CENSUS OF INDIA

VOLUME X.

BOMBAY

(TOWN & ISLAND)

PART IV.

HISTORY

BY

S. M. EDWARDES, I.C.S.

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

The reason for the appearance of this first volume is to be found in a letter No. 106, despatched by the Government of India, Home Department, to the Local Government on the 12th July 1900. In the course of that letter the following words occur :—

> "For these reasons, and also in view of the fact that no separate report was written on the census of Bombay City in 1891, while the earlier reports are in many ways defective, the Local Government and the Corporation will doubtless desire that the report of the census taken in the first year of the new century should not only examine thoroughly the current statistics, *but should deal worthily with the history and growth of the City of Bombay.* Ample materials for such an account are ready to hand in the three volumes of notes and records collected by Sir James Campbell, and printed under the orders of the Local Government in 1893-94, &c."

Now Sir James Campbell's materials roughly relate to the period 1661-1800 A.D. only ; and it appeared to me that no history of the Island could be called in any sense complete, which omitted to deal with the colonisation and circumstances of Bombay during the three earlier epochs, Hindu, Mahommedan, and Portuguese ; and which also omitted to notice the chief events of the 19th century. At the same time, the conviction that the first five months of my appointment would have to be devoted almost entirely to details of census administration obliged me to look about for assistance in the necessary work of research. Three scholars of Bombay offered their services gratis, and undertook to study the period with which they were severally best fitted to deal. The names of the trio, who supplied the materials, which have been worked up into the form in which they are now submitted, are as follows :—

P. B. Joshi, Esq.	Hindu period.
Khan Bahadur Fazlullah Latfallah	Mahommedan period.
Dr. Louis Godinho, L. M. & S.	Portuguese period.

A certain amount of hitherto unpublished information is now supplied, of which the most important item, perhaps, is the identification of that early colonist Bhima Raja with the son of the monarch of Devgiri. The evidence, forthcoming from the careful labours of Mr. Joshi, is important, in that our Prabhus, Panchkalshis, Palshikar Brahmins and others are thereby proved to have originally journeyed to Bombay from the Deccan, and not, as has hitherto been supposed, from Gujarat. The British period (1661-1901) has been studied by myself ; and cannot lay claim to be anything more than a strictly chronological survey of the Island's

past, and an orderly collation of statements already published in the works of the undermentioned authorities and others:—

Sir James Campbell's materials.

Maclean	Guide to Bombay.
Grose	Voyage to East Indies.
Fryer...	Travels in East India and Persia.
Anderson	English in Western India.
Da Cunha	Origin of Bombay.
Murray	Guide Book of India.
Douglas	Bombay and Western India.
Martin	The British Colonies.
Arnold	India revisited.
Temple	Men and events of my time in India.
Hunter	Bombay, 1885-1890.
Mrs. Postans...	Western India.
Govind Narayan	Description of Bombay.

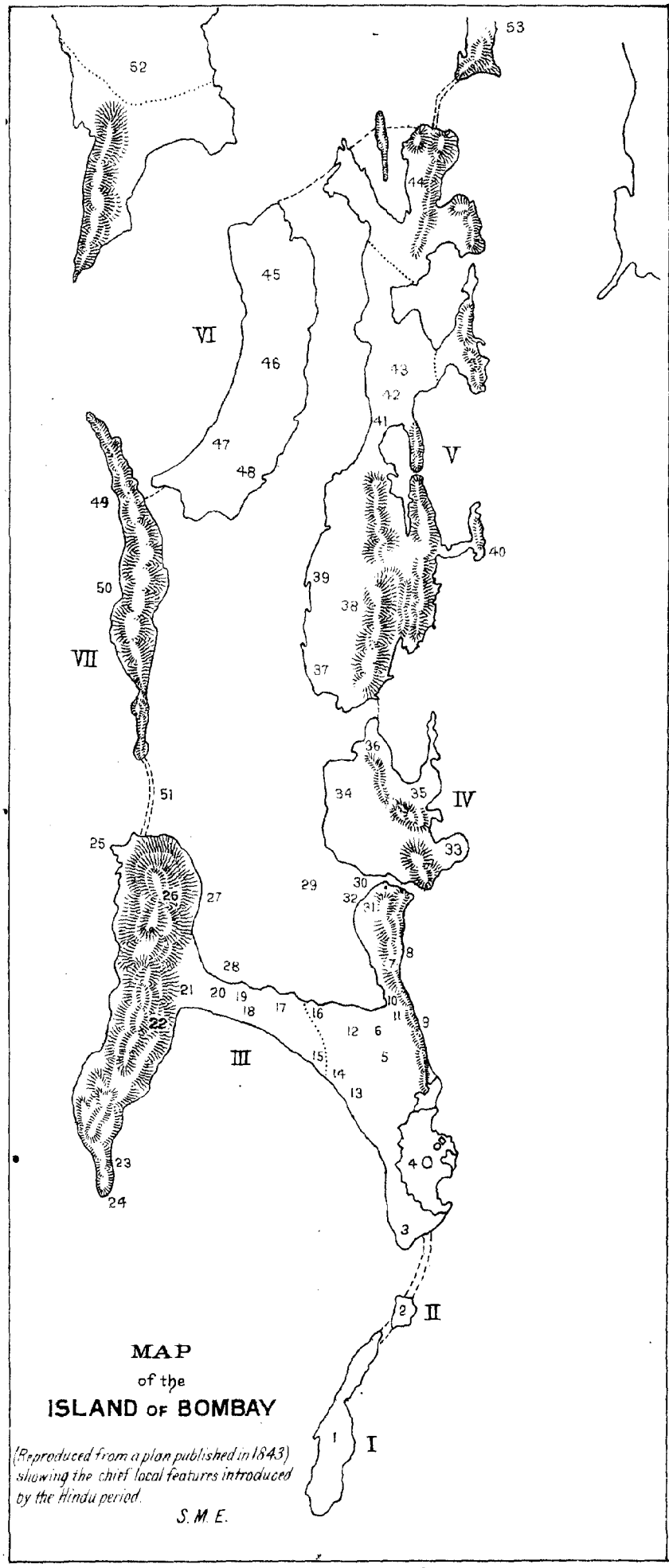
The Bombay Báhár.
The Jan-i-Bambai.
The Indian Antiquary.
Asiatic Society's Journals.
The Municipal Commissioner's Reports, 1864-1900.
The Times of India (Daily Issue) 1838-1890.

I have to express my thanks to Messrs. T. J. Bennett and L. G. Fraser of *The Times of India*, for placing all the back files of their journal at my disposal; and to Mr. Trimbak Atmaram Gupte, Head Clerk to the Collector of Bombay, for helping me to take extracts and quotations from various works.

Finally, I would remark that, though lack of time has prevented the preparation of anything in the nature of a "Gazetteer," I have ventured to print this retrospect as a separate volume, in the hope that it may perhaps be considered worthy of subsequent reproduction as a historical hand-book to the City and Island of Bombay.

S. M. EDWARDES, I.C.S.

BOMBAY, 1*st October* 1901.



MAP
of the
ISLAND OF BOMBAY

(Reproduced from a plan published in 1843) showing the chief local features introduced by the Hindu period.

S. M. E.

1. Kola-bhát.
2. Island of Al-Omanis.
3. Pallav
4. Tamarind Trees.
5. Shrine of Hanuman.
6. Bhandari Settlement.
7. Dongri.
8. Tamarind or Chinch Bundar.
9. Koli Settlement.
10. 11. Clumps of Brabs.
12. Kolwar (Cavel Village)
13. Orchard of Jack Trees } Interspersed with huts
14. Brab Trees }
15. Plantain-grove }
16. Koli holdings.
17. Garden of Sisyphus jujuba.
18. Hill-Village or Girgaum.
19. Shrine of Village Goddess.
20. Four Channels or Chowpatty.
21. The Ladder or Siri.
22. Babhul grove.
23. Valkeshvar's Temple.
24. Shri Gundi.
25. Shrines of Mahakali Maha-Lakshmi & Maha Saraswati
26. Grove of Kambal
27. Brab Trees and Shrine.
28. Fields or Khets.
29. Hamlet of the Naga.
30. Fig Trees and Creek
31. Clump of Bhendis.
32. Pya-Dhuni, the Foot Wash.
33. Machcha-gaun.
34. Bhaya's threshing Floor-Village.
35. Brab Trees.
36. Shrine of Ghorupdev.
37. Tamarind Bell.
38. Parali Village, Shrine, and Settlement of Thakurs, Bhois etc.
39. Prickly-Pear Tract
40. Shivadi.
41. Nargaon, inhabited by Kolis, Agris, Bhandaris etc.
42. Brahman Settlement: Hall of Justice. Bhima Raja's Vadi. Temples & Dwellings of Parbhus, Panchkalshis & others.
43. Banian Trees (Vadála.)
44. Simva or Boundary Village.
45. City of Mahikavati.
46. Forest of Cocoa-Palms Mad Madmala.
47. Shrine of Prabhadevi and Settlement.
48. Shrine & Village of Kalika-devi.
49. Koli Village.
50. Banian Grove.
51. Khind or Breach.
52 & 53. Portions of the district of Shashashti or 66 Villages.

Drawn & Litho. Govt. Photozinco Office, Poona 1901

PART I.

"HEPTANESIA."

σπεῖρέ νυν ἀγλάϊαν τινὰ νάσῳ

PINDAR.—NEMEANS.

'Sow, then, some seed of splendid words in honour of this Isle.'

CHAPTER THE FIRST.

MUMBADEVI.

THE early history of our Island of Bombay is sunk deep in the Night of Time. At intervals the light of antiquarian research casts a faint beam upon the darkness; a coin, an inscription, perchance a copper-plate grant or patent, is discovered, and published as evidence that some old dynasty was paramount in 'Aparanta' (the North Konkan) during remote ages. But lack of material has ever been a stumbling-block in the path of him, who would give to the world a connected tale of the island's expansion. Scattered notes, wherein evidence of prehistoric trade-routes is confusedly mingled with the description of events occurring in Christian eras, are all that exist, to throw light upon the early circumstances of Bombay. Yet, orderly arrangement of such notes, combined with the introduction of any new material vouchsafed to us, may, perhaps, lead towards the result, which is set before us, namely, a chronological account of the island's growth and of the people that visited or colonized it.

At the outset of a journey across dim centuries, it were pertinent to enquire whence the Island sprang. Was she, like Delos, a daughter of the sea, drifting before the waves and stress of winds, until Providence bound her fast to pillars of adamant for ever? The geologist alone can satisfy our curiosity. After keen scrutiny of the land's configuration, of the various strata which overlie one another, and in view of the historical and unassailable fact that Bombay was originally—not one island—but seven separate and amorphous isles, Geology declares that the whole western side of the continent of India was subjected in prehistoric times to a protracted series of upheavals and depressions, that it vibrated like a quagmire, the vibrations diminishing in extent and force as the ages passed away. The varieties of strata, composing the islands which protect from the open sea the western shores of India, are in themselves evidence of a succession of titanic movements, which hurled these lands upwards from the very fire-bosom of Nature. From Sewri to Love Grove, Worli, extend some seven beds of stratified rock, abounding in fresh-water remains, and divided one from another by huge masses of trap, which indicate so many epochs of repose and of volcanic disturbance. Each fresh upheaval was followed by partial subsidence, the two movements combining to give to the Bombay Presidency its present coast-line, and to the Island a haven of deep water, wherein the argosies of commerce might ride safely at anchor. Further evidence of prehistoric eruption and depression is furnished by the discovery at Worli of petrified frogs,* and of a submerged forest below the Prince's Dock. The remains of the latter, which came to light during the excavation of the dock, in the closing years of the nineteenth century, were 32 feet below high-water mark, and consisted of "a thick forest of upright stumps of trees of a species still existing in the neighbourhood of this Island, the Khair (*Arabia catechu*). There were in all 382 trees, 223 standing erect and 159 prostrate, though still rooted in the soil. They were found on a decayed trap-rock soil, overlaid by the thick stratum of clay, which forms the real bottom of the harbour. Among the trees, one was recumbent, charred in the middle, but bore no trace of having been cut down with any tool."

* An issue of the *Bombay Times* of 1851 refers to the discovery of fossil frogs by Dr. Leith.

From the date, then, of her first birth in remote eternity, our island was shaken by terrible pangs, of which the earliest probably severed her from the mainland of India, and the latest raised above high-water mark those localities which we now call Mahim and the Esplanade: and when the last birth-throe had subsided, and the hour of man's appearance drew nigh, she who had once been a portion of the continent, undivided, lay in a cluster of seven islets upon the ocean's bosom. For many a year the Heptanesia, as old Ptolemy called them in A.D. 150, were destined to glance at one another across the intervening waters; but the Providence which decreed their original dispersion, willed also that in after time they should be once more united by the genius and energy of man.

Let us glance for a moment at the cluster of Heptanesia, the outward appearance of which is defined with tolerable accuracy in an old map, reproduced in the year 1843. Southernmost of all lay a narrow tongue of rocky land, which we to-day call Upper Colaba: northward thereof, and in close proximity, was a small and almost triangular islet, known to later generations as Old Woman's Island, whence one looked across a wider strait to the south-eastern side of a curiously-formed land, resembling in some degree the letter H. The western portion was composed of one high hill, covered with rough jungle and running down in a point into the sea; and the eastern side of low-lying ground, bearing tamarinds and other shrubs at intervals, and menaced from the north by a rocky ridge, which subsequent ages termed "Dongri" or the Hill-tract. Northward, again, beyond a very narrow creek, lay a smaller and more amorphous island, part hill, part dale, whereon the *cassia fistula* and the brab were yet to flourish. Three distinct islands composed the northern portion of what is now the Island of Bombay. The middlemost, shaped like a parallelogram, lay desert; and was flanked on the west by a narrow and tapering stretch of rock, now the outer boundary of a Worli section, and on the east by a straggling island, trifurcate at its northern extremity, and possessed of a strangely broken coast-line. Modern research declares the formation of these seven islands to have resulted from the breaks, caused by volcanic disturbance, in a pair of rocky ridges, lying roughly parallel to one another, north-east and south-west, and separated in the south by the reef-guarded waters of a bay, known to subsequent generations as Back Bay. Through the fissures and breaks in these ridges, the ocean at high-tide swept with unbridled force, and covered with his waters a considerable tract of low-lying ground between the islands.

Such was the appearance of our island about the period when the earliest settler set foot upon her shores. Now for many years prior to the dawn of the Christian era, and for some time, indeed, subsequent thereto, the seven islands had no separate political position, but formed an outlying portion of that kingdom which Ptolemy denominated "Ariaka," and early Sanskrit writers of the Puranic period called "Aparantak" or "Aparanta." The earliest ruler of this territory, which is identified by the historian and antiquarian with the North Konkan, appears to have been the great king Asoka, grandson of the celebrated Chandragupta of Pataliputra, who founded the dynasty of the Mauryas. That Asoka, who reigned between B.C. 263 and 229, had communication with this part of India, is proved by the rock-inscriptions,* found at Girnar in Kathiawar, at Khalsi in the Himalayas, and at Shahabazgarhi in Afghanistan: for they tell us that in the middle of the third century B.C., that monarch sent Buddhist ministers of religion to Rastikas, Pethanikas and Aparantás. Moreover the Buddhist high priest Moggalputto is mentioned in the "Mahavansot", a Ceylonese chronicle, as having despatched preachers of Buddhism, in accordance with the king's orders, to Maharatta, Aparanta and Banavasi. Further proof that this province of Aparantaka, with its outlying islands, once owed allegiance to that great king, is afforded by the discovery at Supara, then the capital city of the kingdom, of a fragment of the eighth Edict.

Now the glory of the great cities of the coast—Sopara (Ophir), Kalyan, Symulla (Cheul)—was noised abroad among the nations of those early days. The hardy trader of old Egypt, the Phœnician, and the Babylonian in turn must have helmed their craft past the twin rock-ridges

* Inscriptions of Asoka, Vol. II., p. 84.
† Turnour's Mahavanso, pp. 71-73.

of this island, on their way to barter with the subjects of dusky Majesties, whose names only have in some cases been bequeathed to posterity. The wealth of the cities of the western littoral suffered not decay, albeit their rulers changed with the changing ages. Some five score years ere the Magi fared forth in the path of the eastern star, which heralded the dawn of Christianity, a dynasty of Shatakarnis or Shatvahanas were overlords of Aparantaka, which erstwhiles flourished under the sway of Asoka. Thus much one may learn from the cave-inscriptions at Nasik, the longest of which records that in the 19th year of the reign of King Pulumayi, the cave was constructed and dedicated to the use of Buddhist saints and mendicants by Gotami, mother of king Gotamiputra Shatakarni!* Moreover, a silver coin discovered in a stupa at Sopara by Sir James Campbell and the Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji in the year 1882, bore the legend "Ranno Gotamiputasa, Siri Yanna Satakamsa," which being interpreted, means "This is the coin of king Gotamiputra, Shri Yajna Shatakarni." This monarch, then, who is elsewhere described as "king of kings, and ruler of Asika, Surashtra (Kathiawar), Aparanta, Anup (to the north of the Vindhya range), Vidarbh (the Berars) and Akravanti (Malwa)†," and as having destroyed the Sakas, Palhavas and Yavans, the last-named of whom are identified by Dr. Bhandarkar with the Bactrian Greeks,‡ owned these Heptanesia as an outpost of his kingdom from about 133 A.D. to 154 A. D.§ The dynasty, of which "he re-established the glory," and which is termed 'the Andhrabhrityas' in Puranic writings, and 'the Salivahanas' in local tradition, held sway for perhaps four centuries, until the rise of the Rashtrakutas of Malkhed, and worthily maintained the commercial prestige of the kingdom. In their day, so the chronicles of Thana relate, the subjects of the Parthian monarch, Mithridates I, sought the marts of Aparanta, and witnessed the arrival of vessels freighted with all manner of merchandise—sesamum, oil, sugar, spices, even 'handsome young women' of Hellas, destined to 'attend upon the king of the country' and cry "Chareh" (Χαῖρε) in his courts. For years, indeed, after the birth of Christ, the ships of the Greek, the Arab, the Persian and the Christian sailed between Egypt, Malacca, China, the Gulf, in a word between the World's ports and the Konkan kingdom. Merchants and sea-rovers of many nations must in that early Christian age have gazed from their decks upon our seven isles, perchance may have cast anchor for a space within their limits. But they settled not, so far as we know; they came, cried 'Hail,' and passed away towards the rich cities of the mainland.

It was not by the paths of the sea, but from landward that the earliest inhabitants of Bombay journeyed. At some date prior to the year 300 A.D., and prior perhaps to the Christian era, our desolate isles became the home of certain lithe dark men, calling themselves "Kulis" or "Kolis," which the antiquarian interprets to mean "Husbandmen." Such is not the only derivation afforded of their name. The later Aryans, some aver, greatly contemned these early settlers, and characterized each member of the clan as 'Kola' (a hog); others believe that they were 'Kulis' or members of one 'Kul' or tribe, even as the 'Kunbi' is member of a 'Kutumb' or family; while another authority traces their title to the Mundar 'Horo' or 'Koro,' that is to say 'Man.' The primary derivation, connecting the word with an old Dravidian root signifying "agriculture," seems to us most fitting, in view of the origin of this people, as portrayed in their physical characteristics. "The Kolis," remarks Dr. Gerson da Cunha, "belong to the Dravidian or Negrito type. The form of the head usually inclines to be dolichocephalic; but the nose is thick and broad, and the formula expressing its proportionate dimensions is higher than in any known race, except the Negro." Admitting, therefore, that our earliest settlers were of Dravidian origin, it is quite possible that their title also was derived from a Dravidian source; a theory to some extent confirmed by the fact that, at the season of later immigrations into Thana, the Kolis almost certainly held the plain-country and were, as some of them still are, skilled field-workers.

One would fain speak with more certainty of the date of their arrival on these shores; but so remote, so shrouded in antiquity is the Koli Hegira from the mainland, that no definite statement is permissible. It is probable, however, that these people, of whom there are many

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Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I., Part II., pp. 149,150. Vol. XVI. (Nasik).

‡ Bhandarkar's Deccan.

§ *Ibid*, p. 166.

different tribes, spread themselves along the Western Coast and peopled our then nameless Heptanesia in some dark age before the Shatakarni dynasty rose to power. Successive waves of invaders or settlers have advanced upon the Koli, have almost threatened to engulf him; but some natural sturdiness in him has formed his support. He is amongst us to this day; has got those old Non-Aryan deities of his admitted into a Brahmanic pantheon; has even borrowed from later settlers the idea of a pedigree! The heralds' college of Brahminism furnished him, doubtless on payment of some kind, with a metaphorical escutcheon, and hid the truth of his lowly origin in a specious tale of descent from a Lunar Monarch. Among the most remarkable divisions of this aboriginal stock is that of the Son-Kolis, resident along the Thana coast, the prefix of whose name recalls the term—Shron or Son-Aparanta—used in the Buddhist legend of Purna of Sopara to denote the North Konkan, and may perhaps have some connection with the word 'Son' or 'Sonag,' which, on the authority of the *Gazetteer*, was the equivalent in Southern India of the term 'Yavan' or 'Greek.' One wonders if any bond was formed in those early days between the dark-skinned aboriginal settlers of the Thana coast, and the Greeks, who visited the land as traders or as captives of a victorious Shatakarni.

The family of Son Kolis, however, is of less importance, so far as Bombay is concerned, than that of the Meta Kolis, who are declared to have been the earliest colonists of our Islands, and to have fished in these waters, tilled the soil and worshipped their primeval gods, long before a higher Aryan civilisation left its mark upon the land. In what localities precisely they built their scattered groups of huts, is somewhat difficult to decide; but local nomenclature gives a clue to the position of their hamlets in subsequent ages, which may reasonably be held to have arisen on the site of original homes. They undoubtedly existed in the two Southern islands; which thereby acquired the title of "Kola-bhát" or "Kolaba," the Koli estate.* Immigrants of a later period gave the smaller of the twain a separate title, "the Island of the Al-Omanis," or deep-sea fishermen, which was metamorphosed into 'The Old Woman's Island' of the British epoch: but the name exists no longer in these days; both islands have, by the hand of man, been linked together under the one name, which testifies to their having sheltered our earliest settlers. In that straggling island, third in order as one passes northward, there are also traces of an early home. Who does not know our 'Mandvi Kolivadi,' our 'Dongri Kolivada?' Their situation in these days is comparatively remote from the sea-shore; for reclamation and engineering have pushed back the ocean, and left the sea-shore hamlets high and dry. But for centuries after the Kolis first dwelt in these islands, those hut settlements, now lost among the brick and plaster edifices of the twentieth century, must have been situated near the marge of the sea, which afforded them sustenance. The name of a street in the heart of modern Mandvi—"Daryasthan"—perhaps exemplifies our belief. Though lost to-day in the rumble of bullock-carts, and the shrill chatter of the passer-by, the voice of the waves may once have sounded clear, claiming the neighbourhood as the ocean's portion. Further evidence of their presence in this third island is afforded by the name of "Cavel," (the area now included in the Dhobi Talao Section), which the antiquarian derives from "Kol-war," the Koli Hamlet. The hamlet originally covered the whole of the land now divided by the Kalbadevi Road into Cavel proper and old Hanuman Lane, and must have been a seaside settlement, whenever the waves at high-tide poured through the Great Breach, which divided the present area of Mahalakshmi from the Island of Worli. For many centuries it was the first village, at which the traveller arrived, on his way from Dongri or the "Fig-Tree Creek" (Umarkhadi) across the narrow strip of land which yoked the eastern levels with Malabar Hill on the west, and was also the home of the earliest converts to Roman Catholicism. In later years one "Munga," lineal descendant of original colonists, owned a "Bhat" or landed estate, on the road from Cavel to the hill-village (Giri-gaun=Girgaum); and the observant wayfarer of this twentieth century, who seeks Malabar Hill by way of Girgaum Road, will remark upon his right hand, hard by the shop of Lawrence, the carriage builder, a "Mugbhat" (Munga-bhat) Lane, which approximately marks the site of the old Koli's possessions.

* Dr. G. da Cunha. "Origin of Bombay," p. 64.

Our Koli, however, was not invariably responsible for local nomenclature : in at least one instance he seems to have borrowed a title from the physical characteristics of his early dwelling-place. We have already remarked the Hill-tract on the eastern side of our third island. Hindu immigrants of subsequent years called it " Dongri," and the people whom they found settled around it "Dongri Kolis," as if they were some distinct branch of the old stock. Modern research declares definitely that they were identical with the rest of the tribe upon our islands, were simply Meta Kolis, living above their brethren on the low ground.

A conviction that they settled also in the fourth of our seven isles is based upon the origin of the name " Mazagon," and upon the presence of a modern temple of " Ghorupdeo." Mazagon, which contains to this day a Koli-vadi or Koli settlement, owes its name, we fancy, to the pungent odour of the fish, which its earliest inhabitants caught, dried and ate. Agriculturists and fishermen the Kolis have been from time immemorial ; but those of them, that settled in the fourth island, found fishing more profitable than agriculture, and became so wedded to the pursuit, that their home earned the title of " Machcha-ganv " or " the Fish-village." Regarding the shrine of Ghorupdeo, Dr. da Cunha tells us that to the Koli of these days the presiding deity is generally known as ' Khadáka-dev ' or the ' Rock-god.' Now the Koli is primarily a nature-worshipper ; trees and stones have even been to him provocative of that reverential wonder, which is the germ of old religions. To the early Koli of the fish-village the rough boulders to northward must have been invested with something of divinity ; may have seemed a likely abode for some spirit, and thereby earned his reverential regard. Subsequent generations of his family borrowed the custom of building shrines and temples worthy of their deities ; wherefore we of to-day may look upon a temple of Ghorupdev, much patronised by Hindu fisherfolk. The modern shrine serves to mark the spot where the founders of the fish-hamlet strove to appease the Spirit of the Rock. In the three Northern islands, which have latterly been merged into the Island of Bombay, the Koli may also have made his home. There were Kolis of Moory (Mori) in Worli in 1747 ; there is to-day a Koliwadi in Mahim and another in Sion. The village which subsequently arose around the latter is responsible for the name of the whole modern section ; for, being situated at the extremity of the island's triple promontory, it earned the title of " Simva " (शिव) (= Sion), " the boundary-hamlet," or last inhabited spot ere one voyaged across the strait to the island of the " Shashashti " (Salsette) or ' sixty-six ' villages. To the south of the boundary-hamlet, there may have arisen in time another hut settlement, the members of which were skilled in fashioning rude fishing-craft, numbers of which would be drawn up ashore during the rainy season. The spot would have been given the name of " Naigaum " or " the Boat-hamlet," being *par excellence* the home of boats. The name is with us to this day.

Thus, then, during the dominion of the Shatakarni, while the freighted vessel of the merchant stole to and fro along the Thana coast, the Koli dwelt upon our seven islands and cast his nets into their encircling waters. One is fain to believe that he had communication with the main-land in that day, that he sought the din and bustle of the rich markets of Aparantaka. But no evidence exists of any communication between these islands and the kingdom of the main-land, until after the Shatakarni dynasty had passed away.

About twenty years ago excavation brought to light two hoards of silver coin, bearing the legend " The illustrious Krishnaraja, the great Lord (or the worshipper of Maheshvara), who meditates at the feet of his parents. " The coins, which were found at Cavel in our island and in Salsette, lead us back to the spectral past, when the Rashtrakuta monarchy held sway in Manyakheta or Malkhed. At what date the Rashtrakutas succeeded the Shatakarnis, and for how long they ruled over the North Konkan, is entirely unknown to us ; but the presence of the coins, of which counterparts have been found at Karhad in Satara and also in Nasik, shows that from 375-400 A.D., the Northern Konkan, including our Heptanesia, were part of the dominions of the Rashtrakuta Krishna. Moreover, they show that by the year 400 A.D., our Koli was in touch with the busy life of Thana coast, and perhaps earned a scanty wage by the

sale of fish or by patching-up the storm-strained vessel of the Sassanian trader.* Apart from its intrinsic value, the dramma of Krishnaraja appeals to us as the first direct evidence of Bombay's connection with civilisation.

