (<i>see</i> Bombay		Victoria Museum ..	30, 31,
University).		264, 265, 588	
Upton, Capt. ..	200	Victoria, Queen ..	296
Upton, Colonel ..	213	Victoria Terminus—	7, 34,
Urban Morphology and Land Use ..	74-79	building, 34, 337, 590.	56, 275, 337,
Ushavadata, Shaka King ..	130	590, 593	
Usman, Sir Muhamed ..	491	Vidhan Bhavan ..	55, 587
		Vigario da Vara ..	170
V		Vihar (Vehar) lake ..	52, 74,
Vachavya, King of Thane ..	144	266, 267, 272	
Vaidya, Dr. S. K. ..	474	Vihar Water Works ..	31
Vajjada ..	143, 144	<i>Vihari</i> , periodical ..	355
Vakil, Prof. C. N. ..	307, 442	Vijaya Satakarni ..	131
Vakil, Sir Rustom Jehangir ..	509	Vijayasimhacharya, poet ..	149
Vallabhdas, Soorji ..	559, 562	Vijnaneshvara, author of <i>Mitakshara</i>	139
Vandekar, R. V. ..	383	Vikramaditya I ..	136, 137
Vappuvanna ..	142, 143	Vikramaditya V ..	140
Varjivandas Madhavdas ..	244, 281,	Vikramaditya VI ..	139, 140, 149
(Vurjeewandas Madhawdass)	283, 299,	Vinayaditya, Chalukya King ..	137
	304, 330	Vincent Correa ..	165
Varkari cult ..	634-35	Vincent, Police Commissioner ..	392, 393
Varsova creek ..	54	Vin, Sanat Kumar, revolutionary ..	562
Vasai—		Vithaldas Govindji ..	439, 450, 451
creek, 2, 51; treaty of, ..	166, 213, 220,	Vithaldas Jerajani ..	540
166, 223, 225.	221, 223, 225	Vithoba fair, Wadala ..	720-22
Vasco da Gama ..	170	Viscount Valentia ..	229
Vashishthiputra Pulumavi ..	130	Vishnubhuva Brahmachari ..	252
Vassanji, Lalji ..	439	Vishnugupta ..	142
Vassanji, Mathuradas ..	376, 499	Vishnuvardhana ..	135
Vatapikonda ..	136	Vizagapattam, bombing of ..	542
Vatapi, capital of Pallava King	136	<i>Vratakhanda</i> , book by Hemadri ..	149
Narasimhavarman.		Vyaghrasena, Traikutaka King ..	131, 132
Vedishri ..	129		
Veer mata Jijabai Bhosle Udyan ..	63, 273,	W	
590, 595			
Velkar, Dr. M. B. ..	387, 388,	Wacha, Sir Dinshaw Edulji ..	280, 282,
398, 422, 427		399, 300, 301, 311,	
Vellard, Hornby ..	218, 594	316, 318, 333, 340,	
Verma, S. K., revolutionary ..	345, 355	344, 345, 385, 398,	
Vernacular Press Act, 1878 ..	296	402, 437, 602, 605,	
Veroly (Worli) ..	181	650	
Veterinary Hospital ..	66	Wadala salt depot—	468, 469,
Victoria Dock ..	34, 58,	raids at, 472-73.	472-73
	79, 337, 370	Wadgaon—	215, 216,
Victoria Gardens ..	63, 273,	treaty of, 220.	219, 220
	590, 595	Waddington, General ..	236