From Krishnaraja onwards to the middle of the sixth century A.D., the tale of our islands is involved in some obscurity. Much may be learnt of the Hindu of the mainland ; how he voyaged afar, outbidding the Arab and Persian in Afric's ports, and settled in Persia, Alexandria, Ceylon and the fatherland of Hiwen Thsang. But that the peaceful and self-centred existence of our primeval fishermen was in any way disturbed, can be inferred only from the historical statement that Kirtivarman, prince of the Chalukyas, who flourished about 550-557 A.D., invaded the North Konkan and defeated the Mauryas, who were then paramount therein.† Now the Mauryan dynasty, which presumably succeeded that of the Rashrakutas, has left behind it certain traces of its paramountcy. Whence, cries the antiquarian, did the Koli acquire that surname of "More," which he bears to this day, if not from the Mauryan dynasty of Puri? The Koli has always borrowed something from each new tide of settlers or immigrants ; and just as he acquired lunar descent from the Brahmin, or a rude type of Christianity from the Portuguese, so he obtained a surname from the dynasty, which owned him as its subject in the sixth century. Again, where was the city of "Puri," that flourishing capital, described as "goddess of the fortunes of the western ocean?" By keen analysis, intelligent inspection of old ruins, copper-plates and "oval seals of light ruby-coloured cornelian" engraved with the word 'Narayana,' it has been shown that this remarkable city was built upon the north-eastern portion of the Island of Gharapuri, 'a ilho da Elephante,' the Island of Elephanta! From the writings of early Portuguese travellers it is clear that up to the 16th century of the Christian era, the Island of Elephanta was known by the name of Puri, and that the names "Gharapuri" and "Elephanta" are of later origin. Garcia da Orta‡, who visited the place in 1534 A.D., remarks that : "There is another pagoda better than all others, in an island called "Pori," and we name it the Island of the Elephant. There is a hill on it and at the top of this hill an underground dwelling hewn out of a living rock. This dwelling is as large as a monastery, and has open courts and cisterns of very good water. On the walls around there are large sculptured images of elephants, lions, tigers and of many human figures well represented. It is a thing worth seeing and it seems that the devil put there all his strength and skill to deceive the heathen with his worship." Old Simão Botelho also records how "the Island of Pory, which is of the elephant, was rented in 1548 to João Pirez for one hundred and five pardaos."

In the sixth century A.D., therefore, the early fisher-folk of these Heptanesia must have been in close touch with a higher civilisation; for almost within hail of their rude villages, lay the capital of a powerful government, whose territory included probably all the islands of the Northern Konkan, a town of great importance and opulence, the "Lakshmi" of the western seas§, which excited the envy of neighbouring chieftains, and sent forth stern men-at-arms to battle with Chalukya hosts, that swept like an ocean across the islands.

Though Kirtivarman defeated the Mauryas in the middle of the sixth century, the sovereignty of the North Konkan was not wrested from them until the opening of the seventh century A.D. It was Pulakeshi, the son of Kirtivarman, and the most powerful of all the Chalukya kings, who compassed their downfall. During his reign (611-640 A.D.) the kings of Lata, Malwa, Gurjar, Kanoj and Banavasi were brought into subjection ; and Chand Danda, his general, set forth with hundreds of ships, and drave the Mauryas from Puri. No material relics of Chalukya dominion over these islands have been bequeathed to us ; but, as in the case of the Mauryas, so in theirs, a surname in use among the Kolis testifies to the influence which they wielded. "Cholke," which is directly derivable from "Chalukya," recalls to the mind that dim past, when the civilisation of an outer world had drawn very near our seven isles, commanding them to awake from their deep birth-sleep for ever.

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* *Thana Gazetteer*, p. 419.

† Cunningham's Archæological Survey, Report IX, p. 30.

‡ Dr. G. da Cunha.

§ Burgess' Archæological Survey, Report III, p. 26.

Passing onward from this date, and across the inarticulate gloom of the eighth century A.D., we arrive at a period which exercised considerable influence upon the islands of Bombay. In all likelihood, the Chalukyas held the mastery of this country until the advent of the Silaharas or Shelaras in A.D. 810. Twenty Silahara kings ruled in the North Konkan from A.D. 810 to A.D. 1260! They called themselves "Tagarpuravaradhishvar" or "Lords of the glorious city of Tagar," and claimed descent from Jimutvahana.* Among their chief cities were Puri, the capital, Hamjaman (Sanjan), Shri-sthana (Thana), Chaul, Lonad and Uran. Of Kapardi, the first of his line, little is known; but an inscription (No. 78) in the Kanheri caves describes his son Pulakeshi as the Governor of Mangalpuri in the Konkan, and as the humble servant of the Rashtrakuta king Amoghavarsha, whence one may infer that the Silaharas were subordinate to the Rashtrakutas. That Kapardi II was also a tributary is also proved by another inscription in the same caves. Jhanjha, the fifth king, is mentioned by the Arab historian, Masudi, as ruling over Saimur (Chaul) in A.D. 916 A.D.; while Aparajita, the eighth of the dynasty, appears from a copper-plate, dated A.D. 997, and found at Bher in Bhivandi, to have become independent, on the occasion of the defeat of the Rashtrakuta overlord Kakkal, by the Chalukya monarch Tailapa.† In a copper-plate grant of A. D. 1097, Arikesari, the tenth king, is described as lord of 1,400 villages in the Konkan; and mention is made of Puri, Shristhanak (Thana) and Hamjan, as his principal cities.† Mallikarjuna, the 17th monarch, wielded great power, and assumed the title of 'Rajapitamaha,' 'the grandsire of kings!' It came to pass that one of his bards journeyed unto the Court of Kumarpal, the Gujarat king, and there sang of the glory of his lord; whereat Kumarpal waxed wroth and bade his general Ambada march against the country of Mallikarjuna. But the latter worsted Ambada in battle and drove him back to Gujarat. Once again did Ambada make the essay with a stronger force; and, having defeated and slain "the grandsire of kings," returned in triumph to Anahilpura, the capital of the Gujarat monarch. Soma or Someshvar was the last of the Silahara line. He, by ill hap, had to face Mahadev, the king of Devgiri, who, in 1260 A.D., invaded the Konkan with a large army, consisting for the most part of elephants: and being worsted, he took shelter in his ships, and there met his death, probably by drowning. Hemadri, the celebrated minister of Mahadev and Ramdev, records his death in the 17th verse of his 'Rajaprashasti':—"Soma, the Lord of the Konkan, though skilled in swimming, was with his host drowned in the rivers, formed of the humour that fell from the temples of the mad elephants of king Mahadeva. ‡"

Who the Silaharas were and whence they came, is yet largely a matter of conjecture: but the ending 'ayya' of the names of almost all their ministers, as, for example, Nagalayya, Lakshmanayya, which occur in their copper-plate grants, and the unsanskrit names of some of their chiefs, favour the view that the dynasty was of Southern or Dravidian origin. Other names which confront us are Anantpai Prabhu and Belala Prabhu, who are supposed to have been Kayasths, the ancestors of the Kayasth Prabhus of the Konkan. Howsoever it be, the Silaharas seem to have fostered colonisation and trade in the highest degree, and to have introduced into these sparsely-populated islands a social and religious element, hitherto unknown. Hindu, Musulman, Parsi, Persian, Arab, Jew and Chináman, all visited and settled in the Thana ports in their day, or braved the dangers of the sea—and they were not few—for the sake of the sandalwood and ambergris of Socotra, the aloes, camphor and spikenard of Siam, Java and Sumatra, the porcelain of China, and the cowries and gold-dust of Sofala. Ten thousand Persians and Arabs made their home in Chaul: the Jew brought a living freight of women, eunuchs and boys by way of the gulf to Chaul, Sanjan and Sopara: thirteen Chinese ships "made of double firwood, fastened with good iron nails, and daubed with lime, chopped hemp and wood oil" passed the stormy months of 1292 A. D. in the harbour of Bombay. Nor were the Celestials the only visitors to our islands. There were sea-robbers and corsairs in our

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* An account of how Jimutvahana by his self-sacrifice saved his tribe from the oppression of Garuda or Wasuki is given in the Sanskrit drama "Nágánand."

† *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 18.

‡ तदीय गंध द्विप गंड पाली । निष्ठून दानाम्बु । तरंगिणीषु ॥
सोमः समुद्रप्लव । पेशलोऽपि । ममज्ज सैन्यैः सह कुडकुणेशः ॥ १७

harbour at the close of the thirteenth century, for Marco Polo himself saw them,—one of the many bands of pirates, who harassed the coast-trade from Gujarat southwards, and later gave their name to a hill and promontory of our island.

Not only in the matter of commerce did the Silaharas evince their aptitude for dominion. They organised their land revenue also, by creating large districts called 'Rashtras,' which were again sub-divided into 'Vishayas' and 'Gramas' (villages). In charge of each village was a Pattákil or headman, which is the modern Patel. Further they constructed a 'Rajapath' or 'king's high road,' passing a little north of Bhandup and following the same line as the present road from Bombay to Thana.*

That our seven islands and their hut-settlements must have been brought into closer connection with the brisk life of the Konkan cities seems to us inevitable; and although no definite record of new colonisation exists, one inclines to the belief that our Koli occasionally met with visitors from among the many stranger people, who flocked by the path of the sea or by the king's high road to the territory of the Silaharas. To this epoch, indeed, we would ascribe the origin of the name 'Old Woman's Island,' now Lower Colaba. The derivation was for sometime doubtful; all manner of speakable and unspeakable persons were declared responsible for the name; until at length the compiler of the *Bombay Gazetteer* solved the riddle, by suggesting that "as the fishers of Mazagon fish solely within harbour limits, while the Colaba fishers have their stakes in the open sea, the Colaba Kolis were known as 'Al Omanis,' the deep sea fishers, from 'Oman,' the common Persian and Arab name for the sea that washes Western India." The word may well date back to this epoch of Silahara dominion, when the Arab, on his way to plunder or to trade at Puri, visited the southernmost of our Koli settlements.

Our conviction in regard to the existence of more constant communication between Bombay and the mainland is in no wise shaken by the remembrance that the capital of the dynasty was in closest proximity to our seven isles, was in fact Puri or Elephanta Island, described by them as 'Mangalpuri,' 'the City of Prosperity,' and in the 'Kumarpal Charitra' as 'Shatanandpuri Jaladhiveshtite'† or 'the sea-girt city of an hundred joys.' Moreover with one particular portion of our island the name of the Silaharas is indissolubly connected. At the extreme edge of the promontory, which is known to late-comers as Malabar Point, they discovered a strangely-cleft rock, 'a fancied yoni, of no easy access in the stormy season, incessantly surf-buffeted.' Being of Dravidian origin, they termed the spot "'Shri-Gundi ‡" which has been interpreted to mean 'Lucky Stone': and to further mark the sanctity of the spot, they, staunch Shaivites as they were, built a mighty temple, ornate with carven images of the Trimurti.

The influence of the shrine and cloven rock upon all men must have been considerable. From the fisherman, with his 'rag-gods and pot-godlings of the tree' to the aged yogi, with rosary of Rudraksha berries, many an inhabitant of surrounding districts must during the Silahara and later epochs have visited the temple, and, passing through the trees to the land's verge, have sought regeneration by the perilous passage of the yoni. Now the original name of the place was 'Srigundi'; but some years later, the Brahmin priests attached to the shrine, invented for the greater glorification of the temple and the deity, a tale, which is responsible for the modern name of the locality, laying it before their public in the form of a Mahatmya or Panegyric. Rama, so ran the story, erstwhiles halted here, on his journey to Lanka, and made himself a 'linga' of the sand of the shore; wherefore the deity whom we and ye rightly reverence, shall be called "Valuka Ishvara," "the Sand-Lord." The tale found merit in the eyes of man; and the place is called "Walkeshvar" unto this day.

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* *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II., p. 21.

† Dr. G. da Cunha opines that Shatanandpur is the same as Santapur, an old name for Elephanta, transformed by the Portuguese into Santupori; and suggests a connection between Shantipori or Shonitpur and Sonapur, the site of a former English Cemetery near *the present Queen's* Road—"Origin of Bombay," p. 32.

‡ I fancy 'Lucky Hollow' would be a more correct translation; for 'Gundi' is a pure Kanarese word, directly connected with the Telugu 'Gunde' and the Tamil 'Kundi.' It means (*a*) a hole, pit or hollow, (*b*) the pit of the stomach, (*c*) a large earthen or metal vessel.

Some parts of Walkeshvar still conserve the calm of those old Silahara days. He who, leaving behind the bungalows of a modern century, directs his steps to the very foreshore, will find a little colony of Sanyasis, dwelling amid the tombs of brethren who have already passed beyond the bourne, and whose spirits call unto the living in the soft wash of the sea and the sough of the wind in old trees.

The discovery of Shrigundi and the building of the temple seems to us to have been responsible for another landmark of the island. The stream of worshippers from the wide limits of the Konkan kingdom gradually formed for itself a pathway, leading up the jungle-covered slope of the hill; and, as that pathway was of necessity steep and narrow, later immigrants called it "शिडी" or 'the Ladder.' Some of us, who wander up the "Siri" Road from the Chowpatty sea-face to the Ladies' Gymkhana on Malabar Hill, may well pause to remember that we are treading in the footsteps of old-world pilgrims to the shrine of Valukeshvar. The Silahara monarchs have passed out into the Night, the temple has been battered into ruins by the bigoted devotees of Mahommed or the Virgin Mary; but the toilsome road, up which the worshipper of Shiva slowly clomb, is with us still, albeit smoothed and widened by the hand of the Engineer.

The southern origin of the Silahara kings and those who followed them to Bombay, may have eventually given rise to such local names as "Nagpada" and "Agripada." That the area, which we now know under the former title, was in any sense thickly colonised, is most unlikely; for it remained, like Kamathipura, a swamp, liable to periodical flooding by the sea, for centuries after this date. But, as Sir James Campbell has pointed out, the suffix 'pada' which means 'a hamlet' is closely allied to the Dravidian 'pádu,' and is one of the many words which suggest a considerable Dravidian element in the early population of the North Konkan. The worship of the serpent, which has prevailed in almost all parts of the world, may be responsible for the first half of the word. The story of our Mother Eve, of Apollo and the Delphic Python, of old Norse-god Thor and the great Midgard snake, of the Red Indian Manabozho and the serpent Meshekenabek, find their counterpart in India in tales of a race of Nágas, semi-divine, whose women were handsome and sometimes intermarried with mortals. In the old legend of Purna of Sopara one catches a glimpse of the Nágas, so called perhaps on account of their devotion to serpent-worship. "Buddha," as we learn, "while in Sopara, became aware of the approach of the Naga kings, Krishna and Gautama. They came on the waves of the sea with '500' Nagas; and Buddha, knowing full well that if the Nagas entered Sopara, the city would be destroyed, went forth to meet them and converted them to his faith." It is not impossible that the cult of the serpent, and the introduction of Dravidian forms of speech by the Silahara kings and their followers, have been primarily responsible for the title of that unhealthy locality, known to Municipal Officials of to-day as 1st and 2nd Nagpada.

Concerning the name "Agripada," we entertain more doubts; for, although the suffix points to very old Dravidian elements, the Agris of Bombay themselves claim to have arrived here at a much later date than the Kolis and other non-Aryan people. The labours of anthropology, however, show that the Agris were settled in the Thana district in prehistoric times; that they are on much the same social level as the Kolis, Kathkaris, Thakurs and other aboriginal tribes; and that, notwithstanding their pretensions, their strain of foreign blood is extremely slight. Moreover, like our Kolis, they seem to have borrowed customs and nomenclature from later Rajput-named immigrants. The fact of their forming one of the prehistoric tribes of the Thana district in no way conflicts with the view that they entered our Heptanesia at a date subsequent to the Silahara era: but when they did come, and form a small settlement, the name which they gave it, *viz.*, Agripada or the Hamlet of the Agris, testified directly to the ancient and non-Aryan elements within them. The precise site of their early hamlet is wholly unknown to us. It cannot, for the same reason as we have given in regard to Nagpada, have been directly situated in the locality now known as the Agripada district; but it may have stood on some rising ground, adjacent to the drowned lands, and, after the latter had been reclaimed by the breach-stopping operations of the British period, have lent its name to a new and wider area. All one can with certainty say, therefore, is that the names of two well-known portions of modern Bombay are of non-Aryan origin, and perhaps testify to the influence which the Dravidian monarchy of the Silaharas once exercised over the mainland and the islands of the North Konkan.

The Silahara epoch, then, was of some importance to our islands. Not only were the monuments of a higher civilisation erected within their limits, but a new life and broader views must have been vouchsafed to the Koli settler by the proximity of the capital, Puri. The mainland also was finding place within its limits for various races, who in after time settled in Bombay. There were Kayasths, as we have before stated, in the royal courts, the probable ancestors of our present Kayasth Prabhus ; the Persian and the Arab were living in Chaul ; the Parsis were a power in Sanjan ; while the coast hamlet of Navagaum (in the Kolaba Collectorate) had already received the survivors of that small band of the children of Israel, who, preferring the faith of Jehovah to all things, left their home in Yemen, and all their past behind them; whose descendants, prosperous and with monotheistic faith intact, are now dwelling in our city.

With Someshvar ended the dynasty ; and thenceforth the Northern Konkan was annexed to the kingdom of Devgiri. Mahadev, who defeated Someshvar, died about the year 1271 A.D. and was succeeded by Rama Raja or Ramdev ; but neither of these monarchs appears to have resided in the newly-acquired territory. According to Dr. Fleet, C.I.E., (dynasties of the Kanarese districts), one Mahapradhana (chief minister) Achyuta Náyak was governing the province of Sásati (Salsette) as viceroy of king Ramdev in the year 1272 A.D. ; while from one of the Thana copper-plates, published by Mr. Wathen, we find that in the year Sáka 1212 or A.D. 1290, a Brahmin named Krishna of the Bháradvaja gotra was viceroy of king Ramdev for the whole of the Konkan.

In the year 1294 A.D. Alla-ud-din Khilji of Delhi invaded the kingdom of Devgiri. Ramdev, who was wholly unprepared for attack, hurriedly collected some 4,000 men and endeavoured to stem the tide of Musalman invasion. But fate was against him ; and having been defeated with his son Shankar, he was forced to sue for peace on payment of an annual tribute to the Emperor of Delhi.*

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 year Sáka 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 Moslem invaders of Devgiri and Anahilvada ‡! 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 families of Panchál, 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 Bimbdev 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 Ghazni 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."

* *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 251 ; also Elliot's History of India, VII, p. 77.

† Note that this year 1216 exactly corresponds with the year in which Alla-ud-din invaded Devgiri and defeated Ramdev *vide* Bimbakhyan, p. 198.

‡ Bimbakhyan, p. 108.

§ Bimbakhyan.

But, it is a well-known historical fact that, immediately after Mahomed of Ghazni had departed with his army, Bhima Raja returned to his country of Anahilvada, and in virtue of his devotion to Somnatha 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 "Prabhandha Chintamani" and "Dvyasraya," 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 Silaharas ; and a copperplate grant dated Shaka 948, which is A.D. 1025, shows that Chittaraj 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 Silahara monarchs ruled these lands until A.D. 1260, and then yielded place, in the person of their last king Someshvar, to the Yadavas of Devgiri.

Thirdly, Bhima Raja II, who reigned in Anahilvada from 1179 to 1242 A.D., was so weak a man that he earned the soubriquet of 'Bholo,' the simpleton ; and the only reference made to him by the Gujarat chroniclers, 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 Silahara 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 ?

From a Persian 'firman' issued by Nawab Chand Khan, Subha of the province of Daman, and dated 901 A.H., that is A.D. 1495, we learn that "Bimbashah, hearing of the defeat of his father Ramadev of Devagiri by Alla-ud-din, fled with the Rajguru Purushottam Pant Kavle and eleven Umráos by the shore of the sea, and took possession of the fort of Parnera, 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 Náyak.

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* *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 169-170.

† Ind. Ant., V., p. 276.

‡ The descendants of this Rajguru Kavle are still at Malad as Patels ; and up to the time of the Peshva Bajirao they enjoyed the *watan* of Sirdesai and Sirdeshpande, as will be seen from the following letter written by the Governor of Bombay to the Peshva :—

"Bombay Castle, March 6th, 1734.

To the Illustrious Bajirao Pandit Pradhan, Prime minister of the most excellent Shahu Raja, John Horn, President of India, Persia and Arabia, by the most illustrious English Company Governor and Commander-General of the Island and Castle of Bombay and all its dependencies by His Most Serene Majesty of Great Britain, whom God preserve, sends him greeting. I have received your letter of the 3rd instant in which you say that Antaji Raghunath, your servant, had every claim to an Inam which from antiquity (his forefathers) had enjoyed in the Portuguese territories, granted by the ancient Emperors of Hindustan and afterwards confirmed by the Kings of Portugal, and continued by the Viceroys of Goa (in proof of which) he had several documents ; but that the said Antaji Raghunath having been accused before the tribunal of the Inquisition craves your protection, and therefore you desire that the said documents be examined in our Court of Judicature, where if they are found to be true, an intimation may be made to the Portuguese to abide by what may be reasonable, to which I beg to reply : That you are aware that the decision of such claims rests solely with the Government that granted the Inam and that no other (Government) can interfere ; and this being so, it is useless for the said Antaji Raghunath to justify his claims in any tribunal, nay for any Government to interfere with its authority or request, if the said Antaji Raghunath is accused before the Inquisition, over which the Royal authority itself has no power. I hope you will command me in some other business, in which I may be serviceable (to you)."

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

Secondly, there is in existence a Persian patent, bearing the seal of Mahomed Dalil, Dewan 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 Salivahan era 1212 (A.D. 1290) Raja Bimbashah, having taken the ownership and possession of the country from the hands of 'Karsón', 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 Dánapatra, or grant of the rights of Sirdesai and Sirdeshpande, made by king Bimbdev to his Rajguru Purushottam Kavle in the year Shaka 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) Mahárájádhirája Bimbshah purchased from Changunabai, widow of Govind Mitkari, the *watan* of Sirdesai and Sirdeshpande in the provinces of Malad, etc., for 24,000 Rayals ; 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 Vaisakh in the Shaka year 1221 (A.D. 1299), and in the presence of an assembly consisting of the Prime Minister Madhavrao Shrinivas, Chitnavis Chandraban Parbhu, Patangrao Nyayadhish, and others, merchants, mahajans and Jamindars.‡"

The above evidence leads us to the conclusion that our king Bhimdev, who died in the Shaka year 1225 (A.D. 1303) § and was succeeded by his son Pratapabimba 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 up to that date been free from Moslem 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 'Newale' 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 Valkeshvar and a shrine of the ancient goddess Mumbadevi. Here Bhimdev stayed and builded 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

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* Appendix No. VI in Vaidya's Account of the Ancient Brahmins of the North Konkan, p. 25.

† The details are as follows:—Taluka Malar consisting of 57 villages, Taluka Marol of 57; Perganas, Mahim (Bombay) of 7, Uran Bhorgaon of 9, Panch Nad of 55, Khairan of 45, Kaman Khanch of 65, Sayban of 84, Manori of 84, Aseri of 84, Mahim of 84, Mahab of 27, Tarapur of 364; Kasbas, Vasai of 12, Sopara of 16; Prant Sanje and Kamban of 574.

‡ The original of this Danapatra is now in the possession of the descendants of the Rajguru Family at Malad, *vide* Vaidya's Account, Appendix, p. 8.

§ *Vide* S. Nayak's History of the Pattane Prabhus, p. 59. This appears to be a very short period for all the improvements, etc., attributed to Bimb Raja.

legend, to four main classes who spread themselves over the face of the Heptanesia, throve, 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.

Mr. Murphy in his "Remarks on the Oldest Races of Bombay" observes that the great influx of a variety of castes and races into Bombay, may be traced to certain events which render the political and commercial history of the island a living record; and that by studying their records, traditions, usages, origin, and meaning of the names of localities, and especially their languages, one may fairly come at certain conclusions regarding the history of this island and its dependencies, particularly Salsette. Now of the four main classes that accompanied Bhimdev, the foremost, whereof the historian makes mention, is that of the "Prabhus" or "Lords"—a noblesse of commerce and politics, one might say, with "the grand thaumaturgic faculty of thought in their head." These were they who aided their ruler to build the temple to his family deity, Prabhavati or Prabhadevi,* to divide the dependencies of Mahikavati into mahals or districts, and pakhadis or hamlets, who watched the growth of the kingdom, fostered trade, settled disputes, and generally presided over the course of public affairs. With the Parbhus came also their ministers of religion, men who could read the stars, and knew much of sickness and the healing virtue of herbs. They belonged to the Madhyandin Shakha of the white Yajurveda and were in after time called Palshikar Brahmins, from the village of Palsawli, in which they made their home. These were the priests of the people; and doubtless gained many a convert among the aboriginal worshippers of Rock and Tree, by investing their rude deities with greater majesty. The legend also talks of the arrival of certain Sheshavanshis or "Bhandaris," a title derived from the Sanskrit "Mandarak," 'a distiller †.' Concerning these men, some doubt exists; for, in the words of the *Bombay Gazetteer*, "their strain of late or foreign blood can be but small," "among some the remembrance of a hurried flight from the south still remains," and "they seem to be Agris with a larger share of foreign blood." Now the Agris claim allegiance to Bhimdev, stating that they came to Bombay from Mungi Paithan with Bhima Raja, the son of Rama Raja; but, considering their position relative to other old communities of the Thana district, one inclines to the belief that some of them may have been resident in the Heptanesia, prior to Bhimdev's arrival. That being so, it is not impossible perhaps that the Bhandari or Palm-juice-drawer of Bhima's retinue, mingled and in time intermarried with the women of an aboriginal stock, giving birth to a race of "Agris with a larger share of foreign blood." Howsoever it be, it is to the Bhandaris and their offspring that we owe our plantations, and the name and locality of "Munmala," which includes the modern Mahim woods: for "Munmala" is simply "Madmala" or "the Orchard of Cocoa-palms." Together with the Vadvals and Malis, husbandmen and gardeners, who also arrived at this epoch, the Bhandaris initiated cultivation in our seven islands, introducing many of those fruit and flower-bearing plants that have lent their names to portions of modern Bombay. Nor were there wanting warriors and craftsmen for the more complete foundation of Bhima's polity. The Somavanshi Kshatriyas or Panchkalshis also came in the king's wake, a numerous class that has earned an undying reputation for hard work. *Panchkalshi ani kon mhanel alshi*, "who can call a Panchkalshi idle?" so runs an old saying, testifying to the stout hands and hearts of our early colonists.

We may pause for a moment at this juncture to see what historical inferences, if any, can be drawn from the language, or usages of these early castes and communities. Though the language, nowadays spoken by the Prabhus, Panchkalshis and Bhandaris, is Marathi, their home-tongue contains a large percentage of words borrowed from the aboriginal settlers, the Koli and the Agri. The Palshikar Brahmins, being by reason of their religious duties socially

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* S. M. Nayek's History of the Prabhus, pp. 50-59.

† "Among the Bhandaris were certain 'Bhonglés,' or Sirdars of the Community. They were the Sheshavanshi followers of Bhima Raja, were soldiers and petty officers in his army, and had the privilege of playing the 'Bhongli' or bugle. The actual occupation of the island by the Bhonglés took place during the period of Mussalman dominion. They held the city for about 8 years having usurped possession of the island from the Mahommedans."—(Mr. P. B. Joshi).

and intellectually superior to the other castes, and being also in constant touch with religious Sanskrit literature, have not introduced into their home-speech so large a proportion of aboriginal words and phrases. And yet, even in their case, the language spoken by the oldest of their females differs widely from modern Marathi ; and resembles, in truth, the language prevalent in the Deccan in the thirteenth century of the Christian era. Pick out, for example, from the 'Dnyaneshvari' or some similar old Marathi work of the thirteenth century, a few words of pure Marathi origin which might now be considered obsolete or out of use, and ask an uneducated old lady of this Brahmin community whether she understood any of them. Not only will she be found to understand them, but to have actually used them in her conversation, until the chiding of an educated daughter or daughter-in-law bade her discontinue the practice.*

The language, therefore, spoken by the highest of the communities that journeyed hither with King Bhimdev, does not differ greatly from that in vogue in the Deccan at the time of the migration of the king and his followers to the Konkan. The cause of the phenomenon is obvious. Bhimdev's successor did not reign long in Bombay ; for in the middle of the fourteenth century, Moslem rule was firmly established in the island, and remained unchanged till the advent of the Portuguese. After the Portuguese came the early period of British dominion; and during the whole epoch, from Musalman to British rule, the people were practically cut off from all intercourse with their brethren in Deccan, and had consequently no opportunity for improving their language, which has thus preserved the character which it possessed at the hour of the exodus.

The traditions of the Prabhus, Panchkalshis, and their priests the Palshikar Brahmins, distinctly favour the theory that they came from Paithan with king Bhimdev, the son of Ramdev, Raja of Devgiri at a time when the city of Devgiri 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 settler had formed hut-settlements within her limits, and raised rude shrines to Khadakadev; the Silaharas had built new temples and taught the Koli and Agri customs of a higher order; the immigrants from Devgiri built a capital city, introduced cultivation, built more temples, and made our islands the head-quarters of a kingdom. Previously, Bombay had been merely an appendage of '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. Look for example at the following patent of Governors Wyborne and Child, the original of which is at present in the joint possession of Chintaman Balambhat Naik and Nilkanth Vithal Padhye, the hereditary priests of Mahim :—

> "Whereas Kashinath Gambha Naique, Vithal Naique and Bana Paddia of Mahim, Brahmins, have for many years past been granted the office of Brahmins in the township of Mahim, and its jurisdictions, in performing the rites and ceremonies

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* The following are a few words of the kind mentioned :—

Old Marathi.	*Current Marathi.*	*English meaning.*
Tukné,	Uchalne,	To raise up.
Surawád,	Anukula,	Favourable.
Wokhaten,	Wàit,	Bad.
Chokhat,	Shuddha,	Pure.
Upeg,	Upayog,	Use.
Thélén,	Thevilén,	Placed.
Dekhane,	Pahane,	To see.
Latanken,	Khoten,	False.
Dhavala,	Pandhara,	White.
Udele,	Udayas ale,	Came to light, dawned.
Pokhala,	Adarila,	Honoured.
Paik,	Shipai or chakar,	Sepoy or Servant.—(Mr. P. B. Joshi.)

of marriage, administering physic to the sick, and doing and performing all other ceremonies relating to the said office, as appears to me by several orders, I have thought fit and do hereby order you the said Kashinath Naique, Vithal Naique and Bana Paddia, to continue in the said office of Brahmins, giving full power to act in the same and to perform all the rites and ceremonies of marriage, and to administer physic to the said inhabitants of the town of Mahim and its jurisdictions, prohibiting all persons whatsoever from molesting or disturbing you in the execution of the said office upon any pretence whatsoever."

Given under my hand and sealed with the seal of the Court of Judicature of the Island of Bombay, this 22nd of August, Anno Domini, 1685.

(Sd.) STEPHEN COLT,
Secretary.

(Sd.) J. VAUSE.

"I do hereby confirm and ratify Cassinath, &c., Brahmins in their offices, in ordering all the respective inhabitants of Mahim to pay a dutiful respect suitable to their employs."

Bombay, this 29th October 1686.

(Sd.) JOHN WYBORNE.

"Upon the request of the within-named persons this is confirmed upon them."

Bombay Castle, 22nd June 1689.

(Sd.) J. CHILD.

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 Wady." 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 to the locality in which they made their home. The Prabhus settled in the vicinity of the old temple of Prabhadevi, which was, in A. D. 1519, razed to the ground by men, who for about a century and a quarter waged a fruitless battle against the old deities of Bombay. Fruitless indeed! For in the dark half of Vaisakh, full seventy-eight years after the sceptre had departed from the men of Portugal, Prabhavati appeared in a vision, and bade the Prabhu brotherhood build a new temple in her honour. Thus, there is to-day in the Mahim section, a shrine of Prabhadevi; and the four-armed goddess still watches over the descendants of the first settlers.

The Somavanshi Kshatriyas or Panchkalshis formed a colony in what is now Parel. Dr. da Cunha, following the teaching of the *Gazetteer*, and on the analogy of other place-names in the island, informs us that the origin of the name Parel is traceable to the existence of a plant, the *Bignonia Suaveolens*, or Tree-Trumpet Flower, which is known in the Hindu tongue as "Padel." We venture to put forward an alternative, and equally plausible, derivation. The early history of our island is, as Dr. da Cunha remarks, closely interwoven with the history of its temples; and it is admitted by all that, some time after Bhimdev's immigration, a Parbhu named Mankoji founded a shrine in Parel village, and perpetuated his name in the

title of the deity, who is known as "Mankeshvar" or Mankoji's god in these days. It is extremely unlikely that the Panchkalshis should have possessed no shrines, peculiar to their community. Moreover, it is stated as a fact, that they built three temples under the patronage of the Raja, two for their family deities Wageshvari and Chandika, and a third to Mahadev. Now the "ling" of this Mahadev is said to be "Swayambhu" or non-artificial, and was therefore held to be of equal importance and sanctity with the celebratad "ling" of Vaijanath at Parali in the Deccan. Therefore the third temple, which the Panchkalshis built, was called the shrine of Parali Vaijanath Mahadev; and as the deity's title was Vaijanath Mahadev, the first portion of the title was given to the village, in which his temple stood. The present temple of Mahadev, which is stated to rest on the exact site of the original temple, stands in the middle of the "Parali," "Paral," or "Parel" village.

The memory of Bhima Raja the Good, the Benefactor of Bombay, has not entirely departed from among the children of men. The villagers have deified, and still worship him: for in that Oart, called by them Bhima Raja's Wady, 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 'jotra' 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 year Shaka 1225 (A.D. 1303) King Bhimdev died, and was succeeded by his son Pratapbimb, or Pratapshah, 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 Devgiri 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 Mahommedan 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 Moslem rulers of Gujarat §: and thus came to an end the sovereignty of old Hindu Kings over the islands of Bombay and its dependencies.‖

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* Bhimdev was also called Bhim Shah or Bimb Shah. In a Persian record, possessed by the family of the late Sirdesai of Malad, it is stated that in the year Shaka 1208 (?) Ramdev Raja with his son Bimbdev went to pay his respects to Ala-ud-din at Delhi. He was well received, and the king, taking Bhimdev as his own son, conferred upon him the title of Shah.

It is true that Ramdev visited the Delhi Court, but the date given above does not appear to be correct. Compare the following:—

"Ramchandra was received there (at Delhi) with great marks of favour and distinction; and royal dignities were conferred upon him. Not only was he restored to his government, but other districts were added to his dominions, for all of which he did homage and paid tribute to the king of Delhi. The king on this occasion gave him the district of Nausari in Gujrat as a personal estate, and a hundred thousand tankas to pay his expenses home."—*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I. Part II, p. 532.

† Rom. Geo. Soc. Trans., Vol. V, p. 129.

‡ S. M. Nayak's History of the Prabhus, pp. 59-60.

§ *Ibid.*

‖ According to Maratha accounts, the following causes combined to bring about the fall of king Nagardev. The king had a favourite named Bhagadchari. This man was the son of one Jaitchuri, an illegitimate son of the king. Bhagadchuri having been appointed by Nagardev Governor of the province of Sashti (Salsette) greatly oppressed the inhabitants of that region. He had the land measured and divided it into 'kathis,' 'bighas,' and 'haras'; and for each 'hara' (=8 bighas) the rayats were ordered to pay four maunds of the produce of the land. Thus revenue was raised and royal favour

Ere the curtain falls upon this dim period of our island-story, it were well to take a rapid journey across the Heptanesia, noting such of their peculiarities, as may be discernible from localities or names existing in these days. The two southern isles can have changed but little by the close of the Hindu period, and since the Koli's first arrival on these shores. The two together form the Kolá-bhat (Colaba) or Koli's portion ; and the smaller of the twain, being inhabited by deep-sea fishermen, has been endowed by Arab seamen with the separate title of Al-Omanis' Island (Old Woman's Island). The numbers of inhabitants may possibly have been augmented by the settlement of some of Bhimdev's Bhandaris, the descendants of whom are to this day resident in the old Colaba village.

The third island, as we pass northward, is more noticeable. At the edge of its nearest promontory we seem to discern a rude landing-place or beach, used doubtless by our aboriginal fishermen, around which there has grown up a species of shrub or tree, whose shoots introduce a gleam of colour into the surroundings. What more natural than that, by the end of the era of Hindu dominion, the place should have been known as "Pallav" or "Pallav Bandar," "the Harbour of Clustering Shoots ?" From "Pallav" to "Pallo," which was the name of the region in a Government Memorial of 1743, is no great change : nor is the final alteration from "Pallo" to "Polo," and thence to "Apollo" incomprehensible. Apollo Bunder ! One of the best known areas of modern Bombay, ornate in these days, not with burgeoning shrubs, but with embellishments of more lasting character.*

Passing forward, one remarks a wide plain, part of which has been converted by later generations into an Esplanade, containing palm-groves, tamarind trees and a small settlement of Bhandaris, Agris or others. Perchance it was one of those tamarinds, which lived to see the building of a Cathedral of St. Thomas, and to give the title of "Amliagal" ("in front of the Tamarind") to the Elphinstone Circle. Not far away, probably, was a rude shrine of the monkey-god, Hanuman or Maruti, beloved of the aboriginal and lower classes. Dowered by Vayu with the gift of 'Chiranjiva' or immortality, Hanuman still lives with us in the Hanuman Street and Cross-lanes of a modern Market Section. Between the shrine and the creek which separated the island at high-tide from the fourth island, of "Machchagaum," lay Dongri, the hill-tract, peopled by the Koli and others ; and southward thereof on the lower ground, were probably small groups of Brab-palms, near which dwelt Bhandari families, and which have been responsible for such modern place-names as "Sattad" (Satar) or "Seven-Brab" Street, and "Dontad" (Dontar) or "Twin-Brab" Row. Here also, close to the sea-shore, were more Tamarinds (Chinch = *Tamarindus indica*), whence we derive the name of the "Chinch Bunder" or "Tamarind landing place," a sub-section of the modern B Ward. To the north-west of Dongri there must have existed a plantation of the *Thespesia populuca*, called in the native tongue "Bhendi," which has given its name to the well-known Bhendy Bazaar ; and a little westward of the rising ground, a small creek or 'Khadi,' with one or more specimens of the *Ficus glomerata* growing upon its banks. "Umbar" is the Vernacular name

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gained ; and to the complaints made against Bhagadchari, Nagardev on this account paid no attention. Discontent was widespread ; for Bhagadchari indulged his vicious propensities to the full, outraged respectable women, and committed more than one murder ; yet was permitted by the king's favour to go unpunished.

The immediate cause of Nagardev's downfall, however, was the degradation by him of one of his Sirdars, Nathrao Sindha Bhongle. Nathrao happened to displease one Thakur Chaughale, a favourite of the king, and was publicly disgraced. Burning with desire to be revenged upon the king, Nathrao journeyed to Wadnagar (?), interviewed the Sultan of that place, and urged upon him the advisability of conquering the North Konkan. The Sultan, therefore, ordered his General Nika Malik to set forth. Nika Malik, taking an army of 12,000 men, reached by rapid marches the Pargana of Saiwan (Bassein Taluka ?) and there encamped near the Patalganga in the forest of Karvi trees. Thence he proceeded by night to the Kanheri caves where he divided the army into three detachments. One marched against Pratappur, the second against Thana, and the third, under Nika Malik himself, invaded Mahim (Bombay). So sudden was the attack that Nagardev, who had gone to Walkeshvar for religious purposes, was quite unaware of the danger. The defence of the royal palace, therefore, devolved upon his queen and a few retainers ; and in the struggle, the queen was slain and the palace looted. By this time a message had reached Nagardev, who gathering his men together, marched back to meet the Moslem forces. A battle ensued at Bhayakhala (Byculla), in which Nagardev was defeated and slain. These events happened in the year Shaka 1270 (A.D. 1347-48). —(Mr. P. B. Joshi.)

* Sir James Campbell derives the name from 'Palva,' a boat or fighting vessel. The derivation adopted by the writer is that given by Dr. da Cunha in his 'Origin of Bombay.'

of this tree, the water-giving and medicinal qualities of which have ever marked it as sacrosanct ; whence we now reckon among the sections of B Ward an " Umbar-khadi " or " Oomerkhari." Before quitting this eastern portion of the third of the Heptanesia, one would draw attention to a remarkable channel of water, lying hard by the Fig-tree creek and in the direct path of the traveller, as he fared southward from Mazagon or Machchagaun and the northern islands. The stream, though sluggish in the fair season, flowed throughout the year ; and the inhabitants of Mahikavati or Simva, the boundary-hamlet, would halt awhile and lave their tired feet therein. Hence the spot came to be known as " Pya-dhuni " or " The Foot-wash." In later ages the rapidity and strength of the current during the monsoon led a Christian government to build a bridge over it, and subsequently to fill up the channel, and lay down highways and dwelling-places. To-day the site is covered with houses, shops and temples or mosques ; and the name of it alone survives in the " Pydowni " Police Station !

The modern names of many localities within the island point to the existence of a Tree or Plant-worship among the earlier colonists. Nor is this surprising, when one remembers that at least three of the separate communities which accompanied Bhimdev, earned their livelihood by husbandry or by the care of a particular species of tree. The comparatively narrow belt of land which united the eastern portion of the 3rd island with the jungle-covered hill on the west, must have been thickly sown with plantations or groves of various kinds, among which one may note a garden of jack-fruit trees or " Phanas," origin of our modern section of Phanaswadi ; a group of plantain and brab-trees, which have been responsible for the " Tadvadi " and " Kelevadi," leading off the Girgaum Road ; and lastly an orchard of Bor (*Zizyphus jujuba*), which we call " Borbhat. " Borbhat has grown old, and can scarce recollect the days when the people came up out of the low-lying fields or Khet-wadi, to worship at the shrine of the village-goddess (Gaumdevi); but the name may still be seen by the wayfarer on the Girgaum Road, not far from the site of Mugbhat, old Munga's ancient holding. Kolvar (hodie Cavel) has already been noticed ; it stood near Phanaswadi, and must have formed quite as large a settlement as the Hill-village or Girigaum (hodie Girgaum), which was situated west of Borbhat and the palm-groves. There was probably a " Gramadevata, " peculiar to Girgaum, whose shrine, set up on the outskirts thereof, may have eventually resulted in the name of that thoroughfare and locality—Gamdevi or Gaumdevi—which lies between the Gowalia Tank and Chowpatty Sea Face. The name " Chowpatty " must also date from this epoch of Hindu colonisation, when the sea swept through the Worli breach at high-tide, and swamped those regions which now form the central sections of the city. The sea was responsible for a " Foot-wash," for " a Fig-Tree Creek " ; and may similarly have formed four channels in the neighbourhood of Girgaum, which, on the analogy of the word " Satpati " (in the Thana district), would have endowed the neigbourhood with the title of " Chow-páti " or Chowpatty.

From the village and shrine one reached the path of the " Ladder," Shidi or Siri, which wound upward to the ridge of the great hill. At the southern extremity thereof was " the Lucky Hollow," through which Shivaji crept in after years, in hope of washing away his blood-guiltiness. There, too, was the great shrine, dedicated to the cult of Shiva, round which a small colony of ascetics and others may have gathered, and relics of which, broken pillars and carven blocks, are still in existence. On the left of the " Ladder " was a plantation of the *Acacia arabica* or Babhul, the reverence paid to which must have occasioned the building of a shrine of ' Babhalnath ; ' and some distance to the north of it was still higher ground, a continuation really of Malabar Hill, which has earned, however, the separate title of Cumballa Hill, from the grove of " Kambal, " " Kamal," or *Odina wodier*, which flourished upon it at the close of this Hindu epoch.

The traveller of those early days gazing westward from the Kambal-grove, would have marked the hill sloping downwards to the sea, and at its foot three shrines to Mahakali, Mahasarasvati, and Mahalakshmi.* The goddesses were there, had not yet leaped into the waves of

* The Mahalakshmi temples of to-day are of comparatively modern date, having been erected after the construction of the Hornby Vellard.

the "Ksherasagara," as the Worli creek was named, to avoid ruthless profanation by Moslem fanatics. From their shrines they looked out upon the "Khind," (Candy) or Break in the Rock-Ridge, called in after time Breach Candy, through which the ocean "swept with all the fury and pleasure of an Arabian colt." At each successive tide, the waves claimed as their portion the low-lying ground which intervened between the foot of the hill and the rising-ground of Dongri in the distance. Here and there, perhaps, some land-mark may have appeared, some small area may have risen above the waste waters. That there were Brab-Palms (Tad) flourishing below the hill of Kambals, one feels convinced; and remembering the special sanctity which in India and other countries has attached to trees yielding intoxicating drink, it seems not unlikely that these gaunt brabs were looked upon as the special haunt of a Deva, a "Tad-deva" or Brab-Tree God. In these days the trees are overlooked by the chimney-stacks of factories, and long lines of mill-roofs; but the name of the section in which they stand—Tardeo, which is "Taddeo" or "Taddev"—still calls to mind their pristine importance. To southward of the Brab-trees, the Agris and others must have initiated a rude cultivation, dividing the marshy land into "khets" or fields, which were reclaimed during the period of British dominion and transformed into the 'Khetwadi' section; while to the eastward, some slightly higher ground may have afforded room for a small settlement of Agris, and shrine of the "Naga" or serpent, beloved of Kolarian, Dravidian, and even Aryan immigrant. Other origin of a modern Agripada and Nagpada we know not.

Thus, then, the tour of our third island is complete; but, before passing northward, it should be borne in mind that this island was the original island of Bombay, as distinct from Mahim, Colaba, and others, which have, during the period of British rule only, been welded together under the one title. We may well pause for brief consideration of the origin of a name, which, so far as we know, was not universally recognised till after the fourteenth or fifteenth century of the Christian era. For many years the name of Bombay was held to have arisen from the juxtaposition of the Portuguese words "Buon" (Good) and "Bahia" (bay or harbour), and to be proof of the attachment which the men of Portugal formed towards the excellent island-haven. But the rules of euphony forbid the acceptance of this view, and the fact that early Portuguese writers refer to the place as "Bombaim" and not as 'Bombahia,' shows that this derivation cannot be correct. Another version connects the name of our island with the name of Mubarak I, Emperor of Delhi, who seized the sovereignty of Mahim and Salsette during the early years of the fourteenth century A.D.; but the absence of any record showing that he gave his name to the island, and the probability that, had he done so, it would have been designated "Mubarakhpur" or "Mubarakhabad," militate against this derivation. For a truer conception of the origin of the title, one must seek among the traditions of our oldest settlers. Local folklore, based upon an old work known as the Mumba Devi Mahatmya or Puran, declares that the island of Bombay owes its name to the goddess "Mumba.*" Whence comes this name "Mumba?" Is it of foreign origin, or the name of some Hindu female, given to the goddess? Some authorities believe that it is derived from "Munga" the name of the Koli,

* "We have," writes Mr. P. B. Joshi, "a copy of this so-called Puran. It is written in Sanskrit and contains 52 verses or nearly 208 lines. It states that years ago there lived on this island a powerful Daitya, who won the approval of Bramha by the performance of religious austerities. In response to the demon's request, Bramha granted that he should be invincible by men, gods, yakshas, gandharvas, demons, animals, serpents, birds and beasts and the Daitya then began to harass the people of the earth. (This story may be connected indirectly with the religious persecution set on foot by Mubarak I, who destroyed many Hindu temples in Bombay.) The people sought the help of Vishnu, who, accompanied by Bramha, went to Kailasa and reported the Demon's evil practices to Shiv. Shiv, in great wrath, cast from his mouth a portion of his 'Tej' or lustre, and commanded the other gods to do likewise. From the combined lustre of all the deities was created a female goddess, who mounted upon hev 'Vahan,' the lion of Ambadevi, gave battle to the demon Mumbarak and defeated him. On his promising to cease persecuting the people, he was permitted to repair to 'Patal' (the lower regions), after first receiving the assurance of the goddess that she would adopt the name of Mumbadevi and remain upon the island. The writer of the Puran remarks in conclusion that 'Those who desire health and prosperity, victory in battle, power of oratory and progeny, etc., should worship the goddess with flowers, fruits and presents of money, ornaments and jewels; and that her votaries should also feed Brahmins and give them 'Dakshina' or pesents of money.' The author was clearly a Brahmin priest, fond of dakshina, and was probably also but half-educated, as the verses are full of grammatical inaccuracies and are occasionally framed without regard to the rules of Sanskrit prosody. He volunteers this further information towards the close of the poem:—'Having heard of the prowess of the goddess from Rama, the great warrior Hanuman came to Bombay at once, and has been living ever since upon the island'; and 'in order to strengthen the defences of the island against foreign encroachment, the goddess Mumba commanded 100,000 of her 'ganas' or fighting followers to come and settle in Bombay.'"

who built the original temple; but we like best the derivation of the word from "Maha-Amba," Patron deity of our earliest settlers, in other words, Bhaváni, consort of Shiva! The feminine form of the word 'Munga' is 'Mungi' or 'Mugi' (*c.f.* Mugbhat); and the correct form of the island's name would have been 'Mungi-ai' and not 'Munga-ai' or 'Mumbai.' Bhaváni, on the other hand, is often known as 'Amba,' 'Ambika' or 'Maha-Amba'; while the suffix 'ai' meaning 'Mother,' is a term of respect often used by Marathi-speaking Hindus towards their goddesses. 'Mambai' or 'Mumbai' is the exact name of the city and island among the natives of these days, and has been transformed by the Portuguese into 'Bombaim' and by the English into 'Bombay.'

There was doubtless a temple or shrine of Mumba-devi or Mumb-ai upon our third island at the close of the Hindu period, situated perhaps upon the very spot (near the present Victoria Terminus), which a shrine of later construction occupied during the earlier years of British dominion. But the island had not at that date acquired sufficient importance to be designated, save in the common parlance of Hindu fisher-folk, by a separate name. It was merely one of the dependencies of Mahim, an island of no little political and commercial importance during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries of the Christian era. But the influence of the old goddess, though subjected on occasions to disastrous eclipse, has survived the changes of centuries, and has finally given one common and immortal name to the scattered islets of the Hindu period.

Passing across the Fig-Tree Creek, to the shores of the fourth island, the traveller would have entered the "fish-village" or Machchagaum, of which we have already spoken; and journeying north-westward, would have discovered a tract of land, overgrown with Brabs, which were doubtless in charge of the Bhandaris and others, who dwelt in the village. "Tad-vadi" (the Brab-garden) would have been the title of the locality, whence we of the twentieth century A.D. derive the name of the "Tarvadi" or "Tarwari" section. Westward again of the Brab-garden was a level stretch of land, extending as far as the marshy domain of the sea, which in the days of Antonio Pessoa was known as 'Bhoycalem,' and in our time as Byculla. Whence the name is derived is a matter of doubt. Some authorities opine that the Hindu name of the *Cassia fistula, viz.*, 'Bhava' or 'Bhaya,' may have combined with the word 'Khala' or 'level ground,' to produce the modern designation of a much wider area. Others, again, characterizing this view as far-fetched, believe that hereabouts was of old time the "Khala" or the "threshing-floor" of one 'Bhaya.'* Whatever the truth may be, it is perhaps permissible to suppose that there existed on the western shore of the island some small hamlet, whose inhabitants followed the calling of agriculture or propelled their rude craft across the future site of the Kamathis' township.

Faring forward once more across the ocean's intercepting arm, one remarks the fretted coast of the largest of the three northern islands. In the extreme south lay a tamarind-covered valley, which they called "Chinch-pokli" (the dell of Tamarinds) and we of these days Chinchpooghly—a district not unknown to local Mill-agents and employers of labour. The valley was succeeded by level ground, containing the village of "Paral" or "Parel," with its habitations of Thakurs and Bhois, and enclosed on the east by rising ground, and on the west by the sea and a tract of land, which from the luxuriance of its prickly-pear bushes, must early have earned the title of 'Mingut-Mandali'. The name exists to this day in every Municipal chart of the island. North of Paral lay Naigaum, the boat hamlet, in which Bhimdev built his hall of justice and his Brahman followers had made their homes. Brahmins, Prabhus, Thakurs, Kolis and others must have transformed the old hamlet into a comparatively populous settlement by the close of the Hindu era. Now on the eastern side of the rising ground, which looked down upon Bhimdev's settlements, lay a small promontory, called in the Hindu tongue "Sivadi," from the fact probably that it once contained a shrine of Siva or Shiv, the Lord of Death.† The shrine in course of time fell into ruins, and was replaced by a fort, of which the remains alone are now visible. But a new shrine has in later years been dedicated

* Bhaya, Máya, &c., are common names among Agris and Kunbis. 'Bhayacha Khala' (the threshing-floor of Bhaya) may easily have become Bhayakhala o Byculla.

† The word may also have originated in "Shiv-vadi" or "Shivar-vadi."

to the Destroyer, whose name still lives in a modern Sivari, Sivri or Sewri section, whither the European community bears its dead for burial. North of Naigaon were groups of great Banian trees, termed 'Vad' in the Hindu tongue; whence is derived the modern place-name, 'Vad-ala' or Banian avenue; and lastly, on the verge of the land lay the Boundary-hamlet, (Simva=Sion), expanded doubtless since its early foundation, by the immigration of new people, owing allegiance to the overlord of Mahim, and of travellers from the Shashashti villages and the mainland.

In the midmost of the three northern isles lay the city of Mahikavati, of which no trace, save the first half of the name (Mahi or Mahim), remains in these days. It must have been a goodly city, this capital of Bhima Raja, with its colonies of Palshikar Brahmins, of Prabhus, of Bhandaris and others, with its great temple of Prabhavati, and the wide forest of cocoa-palms, which ultimately gave the name of "Mad-mala" (*i.e.*, cocoa-palm avenue) to a tract, now included in the Mahim section. There were also, according to Dr. Gerson da Cunha, a shrine and village of Kalikadevi or Kali, goddess of the aboriginal Koli, in this island of Mahikavati. In later years, the shrine was removed to the third of our Heptanesia, during the period, perhaps, of Mahommedan intolerance, and eventually left the legacy of its name to that modern artery of the city, Kalkadevi or Kalbadevi Road. At the close of the Hindu period and for many years subsequent thereto, Mahim was the most important of all the islands, and formed the head-quarters of a government, which held sway over lands now welded together under the name of Bombay.

From the southern limits of Mahikavati, one looked across a channel upon the last of our isles. Rocky and narrow, this seventh island lay like a carelessly-placed barrier in the path of the tide, stemming the direct onslaught of Ocean, yet suffering him at the same time to creep through chasms at either extremity, and claim as his portion the low-lying land within. The only inhabitants of the land, as far as we know, were the Kolis; and the most noteworthy feature of the locality was a fine grove of Banian trees (*Ficus indica*). The shade of the Banian, the medicinal properties of its roots, which are said to cure thirst, sorrow and melancholy, have always ensured it a high place in the estimation of the Hindu; and the respect accorded to the trees by early Hindu immigrants probably led to the name "Vad-ali" (Banian Row) being applied to the whole island. The people of later ages, confusing the palatal 'd' with 'r,' called the place Var-ali, which is now become Varli or Worli,—a locality not unknown to Municipal Drainage Engineers.

Such was Bombay at the close of the Hindu period. Out of the infinite background of the ages a motley company of actors has advanced, each of whom, his part in the island-drama ended, has vanished in the darkness, leaving scarce a trace behind. The aboriginal Koli introduced the hut-settlement and fishing craft, the Malkhed monarch a currency, the Silahara chieftain the art of temple-building, and the fugitive heir of the house of Devgiri a system of revenue and politics. Agriculturist and artificer, merchant and man-at-arms, priest and state official, must severally have formed a part of the population, which dwelt amid the plantations or near the temples, scattered over the face of the seven islands. To us of the twentieth century this Hindu period has bequeathed many a place-name, and certain distinct classes of our population. Koli, Agri, Bhandari, Bhoi, Thakur, Mali, Panchkalshi, Prabhu, and Palshikar Brahmin, all journeyed hither prior to the irruption of Islam. Whether there was any Mahommedan element in the population, cannot with certainty be decided; but it is stated in the *Gazetteer of Bombay* that the Mussulman inhabitants of the western coast of India afforded considerable aid to Mubarak I, at the hour when he "extended his outposts to the sea and occupied Mahim near Bombay." Is it not then possible that his seizure of Mahim and neighbouring islands was rendered more complete by the presence therein of Mahomedans, whom the tolerant character of the Hindu government and the commercial importance of Mahikavati had induced to immigrate in previous years? Howsoever it be, the sovereignty of Bombay passed about the middle of the fourteenth century into the hands of the Emperor of Delhi, who sought by fanatical persecution to overthrow the power of Prabhadevi, Mahalakshmi, and Valukeshvar. Little could he foresee that the power of those old deities would survive the intolerance of Islam and the proselytism of Portugal, and that the recognition of their power in future centuries would rather aid than retard the contented submission of their followers to the authority of a stranger-people.

CHAPTER THE SECOND.

ISLÁM.

The second act of our Island-drama, which may be said to extend roughly from the date of Nágardev's downfall to the middle of the sixteenth century, and is usually termed the Mahommedan period, is even more devoid of historical facts, regarding the condition and population of Bombay, than the period of Hindu supremacy. The seven islands merely formed the military outpost of a mainland monarchy, and yet awaited the influence of western immigration to bring them into prominence. Nevertheless, one is unwilling to follow the example of one well-known student of Bombay history and curtly dismiss a period, which lasted for some two centuries or more. If it only be discovered that one land mark or one class of our population came into existence in consequence of the spread of Moslem influence, our retrospect will not have been wholly fruitless.