W—contd.	PAGES	W—contd.	PAGES
Wadia, Bomanji H.	.. 275	Western Express Highway	.. 47, 72, 78
Wadia, Hormasji A.	.. 314	Western India Liberal Association	.. 436
Wadia, J. A.	.. 442	Western India National Liberation Association.	.. 412
Wadia, J. B. H.	.. 520	Westminster, treaty of	.. 180
Wadia, Lavji Nasarvanji	.. 205, 366	White, D. S.	.. 328
Wadia, Naoroji	.. 274, 314	Whitehill, Mr.	.. 19
Wadia, N. M.	.. 324	Wilcox, George	.. 179
Wadia, N. N.	.. 340	Wild Animals and Birds	.. 94-99
Wadia, Prof. P. A.	.. 442, 447	Wiles, Sir Gilbert	.. 534
Wadia, Sir Cusrow	.. 317	William Hodges	.. 217
Wadia, Sir Nees	.. 317, 374, 445, 447	William III, King of England	.. 187, 190
Waghton, Mr.	.. 235	William Newnham	.. 235
Wagle, Bal Mangesh	.. 280, 281, 288, 291, 293, 294, 295, 304	Willingdon, Lord (Governor of Bombay, 1913-18; Viceroy of India, 1931-36).	.. 362, 363, 389, 390, 391, 481, 482, 598
Waites, Sir Nicholas	.. 190, 191	Willingdon Sports Club	.. 372, 373
Walchand Hirachand	.. 357, 375, 381, 434, 451, 479, 500	Willoughby, Mr.	.. 242
Walker, Colonel	.. 226	Wilson College	.. 34, 61, 279, 410, 452, 496, 551, 554
Walkeshwar—	.. 13, 75, 149, 155, 167, 596.	Wilson, Leslie, Governor of Bombay.	.. 316, 321, 373, 374, 423, 434, 443, 598
Walkeshwar-Malabar hills	.. 61-62	Wilson, Dr. John	.. 277, 279, 280, 304, 308, 309, 313, 322, 486
Walter Spink	.. 134	Wilson, Police Commissioner	.. 270, 272, 273, 297, 324, 598
Wankhede Stadium	.. 58	Wood, Charles	.. 304
Ward, Charles	.. 188	Wood's Educational Despatch of 19th July 1854.	.. 298, 328
Wardha, Quit India Resolution	.. 542	Wordsworth, Prof. William	.. 454, 457, 460
Wards and sections of Bombay City	.. 31-32, 55-74	Workers' and Peasants' Party	.. 516
Watson, Admiral	.. 201	Workers' Party	.. 517
Watson's Hotel	.. 586, 587, 589	Workers' Political Party	.. 307, 532-43
Watson, John, Superintendent of Bombay Marine.	.. 210, 211	World War II—	.. 68, 69
Wavell, Lord, Viceroy	.. 578, 579, 585	outbreak of the war, 532-43.	.. 190
Wavell Plan	.. 578	Worli—	.. 68, 69
Wedderburn, Sir William	.. 294, 301, 328, 332, 333, 346, 347	milk dairy, 69.	.. 190
Welfare of India League	.. 485, 499	Wyborne, Sir John	.. 190
Wellesley, Marquis	.. 223, 225, 226, 234		
Wellington, Lord	.. 229		
Wellington Memorial Fountain	.. 265		
Wellington Pier	.. 594		
Wellington Pier (Apollo Bandar)	.. 236, 594		
West, Sir Raymond	.. 280, 309		

X

Xacoes (Shah Khawjeh)	.. 166
Xavier's College (see St. Xavier's College).	.. 696
Xavier Francis, St.	.. 164
Xeque-ji (Sheikh-ji), Commandant of Mahim.	.. 164

Y	PAGES	Y—contd.	PAGES
Yacht Club	.. 56, 587	Young Nationalists' League	.. 411
Yadavas of Devgiri	.. 149, 151	Young Workers' League	.. 515
Yajnashri Satakarni	.. 130, 131	Yule, Colonel	.. 7
Yajnavalkya Smriti, commentary on Dharmashastra by Apararka.	.. 149	Yusuf Adil Khan, Bahamani noble	.. 161
Yajnik, Indulal	.. 387, 519	Yusuf, Sir Mahumed	.. 317
Yajnik, Javerilal Umiashankar	.. 282, 294, 295, 340	Yuvarajadeva I, Kalachuri King	.. 139
Yeravada prison	.. 427, 470, 473, 474, 499, 548		
'Young Bombay'	.. 277, 278		
Young, Captain	.. 178		
Young India	.. 364, 386, 401, 415		

Z

Zakariah mosque	.. 11
Zamorin of Calicut	.. 166
Zaveri Bazar	.. 75
Zinzan, Charles	.. 189
Zoroaster (properly Spitaman Zaratushttra), founder of Parsism.	.. 648
Zoroastrian	.. 696-701