Commercial relations between the Arabs and the western coast of India—from Cambay in the north to Sufála (Sopára) and Seimúr (Chaul) in the south—existed, as we know, from pre-Islamic times. There are records of old Arab settlements at Kalyan* ; while in the time of Agatharcides (B.C. 177-100) the Arab element along the western sea-board was so influential that the lower classes of Hindus had adopted its religion, a species of Sabeanism tinged with idolatry. The word "Melizigeris," also, which occurs in Ptolemy's Map of India (A.D. 150) is of semi-Arabic origin, "Zigeris" being admitted by erudite scholars to be a corruption of "Jazirah," an island.†

Some fourteen years after the flight of the Prophet from Meccah to Madínah, that is in A.D. 636, the earliest Moslem Arab expedition was despatched by Uthmán-ath-Thakafi, the second Khalifah Umar, to the Konkan. Though the Arabs landed successfully at Thana, the expedition degenerated into little more than a raid, and provoked an angry remonstrance from the Khalífah, who, on the safe return of the forces from El-Hind, wrote thus to the Governor of the Arabian Iráḳ : "Brother of Thakíf ! It is well ! Thou hast placed the worm in the wood, but by Allah ! had any of my men been lost, I should have taken an equal number from thy tribe ! " ‡ The Khalífah Umar and his successors were not favourably impressed with India as a field for proselytism or settlement ; and their views were doubtless responsible for the paucity of early Moslem expeditions against Western India. When the highly-gifted but illiterate Badawi, companion of Al-Hajjaj ibni Eusuf (A. D. 685-706) was asked to describe India, which according to the Arab notions of the day included Khurásán, he replied that : "The sea of El-Hind is pearls, its rocks precious stones, its leaves spices and its people a flock of helpless pigeons ; but the way to it is through a land whose waters are snows, and whose people are an ever watchful foe."

About A.D. 636 the Arab Governor of Bahrein fitted out two fleets against the ports of the Gulf of Cambay ; and subsequent to that date Arab attacks upon the seaports of Western India became more frequent. In A.D. 730 Broach was attacked ; in A.D. 758 and 778 fleets were despatched against the Kathiawar coast ; and, in the reign of the Umaiyad Al Walid, Muhammud, son of Kasim, came overland from Shiraz and made his famous raid from Debal to Delhi. The rule of the Silaharas and their successors in the North Konkan was most favourable to Musulman settlement ; for Al Masudi refers to the wise and enquiring Hindu Jhánjha, Governor of Cambay, whom the modern historian identifies with the 5th Silahara monarch ¶ ; while Suleiman, the first Arab Geographer and Traveller (A. D. 851), states that the "Balharas," by which name the Arabs styled the Silahara dynasty, were of all Hindu Kings the most partial to the Muslimín. Not only did the Arab soldier and seaman find welcome on

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* Abul Fida, Reinand's II, cccl, xxxiv.

† *Thana Gazetteer*, XIII, p. 61.

‡ Al-Bilazuri (A. D. 949) in Elliot I, 116.

¶ *Bombay Gazetter*, p. 422, Vol. xiii, I.

these shores, but many a trader, encouraged by the complacent attitude of Hindu chieftains, took up his abode in Anahilvada, Cambay and Sindan.* Treated with much consideration, allowed to build mosques freely†, and practise their religion without hindrance, these early Persian and Arab settlers spread themselves along the coast line, intermarried with the Hindu population and thus gave birth to the "Nawaits" or "Náitia" community, which formed the ancestry of the oldest Moslem community in Bombay, the "Konkani Mahommedans" of 1901. In later years came fresh Moslem invaders, who have left their traces in the four-fold distribution of the Mahommedan population into Sayads, Sheikhs, Mughals and Pathans.

We pass on to the close of the thirteenth century, when Moslem invasion became more determined, and the old Hindu monarchies began to apprehend danger. Farishtah tells of Ala-ud-din Ghori pursuing Ramdev of Devgiri to the very gates of his capital in A. D. 1294 ‡ and of how his followers discovered 3,000 bags of salt, stacked near the gates, which had been brought thither for sale by a merchant of the Konkan. This event doubtless led to an agreement on the part of the Yadava king to pay annual tribute to Ala-ud-din, who in return granted him the title of Rai-i-Rayan, the Rái of Ráis or King of Kings,—a rich reward, and the confirmation of all his possessions with the addition of Navsari. § To Ramdev succeeded Shankar who was slain by Ala-ud-din in 1312 for refusing the continuance of the tribute paid by his father; and to Shankar succeeded Harpaldev, his son-in-law, who got the original grant revoked by a similar act of contumacy, and subjected his dominions to invasion by a Moslem force from North Gujarat. ¶

Now it is, in A.D. 1318, after the fall of Devgiri, that the first direct evidence of Musulman supremacy in our island is vouchsafed to us. Sultan Kutb-ud-din, or Mubarak Shah I, who reigned from 1317 to 1320 A.D., is stated to have ordered his outposts to be extended to the sea and to have occupied Mahim in Bombay and Salsette. ‖ The large Mahommedan population which dwelt peacefully in the coast-towns under the generous sway of Hindu monarchies, doubtless helped towards the success of that policy of empire, which for a short season guided the actions of this Emperor. But the spectacle of impartiality and toleration afforded by Hindu dominion taught no lesson to Mubarak I; and the establishment of his garrisons was merely the signal for a fanatical persecution of old Hindu deities. The destruction, by his orders, of the old temple of Mumbadevi, guardian goddess of our island, the temporary departure from our shores of Mahalakshmi and her sisters, resulted naturally from the pursuance of that policy of repression, which the friars Jordanus and Oderic remarked during their sojourn in Thana from 1321 to 1324. †† "The Saracens," said they, "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 head-quarters of the kingdom were at Thana, which was governed by a Military officer or Malik and by a civil officer or Kazi; and the country was well stocked with big game, notably black-lions (probably the black Javan panther) and the rhinoceros. The Hindu population followed the custom of carrying their dead with great pomp (just as the Kamathi or Telugu-speaking Hindus bear their dead with music and song to this day) to the fields and casting them forth to the beasts and birds. ‡‡

Beyond the fact of his establishing an outpost at Mahim, and of his earning immortal obloquy as the demon Mumba Rakshasa, we know but little of Mumbarak Shah's connection with our island. It seems, however, probable that Musulman supremacy was never very firmly

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* Al-Idrisi, 1070-1100 A.D.

† Ibni-Haukal, A.D. 943.

‡ Farishtah, Persian Text, I., pp. 165, 166.

§ *Ibid.* p. 206.

¶ The *Bombay Gazetteer*, XIII, II, 438, note 6, supposes that the Malik who commanded this expedition was Malik-ul-Tujjar. But Malik-ul-Tujjar was a Bahmani noble, who rose to power about A. D. 1417, and this event is recorded as having taken place under the Khiljis (A. D. 1295-1317). The first conquest of Mahim by Mulik-ul-Tujjar Khalaf Hassan Basri took place in 1429 (*vide* Farishtah I, 630). It seems probable that the Malik here referred to was Malik Nasrat, mentioned by Farishtah as one of the two generals of Ala-ud-din who came with Ulugh Khan from Sindh (Farishtah I, 179). During the Khilji period "Malik" was a common and favourite title. Signifying literally 'king,' it was at first given to Rajputs of position, who embraced the faith of Islam, to distinguish them from foreign Musulman officers and nobles.

‖ *Bombay Gazetteer*, XIII., II, 438.

†† *Bombay Gazetteer*, XIII, II, 439.

‡‡ Sir James Campbell (XIII, II, 440) takes this as proof of Parsi influence. *Vide* also *Thana Gazetteer*, II, 251.

established in Bombay * ; and in the time of Mohammad Tughlak (A.D. 1325-50) it may even be held to have languished†. It was three years prior to the conclusion of his dominion that the new Mahommedan invasion of the Konkan necessitated by Harpaldev's refusal to pay tribute, took place, and that our Island of Mahim was for the second time overrun by the followers of Islam.

In 1347 (the Shaka year 1270), as we have seen, Nagarshah or Nagardev was ruling over Salsette and Mahim. The immediate causes of his downfall were, according to Maratha accounts, the evil practices of his favourite Jaitchuri and the degradation of one of his Sirdars, Nathrao Sindha Bhongle, who fled to Vadnagar in North Gujarat and begged the Musulman ruler (probably one of the "Amiran-i-Sadah" or centurions of the Delhi Sultan) to turn his arms against the North Konkan. ‡ An army set forth under the Malik Niku (the Nikka Malik of the Bimbakhyan), one part of which attacked Pratappur in Salsette, a second portion marched against Thana, and a third laid siege to Mahikavati or Mahim, which in the absence of the King was courageously defended for a time by his queen and a few retainers. The struggle was, however, hopeless: the queen was slain; the city looted; and finally a pitched battle was fought at Byculla between the Moslem host and the forces of Nagarshah, in which the former proved victorious. For the second time, therefore, the islands of Bombay became directly subject to the Mahommedan; garrisons were set up in different places, while the Malik Niku and another Moslem officer fixed upon Pratappur and Bassein as their respective places of residence.

It seems possible that the growth of the Musulman community in our islands was directly encouraged by the victory of the Gujarat forces under Malik Niku. Not so very many years after the sack of Mahikavati and the heroic death of Nagardev's queen, there was born in our island of Mahim a very remarkable man, Shaikh Ali Paru, or, as he was subsequently styled, Makhdum Fakih Ali, "the Worshipful Jurisconsult Ali," whose shrine still attracts thousands of the faithful annually from all parts of India. The saint died A.H. 835 or A. D. 1431 at the age of 59, as we learn from the "Kashful Makhtum" or "Revelation of the Concealed" by Mahommed Yusuf Khatkhate, B.A.; and a mosque and shrine were straightway built to his memory, which repaired and enlarged in A.H. 1085 (A. D. 1674), and improved by the addition of verandahs in A. H. 1162 (A. D. 1748), exist upon our island to this day.

Notwithstanding the conquest of Mahim and the Northern Konkan by Malik Niku, the followers of Islam evinced no great interest in our island, until the establishment, at the close of the fourteenth century, of the beneficent rule of the Gujarat Sultans, whose ancestor Zafar Khan, afterwards Muzaffar Shah I of Gujarat (A.D. 1390-1412), was appointed Viceroy of the province of the North Konkan by Firuz Shah, nephew of that questionable potentate, Mahommad Tugulak. Zafar Khan, on his first arrival in these parts, found two Governors, one of Navsari, the other of Mahim, who had been appointed by the Khilji generals; but these officials of the Delhi monarchy were shortly removed in favour of men, owing more direct allegiance to the newly-founded house of Gujarat. § During the reign of Sultan Ahmed of Gujarat (1412-1441) one Malik-ush-Shark, a Gujarat noble of renown, was posted for some years at Mahim, and in addition to instituting a proper survey of the land, did a great deal towards the improvement of the revenue system. About the same date also occurred the great rebellion of the Bhonglés, the descendants of Bhima Raja's Bhandari Sirdars, who were men of considerable influence and wealth. According to one account the Bhonglés excited disaffection among the subjects of the Ahmedabad monarch, and having thereby seized the Island of Mahim and its dependencies successfully held them for eight years against Sultan Ahmed Shah. Others opine that the rule of the Bhonglés lasted for a longer period; but, whatever the duration of their supremacy may have been, it is tolerably

* *Bombay Gazetteer*, XIII, I, 216.

† Brigg's Farishtah I, 413. Rasmala, 225. *Thana Gazetteer* XIII., II, 440.

‡ Bimbakyan, pp. 69, 120, 123, 125.

§ According to the Bimbakhyan, one Jafar or Zafar Khan, son of Hamir Khan, ruled Mahim for 30 years. The names given by the Prabhu writer are misleading, *e. g.*, Dafar for Zafar, Ambil for Hamir or Amir.

certain that the nature of their public actions could not have conduced to a very firm establishment thereof. According to the Bimbakhyan, these Sirdars could not command the allegiance of a discontented people, among whom "the rule of the Bhongles" was synonymous with everything false, disorderly and corrupt in the administration of a country.

In the year 1429 (H. 833), as we learn from Farishtah, Sultan Ahmad Bahmani of the Deccan despatched his general Khalaf Hassan Basri to subjugate the North Konkan, and drive thence all contumacious local chieftains.* In the course of this invasion, Khalaf Hassan Basri captured Salsette and Mahim in Bombay. Hearing of this event, the Ahmedabad monarch sent his son Zafar 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 Zafar Khan and the Deccan army, which had been further reinforced in the meantime by the arrival of new forces under Prince Ala-ud-din Bahmani. The army of the Ahmedabad monarch won the day, routing their foe with the loss of 2,000 men, and 2 nobles, and capturing Husain, own brother to Khalaf Hasan Basri, who was now styled Malik-ul-Tujjar.†

This defeat in no wise tended to subdue the jealousy of the Bahmani monarch, who at length found an opportunity of retrieving his losses in the death of Qutub Khan, the Gujarat commandant of Mahim.‡ Once again did he dospatch Malik-ul-Tujjar against the island. Sultan Ahmad of Gujarat on his side sent forth his son Zafar Khan, under the guidance of a tried warrior and noble, Iftikhar-ul-Mulk, to stem the tide of Deccani invasion; and further ordered Mukhlis-ul-Mulk, the head of the Gujarat naval depôt at Diu, to help with a strong maritime armament. Having collected seventeen ships-of-war from Diu, Gogha and Cambay, Mukhlis-ul-Mulk hastened to join the Prince at Mahim, where it was decided to attack the town of Thana simultaneously by sea and land. Malik Sohrab was ordered to precede the Prince and endeavour to drive out a considerable Dakhani force, which held Thana under the command of a Kotwal. The latter held out bravely for three days against the combined attack of the Gujarat forces; but seeing the enemy daily reinforced by fresh arrivals, and finding that no assistance was forthcoming for the garrison, he decided to relinquish the defence and save his own life by flight. This action and the consequent occupation of Thana by a strong Gujarat garrison forced Malik-ul-Tujjar to retire to Mahim, whither Prince Zafar Khan speedily followed him. Malik-ul-Tujjar threw up on all sides of the island a stockade of thorn trees, and martialling his forces, calmly awaited the enemy's onslaught. Terrible was the battle which ensued; for it lasted the whole day, and the dead lay in heaps upon the field. As evening wore on, Malik-ul-Tujjar, deciding that further opposition was useless, retired with the remnant of his host to the island of Mumbadevi, Mumbai or Bombay. He subsequently made two fresh attempts to regain the island of Mahim and its dependencies: but the overlordship of the Gujarat Sultan was too firmly grounded to offer hope of success in such an enterprise, and a marriage, which the latter had arranged between his son and the daughter of the Rai of Mahim, in A. D. 1432, served but to strengthen the position which he had won for himself and his house by sheer force of arms.

Some years ago a portion of the cemetery near the Mahim shrine was washed away by the sea; and numbers of bodies in various stages of preservation, and interred layer upon layer, were thereby disclosed amid the strata of the beach. These are held to have been the bodies of the warriors who met their death in the battle between Zafar Khan and Malik-ul-Tujjar; and to this day the name of the place is 'Ganj-i-Shahidan,' "the Catacomb of Martyrs."

During the greater part of the fifteenth century, that is to say, from the reign of Ahmed Shah (1411-1441) to that of Bahadur Shah (1527-1536), our seven islands of Bombay probably formed a portion of the territory of the Gujarat Sultans; for Erskine, in the second

* Farishtah, Persian Text, I., 630.

† "The title of Malik-ul-Tujjar or Prince of Merchants seems curious, when applied to a distinguished minister and general. Hasan Basri, however, was a merchant before he entered the service of Sultan Ahmad Bahmani. Ahmad, it appears, at the time when his elder brother was on the throne and decided to blind him, fled from the capital. The first man whom he met in his flight at the city gate was the merchant Khalaf Hasan who gave him the royal salutation; and in return the prince styled him Malik-ul-Tujjar"—(Farishtah, Persian Text, I., 810.)

‡ Farishtah, Persian Text, I., 370.

volume of his history, informs us that Sultan Ahmed in the course of his reign reduced all the lowlands to the south of Gujarat and below the ghâts, the Northern Konkan, and the Island of Bombay ; while a list of the possessions of the Gujarat monarchs, given in the Mir-a-ti Ahmedi,* includes, among other places in the Konkan, the districts of Bassein, Bombay, Daman and Danda-Rajpur. Goa, indeed, is also mentioned, though its addition strikes us as hypothetical. But that our Heptanesia during the fifteenth century owed allegiance to the princes of Gujarat, there is very little room for doubt.

Meanwhile the Bahmani Sultans of Gulbargah and Bidar in the Deccan were lords paramount of the South Konkan. In the year 1436 Sultan Ala-ud-din Bahmani reduced to subjection the Rajahs of Rairi (Raigadh) and Son-kehr, the position of which has not yet been satisfactorily determined. As one result of this victory the daughter of the Rai of Son-kehr, whose beauty had earned her the title of "Pari-chehrah," or "Fairy-face," became a member of the Sultan's harem. In 1469 the Bahmani general Khajah Mehmud Gavan reduced Dabhol to subjection; and this appears to have been the last notable achievement of the Bahmani monarchy, ere the rise of Bahadur Khan Gilani. This remarkable man was the son of one of Khajah Mehmud Gavan's officers, who had been appointed Governor of Goa ; and shortly after 1478 threw over his natural allegiance to the Bâhmani Sultanate, seized Dabhol, and proclaimed himself ruler of Daria-bar or the Coast-Tract. His example was followed in 1485 by Malik Ahmed, who established the Nizamshahi dynasty of Ahmednagar, and by Yusuf Adil Khan, another Bahmani noble, who founded the Adilshahi house of Bijapur.

It was hardly to be expected that new and vigorous powers such as these would fail to cast covetous eyes upon the wide possessions of the Gujarat monarchy ; and hence, three years after the Nizamshahi King had obtained peaceful possession of Danda-Rajpur and other portions of the North Konkan (A. D. 1490), we hear of the invincible Bahadur Gilani harassing the Gujarat ports, seizing many ships belonging to the Sultan of Gujarat, and sending out his slave Yakut the Abyssinian with 20 ships to lay waste the island of Mahim in Bombay.† Thus for the fourth time our island served as the arena of a struggle between the Moslem powers of the mainland.

Bahadur Gilani, however, did not long enjoy his forcefully-acquired dominion ; for the Gujarat Monarch Sultan Mehmud Begada sent forth Malik Sarang Kivam-ul-Mulk with a powerful army by way of the land, and a fleet of 300 boats, well furnished with men and ordnance, against Dabhol. These forces co-operated with the generals of the Bahmani dynasty, who had also decided to take vengeance upon the rebel ; and in a battle, said to have been fought near Kolhapur ‡, Bahadur Gilani was slain, his head was forwarded to Sultan Mahmud Begada § and the fleet which he had gradually collected was handed over to the general of the Gujarat forces. || Subsequent to this event, the power of the Sultans of the Bahmani dynasty gradually declined, and their possessions in the Konkan were divided between the kings of Ahmadnagar and Bijapur. ¶

Now it is during the reign of this same Mahmud Begada (1507-8) that the future of our island is for the first time dimly shadowed forth. The Mir-a-ti Sikandari** makes mention of the Sultan's advance against certain 'Firangis,' who had created great disturbances in Mahim. These were none another than the adventurous men of Portugal, commencing to consolidate that dominion, which subsisted until the signing of Charles the Second's marriage treaty in the Palace of Whitehall. Mahmud's expedition was of little use ; for by the time he reached Dahanu,

* The Mir-a-ti Ahmedi by Bird, 110, 129.

† *Bombay Gazetteer*, I., II, 32. The Mir-a-ti Sikandari (K.B. Fazlullah's translation, p. 73) gives another reason for Gilani's action. When Khajah Jehan was assassinated by Sultan Muhammad Bahmani, Malik-ul-Tujjar fled to Cambay, where he died, leaving behind him a daughter. Gilani aspired to marry her, and sent a message to that effect to her guardian, who unceremoniously refused, saying that a slave, purchased the other day by the lady's father, need not presume so far. Gilani, thereupon, had the guardian murdered and attempted to carry off the lady by force. In this attempt, however, he was foiled by the people of Cambay. This so enraged him that he commenced plundering all the Gujarat ports, stopped all the imports from South Malabar and reduced the people to such straits that they had to eat coriander seed with their 'pan,' instead of betel-nut, the usual concomitant of the leaf.

‡ *Bombay Gazetteer*, I. II, 33.

§ The Mir-a-ti Sikandari (Khan Bahadur Fazlullah, 73-75).

|| Brigg's Translation of Farishtah, iv, 62-156.

¶ *Bombay Gazetteer*, I. II, 33.

** Khan Bahadur Fazlullah's Translation, 75.

news was brought that his slave-admiral Malik Ayaz had inflicted a grievous defeat upon the Portuguese near Bombay, sinking one of their largest vessels and killing nearly 20,000 men. The check thus given to the Portuguese was of only a temporary nature; for from the year A.D. 1536, when Sultan Bahadur of Gujarat died, they gradually but surely strengthened their influence and hold upon all the ports of the Western littoral from Diu to Goa, being assisted in no small degree by the internecine dissensions which broke out among the nobles of Gujarat.

By the year 1572 the old Sultanate was swept away; and upon its ruins rose the Mughal dominion, established by Akbar, whose moderation and friendly feeling towards the Portuguese is attributed partly to the presence in his seraglio of a certain lady of Portugal, and partly also to the guidance of Rodolfo Aquaviva, the Jesuit father, who, together with Antonio de Monserrato and Francisco Enriques, was summoned by Akbar from Goa.*

Here then ends the tale of our island during the period of Mahommedan supremacy. The very indefiniteness of the story seems to us proof of the comparative indifference displayed by the Moslem towards our Heptanesia, and of the shadowy nature of their dominion over these islands. Search, as one may, for proofs of their connection with Bombay, one cannot with certainty say more than this, that the ancestors of our Konkani Mahommedans once dwelt in Mahim, that a Moslem commandant and garrison were from time to time stationed on the island, and that on four or five occasions our island gave shelter to stern warriors, who chose it as the scene of their struggles with the servants of other Moslem potentates. We are inclined to believe that Musulman supremacy was little more than theoretical, and that the care of the people, and internal administration were practically in the hands of tributary Hindu Rais or Chieftains, such as he of Mahim, who married his daughter to a prince of the Ahmedabad Monarchy in 1432, or the Rai of Bhiundi, who according to a stone relic bearing the date 1464, was in the habit of making grants of land to the inhabitants of his possessions. And this being so, one is better able to understand the almost complete absence of Musulman relics, rich either in architectural beauty or in historical interest. Our Heptanesia had passed from the position of a chosen land, the new home of sturdy colonists and politicians like Bhimdev of Pattan, to that of a small and unimportant military outpost, the civil administration of which was entrusted to petty Hindu Chiefs, who, being tributaries, did not feel it incumbent upon them to prosecute with vigour the further colonisation and enrichment of their territories.

It was not till after the establishment of Portuguese rule upon the western coast of India, not till after Musulman coast-villages had been burned, the men butchered and the women led away captive in the bitter crusade, waged by the devotees of the Virgin against the followers of the Prophet, that the bulk of the higher-class Mahommedan population emigratod to our island. And it was not till 1818 A. D., that any Mahommedan writer was found to point proudly to Bombay, lying midway between the islands of Salsette and Kolaba, and say "The best of all things are the middlemost." †

A final word is permissible on the subject of the Naitias or Kokani Mahommedans. Their original home in these islands was, as we have seen, at Mahim. On the advent of the Portuguese, large numbers of them who dwelt upon the shores of the mainland, emigrated to Bombay proper and founded a colony on land subsequently included within the Fort. Following at first the profession of ship-masters, *nákhodas*, ships' officers and sailors, the community gradually throve, turned its attention to commerce and official business, and rapidly became the most influential Mahommedan class in Bombay. In consequence of the scare caused in Bombay by the troubles with Haider Ali, and by the offer of Napoleon Buonaparte to assist "Citoyen Tippu" and subsequently in consequence of the great fire, the old Mahommedan community of the Fort was given building sites in "Old Nagpada" and other regions, situated to the north-west of the present site of the Crawford Markets; and again, when the present Infantry lines to the east of the markets were constructed, a large number of Konkani dwellings were removed to new streets northward of the Paidhoni or Foot-wash.

* Aiu-i-Akbari, Elliot, iv., 60. Also Blochmann.

† These are the words of a nameless Persian traveller, who wrote "the Jan-i-Fanbai" in A.D. 1818.

The one architectural legacy of early Mahommedan 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 (in 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, our island of Mahim covered a considerably wider area than in 1843, when Mr. Murphy prepared his chart of the seven islands of Bombay.*

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* The following note upon the mosques and shrines of Bombay has been kindly supplied by Khan Bahadur Fazlullah Latfullah :—

"Except the *Jamá* Mosque none of the mosques of Bombay claim any great antiquity. The date of the construction of the Jamá Mosque is derivable from the chronogram جہاز آخرت *Jaházi-ákhirat* or "the ship of the world to come" in allusion to the structure being erected over a tank, and the value of the letters—*jaház* and *ákhirat*—amounts to (H) 1217=A. D. 1802. The tank over which the mosque was built formed, it is said, part of an old temple which stood near the mosque. It was transferred by Government to a certain influential headman of the rich *Jamá-át* of butchers, whose name was Nathú Pattell. It was at first too small to with justice lay claim to the title *Jámá* or *Jamí* the mosque which collectively can hold the whole prayer-saying faithful of a town*. It was rebuilt, it is said, in the mutiny year by the non-Konkani Musalmans, chiefly with the help of the butchers. It was again repaired and extended and enlarged in 1837, at the expense of Mr. Muhammad Ali Roghay. A storey was added to it and shops to serve as the demesne of the mosque added. The income of all the properties with which the mosque is endowed amounts to no less than Rs. 50,000 annually. The mosque and its properties are managed by a board consisting of twelve directors and a Názir. The office of the Nazir has lately been entrusted to a Musalman gentleman, a Konkaní, who is a graduate of the Bombay University. The Konkani element also predominates in the directorate of the institution. The staff of the *Jámi* mosque consists of an Imam or Prayer-leader whose duties are to lead the prayers on Fridays and the two *Id* holidays. He has two assistants to call the *Tekbir*—the *Azán*, or prayer-call—and help him in taking his place during small every-day prayers. There is attached to the mosque a well paid staff of teachers, a fully qualified Maulavi and several assistants. It is the duty of this staff to give gratuitous instruction to any Musalmán who is desirous of receiving it in religious matters, both from Arabic and Persian books. Besides this, the chief or *Jami* Mosque, there are the Sát-Tár Mosque, situated in the quarter of that name near Masjid Bander, with an annual income of Rs. 11,000, the Zakariyyah Mosque built by Háji Zakariyyah, the great Memon philanthropist, at Khadak near Mandvi, with an income of Rs. 5,000, the Ismail Habib Mosque near Paidhownie (Rs. 4,500). There are, besides these, many small mosques, each street and community having generally a mosque of its own.

Then there is the shrine of Sheikh Misrí at Sivri. It is noticed in Mr. Murphy's Map of Bombay, 1843. There is a shrine of Sayyid Badruddin † at Bhindi Bazaar. Umarkhadi has the shrines of Sayyid Nizamuddin ‡ and Sayyid Badruddin. Dongri has the shrine of a saint named Ashik Sháh. §, Sát-Tar that of Sayyid Busein ‖, Don-Tár that of Sayyid Hisám Uddin. ¶ Cawasji Pattell's Tank has the shrine of Sana Sháh. In the Esplanade, adjoining the G. I. P. Railway line, there is the small cottage-like shrine of Pedro-Sháh**, a Christian-Convert to Islám who obtained the honour of sanctity. Within the compound of the station and to its south-east is the shrine of Bismillah Sháh. There is the cenotaph of Sháh Pával in Kumbharwada, that of Sháh Madár in Don-Tár and another in Bhindi Bazaar. Near the Kolaba Light House Saint Shah Hasan Ghazati lies enshrined. There is the shrine of Mama Hajani at the end of the Hornby Vellard. This is included in Murphy's Map (1843), but the more prosperous shrine of Háji Ali, at the head of the Vellard, at a little distance from the shore on a small rock, is not shown in the plan.

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* The word *Jámi* or collective is generally confounded with *Jumá*=a Friday. Mosques of the dimensions of this mosque are called Jáma mosques from a mistaken notion of being mosques where the Friday prayers are said.

† Died H. 1205 A.D. 1790. § Died H. 1209 A.D. 1794. ¶ Died H. 1251 A.D. 1835.
‡ „ H. 1207 A.D. 1792. ‖ „ H. 1232 A.D. 1816. ** „ H. 1245 A.D. 1829.

CHAPTER THE THIRD.

Nossa Senhora de Esperança.

The third period of our island's history, dealing with the characteristics and legacies of Portuguese proprietorship, commences, properly speaking, with the cession of the island in 1534 by Sultan Bahadur of Gujarat. But for a clearer perception of the gradual growth of Portuguese influence, it were well to take a backward glance towards the opening years of the sixteenth century, and briefly remark the chain of events, which eventually culminated in the inclusion of our island among the possessions of the King of Portugal.

In the latter half of December 1508, then, we find Don Francisco de Almeida, the first Portuguese Viceroy of Goa, setting sail from Cannanore to Diu with a fleet of 19 vessels, and 1,600 soldiers and marines, four hundred of whom hailed from the Malabar Coast. The object of the Viceroy was to punish 'Mir Hosain' (Amir Hussein), who had been despatched by Mamluk, Sultan of Cairo, with an Egyptian fleet to expel the men of Portugal from India. Leaving Angediva, the Portuguese fleet headed direct for Dabhol, then a city of considerable wealth and influence, and reached the port on the 30th December. The Portuguese wasted no time in getting ashore, divided their forces into three parties, and commenced a simultaneous attack upon the three city gates. The defence of the city was courageously maintained, until the Viceroy seeing that a flanking movement alone gave hopes of success, deputed Nuno Vaz Pereira to force an entry by another path. The defenders thus attacked in rear, became demoralized and fled, some to the mosques and others to the mountains; and the engagement, which had lasted for five hours and resulted in a Portuguese loss of sixteen men and of fifteen hundred on the side of the defenders, came to an abrupt conclusion. The booty captured 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 town. Leaving Dabhol on the 5th January 1509, the Portuguese paid their first visit to our island on the twenty-first day of the same month; for having seized a Gujarat barque in 'the river of Bombay,' the cargo of which did not satisfy their requirements, they landed at Mahim for the purpose of obtaining wood and other necessaries. So frightened were the inhabitants at the recent fate of Dabhol that they fled from the Fort, and allowed the new arrivals to land unmolested. According to Gaspar Correa, author of the 'Lendas,' "the Viceroy departed from Dabhol, passed by Chaul which he did not enter, to avoid delay, 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 oath according to his law, that he would convey a letter to Diu and deliver it to Màlik 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."

Towards Diu the expedition then proceeded, 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 Mir Hosain had prepared to resist the attack with a fleet of 200 vessels. The Portuguese gained a complete victory, the ships of the Musulmans were plundered, Mir Hosain was seriously wounded, and the colours of the "Soldan" (Sultan) were despatched as a trophy to Portugal.

The victory of Diu doubtless heightened the desire of Portuguese to build a fortress at that place, and led to the despatch of two embassies, one in 1513 and another in 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 Fernandes, Diogo Teixeira, and a Hindu interpreter, Ganapotam (Ganpatrao), conferred with the Sultan at Madoval (Ahmedabad), our island of Mahim was offered as an alternative site. This, however, was refused by the ambassadors, on the ground that they were not authorised to accept any site but Diu.

In 1517, during the Governorship of Dom Soares de Albergaria, one hears of Dom João de Monroyo entering the Bandora creek with even pinnaces and defeating the Commandant of the Mahim Fort. "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 Chaul. At this capture the Captain of Mahim, named Nequeji (Shaik-ji), took great affront, 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 Chaul point. Having attacked our men, the latter behaved in such a manner that his pinnaces took to flight.* "

Between 1522 and 1524, when Dom Duarte de Minezes was Governor of Goa, the Portuguese were constantly prowling in the neighbourhood of Bombay for the ships of the Mahommedan, 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 on its voyage from Chaul to Diu near the island of Bombay, defeated and destroyed half the enemy's ships, and captured a considerable number of prisoners and a quantity of cannon and ammunition. He then seized a fort (Mahim Fort) "belonging to the King of Cambay," who was at war with "Nizamuluco, the Lord of Chaul," and handed it over to the latter. "The fleet of the King of Cambay," writes Gasper Correa, "consisted of 68 pinnaces under the command of a son of Canalinaluco (Kamal Malik), Governor and Captain of Diu, and of Alli Shah. Lopo Vaz de Sampayo with his fleet anchored off a small island, where the pinnaces of Alli Shah also lay. The latter went away 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. Alli Shah under cover of night sailed for the Nagotna river, with 20 well-equipped galleons, having galleries at the stern adorned with pictures (texts from the Korán). Thither followed Lopo Vaz, and ordered Heitor de Silveira to engage the enemy in battle, which he accomplished successfully, returning to the fleet with a prize of 22 fustas. The latter then pursued the fugitive Alli Shah to a neighbouring fortress, pillaged the country and captured much artillery. To escape further annoyance, the Thanadar of Thana made himself tributary to the Portuguese, and promised to pay them annually a sum of 2,000 pardaos. Heitor de Silveira then returned to Bombay, where he was received with great ovations; and when on the 20th March 1529, the Viceroy returned to Goa, Heitor was left behind with 20 bargatins, 2 galleots and 300 men to harass the coast as far as Cambay. It was during the three months previous to the burst of the monsoon that Heitor and his men made repeated incursions into our island of Bombay and neighbouring isles, and gave the title of 'a ilho da boa vida' (the Island of the Good Life) to our Heptanesia, in view of the abundant food, refreshment and enjoyment which they supplied. †

It was in connection with the decision and attempt to capture the fortress of Diu in 1530-31, that our island again comes into prominence. "Melique Soca," the Captain of the Fort, having been deprived of his position by Sultan Bahadur, approached the Governor of Goa, Nuno da Cunha, and suggested a joint capture of the citadel. Nuno da Cunha, agreeing to the suggestion, provided the Malik 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 "400 sail including many large ships, but mostly small vessels fitted out by natives", ‡ 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

* Decadas, p. 71, Vol. III, Book I, Chap. III.

† Dr. da Cunha suggests that our island was the original of Camoens' 'Isle of Love.'

‡ Danvers' Portuguese in India.

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. The review ended, the fleet sailed to Damaun, which was speedily captured, and thence to the island of Bete (Shial Bet), which surrendered after a stern struggle. Diu was bombarded, but managed to hold out against the besiegers; whereupon Nuno da Cunha retired to Goa, leaving Antonio Saldanha with 60 vessels to cruise in the Gulf of Cambay and harass the enemy. In March and April of the year 1531 Saldanha rapidly seized and burned the cities of Mohuva, Gogo, Bulsar, Tarapur, Mahim,* Khelva, Agasi and Surat; then, leaving the fleet in charge of Dom Antonio de Silveira, embarked for Goa.

In 1532 we hear of Nuno da Cunha taking the city of Bassein; and finally making Thana; Bandora, the island of Mahim and the island of Bombay tributary to the Portuguese.

Meanwhile Sultan Bahadur of Gujarat had grown apprehensive of the power of the Moghal, and observing the successes obtained by Portuguese arms, determined to enlist their aid. Accordingly in 1534 he despatched "Shah Khawajeh" to the Portuguese, with an offer to hand over Bassein with all its dependencies and revenues by sea and land.† On the 23rd December 1534 was signed on board the galleon St. Matheus by Dr. Garcia da'Orta, Martim Affonso and others, the Treaty of Bassein, whereby Sultan Bahadur "gave and bequeathed to the King of Portugal from that day forth and for ever the City of Bassein, its territories, islands, and seas, with all its revenues, in the same way as he, the Sultan Bahadur, King of Gujarat, held them before, provided all vessels from the Kingdom of Gujarat bound for the Red Sea should first call at Bassein for passes and on return voyage call there again, in order to pay duties under penalty and risk of seizure."

Thus passed our Heptanesia out of the hands of the Mahommedan and became the property of the men of Portugal.

The surrender of Bassein and Bombay was confirmed a year later by a treaty of peace and commerce between Sultan Bahadur and Nuno da Cunha, dated October 25th, 1535, whereby also the Portuguese were permitted to carry out the long-desired work of building a fortress at Diu. During the ten years which followed the Portuguese were constantly at war with Adil Khan, the Gujarat King in the North, and with the Zamorin of Calicut in the South; while troubles arose also at Malacca, and Diu was besieged by the Turks under "Soleyman Badshaw," Governor of Cairo. The main result was the impoverishment of the Portuguese Treasury, and complete inability on the part of Portugal to suitably reward the services of her distinguished servants.

This lack of money may, in some degree, have necessitated the grant of lands as rewards for meritorious actions, and given rise to the feudal system of tenure, which obtained in our islands throughout the era of Portuguese dominion. On the other hand, it must be remembered that, under the Sultans of Gujarat, a system approximating to the feudal, had been in force throughout Bassein, Bombay, Salsette and the neighbouring islands. Whatever may have been the origin of the system, it is well-known that from 1534 onwards, all the territory, of which the Portuguese were masters, was divided up 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 distinguished services, and to Churches or Religious orders, the lands were granted 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 Comptroller of the Treasury.

In the general distribution of estates, which occurred after 1534, the third of our Heptanesia, the old island of Mumbadevi or Mumbai was let to one Mestre Diogo, as tenant or foreiro, for an annual quit-rent of 1,432½ pardaos, payable at the Royal Treasury in Bassein. The precise terms and date of this early lease are unknown. Dom Simão Botelho, who was

* Danvers, p. 402, gives Mahim: but Dr. da Cunha holds that the town of Kelve-Mahim is meant.

† Danvers' Portuguese in India, p. 416.

Comptroller during this early period, mentions in his "Tombo" that, "according to the old foral or rent-roll, the income of our island and its dependencies was 14,400 foedeas, and later 1,375 pardaos. The island or Kasba of Mahim was rented for 36,057 foedeas; and the Mandovim, that is the Mandvi or Custom House of Mahim, for 37,975 foedeas.* The island of Mazagon yielded 8,500 foedeas, Mombaym or Bombay 17,000. The four villages of Parel, Vadala, Sion and Worli were granted by the Viceroy, Dom João de Castro, to Manuel Serrão for 412 pardaos; while the villages of Trombay and Chimbur were given to Dom Roque Telles de Minezes, and the Mandovim of Walkeshvar to a Hindu, named 'Posaji,' for 60 foedeas. Simão Botelho refers to these places in his "Tombo" under the titles of Parell, Varella, Varel, Syva, Turumba, Chambur and Valepuecar.

Whether Mestre Diogo was really the first lord of the manor, as stated by Simão Botelho, is open to some doubt; but in 1538 Garcia da Orta, the celebrated physician and botanist, who had journeyed to India four years previously with Martin Affonso de Souza, the Admiral of the Indian Seas, and had acted as one of the signatories of the Treaty of Bassein, became the owner of Bombay on payment of a yearly quit-rent of 1,432½ pardaos, or some £85 sterling. In his "Conversations on Drugs," the worthy physician speaks of the third of our Heptanesia, as "the island of which the King had made him a gift, he paying a quit-rent for it" ("Mombaim terra e ilha de que El Rei nosso senhor me fez mercê, aforada em fatiota").

Let us glance for a moment at the value of the island about this date. Previous to the year 1534, the quit-rent of the island is stated to have been 14,400 foedeas, which in all probability represents the rent paid during the era of Musulman dominion to the Gujarat monarchs. A year later the rent was changed to 17,000 foedeas, in 1536 to 23,000 foedeas, in 1537 to 29,000 and in 1538 to 27,000 foedeas. In 1539 we remark a further enhancement to 26,292 foedeas, in 1540 to 28,140, in 1541 to 28,000, in 1542 to 30,000, in 1543 to 31,000 and in 1544 and 1545 to 38,500 foedeas. In 1546 a quit-rent of 1,175 pardaos, and in 1548 of 1,432½ pardaos was payable by the lord of the manor. The value of the island, therefore, increased considerably subsequent to its acquisition by the Portuguese, about the date of which event the total revenues of our Heptanesia were classified as follows:—Mahim land Xs. 1,098; Customs Xs. 1,239; Mazagaum Xs. 300, Mombaim Xs. 698; Total Xs. 3,335. †

The most noteworthy feature of the island was the "Quinta" or Manor-house, which, according to Sir James Campbell, was built some time between 1528 and 1626, on the spot where the Arsenal now stands, behind the Town Hall. The nucleus of what Fryer described in later years as "a pretty well-seated but ill-fortified house" must have been in existence at the time Garcia da Orta owned the island, and was situated, as old records tell, "in a park with pleasure grounds, at the caçabê of Bombaim, the principal seat of the island near the little fort." We hear of this building in 1626, when David Davies, the English navigator, who describes it as a combined warehouse, priory and fort, makes the following entry 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." ‡

Of the products of the island Dr. Garcia da Orta particularly mentions the cocoanut palm, the Brab palm, the Jack fruit tree, the Jambul (*Eugenia jambularia*) and the Jangoma, of which very few specimens still exist in Bombay. Lastly there were mango-trees, one of which

* One foedea was = 15 reis; 4 foedeas = 1 tanga; 5 tangas = 1 pardao; 15 reis = 4 pies, or ¼ of an anna. The poorer people to this day speak of one pice, English coinage, as a 'foedea.'

† Unpublished Records printed at Lisbon in 1868, Vol. V, p. 42.

‡ Report upon the Old Records of the India Office, by Sir George Birdwood, pp. 214-215.

supplied the lord of the manor with fruit "twice a year, once about Christmas, and again at the end of May."* To this day there exist in Mazagon two trees, which bear a double crop of mangoes every year; while in the village of Vaddem, Goa, one D. Maria Purificaçao de Minezes owns a tree, which bears fruit all the year round, and is usually rented to His Excellency the Governor of Goa. Cocoanuts and rice formed 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 islands and then forwarded to Bassein for sale to the Moors (Mahommedans).

And what of the population of our Heptanesia? So far as existing records show, Bombay was composed of seven villages subordinate to two caçabês or chief stations, at which Customs duty was levied. These villages were Mahim, Parel, Varella (Vadala) and Syva (Sion), under the caçabê of Mahim, and Mazagon, Bombaim and Varel (Worli) under the caçabê of Bombaim.† In addition to these seven villages, however, there must have been smaller settlements, such as Kol-war or Cavel, the Kola-bhat or Colaba village, Naigaon, Dongri, and others, which had existed from the date of old Hindu colonisation. The caçabê of Bombaim was not very populous, for it contained some years later only "eleven Portuguese cazados or married settlers, 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 all over our Heptanesia from Colaba in the south to Sion and Mahim in the north. Wearing then, as now, their distinctive emblem, a knife suspended from the neck, these aboriginal colonists, for the most part, followed the callings of 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 very much smaller community was that of the Moors (Mahommedans), who, according to Garcia da Orta, were solely traders by sea. "They possessed the land first," writes the worthy physician, "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." One cannot help believing that a few Mahommedans of less mixed descent were settled in Mahim or the caçabê of Bombaim; but the bulk of the followers of Islam clearly belonged to the Konkani Musulman community, whose Arab and Persian ancestors had taken unto themselves wives from among the Hindu inhabitants of the West Coast of India. Then there were the 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 whom the Portuguese called 'Hortelaos'; and thirdly "Piães" (*i.e.* peons) or men-at-arms. We incline to the belief that these were Bhandaris, descendants of the men who came with Bhim Raja and who held the island of Mahim for 8 years against the Mahommedan under the leadership of their Sirdars, the Bhongles. At any rate, during the early British period, the Bhandaris are spoken of as "being bred to arms from their infancy, and having a courage and fidelity which may be depended upon," and as having shewn "notorious courage and zeal in the defence of the island, when it was invaded by the Sidi." Many of them were among the earliest converts to Christianity, and were organised by the English into a Militia, which was retained until the growth of the native army and the appointment of a local police force rendered their services no longer necessary. Other descendants of Bhima's retinue were also dwelling in Mahim, Bombay, and Parel; are spoken of as "Parus," that is to say, Prabhus, "who collect the rents of the King and of the inhabitants and their estates, and are also merchants." Three other communities are

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* Dr. da Cunha tells of another mango tree (Mrs. Hough's) in 1866, which fruited twice a year. In both cases a severe injury to the tree, when it was young is held to have been the cause of the phenomenon. But the late Colonel Dymock, I.M.S., author of "Medicinal Plants of Western India," does not agree with this view, stating that there are many such trees on Malabar Hill.

† When the island was ceded to the English, its revenues were:—

Mazagon...	Xs. 9,300	Sion...	Xs. 790
Mahim	Xs. 4,797	Worli	Xs. 571
Parel	Xs. 2,377	Bombay	Xs. 6,334
Vadala	Xs. 1,738		

‡ Antonio Bocarro 'Livro das Plantas das Fortalezas.'

mentioned by Dr. Garcia da Orta as inhabiting the territories of Bassein, "the Baneanes" (Banias), who are such as fully observe the precepts of Pythagoras," the "Coaris or Esparcis" (Parsis), "whom we Portuguese call Jews," and "the Deres" or "Farazes," "a people despised and hated by all. 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." Of these three classes, the last named alone probably dwelt upon our island during the earlier period of Portuguese dominion. The nature of their duties must have rendered their presence a necessity in both caçabês; but the Banias and Parsis did not, so far as one can judge, actually form settlements upon our Heptanesia, until after the English had laid the foundations of their world-wide trade.

Now the history of Portuguese dominion in Western India is, to a large extent, the history of the foundation and growth of their religious orders: and it was not long before our Heptanesia became acquainted with them. Shortly after the year 1534, and during the episcopate of Dom Fr. João de Alphonso de Albuquerque, a Franciscan friar, Fr. Antonio de Porto, set sail for Bassein and Bombay. One of the conditions of the Treaty of Bassein was that "a sum of 5,000 larins (a Persian coin = six pence), which had hitherto been applied out of the revenues of Bassein to the Moslem mosques, was to continue to be so applied:" but so vigorously did Fr. Antonio and others of his order set about the dissemination of their creed, that an order was passed by the King of Portugal to utilise all such moneys for the benefit of missions in Bombay and Bassein. Besides converting some ten thousand natives in Bassein, Thana, Mandapeshvar and neighbouring localities, the Franciscans also built the well-known Church of St. Michael, which exists to this day in Upper Mahim, at the north-end of the Lady Jamsetji Road, opposite to the Collector's bungalow. Dom Antonio Pedro da Costa, late Archbishop of Damaun, remarks in his "Relatorio da Nova Diocese," that "Foi esta egrega fundada em 1510, è a primevia que os Portugueses edificaram na ilha de Bombaim;" which, being interpreted, means "this church was built in 1510, and is the first that the Portuguese built in the island of Bombay." The statement is only partially correct; for, while admittedly the oldest Franciscan building in our island, this church was not built until after the arrival of Fr. Antonio, who reached our shores about A. D. 1534.

The keynote of Portuguese action is given in that historic remark of Vasco da Gama, "Vimos buscar Christãos e especiaria" (we come to seek Christians and spices). But the Christian was in their eyes of far more importance than the spices; and they could not perceive that the forcible conversion of the one was in the end likely to overthrow the trade in the other. That our Heptanesia were suitably situated for becoming the trade-centre of Western India, has been proved by later events; and had the Portuguese Government been able to restrain the troublesome and wanton acts of oppression which their religious orders occasionally practised under the cloak of proselytising zeal, the population of Portuguese territory would not only have not decreased, but might also have increased simultaneously with an increase of the islands' trade-relations. But the desire to include the heathen within the fold was paramount; and consequently 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 Dominican Order, established at Goa in 1545 by one Diogo Bermudes, who constantly, during his tours of inspection, visited our islands to confer with his friend, Garcia da Orta. St. Francis Xavier lost no time in obtaining for the Jesuit Order a share of the money which was formerly set aside for the benefit of the mosques; and by the year 1570 "the Paulestines," as the Jesuits were called, were resident in every town and village of Portuguese territory, and had commenced building the church of St. Andrew at Bandora. Both Franciscan and Jesuit vied with one another in the erection of churches and the conversion of the inhabitants of our islands. We hear of a chapel, dedicated to "Nossa Senhora de Bom Conselho," being built at Sion and affiliated to the church of St. Michael in 1596; and in the same year of a church of "Our Lady of Salvation" being erected at Dadar. Both churches were the outcome of Franciscan zeal, and both exist among us to this day. The latter indeed is now the richest of all churches, possesses landed property and several cocoanut groves, has three affiliated chapels at Parel, Worli and Matunga, and a large house,

which has served on various occasions as the Portuguese episcopal residence. It was to this church that Dr. Fryer referred in 1673, in the words "at Salvasong the Franciscans enjoy another church and convent." The Franciscans were the original owners of "that Romish chapel" at Parel, which was confiscated from the Jesuits in 1719, and after serving as "Old Government House" and the residence of the present King-Emperor during his visit to Bombay, as Prince of Wales, has finally been transformed into a Plague Hospital and Laboratory for the preparation of preventive and curative plague-serum. By the year 1585 the Franciscans had received charge of Mandapeshvar, Mahim, Bombay, Karanja, Mount Calvary and Agashi, in each of which places was a state-paid official, known as "O Pai dos Christaõs." Their power, and that of the Jesuits also, gradually but surely increased: a church of Nossa Senhora de Esperança, Our Lady of Hope, rose upon the plain now called the Esplanade; and the aboriginal settlers of the Kol-var or Cavel became its earliest parishioners. The Romish 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 to the building nor much unlike those of our universities"; they lived sumptuously, and were in general so influential that even the General of the North at Bassein felt his position to be precarious. "Few men," wrote Ovington in later years, "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."* One of the most remarkable portions of our Heptanesia, which escaped absorption by Franciscan or Jesuit priests was the island of Mazagon. By a Royal patent signed at Goa on the 18th January 1572, the island was granted in perpetuity to the De Souza family, Lionel de Souza having married Donna Anna Pessoa, the daughter of Antonio Pessoa, to whom Dom João de Castro had originally granted the island in 1547 on payment of an annual quit-rent of 195 pardaos. The revenues of the island had risen from 8,500 foedeas in 1534 to 550 pardaos in 1547. The patent of 1572 laid down that "the village of Mazagao is given to Lionel de Souza for ever and to his heirs, paying every year 195 gold pardaos and three silver tangas of six and-a-half double pice each. On the death of Lionel de Souza the village is to remain with Donna Anna Pessoa, Ray de Souza and Manoel de Souza, his wife and sons, that is to say, one half of the income to the two sons." In the event of the sons dying before Donna Anna, the estate was to be shared by such of his descendants as Lionel de Souza might nominate by will and testament. In any case, the village was not to be sold, exchanged, or alienated without the permission of the King of Portugal or the license of his Viceroy in India.

By a later patent, dated June 3rd, 1637, the management of the Mazagon estate was handed over to Ray de Souza with retrospective effect; and "it being declared that Ray de Souza had no other son but Bernady D'Tavora, the King confirmed the said Bernady D'Tavora in the possession thereof, provided that he did not deprive the other heirs of the said Ray de Souza in their rights, and provided he did not sell, change or give the said village in any shape or manner whatever without license, as it was to fall entirely under the management of one person only." It was a member of this family, one Alvares Peres da Tavora, who was lord of Mazagon at the time the English took possession of the island, paying for it a yearly rental of Xeraphins 1,304-2-29.

With the exception of some few cases, such as this, in which the lands of Bombay were apportioned among private persons of distinction, the bulk of the landed property had fallen by the close of the sixteenth century into the hands of religious orders. The Jesuits owned

* At the end of the seventeenth century the income of the chief church in Salsette was stated to be of the value of one pound's weight of gold a day. In 1598 a friar, who came from England to visit the houses and colleges of the Jesuit Society in India, was entertained at Bandora with a sham sea-fight. The Father left to be educated at Bandora College four Punjabi converts whom he had brought from Chaul; then visited Thana, and founded the Church of St. Cecilia at Poncer (Poisar). At Bassein he established a seminary called the College of the Purification, in which the children of well-to-do natives were to be brought up as missionaries. From Bassein he journeyed direct to Daman, the inference being that there were no Jesuit establishment in the intervening country. At the time of the cession of Bombay to the English, the Bandora College laid claim to much land and various rights in our island. Its claims, however, were not acknowledged; and this increased the natural bitterness of the Portuguese in India at the advent of the English to Bombay.—*Dr. Godinho.*

the largest share, and were virtually the proprietors of almost all the northern parts of the island, such as Mahim, Worli, Dadar, Sion, Sewri, Byculla and Parel. The immense influence which on that account accrued to them might easily have been utilised for the aggrandisement of the Portuguese power on sea and land; but unfortunately for the state, under the auspices of which they had first set foot in Bombay and neighbouring islands, their ill-advised actions not only precluded the growth of population and trade, but were a direct source of danger to their own countrymen. The destruction of Hindoo temples and Mahommedan mosques was persistently practised, and resulted in the unrest and flight of those, who might under gentle treatment have colonised our islands and increased their commercial importance; while the enormities which they permitted to be perpetrated upon individuals are shadowed forth in the writings of the Jesuit Father, Francisco de Souza. "There were cruising about the port of Bombay" says he in the 'Oriente Conquistado' "two vessels belonging to Malabar Moors. D. Fernando de Castro, the Captain of Chaul, sent against them, Matheos Gomide who returned to Chaul with one of the vessels, the Moor Captain and twenty-three prisoners. The prisoners were all sentenced to death; and six died without any one asking them if they would exchange the Koran for the Gospel. The remainder, including the captive captain, became Christians, and afterwards died with their captain as true soldiers of Christ!" Such treatment as this could not fail to alienate the people and provoke reprisals, such as that which occurred in December 1570 at Thana, when ten galley loads of Malabar pirates pillaged the town and stole the great bell of the Cathedral, while the people were celebrating the feast of "Expectaçao". The intolerance of the priests, in sooth, was the cardinal point of a malady, which seized upon the whole frame of Portuguese supremacy. The Archbishop of Goa informed his Majesty the King of Portugal in 1629 that "the greatest enemies to the State in India were her own people; and among all the enemies of Portugal from within, none probably did greater harm to the State of India than the Jesuits:" while in 1631 we find the Viceroy of Goa informing the King that the priests and monks paid no attention to his orders; that the Jesuits had made themselves masters of Travancore and Tuticorin, and of the pearl-fisheries in those places, retained bands of armed men at their own expense and actually waged war by sea against his Majesty's captains. They also held communication with the Dutch and the Moors, and had usurped from the State the royal jurisdiction and revenues. They even went so far as to deny that the King of Portugal was lord of his possessions in India, openly neglected his mandates, and generally intrigued against the Government to which they were rightly subordinate.

Now these internal troubles and feuds produced the inevitable result; they paved the way for an advance of other European nations. One Thomas Stephens, who is stated to have been the first Englishman in India, was living in Goa, about 1579, as Rector of the College of Margao; and thence despatched to his father, a London merchant, such advices as prompted the commercial community of London to pay considerable attention to the possibilities of an Indian Trade. As early as 1563 a Venetian merchant had travelled to the western coast of India by way of the Persian Gulf, and described Cambay and Ahmedabad as places with an extensive commerce. He travelled from Ankola to Goa in a palanquin, and was attacked on the road by robbers, who stripped him naked and would have "plundered him of all he possessed, if he had not before starting taken the precaution to conceal his valuables in a bamboo." But it was not until 1583 that the first Englishmen set forth for the western shores of India. In that year Ralph Fitch, John Newberry, Storie and Leeds, choosing the same route as the Venetian, arrived at Goa, where the Portuguese, suspecting that they were come to trade, cast them into prison. Through the mediation of Thomas Stephens they were set free, whereupon Fitch returned to England, Leeds entered the service of the great Mogul, and one of the other two married an Eurasian wife and settled in Goa.

Meanwhile certain English merchants presented a memorial to the Lords in Council, in which permission was asked to trade with ports bordering on the Indian Ocean and the China Seas; and a request was preferred for the Queen's license "for three ships and three pinnaces to be equipped and protected in this trade, without being subject to any other condition than that of payment of customs on their return." The memorial was favourably received, and in

1591 Captain Raymond was despatched with three ships, "the Penelope," "Merchant Royal" and the "Edward Bonaventure." The expedition met with no success; and after heavy losses at sea, a few survivors managed to reach Falmouth in the August of 1594. Captain Lancaster, one of the survivors, set on foot another expedition, which sailed in 1596 with letters from the Queen to the Emperor of China, and was never heard of again. At length, on the 22nd September 1599, an association of "Merchant Adventurers" was formed under the presidency of the Lord Mayor of London, for the purpose of establishing a trade between India and England. At the first general meeting of the Association, held on the 24th of the same month, it was resolved to apply to the Queen for her sanction; which being received on the 16th October, 1600, a fleet was prepared, and sailed from Woolwich under the command of Captain Lancaster on February 13th, 1601. Having visited Achin and established a factory at Bantam, Lancaster returned with a cargo of pepper on the 11th September 1603. Emboldened by his success a fresh expedition set out in the year following under the command of Hawkins of the 'Hector,' who, arriving at Surat with a cargo of iron and lead, was allowed to land there peaceably, and thence started for Agra with a letter from King James to the Great Mogul. Failing to obtain permission from this potentate to establish a factory at Surat, Hawkins returned to England in 1612. But in the meanwhile Sir Henry Middleton, who commanded the sixth voyage of the London East India Company, had sailed for India and anchored off the bar of Surat. Sir Henry had strict orders not to offer violence to the Portuguese, unless they were to openly assail him, as up to that date no collision had occurred between the representatives of the two nations in India. Of the insults put upon him by the Portuguese, of their refusal to allow him to trade, or to take on board Captain Sharpeigh of the "Trades-Increase," of the engagement between Nuno da Cunha and Captain Best off Surat, it is not our purpose to speak here. Let it suffice to say that Best's dogged courage won from the Mogul a firman, authorising an English minister to reside at his court, and opening to the English the trade of Surat. In the January of 1615 was fought the naval battle at Swally, which may be said to have laid the foundation of the British Empire in Western India; and from that day forward we find the English gradually strengthening their position along the coast, joining with the Dutch in blockading Goa, and finally in 1626 suggesting to the Dutch that they should unite with them in attacking and capturing Bombay.

A description of our Heptanesia, as they were about this date, will be found in Antonio Bocarro's work upon "the Plants of the Fortresses." "Coming from seawards" says he "one must steer north-east, keeping clear on the sea-side of the islet of Candil (Colaba). There is a rocky ridge, which juts out southwards from the land, and extends half a league into the sea. It is all rock and is quickly covered by water, so that if a vessel fails to take heed, she is sure to run against it. On the land side there are houses of the Lord of the Manor. There is also a bastion, of the area of about ten paces, on which are mounted four iron guns. There is no soldier in this bastion, nor anything for its defence, except what the Lord of the Manor supplies at his own cost, without any charge to the Royal Treasury. The small and scattered population of Bombay consists of eleven Portuguese families. These, together with the blacks, make up seventy musketeers." These houses of the Lord of the Manor included the "Quinta" or Great House, which in 1661 belonged to Donna Ignez de Miranda, then lady of the Manor or "Senhora da Ilha." "Around the house" wrote Fryer "was a delicate garden, voiced to be the pleasantest in India. This garden of Eden or place of terrestrial happiness, would put the searchers upon as hard an inquest as the other has done its posterity. The walks which before were covered with nature's verdant awning, and lightly pressed by soft delights, are now open to the sun and loaded with hardy cannon. The bowers dedicated to rest and ease are turned into bold rampires for the watchful sentinel to look out on. Every tree that the airy choristers made their charming choir, trembles at the rebounding echo of the alarming drum; and those slender fences, only designed to oppose the sylvan herd, are thrown down to erect others of a more warlike force." Before the English came, the garden was doubtless all that Fryer described it to be. South of it lay the settlement or parish of "Palav" (Apollo), opposite which, and in the sea, were set the fishing-stakes of the Kolis, who dwelt in Old Woman's Island, as it was subsequently called, and in parts of the island of Bombay proper. West of the garden lay the wide stretch of the Maidan, terminating in the orchards and groves, which reached to

the foot of Malabar Hill. There were several houses of the Indo-Portuguese, Bhandaris, Kolis and Agris scattered among these groves; there was the fair-sized village of Cavel, forming a portion of the Maidan or Esplanade parish; and northward of it several dank fields, reserved for rice-cultivation. Though the Srigundi still existed at the extremity of the hill of the Malabars, the old Temple of Walkeshvar, built by the Silahara, had been cast down; so also the shrines of Mahalaxshmi and her sisters had, for the time being, disappeared from our shores, the goddesses waiting in concealment until a milder feeling should prevail towards the old deities of Hinduism. North of Dongri, inhabited by Kolis and perhaps by a few Parbhu and Brahmin inhabitants, lay the isle and Manor of Mazagon, possessed by the legal descendants of the DeSouza family, and serving as the home of Portuguese, Kolis, Agris, Malis, Bhandaris, and perhaps a few Hindu "scrivains" or clerks. * The northern isles, as we have remarked, were wholly given over to the Jesuits, who owned houses and demesnes in Parel, Sion, and Mahim. The latter island was probably peopled by the Portuguese in small numbers, by Parbhus, Brahmins of Palshikar and perhaps Shenvi caste, a few Moors or Mahommedans, and the lower classes of Hindus. Similarly at Naigaon the Parbhu and Brahmin must still have been resident, though the latter found it a harder task than the former to maintain a livelihood and reputation among those who, once his disciples, had been largely persuaded or forcibly driven to become Christians. The Parbhu, 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. Parel and Sion sheltered the Portuguese priests, and various classes of Hindus, both orthodox and converts, and contained the historic chapel, which has been finally metamorphosed into the Plague Laboratory of the twentieth century. 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 in the main from taxes upon rice-lands, payable in kind, upon oil and ghee, and upon the cocoanut and areca-nut palms, with which the islands abounded. The population had met with obstacles rather than inducements to its increase, and numbered only some ten thousand, at the time that Donna Ignez de Miranda owned the island of Bombay, and Alvares Peres de Tavora was lord of the Manor of Mazagon.

And yet, notwithstanding their poverty, the immense natural advantages of the islands aroused the cupidity of the English, who recognized their value as a naval base. It was for this reason that they fought the Battle of Swally in 1614-15; † that they landed and burnt the 'Great House' in 1626; that the Surat Council in 1652 urged the purchase of Bombay from the Portuguese; and that in 1654 the Directors of the Company drew the attention of Cromwell to this suggestion, laying great stress upon its excellent harbour and its natural isolation from attacks by land. ‡ Slowly but surely the hour was drawing nigh,

* Mazagon also contained at this date a Franciscan chapel, which in these days appears as the Church of Nossa Senhora da Gloria, the cathedral of the missions of the north, and "the present cathedral in Bombay of the Portuguese Diocese of Daman." The chapel was enlarged in 1803 and rebuilt in 1810, the DeSouza family of Calcutta contributing Rs. 80,000 for its construction.—(Relatorio da Nova Diocese.) The Mazagon patent of 1572 refers to "the sacred grounds"; and in the early portion of the Seventeenth century the chapel was enlarged by Ray de Souza. In 1731 the Mazagon estate was sold through the offices of one Vishvanath Senoy Telang to Antonio de Silva for Rs. 21,500, to whom the village of Worli had already been sold in 1726. One condition of the sale was that de Silva should pay the annual pension due to the church for the celebration of its feast. In 1748 the Collector, Laurence Sullivan, refers to "a quarry of stone now in possession of the church of Mazagon; in 1799 one Antonio de Souza left the church an annual sum of Rs. 200 for the celebration of masses and in 1803 the British Government appropriated certain lands of the church, and pays Rs. 1,500 for the same per annum as well as Rs. 240 in lieu of 12 mudas of rice, which formed part of the church's endowment "—(Dr. Godinho.)

† In 1614 the Portuguese Viceroy sailed from Goa with 7 galleons, 2 pinks, 1 galley, 1 caravel, and 5 other vessels containing 1,400 Portuguese and a large amount of artillery. He wished to destroy the 4 English vessels then at Swally, namely, 'The New Year's Gift', 'the Hector', 'the Merchant's Hope' and 'the Solomon', under the command of Nicholas Downton. On December 23rd, the Portuguese fleet arrived and cast anchor between the English and Surat. Slight skirmishes took place on the 27th and 28th; on the 29th the English fleet sailed and took up a better position at Swally, thus getting once again into communication with Surat. Between the 14th and 19th January 1615, the Viceroy was joined by three other fleets under Azavedo, Luiz de Britto, and Joao de Almeida. On the morning of January 20th, 'the Merchant's Hope' sailed towards the enemy, who engaged and boarded her with great determination, and nearly succeeded in taking her twice. They were, however, driven off with a loss of between 400 and 500 men, among whom were many 'fidalgos.' The three other English vessels came up and completed the defeat. A cannonade was sustained till nightfall, and the next morning the Viceroy sailed away disconsolate to Diu.

‡ The value of the harbour of Bombay was fully recognised by the Portuguese in India. The Count of Linbares wrote a letter to the King of Portugal, dated December 4th, 1630, in which he greatly extolled its advantages.

when the yoke of Jesuit should be lifted from the necks of the people, and the old deities of the Hindus should peacefully share dominion with the gods of Christianity and Islam. Perhaps the most fitting epilogue to the tale of Portuguese dominion, the most suitable prelude to the history of the years to come, will be found in the following extract from certain recently published historical sketches by Thomas Carlyle :—

"Nay, looking into other old log-books, I discern, in the Far East too, a notable germination. By Portuguese Gama, by Dutch and other traffickers, and sea-and-land rovers, the Kingdoms of the Sun are opened to our dim Fog-land withal ; are coming into a kind of contact with it. England herself has a traffic there, a continually increasing traffic. In these years (1610), His Majesty has granted the English East India Company a 'new charter to continue for ever,' the old temporary charter having expired. Ships, 'the Immense Ship, Trade's Increase, and her Pinnace, the Peppercorn,' she and others have been there—in Guzerat, in Java, in the isles of Ternate and Tidore—bringing spicy drugs. At Surat and elsewhere, certain poor English Factories are rising in spite of 'the Portugals of Goa.' Nay, in 1611, there came Sir Robert Shirley, a wandering, battling, diplomatising Sussex man, 'Ambassador from Shah Abbas the Great,' and had a Persian wife, and produced an English-Persian boy, to whom Prince Henry stood god-father. Shah Abbas, Jehangir, Great Mogul and fabulous-real Potentates of the uttermost parts of the Earth, are dimly disclosed to us, night's ancient curtain being now drawn aside. Not fabulous, but real ; seated there, with awful eye, on their thrones of barbaric pearl and gold. Is it not as if some rustle of the coming epochs were agitating, in a gentle way, those dusky, remote Majesties ? The agitation of 'the Portugals at Goa' on the other hand, is not gentle but violent.

"For lo, we say, through the log-book of the old India Ship Dragon, in the three last days of October, 1612, there is visible and audible a thing worth noticing at this distance. A very fiery cannonading, 'nigh Surat in the Road of Swally.' It is the Viceroy of Goa, and Captain Thomas Best. The Viceroy of Goa has sent 'five thousand fresh men, in four great galleons with six-and-twenty lusty frigates,' to demolish Captain Thomas Best and this ship Dragon of his,—in fact to drive these English generally, and their puny Factories, home again, out of His Excellency's way. Even so, but Captain Thomas Best will need to be consulted on the matter, too ! Captain Thomas Best, being consulted, pours forth mere torrents of fire and iron, for three days running, enough to convince any Portugal. A surly dog ; cares not a doit for our galleons, for our lusty frigates, sends them in splinters about our ears, kills eighty-two of us, besides the wounded and frightened ! Truculent sea-bear, son of the Norse Sea-kings ; he has it by kind ! The Portuguese return to Goa in a very dismantled manner. What shall we do, O Excellency of Goa ? Best and his Dragon will not go, when consulted ! O Excellency, it is we ourselves that will have to go ! This is the cannonade of Captain Best, 'General Best' as the old log-books name him ; small among sea-victories, but in the World's History, perhaps, great !

"Captain Best, victorious over many things, sends home despatches, giving 'a scheme of good order' for all our Factories and business in the East ; sails hither, sails thither, settling much ; freights himself with 'cloves, pepper' and other pungent substances, and returns happily in 1614. The Great Mogul had a 'Lieger' or Agent of ours, for some time past ; and now, in this same year, 1614, Sir Thomas Roe goes out as Resident Ambassador. The English India Company seems inclined to make good its charter ! His Majesty, in all easy ways, right willingly encourages it.

"American Colonies, Indian Empire,—and that far grander Heavenly Empire, Kingdom of the Soul eternal in the Heavens : is not this People conquering somewhat for itself ? Under the empty halm, and cast-clothes of phantasmagories, under the tippets, rubrics, King's-cloaks, and exuviæ, I think there is a thing or two germinating,—my erudite Friend ! "

PART II.

"THE ISLAND OF THE GOOD LIFE."

"ὅ τι γὰρ πολὺ καὶ πολλᾷ ἐρίπει,
ἐρθᾷ διακρίνειν φρενὶ μὴ παρὰ καιρόν,
δύσπαλες, τεθμὸς δέ τις ἀθανάτων καὶ τάνδ' ἁλιερκέα χώραν
παντοδαποῖσιν ὑπέστασε ξένοις
κίονα δαιμονίαν,
ὁ δ' ἐπαντέλλων χρόνος
τοῦτο φράσσων μὴ κάμοι."

PINDAR OLYMPIANS, VIII.

'For in a matter mighty and bearing many ways to judge with unswayed mind and suitably, this is a hard essay; yet hath some ordinance of immortals given this sea-defended land to be to strangers out of every clime a pillar built of God. May coming time not weary of this work.'

PERIOD THE FIRST.—1661 TO 1673.

At the Palace of Whitehall, on the 23rd day of June, 1661, was signed the Marriage-Treaty between Charles II. and the Infanta of Portugal, whereby the Port 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 for ever." This memorable event forms the prelude to the last act of our island-drama, wherein the Heptanesia gradually emerge from barrenness and poverty, and, passing through a series of geographical, political and social transformations, finally appear before us as the splendid and populous capital of Western India. The period, which extends from the date of the Marriage-Treaty to the opening of this twentieth century, may be viewed from manifold standpoints. Military transactions, growth of revenue, expansion of trade might severally form the subject-matter of no mean volume; but the study of them would not necessarily conduce to an adequate grasp of the changes which have taken place in the external appearance and population of Bombay, since the British first set foot therein. It is with the latter subject, however, rather than with political or commercial changes, that this monograph must necessarily deal; and inasmuch as there are vouchsafed to us, at different dates from the year 1661 till the present day, definite statements of the number of inhabitants of Bombay, it will be our endeavour to fashion upon the basis of these successive estimates, a tolerable tale of the islands' expansion, and show to what extent the military, civil and commercial exploits of the Company and the Crown have contributed to changes in the number and character of the population.

Now the earliest record of numbers that we possess is contained in the "New Account of East India and Persia" written by Dr. John Fryer, Surgeon to the East India Company, and published in London in the year 1698. The author, to whose graphic writings successive students of Bombay history have expressed themselves indebted, lays down that in 1675 the population of Bombay numbered 60,000, "more by 50,000 than the Portuguese ever had." In view of this statement, it is generally understood, and is indeed recorded as a fact by Dr. Gerson da Cunha, that at the hour when the English gained possession of Bombay, the inhabitants numbered about 10,000 souls. Although the Island and Port of Bombay became the property of England by the treaty of 1661, the actual cession of territory did not take place until the commencement of the year 1665. The events of the intermediary period, the exile and death of Sir Abraham Shipman upon the Isle of Angediva, and the obstructive attitude of the Portuguese in India, are known to most of us and hardly need recapitulation. The salient features of the tale, in our opinion, are the comparative ignorance of the prospective value of the islands displayed by

authorities in Europe, and the prescience of "the Portugals" in this country. Contrast, for example, Lord Claredon's misty notion of the "Island of Bombay with the towns and castles therein which are within a very little distance from Brazil," with the words of Antonio DeMello de Castro, Viceroy of Goa, in a final letter to the King of Portugal. "I confess at the feet of your Majesty," he wrote in the January of 1665, "that only the obedience I owe your Majesty, as a vassal, could have forced me to this deed (*i.e.*, the cession of the island), 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 in which the English nation is settled in Bombay." There is something pathetic in this last appeal of the Viceroy, who fully recognised the possibilities of world-greatness which underlay "the inconsiderableness of the Place of Bombaim," and knew by instinct that his race could never be the dominant power in Western India, if once "the poor little Island," as Pepys querulously termed it, were handed over to the men of England.

The King of Portugal, however, was bound by the terms of the Marriage-Treaty; and in consequence, there is presented to us in the month of January 1665 the spectacle of Humphrey Cooke—Inofre Coque, as the Portuguese documents have it—"taking himself personally the possession and delivery of the said Island of Bombay," after signing and executing the instrument of possession in the Manor-house of D. Ignez de Miranda, the Lady of the Island. Before proceeding to trace the reasons for the rise of population between that date and the year 1675, it is desirable to ascertain what were the limits of Bombay, as ceded to Cooke, and into what classes its population of about 10,000 was divided.

One is somewhat apt in these latter days to imagine that Bombay during Portuguese rule comprised nearly as many sub-divisions as it now does, and that the outlying portions were always subordinate, as indeed they now are, to the area occupied by the Fort and Native City. But for a clear perception of the early period of the island's story, it is essential to remember that to the Mahommedan and the "Portugal" Bombay meant merely the island whereon once stood the shrine of the old Hindu goddess Mumbadevi; and that this island was of infinitely less importance than the island of Mahim. Till the year 1634, it had not even acquired the position of a "caçabê (Kasba) or principal place of a district," possessed no dependencies, and was merely one among a number of areas leased on a quit-rent to deserving Portuguese families. The Royal Charter of the Mazagon Manor, and the separate leases or 'aforamentos' of Parel and Varli in the "tombo" of Simão Botelho clearly prove that these estates or villages were originally wholly independent of 'Bombaim,' while the more northern villages were never considered otherwise than as appendages of the supreme caçabê of Mahim. At the time that Humphrey Cooke "took in his hand earth and stones, and walked upon the bastions" of Bombay, as signal of possession by the English, the island had acquired sufficient importance to reckon Mazagon, Parel and Varli as its dependencies. Any larger area than this, however, could not, according to Portuguese views, be included in the treaty of delivery; for Colaba was still the Koli's portion, wholly independent, and Sion, Dharavi, and Vadala were portions of the separate estate (island) of Mahim. Such, indeed, was the decision of the Commissioners whom the English Governor requested to define the limits of the ceded territory. Cooke's action under the circumstances will be briefly recorded, after glancing at the principal land marks of the island and its dependencies.

The chief feature of the island proper was, to quote Fryer's words, "a pretty well-seated, but ill-fortified house," situated behind the present site of the Town Hall. "Four brass guns were the whole defence of the island, unless a few chambers housed in small towers, convenient places to scour the Malabars, who were accustomed to seize cattle and depopulate whole villages by their outrages. About the house was a delicate garden, voiced to be the pleasantest in India, intended rather for wanton dalliance, love's artillery, than to make resistance against an invading foe." To the south-west of the house and garden was a certain area of open ground, corresponding to the Esplanade of our day, and containing a Franciscan church, built on the present site of the Elphinstone High School. This open ground merged gradually into "hortas" oarts, or plantations of cocoanut trees, which stretched in an almost unbroken line as far as the "Hill of the Malabars," with its ruined temple of the Sand-God, and the limits of the modern section of Mahalakshmi. Scattered among the palms were small villages, Cavel (Koli-var), Kalikadevi or Kalbadevi, and

the hill-village of Girgaum, composed for the most part of rude palm-roofed huts, though here and there might be seen a few better-class dwellings, tiled and glazed with oyster-shells, the property of Portuguese inhabitants. Rice-cultivation was not unknown, and conjointly with the rent of the oarts and the duty of "bandrastal," or tax upon the right to distil liquor from palm-juice, furnished the revenues of the land-owner or lord of the manor. Southward of the house and garden lay the "Pakhadi" or parish of "Polo" (hodie "Apollo" Bundar), which contained a few huts and looked across an arm of the sea to "the islet called Candil" (o ilheo que chamão Candil), wherein the Portuguese owned a few lands. To the north of the house and garden was a small congeries of rude dwellings, and a 'mandovim' or custom-house, the title thereof being a corruption of मांडवी or Mandvi, which is the modern name of the area, to which the custom-house was subsequently removed. Further north again was the Dongri or Hill-Tract marked by fishermen's huts, which once, if not at the date of the cession also, belonged to the territory of Mazagon, from which it was separated at high-tide by the Umbar-khadi (Oomer-khari) or Fig-Tree Creek. Hard by was the Foot-wash, Pydhoni, of which we have spoken in an earlier chapter. Both the Creek and the 'Foot-wash' owed their existence to the great breach between the island of Varli and the northern limits of Malabar Hill, through which poured the sea at high-tide, submerging, according to Dr. Fryer, "40,000 acres of good land, yielding nothing else but samphire." Two other smaller 'khinds' or breaches combined with this great breach to render the modern areas of Tardeo, Kamathipura, and the Flats, a partially-submerged swamp, of no small danger to the health of those who dwelt in the immediate vicinity.

The most important of the dependencies of the island was Mazagon, "a great fishing-town, peculiarly notable for a fish called bumbalo, the sustenance of the poorer sort, who live on them and batty field." The fishing-town formed but a small portion of what had once been a very rich manor or estate. One Bernadino de Tavora was confirmed in possession of the village of Mazagon by a patent of June 3rd, 1637, to the copy of which was appended a note, showing that 'Manekji Nowroji's Hill' (*i. e.*, Dongri), the Oart Charney, and Varli were part of this estate. Added to these were "Vezry Hill, Bardeen batty-grounds, the Pakhadivada oarts, and Bhoycalem or Byculla." The Franciscans possessed a church and monastery here, the Portuguese owned houses, and the Bhandaris and Kolis, dwelling in rude huts, manured the palms, distilled liquor, fished, and repaired, on highdays and holidays, to the rude shrine of Khadakadev or Ghorupdev, the Rock-god, which lay to the north of Byculla. Notwithstanding that the original area of the estate had, by the date of the cession, been largely curtailed, yet the Mazagon island, with its oarts and batty-grounds, must have been the most remunerative of all the areas, of which Cooke took possession.

North of Mazagon, and separated therefrom by the sea, lay the lands and village of Parel. Here also were batty-fields and oarts, and a large church belonging to the Jesuits, known to us in these days as 'Old Government House.' The church and dwelling-houses associated with it, were surrounded by several acres of good land, beyond the limits of which were the inevitable hut settlements of "the poorer Gentoos." Though no definite mention is made of Sivri (Sewri) and Naigaum, it is probable that they were included in the area, ceded to the English, being at the time but poor and insignificant places.

Finally there was the island of Vadali or Worli, containing a small fort and hut settlement of the fisher folk. No exhaustive account of the inhabitants of the ceded islands is in existence: but Fryer divides them in 1675 into seven main classes, most of which must have been dwelling here in 1665, albeit they were then less numerous. Foremost among them were the Portuguese proper, who possessed the land as tenants-in-chief of the King of Portugal. According to a statement of Antonio Bocarro, in his "Livro das Plantas das Fortalezas," they consisted in 1634 of "eleven Portuguese casados" or married settlers; and had not, so far as we know, increased very greatly by 1665. To us the most noteworthy of them all was D. Ignez de Miranda, widow of D. Rodrigo de Monçanto, who was known as the Senhora da Ilha, and was sole proprietress of the caçabé of Bombay, with its cocoa-nut-gardens, rice-fields, and the duty of bandrastal. Like the rest of her compatriots in these islands, she was a 'fazendeiro' or holder of a 'fazenda,' or estate, granted upon a system known as 'aforamento.' Dr. Gerson da Cunha has clearly shown that this system which had originally

been introduced into these islands by D. Joao de Castro, involved both a right and a duty—the right to possess the land and enjoy its produce ; the duty to defend it, at the tenant's expense, by the maintenance of men and horse, and the building of moated towers and stockades. The tenure was in truth emphyteutical ; for the land was granted either in perpetuum or for a long term of years, on condition that the grantee should plant, cultivate and otherwise improve it, and that he should at the same time pay a 'foro' or quit-rent. Antonio Bocarro's reference to the eleven Portuguese casados indirectly proves the existence of the tenure ; for he adds that, together with some native blacks (*naturaes pretos*), they could provide seventy musketeers able to serve in war. At the hour when the English set foot in the island, the character of the original tenure may in some cases have been forgotten, and the obligation of the tenant to furnish military service to the King of Portugal as supreme land-owner, have been gradually set aside : but the payment of the "foro" (pagar o foro, *i. e., solvere pensionem*) was still in force, in almost every village within the limits of Bombay territory. Even to us of the twentieth century, the name of the tenure is familiar. We meet it in a "Foras Road," in the "Foras Tenure" Register of the Bombay Collector's office. The tenant-in-chief was permitted to sublet his possessions to others, in consequence of which there existed at the time of the cession, a considerable number of land-holders, who felt that the advent of the English might interfere with their rights, and who therefore did all in their power to prevent the terms of the marriage-treaty being carried out. In point of fact, by the articles of delivery which Cooke signed, they were not dispossessed of their lands, but were allowed to continue paying the same 'foro' as before, and to "enjoy and make use of the same as they have hitherto done without the least contradiction from the part of the English gentlemen." A later clause added "that every person possessing revenue at Bombay, either by partimonial or Crown lands, shall possess them with the same right and shall not be deprived thereof except in cases which the law of Portugal may direct, and their sons and descendants shall succeed to them with the same right, etc." It was also expressly laid down that the estates of the Lady of the Island were not to be intermeddled with or taken away from her, without her consent : but that "after death and her heirs succeed to those estates, the English gentlemen may, if they choose, take them, paying for the same their just value, as is provided in the case of other proprietors of estates." So large a portion of the ceded territory was, at the time of which we write, in private hands, that the portion directly vested in the British Crown was comparatively trifling, and included none of the villages, which contributed the major portion of the revenues.

Next in order to the few Portuguese families, who represented the 'landed gentry' of Bombay, were the Indo-Portuguese, a people of mixed European and Asiatic descent, whom Dr. Fryer denominated "Topazes." To some of these the King of Portugal doubtless referred in a letter, dated 8th February 1664, in the course of which he remarked that "the inhabitants of the island are so closely allied by nationality, parentage and convenience to the best of the Portuguese all over India that I consider the arrangement (*i. e.*, the cession of the island to England) will be for their common good." The majority of this class cannot have been possessed of a high social status : a few, perhaps, were landholders, and enjoyed a fair position : but, generally speaking, they were a degenerate and debased race, "the hybrid product of the union of Portuguese with the native women of low-class, possessing the good qualities of neither." Subsequent to the cession, a fair number of them were enlisted as soldiers, and formed the original nucleus of the Bombay Army.

Holding a somewhat similar position to that of the Indo-Portuguese, and occasionally confounded with them, the Native converts to Christianity, who dwelt for the most part in Cavel village, Mazagon and Parel, formed no inconsiderable portion of the population of 10,000. If one may judge from the example of Cavel, the Koli race, our aboriginal and Dravidian settlers, seem to have supplied the largest number of converts. From time immemorial, the Koli had dwelt in his Kol-war, or Koli hamlet ; and when the Portuguese commenced their crusade against the old gods of the island, he became a Christian, and his hamlet became, under the name of Cavel, a portion of the Esplanade Parish. But, from whatever class or tribe they may originally have been drawn, the Indian converts, in the early days of British rule, contributed largely to the rise and development of Bombay. "Thousands of Indian families," writes Dr. de Cunha, "had been converted by the Portuguese to Christianity ;" and it was from these families that the early British Government drew their supply of clerks, assistants or secretaries. "They were the first fruits

of the instruction and education imparted to them by the Portuguese priests, at a time moreover when there was hardly a Hindu, Moslem or Parsi able to read the Roman characters. And they were the early instruments for spreading the influence of the new rule among the natives of Western India, or the first helpers in the expansion of the British power throughout the country." The fear that they might be forced to renounce the Roman Catholic religion was one of the reasons preferred by Antonio DeMello de Castro for not giving up Bombay to the English. "I see in the Island of Bombay" so ran the letter "so many Christian souls, which some day will be forced to change their religion by the English. How will they allow Catholics to reside in their territories when they hand over Catholics in the island of Anjuanne to the Moors?" The Viceroy need not have felt any apprehension : for, from 1665 onwards, no authentic instance exists of any native of India, Christian or otherwise, fleeing from persecution by the British as the Brahmans of Bandora did in 1577 from the illiberal actions of Portuguese missionaries.

Before speaking of the lower classes of natives, resident in the islands, one is tempted to enquire whether any member of the Parsi community dwelt here at the time of the cession. That they existed in considerable force in Bassein territory is an acknowledged fact ; and the physician Garcia da Orta, who owned the island of Bombay about the year 1554, speaks of them in the following terms in his Colloquios :—"There are other shop-keepers who are named Coaris, and in the kingdom of Cambay they call them Esparcis, and we, the Portuguese, call them Jews ; but they are not Jews, they are Gentiles who came from Persia, have their own characters, have many vain superstitions, and when one dies they take him by another door and not by that they serve themselves ; have sepulchres where they are laid down when dead, and placed there until dissolved ; they look to the east, are not circumcised, nor is it forbidden to them to eat pork; but it is forbidden to eat beef. And for these reasons you will see that they are not Jews." According to a tradition current in the community, one Dorabji Nanabhai actually resided in Bombay island with his family during the Portuguese dominion, and earned a livelihood by transacting miscellaneous business with the natives on behalf of Portuguese authorities. On the advent of the English, he is stated to have served them in a similar capacity. It is possible that the population of Bombay in 1665 included a few members of this adventurous community ; but that the number was insignificant is apparent from the fact that until 1674 or 1675 no 'Dakhma' or Tower-of-Silence for the reception of their dead had been built. In the neighbourhood of Parel and Sion were two classes of inhabitants, whom Dr. Fryer alludes to under the title of "Columbeens, who manure the soil" and "Frasses or porters also, each of which tribes have a mandadore or superintendent, who give an account of them to the English, and being born under the same degree of slavery, are generally more tyrannical than a stranger would be towards them." The first-named were Kunbis or cultivators, and must have included both the Kunbis proper and also the Agris, who have lent their name to the modern district of Agripada. The Frasses or Farazes, so far as one can gather, were Dhers and others of extremely low caste ; for Garcia da Orta, in describing the races inhabiting the settlement of Bassein, speaks of them as "a people despised and hated by all. They do not touch others, they eat everything, even dead things. Each village gives them its leavings to eat, without touching them. Their task is to cleanse the dirt from houses and streets." These were in truth the forerunners of the modern Halalchor and sweeper; and must have been living not only in Parel and Sion, but in the villages of the island proper and in Mazagon.

Lastly, there were the Kolis and Bhandaris, whose settlements were scattered here and there throughout Bombay, Mazagon, Parel, and Worli. The Bhandaris, whose hereditary occupation was the tapping of palm trees and distillation of liquor from the juice, probably resided in or near the great palm-groves and carts, which stretched along Back Bay to Malabar Hill. A certain number of them no doubt were engaged in other pursuits such as agriculture proper, and included classes, such as the Bhangulis or Bhongles, who were originally Bhandari Sirdars. In the early days of British rule, they provided an honorary guard, and carried standards in front of the Governors ; while the Bhangulis acted as trumpeters before the High Sheriff, on the occasion of opening the Quarter

Sessions. The Kolis were, as they are now, agriculturists and fishermen. An account of them has already been given in the Hindu period ; and it will suffice at this juncture to remark that their settlements were found in almost every portion of the ceded territory, and that with the Bhandaris and Agris, they probably formed the major portion of the population in the year 1665.

Such were the main classes of inhabitants, at the time when Cooke signed the articles of delivery. It seems to us probable that out of the ten thousand, some few at least were Parbhus. There had been a colony of them at Mahim, ever since the day when their ancestors journeyed in the wake of Bhimdev from Devgiri ; while a letter, dated Sake 1670, from the Sar-Subedar of the Konkan to the Shrimant Peshva of Puna, states that " in the times of the late Portuguese Government, the Brahmins were, by that Government, made to undergo compulsory labour like Culis, and as the Prabhus held appointments under it, the Brahmins naturally suspected them of bringing this about." The Parbhus in fact were clerks and accountants, who collected rents on behalf of the King and of the land-holders ; and it is permissible to believe that the existence of the ' aforamento ' tenure in the islands of Bombay must have necessitated the presence of some few families in the island villages. Had it not been for the aggressive policy of the Portuguese toward the native of Bombay, a very much larger number of them would have been resident here at the time of the cession ; but, as pointed out by Mr. S. M. Nayak in his History of the Pattane Prabhus, forcible conversion to Christianity and other illiberal measures obliged many Parbhu families to fly from their Christian rulers, and take refuge under the comparatively mild sway of the Marathas. We see no reason also to disbelieve in the presence of a few Mahommedan families. Fryer distinctly mentions Moors as one class of the population in 1675 ; and although their numbers may have considerably increased subsequent to the appearance of the British, yet the Mahommedan period cannot have passed away, without leaving a single trace among the population of the seven islands. If not of pure descent, the few representatives of Islam may well have belonged to the class, denominated by Garcia da Orta as " Naitias " (from the Sanskrit " Napatri ") " which means mixed, or made up first of the Moors (Musulmans) who came from abroad, and then mixed themselves with the Gentiles (Hindus) of this land."

Now to govern this strange medley of races—Portuguese, Indo-Portuguese, Kolis, Bhandaris and others—there came with Humphrey Cooke a small band of English, the survivors of Sir Abraham Shipman's ill-fated force. The troops which left England in 1662, to garrison Bombay, amounted to four companies of 100 men each, independent of officers. In December 1664, they numbered one hundred and three privates with a sadly thinned list of officers. In compliance with the request of Sir George Oxenden, Mr. Cooke supplied the following roll of the force which accompanied him to Bombay :—One ensign, four sergeants, six corporals, four drummers, one gunner's mate, one gunsmith, and ninety-seven privates, with twenty-two pieces of cannon and eight hundred and seventy-eight rounds of shot.

The main characteristics of Bombay and its inhabitants at the time of the cession, having thus been determined, it now becomes necessary to trace the causes which led by the year 1675 or 1677 to an increase of 50,000 in the population. Humphrey Cooke fell into great disfavour both with the Government at home and with the Council at Surat for signing so " derogatory and unjust " a convention. Not only were restrictions placed by the articles of delivery upon the land now vested in the British Crown, and upon the free movement of population, but the island of Bombay had been shorn of its most important dependencies, the cession of which had clearly been contemplated in the original treaty between the monarchies of England and Portugal. The non-delivery of these outlying villages and islands, moreover, afforded the Portuguese an opportunity of harassing the English, by inflicting heavy imposts upon all boats which passed Karanja or Thana : and the levy of a 10 to 12 per cent. duty on the merchandize and provisions, which Bombay boats brought from the continent, eventually proved so burdensome that Cooke was forced to put soldiers on board to resist the demand. Notwithstanding, however, the manifest injustice of the capitulation, as King Charles II. styled Humphrey Cooke's convention,

we are not convinced that he failed to make the best arrangement under the circumstances. He found himself confronted at the outset of his labour by a strong body of landed proprietors, belonging to a race which had ruled Bombay and the neighbouring country for over a century, who were extremely jealous of any infringement of their rights, who were firmly opposed to English interference, and who had actually proved strong enough, with the aid of their supreme representative in India, to withhold the delivery of Bombay for over three years. It may have reasonably occurred to Cooke that, by insistence upon the full terms of the marriage-treaty, he was likely to indefinitely prolong the negotiations, and might even be obliged to return to an island, the climate of which had already slain a large number of his compatriots: that, under these circumstances, it was better policy to take Bombay with all the restrictions and disadvantages that the Portuguese might impose, and trust to overthrowing or counteracting them, after once he and his men had the island in their grasp. Be this as it may, Cooke's action after the cession was decidedly directed against the restrictive clauses in the treaty of delivery, and may in some respects be regarded as the model upon which subsequent Governors framed their policy. The two objects upon which he appears to have principally set his mind were, firstly, the acquisition of more territory, and secondly, the attraction to the island of merchants and others, who would help the community to be independent of the commercial inhabitants of Portuguese territory. In furtherance of the former desire, he seized, upon the flimsiest pretext, the land which was contiguous to the island proper, and thereby excited intense bitterness in the heart of Antonio DeMello de Castro, who gave vent to his feelings in a letter to the King of Portugal, dated January 5th, 1666. "During the last monsoon" he wrote "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 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 which 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. * * * The inhabitants of the north would have taken up arms and driven out the English, 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." Thus Mahim became ours; and with it Sion, Dharavi, Vadala passed out of the possession of the 'Portugals,' and became the property of the British. Notwithstanding the protests of Ignacio Sarmento de Sampaio, the actions of Cooke, and 'the awful heretic' who worked with him, were upheld; so that, by the time the latter became Governor, Bombay included all the lands, except Colaba and Old Woman's Island, which have been united to form the present island of Bombay. While he thus irritated the Portugnese hy usurpation of their territory, Cooke roused the jealousy of the Mogul Government by inviting native merchants to come and settle in Bombay, and by his endeavours to strengthen the garrison. These two actions, indeed, represent the keynote of our policy in this early period. Bombay was to become 'the flourishingest port in India'; this could only be attained by the settlement of people from without; and they would be more likely to make their home in the islands, if complete religious toleration were established, and if security of life and property were afforded by a strong fortress or garrison. These views were to some extent acted upon by Sir Gervase Lucas, who in compliance with the orders of Government, arrived in Bombay in November 1666, ousted Cooke from the Governorship and cast him into prison on a charge of fraud and embezzlement. Before setting sail from England, he pointed out the ruinous condition of the Bombay fortifications, and the need of a stronger garrison; and was eventually permitted 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." On the subject of land acquisition, also, he was no unworthy successor to Cooke. During his Governorship, the Jesuits' College of Bandora laid claim to a considerable tract of land, which he refused to deliver to them; the Portuguese straightway threatened to resort to arms, whereupon Sir Gervase characterised their action as treasonable and

declared all the Jesuits' land forfeited to the Crown. This general policy, which had for its ultimate object the colonisation and enrichment of our islands, must have been continued by Captain Gary, who received the reins of government on the death of Sir Gervase in May 1667. For, otherwise, there can be but little significance in the statement of the three gentlemen who jointly carried out the duties of Portuguese Viceroy in 1670, to the effect that "Henry Gary, Governor of the Island of Bombay, is very astute and an enemy of the Portuguese nation." A glance at the revenue statement submitted by Mr. Gary to the Secretary of State in 1667, will show to what extent we were indebted to these early representatives of English dominion for their astuteness and foresight. Think of Garcia da Orta's yearly quit-rent of £85 or 1,432½ pardaos; of Mestre Diogo's payment of 1,375 pardaos or £80 sterling per annum; and then contrast it with the following estimate, drawn out by Gary :—

Rent of—				
Mazagon	9,309	0	40	Xeraphins.
Mahim	4,797	2	45	„
Parel	2,377	1	56	„
Vadala	1,738	0	40	„
Sion	790	0	60	„
Worli	571	1	34	„
Bombay	6,344	2	61	„
Rent of—				
The Tobacco Stanck or Farm...	9,550	0	0	„
The Taverns	2,400	0	0	„
The Account of Customs ...	18,000	0	0	„
The Account of Cocoanuts ...	18,000	0	0	„
	73,870	1	18	Xeraphins.
More may be advanced ...	1,129	1	62	„
Total Xeraphins ...	75,000	0	0	
which at 13 Xeraphins for 22/6 sterling amounts to	£6,490	17	9	

The strengthening of the garrison, also, was not neglected; for according to the letter which accompanied the above statement, Mr. Gary had raised its numbers to 285, by the enlistment of French, Portuguese, and Natives.

Notwithstanding, however, the laudable attempts of these three first Governors to augment the social and economic importance of Bombay, the policy of aggrandisement cannot be considered to have met with very definite success, until after the transfer of the islands from the Crown to the Company in the year 1668. The cause of the transfer is stated by Fryer to have been "the pomp and expenses maintained by Gary!" and by another writer, a desire on the part of Charles II. to pacify the annoyance felt by the East India Company at the conclusion of the Treaty of Breda. The true motive probably was the complete indifference of the King to the value and welfare of his lately-acquired possessions, and the very keen desire of the Council at Surat, firstly, to put an end to the quarrels which had arisen between themselves and the Bombay Governors on the question of the issue of navigating passes, and secondly, to obviate the hostilities with the natives of India, which were occasioned by the high-handed actions of the Crown representatives, and for which the powers in India held the Company responsible. The increase of population, which had taken place by 1675, must have resulted, for the most part, from the actions of the Company, to whom the Port and Island were transferred by the Royal Charter of March 27th, 1668, "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. Into the details of the transfer,—the reception of the Commissioners by Captain Gary, the petition of the Portuguese Gentus and others, the fate of "one Peter Stephenson, who at our first landing, was very mutinous and refractory, and laid down his arms, having used many oaths and imprecations that he would never serve the Honourable Company," it is not our purpose to enter. Passing reference, however, may be made to the "Portugal scrivan (clerk) Ramsimar (Ramchandra Shenvi), who "is so necessary for his knowledge of all the affairs of the island by his so long residence here, that we are forced to make use of him, desiring your approbation." One is tempted to believe that Ramchandra was not the sole representative of his caste in these islands, that, in addition to the classes who are definitely stated to have been here in 1665, there were Brahmins also, the remnant of those

whom tyranny had driven into the territory of the Mahrattas. The policy of the Company in respect to its new territory is shadowed forth in the following note of the 7th September 1668, recorded by the Council at Surat:—"It being the Honourable Company's desire that we contrive the best way for the making Bombay a port for the exportation and importation of goods and persons to and from Persia, Mokha, and other parts; and for the effecting of this that we employ at present the Chestnut pink and get some other vessel to be there that merchants may be encouraged to come thither, and further that we advise them what shipping will be fitting for the encouraging this affair, and they will send them us. We deliberately considering thereon do find many reasons inducing us to build them shipping in this country, where timber, iron work, carpenters, and many other materials are very cheap, the building far more substantial than in England and more proper for these parts, in regard they will require no sheathing nor caulking more than the decks, and by the industry of these people from what they have learned from our nation, as handsomely built as our English vessels, and yet further for the drawing merchants to the port, who may be encouraged when they see us building shipping there, and for the encouragement of the natives in setting them on work, so that the money expended will remain in the island and the people be the better able to pay those duties and rents annually received from them, the best timber being procurable near at hand very cheap." The ultimate object of the Company was identical with that of Cooke, namely the encouragement of settlers, and the expansion of trade; manifesting itself in the appointment of an officer from England to superintend shipbuilding, the deputation of two others to superintend the construction and repair of the fortifications, and in an order to purchase lands in the immediate vicinity of the Fort, "provided the expense did not exceed £1,500," to encourage plantations of pepper and manufactures of cloths and to allow all inhabitants "a moderate toleration." Hence comes it that we read of Mr. Philip Gyfford "raising and in a manner finishing the bastions, a work which was still but beginning by the rest;" of the enrolment in 1668 of the survivors of Sir Abraham Shipman's force, as the Honourable Company's "first European regiment" or "Bombay Fusiliers," known to a later generation as the 103rd Foot; and of the supply of cannon to the small forts at Mazagon, Sion, Mahim and Varli.

The increase of population occasioned by such measures, however, must have been small by comparison with that which resulted from the progressive policy of "that chivalric, intrepid man," Mr. Gerald Aungier, who became President of Surat, on the death of Sir George Oxenden in July 1669. In dealing with the period of his administration, which was characterised in the main by the promise of religious liberty, freedom of trade, and encouragement to native industry, it will be convenient for our purpose to distinguish between those events or actions which indirectly affected the population of these islands and those which were directly responsible for a change in the nature and number of the inhabitants. It was apparent to Mr. Aungier in the first place that the dissatisfaction and disputes in regard to the ownership of lands constituted a serious impediment to the peaceful colonisation of the Company's territory. The Portuguese, powerless to resist the inroad of the English, had done their utmost to minimise the value of the ceded territory, by declaring that most of the lands of any value were the property of private individuals, and could not therefore under the articles of delivery be considered as the property of the Crown or Company. The earlier Governors, as we have seen, retaliated by seizing such properties on the most trivial pretexts, with the result that a feeling of irritation and unrest prevailed widely throughout the islands. It was to appease the landholders and at the same time to provide the Company with an area wide enough to admit of the colonisation-policy being attained, that the President formulated the proposals, which were eventually approved by the inhabitants and constituted the terms of the famous "Convention." The most important clauses in the agreement were as follows:—

> "That for the better way of agreeing in the express charges that the Company have for the defence of this isle, the inhabitants and others aforesaid do offer to the Honourable Company 20,000 Xeraphins (Rs. 13,850) yearly including in this sum the quit-rents that they did pay formerly."

"That the estates that are seized on shall be delivered again to the old possessors of what conditions so ever."

"That for the time to come if any estates on the isle come to the Honourable Company by any title whatsoever, or likewise by cutting any tree or seizing any oarts or batty-grounds for the use of building the City or other ground for the defence of it or any other fortification, that the quantity that amounts to the said estate with the quit-rents shall be deducted according to the value of the palmieras or the ground."

To these and other nine clauses the Governor and Council, "out of their earnest and unfeigned desire to promote the public good, peace and tranquillity of the isle," signified their assent; but inserted in the agreement certain conditions, which demand passing attention. They stipulated *imprimis* "that all royalties, rights, privileges and immunities which did formerly belong to the Crown of Portugal of Foràs and Royal Rents of what nature or condition so ever shall be reserved as of right they belong to the Honourable Company." Secondly, "that there shall be reserved for the Honourable Company all grounds on the water side within the compass of the isle to be disposed of in necessary occasions for the public, excepting such grounds wherein there are at present planted gardens of cocoanut trees or rice-grounds, as also churches, houses or warehouses of stone. And whensoever for the public good it shall be necessary to make use of any of the said places or properties the Governor and Council shall make satisfaction to the interest in a reasonable manner." A third clause—to our mind the most important of all—signified "that in regard the little isle Colio (Colába) reaching from the outer point westwardly of the isle to the Paccari (Pakhadi) or parish called *Polo* (*Pálav*=Apollo) will be of great use to the Honourable Company, in the good design which they have for the security and defence of this whole isle, it is hereby agreed that it shall be totally and wholly reserved for the use of the said Company, they making such reasonable satisfaction to the persons interested therein as hereafter is expressed." By this agreement, therefore, we gained the last of the Heptanesia which have been welded together to form a modern Island of Bombay. The original island of Mumbadevi or Bombay, Mazagon, Sivri, Parel and Varli had been gained by treaty; Mahim, Sion, Dharavi and Vadala had been seized by force; and finally Colaba passed over to us, after the estate holders therein had been bought out, and their respective demands fully satisfied.

The second event, which indirectly affected the population, was the establishment of courts and justices, in the absence of which the satisfaction of the inhabitants could not be assured, nor that the peaceful condition of affairs, which was so essential to the growth of the community, be attained. On the 2nd February 1670 the following resolution by the Governor and Council was recorded:—"The island of Bombay to be divided into two distinct precincts, one comprehending Bombay, Mazagaon and Girgaon; and the other Mahim, Parel, Sion, Varli and the Puckerys (Pakhadis or hamlets) thereunto belonging. In each of these precincts there shall be five justices, who besides the particulars expressed in the laws shall have power to receive, hear and try and determine all plaints, bills, petitions and actions for sums of money not exceeding the value of five Xeraphins (Rs. $3\frac{1}{2}$). To this end those of the first precincts shall convene in the Custom House of Bombay every Friday at eight o'clock in the morning, and those of the second precincts in the Custom House of Mahim on every Wednesday of the same hour." The resolution further arranged for the appointment of "Perbes" (Prabhu clerks), and of a constable in every parish, "who for an ensign of his office shall carry a staff tipped with silver and the Company's arms thereupon engraved, and shall attend those courts as necessity requires." A code of laws was also published in 1670, no trace of which is now extant; it is noteworthy, however, that it was ordered to be translated into Portuguese and Kanarese. To us the prominence, given to Kanarese, appears at first sight curious, but can be explained, perhaps, by the fact that the early population of these islands was to a large extent of southern or Dravidian origin, that the Parsi was hardly known in Bombay, and that the bulk of our Marathi-speaking inhabitants immigrated only after the tolerant character of British rule had been more fully noised abroad. In 1675 the popularity of the judicial system had so far advanced, had, moreover, given rise to so great an influx of legal touts and others, who haunt "the dusty purlieus of law," that it was deemed essential to appoint a Judge for the island on

a salary of £120 per annum, with allowances consisting of "a horse or palanquin, a sumbrera or sunshade boy, and one new gown a year." To guide this official at the outset of his work the following instructions were despatched from Surat on the 8th February 1676:—"As we desire that justice may be done, so we would have you take care that vexatious suits and contrivances laid by common barristers to disturb the quiet of good people, may be discouraged and prevented. And let the judge know from us that we expect he maintain the gravity, integrity and authority of his office, and that he doth not bring a disrepute on the Court of Bombay by lightness, partiality, self-seeking or countenancing common barristers, in which sort of vermin they say Bombay is very unhappy." Before quitting this subject, it may be remarked that one of President Aungier's large-minded proposals for improving Bombay was to build a Fair Common House, wherein might also be appointed Chambers for the Courts of Justice, warehouses and prisons. The remains of that Fair Common House are with us to this day, have indeed been visited by the writer. "Mapla Por," as it is named, that is to say "the gated enclosure of the Maplas, or half-Arab Musalmans of the Malabar Coast, stands about 300 yards north of the north-west corner of the modern Elphinstone Circle, on the west side of Borah Bazar Street, immediately beyond its meeting with Gunbow Lane." In this building, as originally designed by Aungier, justice was dispensed until the year 1720. Its ruined plinths and staircases constitute to-day one of the most ancient monuments of British dominion in this island.

A third event, which must have insensibly attracted members of the trading community to Bombay, was the establishment in 1676 of a mint for the coinage of "rupees, pies and bujruks"; and more especially so, as such coin was not current outside British territory, and yet was favourably regarded by the native community. We have this on the authority of Jean Baptiste Tavernier, the traveller, who in 1678 wrote that "Since the present King of England married the Princess of Portugal, who had in part of her portion the famous port of Bombeye, where the English are very hard at work to build a strong Fort, they coin both silver, copper and tin. But that money will not go to Surat, nor in any part of the great Mogul's dominions, or in any of the territories of the Indian kings; only it passes among the English in their Fort, and some two or three leagues up in the country, and in the villages along the coast; the country people that bring them their wares being glad to take that money."

To further encourage those, who had it in mind to emigrate from the mainland to Bombay, but who at the same time might have hesitated before settling in a region so open to attack by sea, President Aungier took in hand the improvement of the fortifications, and formed a certain number of the inhabitants into a militia. By 1673 we find the Fort supplied "with 120 pieces of ordnance, 60 field pieces in their carriages"; and manned "by 300 Englishmen, 400 Topasses or Portugal firemen, 500 well-armed militia under English leaders, 300 Bhandaris with clubs and other weapons, and some thousands more that could be relied on if matters came to a push." Stark as the deil, writes Sir James Campbell, was the old Fort, what time Commodore Rickloffe van Goen with the Dutch fleet endeavoured to take the island by surprise; and to these artificial safeguards was added the greater natural bulwark of human intrepidity. For "with the calmness of a philosopher and the courage of a centurion," Aungier so exerted himself that the Dutch fleet "melted like a cloud in the silent summer heaven," and was seen no more. We at this distance of time cannot perchance fully realise the extraordinary effect upon the growth of the island of Aungier's personality, but the Surat Council recognised it in a letter to Bantam of the 31st January 1673, stating that "Since the latter end of May last our President hath been in his government of Bombay * * * But his presence by animating the people being so absolutely necessary, and the great good he hath done by establishing the English laws and courts of judicature and still doth in strengthening the island, is of such force that he prefers his honours in maintaining the place before any other interest."

Not the least important of the actions which stimulated the growth of our population was the building of a new town within the fortification. As early as 1668, an exodus of weavers from Chaul had necessitated the opening of a street, "stretching from the Custom House (north-

west of present Mint) to the Fort"; and from that date onwards, notwithstanding Jesuit recalcitrance, land was taken up, and dwellings built, not only for the immigrant native, but for the English writers and servants of the Company. Ware-houses, a hospital, streets "reaching from Judge Niccoll's house to the water," stables, a "Dog-House," Mint and Fortifications necessitated the presence of labourers and bricklayers, their wives and families, who came hither from Surat or from districts nearer the island. "Kalyan at Rs. 10 a month, Mahmud, Somji and Dhanji at Rs. 9, and Lahori at Rs. 4½" journeyed hither under the orders of the Council, "to begin and finish the houses formerly ordered to be built betwixt the Custom House and the Fort." In the minor matter of supplies for the Town and Island, the Company in no wise permitted its wishes to be jeopardised. The immigrants and settlers must find a steady food-supply within the island; for otherwise one cannot hope to retain them as our subjects. Such must have been the thoughts of the Council, when they bade Bombay take heart and, in defiance of the malicious practices of the Portuguese, "send vessels down to Manglor and Bassalor (Barcelor) to lade rice there for the supply of the Island." "The Revenge, the Good Hope, the Phœnix, the Moody's Ketch and the Hoigh Despatch" were all commissioned in 1677 to bring rice out of Kanara, in order "that we might not be beholden to our unkind Portuguese neighbours."

Now, however conducive the institution of laws and justice, the settlement of internal disputes and the protection of a strong garrison may have been to the colonisation of these islands, the very considerable immigration which had taken place by the date of Aungier's death must be ascribed mainly to the distinct proposals which he formulated for the encouragement of settlers. "Liberty was to be granted as a particular privilege to those that inhabit on the Island of Bombay to trade not only to all these parts of India, but also to the ports and islands of the South Seas, Bantam not excepted." Companies or fellowships "were to be erected for the better and more able carrying on of any trade," and certain privileges and immunities were "to be granted to the said societies for their greater encouragement." The example of the Dukes of Florence and their enrichment of the Port of Leghorne was adduced as a strong reason for organising a system of loans to honest merchants; one or two years' whole pay was to be granted to all artificers or handicraftsmen, who would consent to come and live on the Island with their families; while "in order to preserve the Government in a constant regular method free from that confusion, which a body composed of so many nations will be subject to, it were requisite that the several nations at present inhabiting or hereafter to inhabit on the Island of Bombay be reduced or modelled into so many orders or tribes, and that each nation may have a Chief or Consul of the same nation appointed over them by the Governor and Council, whose duty and office must be to represent the grievances which members of the said nation shall receive from the Christians or any other, as also to answer for what faults any of the said nation shall commit, that the offender be brought to punishment, and that what duties or fines are due to the Company may be timely satisfied." Any of these Consuls, "who merit well from the Honourable Company by good service, advancing of trade, inhabitants or shipping" were to be rewarded "by some particular honours and specimens of the Honourable Company's favour towards them." Arrangement was also made for the constant and secure supply of provisions, for strict supervision of the shops "of the Moodys or victuallers," and for a system of set prices on all provisions, "regulated in weight and measure according to justice and the public good and encouragement of the inhabitants." The utmost latitude of trade was to be permitted to weavers of cotton and silk, with a view to encouraging manufactures; no discouraging taxes should be imposed; freedom was to be granted to all religions; every effort in a word, was to be expended in preventing that stagnation of trade and depopulation, which had erstwhiles resulted from the religious fanaticism of their Portuguese rivals. Not only on the comfort of the native community was the heart of Gerald Aungier set; the well being of his own countrymen engaged his attention. He marked the disastrous consequences, which had resulted from the intermarriage of the Portuguese with low-caste women of the native community, and made a special request to the Company to send out English women to the island. It was no fault of the President that the Englishwomen did not invariably prove desirable members of the community, that the Surat Council wrote as follows in December 1675:—"And

whereas you give us notice that some of the women are grown scandalous to our nation, religion and government, we require you in the Honourable Company's name to give them all fair warning that they do apply themselves to a more sober and Christian conversation, otherwise the sentence is this that they shall be confined totally of their liberty to go abroad and fed with bread and water till they are embarked on boardship for England." The system of importing "needy Englishwomen" must be regarded in truth as a praiseworthy and philanthropic endeavour to save Englishmen from the charge of trifling with their nationality and raising up a hybrid and possibly weakly people.

Now the wisdom of the Company and the manifest desire of the English in Bombay to make the most of their possessions bore fruit in due season. In 1671 the Mahàjan of the Surat Bania community informed the President that some of their members were anxious to settle in Bombay, provided they were assured of certain privileges. The answer of the President was such as might have been expected from one whose watchword was "Toleration and Progress." Many of these energetic merchants must have journeyed hither during the rule of Aungier and assisted in laying the foundations of trade. Of one in particular—Nima Parakh—who voyaged from the City of Diu in 1677, documentary evidence still exists, showing how "that eminent merchant has expressed his desire to settle with his family and trade on the island of Bombay, from the fame which he has heard of the Honourable Company's large commerce, upright dealing, justice and moderation to all persons that live under the shadow of their Government." Fortified by the written assurance that they should "enjoy the free exercise of their religion," should be secure from all molestation, and should not under any circumstances be compelled to embrace Christianity, Nima Parakh and his kinsmen sailed from their old home, forming in sooth the vanguard of that huge company of traders, which has invaded this island in the course of the last two centuries. In the wake of the Vani came the Armenian, of whom we find the Surat Council writing as follows in the year 1676 :—"These are at the entreaty of Khoja Karakuz and other Armenians concerned in the ship S. Francisco that is lately put into Bombay. As they have been very importunate with us to write in their affair, we do desire you to countenance and assist them as merchants with boats and other necessaries, as also with convenient warehouses to protect them from the rains." Khoja Minaz and Khoja Delaune were the names of two others, who came here about the same date, and swelled the numbers of that community, which rapidly formed a settlement within the fort enclosure, and left the legacy of its name to the Armenian Lane, which is with us to this day.

And what may we say of the Parsis? Is it possible that they tarried quietly on the mainland, while Armenian and Vani sought a new mart for their wares? The character of the race forbids such a suggestion; and our belief in their presence is confirmed by Fryer's remark that "on the other side of the great inlet to the sea is a great point, abutting against Old Woman's Island and is called Malabar Hill; a rocky, woody, mountain; yet sends forth long grass; atop of all is a Parsi Tomb lately reared." That the Parsis were resident in our island by 1675, is unquestionable; for not only had they built a Dakhma or Tower-of-Silence, but Modi Hirji Vacha had founded an Agiari in the Fort about the year 1671, which was subsequently destroyed by the great fire of 1803. One Kharsedji Pochaji, also, a resident of Broach, discerned possibilities of profit in the erection of the fortifications. We read of him as contractor in 1664 for the supply of common labourers and baskets, required for the building of the town wall. Kharsedji prospered, we doubt it not; for he was born of a race that has ever prospered by intelligence, industry and philanthropy. The presence of one other community we note in these years. In a letter to the Directors, dated January 24th, 1677, the Deputy Governor and Council of Bombay write that "Many families of Brahmans, daily leaving the Portuguese territory, repair hither frightened by the Padres, who upon the death of any person force all his children to be Christians. Even some of the chiefest, who still live at Bassein, and others build them houses here, therein placing their wives and children against a time of danger." Our island had become a place of refuge, a Town

* The reason for the gradual disappearance of the Armenians from our Island has never been satisfactorily determined. Mr. E. H. Aitken suggests that in the struggle for Trade, the Armenian learned by experience that he could not hope to compete with the Parsi and Bania, and therefore decamped to Calcutta, where the Parsi is practically a non-entity.

of Zoar to the Portuguese cities of the plain! And the course followed by those Bandora Brahmins was but typical of a general movement, resulting from the insolence of the Mahommedan or the bigotry of the Portuguese. "The population numbers 60,000," wrote Fryer, "a mixture of most of the neighbouring countries, most of them fugitives and vagabonds." Like the immortal city of the Seven Hills, our city owes her foundation, in some measure, to vagabond adventurers: but simultaneously with their arrival, there immigrated men of good standing, men of sound commercial knowledge, who might assist the tiny port in turning the presence of the outcast and refugee to good account.

Such was the population of Bombay in the year of our Lord, 1677; the strangest *colluvies gentium*, brought hither by desire partly of gain, partly of escape from tyranny, with a considerable substratum of almost prehistoric settlers; scattered all over the Heptanesia, from "the little low barren island, of no other profit but to keep the Company's antelopes and beasts of delight," as far as Sion "manured by Coonbees" and Mahim, with its "pretty custom-house and guard-house" and the venerable tomb of a Musulman Pir: the chief settlement a mile-long town, "at a distance enough from the Fort," with low olea-thatched houses and "a reasonable handsome bazaar" at one end, "looking into the field, where cows and buffaloes graze." In charge of this motley of races were a few Englishmen, possessed of "only a burying place, called Mendham's Point (Cooperage) from the first man's name therein interred, where are some few tombs that make a pretty show at entering the haven." The period which ends in 1677 is characterised, as we have endeavoured to show, by the complete success of that policy of expansion, which commended itself alike to Humphrey Cooke, the servant of the Crown, and to Gerald Aungier, the servant of the Company. The most fitting epilogue to the tale of these twelve or fifteen years will be found in the writings of a French physician, M. Dellon, who visited the island in 1673:—"The English have since that time built there a very fine Fort, where the President of the East India Company commonly keeps residence. They have also laid the foundation of a city, where they grant liberty to all strangers of what religion or nation soever to settle themselves, and exempt them from all manner of taxes for the first twenty years. We were treated here with abundance of civility, which we in part attributed to the good understanding there was at the time betwixt those two nations." Even so! The alien races, dwelling in our islands, were in the enjoyment of political liberty and equality before the law, about a century ere France introduced them to her own peasantry across the dolorous abyss of the Terror!

Period the Second.—1675 to 1718.

Our second period extends from the year 1675, or for the sake of convenience, from the date of President Aungier's death, up to the year 1718, when the population of Bombay, according to the statement of the Reverend Richard Cobbe, was 16,000. From 60,000 to 16,000 within the space of forty-one years! Can the estimate be accurate? With the gulf of two dead centuries between him and ourselves, it is impossible to decide. But this much one can with assurance say:—that the chief events of these years rendered a decline of population in no wise impossible: nay more, the decrease was the very natural legacy of a period fraught with both domestic and external dangers. At the outset we discern the presence of trouble, a note of mourning for the departure of a chivalrous and intrepid statesman. For on the 30th June 1677 Aungier, our master-pilot, set forth upon his last voyage to the Unknown: and Posterity, musing regretfully upon his departure, is fain to re-echo the words of those whom he left behind:—"We cannot rightly express the reality of our grief 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 successors. It shall be our continual prayer for a blessing on your great affairs"—(Letter from the Bombay Council, dated July 11th, 1677.) One relic of his rule is with us yet—a silver chalice, which he presented to the Christian community of Bombay in 1675.

The death of Aungier was the prelude to a period of gloom and depression. "The last quarter of the seventeenth century was not only devoid of any great achievement or of any appreciable progress in manners and morals, but was on the contrary a witness to sedition and strife, immorality, unhealthiness, and anarchy at home, and invasion, piracy and arrogance abroad." Severe as this verdict of Dr. da Cunha may appear, it will be found on closer examination justifiable. Let us glance first at the state of the public health during these years, than which we reckon no more potent factor in the rise or fall of population. As early as November 1675, the climatic conditions of the island were so deadly that a hundred English soldiers perished; while in 1689, when the Rev. John Ovington arrived here, "one of the pleasantest spots in India seemed no more than a parish graveyard." Of the twenty-four passengers who sailed hither with him, twenty died before the rains ceased, and of the ship's company fifteen. 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." "A ilha da boa vida," (the island of the good life) was nought but a charnel-house, wherein "two Mussoons were the age of a man." Upon young European children the effects of the climate were appalling; not one in twenty reached maturity, or indeed passed beyond the stage of infancy. "Rachel weepiug for her children would not be comforted, because they were not." "Of what use" cries 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." Even Child, when appointed Accountant of Bombay and Second in Council by the President and Council of Surat, pleaded his apprehensions of disease and positively refused to accept the office. "Fluxes, dropsy, scurvy, barbiers or loss of the use of hands and feet, gout, stone, malignant and putrid fevers," such, according to Fryer, were the disorders to which the unfortunate inhabitants of the island succumbed; and more prevalent and terrible than all was a disease known as "the Chinese death" (*mort de Chine*), a corruption of the Portuguese "Mordisheen," which is derived in reality from the Marathi मोडसी or मोडणें, in allusion to the intestinal agony which characterised its attacks. The sympathy evoked in our minds by this terrible record of disease and death is peculiarly intensified, on learning of the great plague which wasted Western India between 1686 and 1696. "We have abundance of men sick and many of them die," wrote the Bombay Council; "we are finishing the account of His Majesty's ship "Phœnix," but by reason of some of her men lying sick in the hospital, and we know not how God will deal with them, cannot close the account to send up,

which, as soon as we can, shall be done." The absence of medical aid, "the absolute want of good Europe medicines, that should have been yearly sent out fresh" aided the progress of Death, who laid his finger upon native and European alike.

"ἀυτὰρ ἔπειτ' ἀυτοῖσι βέλος ἐχεπευκὲς ἐφιεὶς.
βάλλ. ἀιεὶ δὲ πυρὰι νεκύων καίουτο θαμειάι."

Disease and Crime, Immorality and Death reigned supreme. No community was spared. "Forasmuch as by the death of Dr. Skinner," observed the Council at Surat, "the Island of Bombay is destitute of a physician and the Island very sickly, and a great many poor people and soldiers laying in danger of perishing for want of the help and advice of a doctor, we resolved to entertain Mr. Bartlett in the said station, allowing him £4 a month to be paid in Xeraphins, at 20*d.* to the Xeraphin, according to the custom of the island, together with the same allowance for his diet as Doctor Skinner was allowed, and the usual assistance belonging to the hospital. We left it to his own choice whether his time should commence here or at his arrival at Bombay with this proviso, that if it commences here, then he is to bear his own charges down. If not, till he is arrived upon the island, then his charges should be borne by the Company. And the island being in great necessity we gave him orders, to prepare himself to go overland with all speed. There being a great mortality upon the island amongst the English as well as the natives, we were willing to encourage all people that offered their service to us, and entertained Henry Critchlow as Boatswain of the Bandar at Bombay at the usual pay that others have had before." Think for a moment of our doctors, our hospitals, our plague departments to-day, and of our utter inability to prevent the people flying from the island; and then think of our brethren in those days, grappling like ourselves with pestilence and fever, but with only one medical man on £4 a month between them and death! Is it surprising that the population decreased? Of a surety, not so. As late as 1706, matters were unchanged. "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 often sick in this unhealthful, depopulated and ruined Island." So writes Sir Nicholas Waite in the January of 1706; and later sends up that bitter cry: "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 under ground if we have not a large assistance." Alas! that assistance could not be obtained. Once more, in January 1707, the appeal goes forth: "My continued indisposition and want of assistance in this unveryhealthful 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."

But whence arose this terrible mortality? How came it that Heitor da Silveira's "Island of the Good Life" was nought but a charnel-house? The chief reason was probably the gradual silting up of the creeks, which divided the island of Bombay from its dependencies, Old Woman's Island, Varli, Mahim, Mazagon and Parel. At high-tide the ocean roared through the breaches, overflowed the lands, and laid a pestilential deposit which at low-tide exhaled mephitic and deadly vapours. That these low swamps were productive of malaria certainly suggested itself to the Court of Directors; for between 1684 and 1710 they constantly urged upon their Council at Surat the pressing need for stopping the breaches and for reclamation. "Redeem those drowned lands of Bombay," they wrote in 1684, "for which we shall now propose you a method which, we think, cannot fail. That is, you may agree to give the undertakers every Saturday night a day and a half's pay for every day's work for every man they shall employ in that service, part money and part rice; the rice at a price by which we may be a little gainers." Three months later they resume, "Prosecute with effect the draining of our overflooded ground at Bombay, as we wrote you last year"; while in 1703, 1708 and again in 1710, we find the Court directing the Bombay Government to "stop the breaches on any tolerable terms," to encourage men to undertake the task by granting them leases of land so reclaimed, and to send to Karwar, if necessary, for "people well skilled in stopping breaches." A second cause of the general unhealthiness is commented upon in a letter of the 20th April 1708 from the Court to the Bombay Government: "The buckshawing or dunging the toddy trees with fish, occasions in a great measure, the unwholesomeness

of the Bombay air. Of this the venomous and putrid buckshaw fly which swarm in such abundance as to be very nauseous to the inhabitants is a plain proof. If the trees were not buckshawed, the loss of their fruitfulness would be repaid by the general benefit of rendering the place healthy. Or if the buckshaw was laid at a sufficient depth under the earth to prevent its corruption and infecting the air and breeding that fly, the air would not suffer. Another cause of the unhealthy air is the thickness of the toddy trees at Mahim and Worli woods, which hinders the land breeze that sets in every morning from cleansing the air and cooling the ground. If those woods were thinned, the remaining trees would bear the better. For the sake of their health the people are contented their rents be diminished by cutting some trees down and prohibiting the buckshawing the rest. By this means the health of the inhabitants will be promoted." So far as the European community was concerned, the virulence of the diseases, arising from the above-mentioned sources, was intensified by the careless life which its members led. Anderson's reference to their immorality and dissoluteness is corroborated by the statement of an eye-witness, Mr. Ovington the Chaplain, who wrote as follows:—"I cannot without horror mention to what a pitch all vicious enormities were grown in this place. Their principles of action, and the consequent 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 now matter to work upon." These closing years of the seventeenth and opening years of the eighteenth century form indeed a sad chapter in the history of the island. Not on the European only, but on the native population also fell the dread hand of fever and plague; and to increase their burden, an angry Deity sent forth a hurricane, which destroyed the growing crop and wrecked a large number of their boats. There was none that might stand, as Moses did of old, between them and calamity; and therefore they died or fled from the "unhealthful and ruined" island.

Other events which barred the progress of affairs in these years, and which, if not directly occasioning a decrease of population, at any rate, militated against its augmentation, were the internal feuds and domestic troubles of the Company. There were firstly "the interlopers," mentioned in a letter from the Court in 1683, whose aim it was to divert the trade of the Company into their own hands. "We send you enclosed an authentic copy of a new Charter granted us by His Majesty under the great seal of England, for the suppressing all interloping and interlopers, of which we shall write you more largely by our ships." So wrote the Directors; and in the following year appealed against the action of the Ostenders to the King, who ordered a man-of-war to intercept their vessels. That the machinations of these merchant-rivals considerably hampered the actions of the Company is evident from a statement of the Court in 1684 that "Though we have been in a hurry of trouble and confusion and forced to please everybody during the competition of the interlopers and the rebellion of Bombay, yet we hope the arrival of this and our following ships will put our General and Council into such spirit and our affairs into such a flourishing condition that good discipline may be restored again as well in our factories as in our garrisons;" while on the 27th October 1693 we read that "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 Mary 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 that 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."

The troubles caused by the prevalence of disease and trade-rivalry were heightened by internal dissension. In 1683 Captain Richard Keigwin, who commanded the garrison and was Third Member of Council, made the reduction of military salaries and the lowering of the rank of military officers a pretext for raising the standard of rebellion; the Deputy Governor was seized, the authority of the Company was annulled by proclamation, and the island declared to be under the King's protection. Garrison, militia, and inhabitants all renounced their obedience to the Company; and confusion was rife till the 19th Novem-

ber 1684, on which date Sir Thomas Grantham prevailed upon Keigwin to formally surrender the island. Duels between "Mr. Enoch Walsh and Mr. Ralph Hartley, the latter being wounded in three places," embezzlement of revenue by "Mr. Thomas Woodford, one of your Honour's factors," the troublesome behaviour of Hall, "a restless, factious and turbulent-spirited man," robberies "of several Moormen's houses," Lieut. Shaw's report that "a Proclamation had been torn down by some person unknown," and the regret of the Governor that "there should be any person on this island so disrespectful to Government as to tear a Proclamation"—all these events testify to the disorder and disturbance, which for some time marred the peaceful existence of Bombay inhabitants. Desertion was not infrequent; for Lieut. James Hanmer was informed in August 1694 that "there being runaway from this island in the Ruby frigate boat sundry persons belonging to the shipping in the road, these are to enorder you to make strict enquiry after them, and if on this island surprise them;" while in 1701 "the nakhudas of the Moors' ships having paid off their lascars and being dubious whether or no some of them may not endeavour to run away," Lieut. William Shaw was ordered "to permit no lascars to go off the land at Mahim, but to send such as shall endeavour it down hither (to Bombay)."

Another obstruction to that old policy of expansion, which had raised our population to 60,000 in the year 1675, was the rivalry between the old or London Company and the new or English Company. In Surat in 1700, the affairs of the former were suffering seriously from the attacks and misrepresentations of Sir Nicholas Waite, the Chairman of the New Company, of whom Sir John Gayer wrote as follows to the Directors:—"Captain Hudson will inform your Honours how that Sir Nicholas Waite said he would spend Rs. 20,000, but that he would have your flag at Surat struck. Captain Hudson will also inform you of other of Sir Nicholas' follies which render him little in the eyes of Europeans, if not of others. By what we hear, Lucas is the person that spurs him on to such rashness to the detriment of the interest of the nation, not considering what the issue may be, so that he may but gratify his malice to your Honours." In January of 1701 ill-feeling and scandal were heightened by the seizure of Sir John Gayer and his grenadiers, and their confinement at Surat. Though ostensibly the work of "the barbarous and treacherous Moors," Sir Nicholas Waite appears to have been the instigator of an enterprise, which caused "the greatest amusement to the newsmongering natives;" for on the 28th February 1701 we find the Bombay Council expressing their gratification at Sir John's release in the following terms:—"We heartily rejoice for the good news, and we render all due praise and thanks to 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." It might have been supposed that the union of the two Companies in 1702 would effect the much-needed settlement of this internecine struggle, and render the opening period of the eighteenth century more prosperous than the immediately preceding years. But to such a pitch had the rivalry of the two companies attained, so opposed were the interests of their respective servants, that distrust and antagonism still flourished, occasional skirmishes at the outposts took place, and only the coldest and most formal civilities were exchanged by the two chiefs and their respective Councils. Mutual constraint, incessant quarrelling rendered the union of 1702 a mere formality; and the resolution "to obliterate all past heats" was carried to no practical issue until the year 1708, when the Earl of Godolphin, after patient enquiry into all matters of dispute, published his famous award of the 29th September. From that date the two companies became in fact as well as in style "the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies." But some few years were yet to pass, ere the disorganisation resulting from these internal feuds could be rectified, and domestic peace, which exercises so marked an effect upon trade and population, be attained.

Added to the disorder engendered by wide-spread ill-health and private quarrels, were external troubles of no mean magnitude. Ever since the year 1672 the political horizon had been overshadowed by the presence of a daring band of corsairs,—the Sidis, ancestors of that enlightened prince, the present Habshi of Janjira. Sambhal, their chieftain, who held the appointment of admiral to the Great Mogul, and was engaged in continual warfare with the Marathas, had burned several houses in Mazagon in 1672; and, returning to Bombay in the year following, had scared away the inhabitants of Sion and taken possession of their houses. The evils attending the presence of these sea-rovers in Bombay is fully set forth in a letter from the Bombay Council to Surat, dated October 9th, 1677. "It is now several years," they wrote, "that the Sidi's fleets have used this port as a place of refreshment and retreat on all occasions, with how much trouble to the Government and dissatisfaction to the inhabitants, your worships have been but too well acquainted. A few months past Sidi Sambhal received orders to surrender the fleet to Sidi Kasim. For several months he made demurs because his wife and children and his family were detained in Danda Rajpuri. These he received four days ago, and promised to deliver up the fleet excepting one of the great ships which he intended to keep to carry himself and his soldiers to Surat. Sidi Kasim being impatient of having part of his fleet detained from him and instigated by that unadvised Subhan Kuli who came from Surat about three months past with 150 men to assist him, ere we were aware of it, did on Sunday last march up with all his force to Mazagon where Sidi Sambhal resided. We immediately sent Captain Keigwin with a guard of horse to keep the peace. Ere he could arrive they had begun the skirmish, and so obstinate were they, especially Sidi Kasim, that they were parted with much difficulty, having shot four of the Company's horses, whereof one is dead, and another in great danger, though it pleased none of the troopers were hurt. * * * We suppose it would be of great consequence that your worships made timely complaint of these outrages, not only to the Governor of Surat, but even to the King himself, and demanded large satisfaction for the death of our horses and the disturbance of the peace of the inhabitants and hindrance of our trade, merchants being frighted from coming hither by such hostile acts." In 1678 Sidi Kasim appeared again, hauled his vessels ashore at Mazagon, quartered his men in the town and daily committed such acts of violence upon the Hindu inhabitants, that the latter in many cases escaped from the island. During the next four years there are constant references to this most troublesome opponent; temporary agreements were made with him, and, being shortly afterwards broken, only served as an incitement to further enormities; unarmed soldiers of the Bombay garrison were cut down by his Pathans in the Mazagon market; the native population was most cruelly harried; until by the early months of 1689 we find the Sidi fleet and army in undisturbed possession of Mahim, Mazagon and Sion; and the English Governor and garrison practically besieged in the town and castle. So weak were the defences of the island, and so powerless was the garrison that, in Mr. Harris' opinion, if it had not been for the jealousy of Mukhtyar Khan, the Mogul General, the Sidi might have conquered the whole island. Relief came in June 1690, after the promulgation by Aurangzeb of that humiliating 'firman', whereby the English were permitted to trade, on promising to pay a heavy fine and to dismiss Child, "the origin of all evil." The order expressly stipulated that the Sidi should evacuate Bombay; which he eventually did on the 8th June in that year. But, as Hamilton points out in his "New Account of the East Indies," he left to the inhabitants a bitter memento of his presence; Mazagon Fort was a heap of burning ruins; many a home was empty; and the plague, as if intensified by his malice, grew more virulent, and in four months' time slew more men than even he and his intemperate followers had done.

To the violence of the "semi-barbarous African" was added the barely-concealed hostility of the Portuguese. Portuguese rule was moribund; their province of Bassein was rapidly decaying; but the old hatred of the English was still alive, and disclosed itself in various acts of enmity. "We have before took occasion," wrote the Bombay Governor in 1677, "to speak of the bad neighbourhood we enjoy from the Portuguese. In the month of April last from a small beginning there had likely to have succeeded a quarrel between us and them of no mean consequence". Again in 1684 comes a letter from the Court, saying "Your letters this year

intimating the encroachment of the Moghal's Governors and the repeated affronts of the Portuguese, give us further cause to hasten you in the building of such bastions as are wanting." The refusal to pay customs-dues imposed by the Portuguese at Thana and Karanja, the imprisonment of Frea John de Gloria by Judge Vauxe for having christened and received into the Romish Church "one Nathannel Thorpe, son to Lieutenant Thorpe, deceased," the seizure of all lands and houses of the Portuguese at Parel, Mahim and elsewhere, on the plea that they had aided the invasion of the Sidi, these and other events of a similar nature all originated in that deep-seated antagonism, which first sprang into being with the marriage-treaty between Charles and the Princess of Portugal. "They have stopped all provisions from coming to the island," cries 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. By this your Honours may perceive that if a course be not taken some way or other to correct the unparallelled pride and insolence of these Portuguese, no merchants of any worth will settle in Bombay whereby to increase its revenue. On the contrary it will go less daily by reason of the inhabitants' fears from the Portuguese, Moors and Shivajis, against whom they are sensible we have not strength to defend the island, though we may the fort." The obstruction offered by the Portuguese lasted till the conclusion of the period, with which we are now dealing. Guards were placed at Bandra and Sion to prevent provisions reaching the island; to which we responded by ordering "Boatswain Wright with the machva to weigh anchor and sail in company of our boats to protect them from the Portuguese": boats, carrying our rice, were fired upon from the Portuguese "block-house at Curley" (Kurla); while in 1702 the fort at Mahim was strengthened at a cost of 3,000 Xeraphins, "which we designed for an immediate strength to the island, in case it should be invaded by the Moors or Portuguese, with whom we had reason to expect a breach and that speedily"! Attacks and reprisals, obstruction and disorganisation, loss of trade and of population, are the chief characteristics of a struggle, which was not to end until Chimnaji Appa strode victorious over the battlements of Bassein.

Other enemies were not wanting to assist in our discomfiture. Captain Oglethorpe reported in 1686 that great mischief had been done by pirates in the Gulf of Mokha. Whether Arabs, or those termed Cota or Malabar Pirates, these marauders had caused no little trouble in the past; had lanced to death the unfortunate Mr. Bourchier, and placed our trade in jeopardy. And once more we learn that "Volup Venny (Valabh Veni) the *rendeir* (farmer) of the customs" is very uneasy, "finding that no vessels can pass unplundered by one sort of nation or other": and that complaints pour in from "several Bania and Moor inhabitants and merchants of this island, that have sustained great losses by three Arab ships belonging to Cong." If the pirates were but Arabs or Malabars, matters had not been so bad: but European pirates were abroad, indulging in unheard-of excesses, seizing Moghal pilgrim ships (the Gunsway or Ganjasawai), and leading to the incarceration of our President and servants at Surat. "We have so often wrote your Honours concerning out great want of supplies of men, that it is needless for us to mention more about it." So writes Sir John Gayer in 1698, and continues:—"We cannot forbear without unfaithfulness to our trust to acquaint you that your island is exposed to extreme hazard, should any orders arrive from the Moghal Court to the Sidi to invade Bombay, on account of frequent robberies committed by the pirates, which, as we have often advised, are universally charged on the English nation." Unhappy Island! The hostility of Shivaji, the enmity of the Moghal alone were wanting to complete its solitariness and dejection. "About two days' journey up the hill," says our Deputy Governor in 1677, "between the Moghal's and Shivaji's dominions lies a perpetual seat of war. No merchants can pass without apparent hazard of being plundered, so that we cannot expect merchants should land their goods here, without knowing where or how to dispose of them." By 1681 Shivaji 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 galivats" interrupted our trade; the presence of the Moghal fleet exposed the garrison to

attack. Our only chance was to temporise with both; to ask permission of Sambhaji to re-establish the Factory at Rajapur; to appease the Moghal by presents to the Governor of Surat. "We shall not molest the Shivajis if they do not molest us, keeping always cruisers out to oblige them to civility:" such was our policy towards the power, which if not engaged in open hostilities, such as the seizure of our boats in 1701, at any rate disturbed the peace of our island, by choosing it as the arena of his struggles with the Sidi.

The letters and documents of this period portray in great measure the anxiety, which had laid hold upon the people. The outlook on all sides was unpromising. At home were pestilence and private jealousy; abroad, the Sidi, the Malabar, the Mahratta, the Moghal and the Portuguese. There were French alarms as well; stories of "three French ships that lay at anchor off Old Woman's Island, weighed and betook themselves to a clean pair of heels"; 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." Such circumstances could have but one effect upon a population, whose main object in coming to the island had been to secure for themselves a peaceful livelihood and protection. The proud boast of the Company in 1668 "that by means of their island of Bombay they had brought thither the principal part of the trade of Surat, where from 4,000 families, computed when the Company took possession of it, they are since increased to 50,000 families" (Milburn's Oriental Commerce), must have had a mournful significance for the men of 1718, who witnessed a population shrunk to the lowest figure ever reached under British rule. Their only consolation can have been that the diminution was inevitable, that their sore chastening was perchance necessary for their ultimate welfare.

Before passing on to the succeeding period, it were well to notice certain scattered references to various communities, connected during these years with the island. We have seen how the Brahmins of Bandora fled from the intolerance of the Portuguese, and built themselves houses of refuge on these shores. The Moors (Musalmans) also dwelt in considerable numbers in the town. When our troubles with the Portuguese reached a climax in 1676, John Petit "went up to Mahim, taking with him a division of the Garrison Companies, the militia of Bombay with 100 Bhandaris, and about 100 Moors of the island, which, with the militia of Mahim, amounted to 500 men." We hear of them again on the 23rd March 1687; how that "the Moors' Delvys have of late built one house on the island and are now very importunate with us to dig stones to build another." Though on the whole the Company looked with less favour on the Moors than on the trading community proper, they nevertheless showed them civility, by permitting them to travel on the Company's ships. "These are to enorder you to receive on board such Moormen with their necessaries as Girdhadas shall come with, who being on board, wind and weather permitting, weigh the anchor and make the best of the way to the port of Chaul, where the said Moormen being landed, return with all expedition to us." So runs a 'permit' of 1694. And another of about the same date states that "These are to enorder you to repair on board of the Right Honourable Company's sloop with your men and make the best of your way with Habshi Hakim, a Moorman, and his people for Underi". We read of Fakirs on board a country ship being allowed to come ashore with five horses; of "Neury, Diodator and Yearmamoed" Armenians all of them, being transported by the Company's vessels to Surat. The ships' commanders, apparently, did not always treat such passengers equitably; for in 1704 the Court of Directors took notice of complaints against the commanders for ill-usage of Armenians, and ordered their extortions to cease. Of "Cofferies" or Zanzibar slaves mention is made in an order of the 19th September 1701, forbidding them to leave the island by way of Mahim, Sion or Worli, in consequence of the robbery of several Mahommedans' houses. It is noticeable that, notwithstanding the troubles of the period under review, the representatives of the Company never wholly lost sight of the need for attracting settlers by impartial and beneficent treatment of all men. Thus "when any Callimbines and Bunderines (Kunbis and Bhandaris) which live in the addas (Vadis) come to you for a chit to have the country music, you are to give them one without taking anything from them." So runs an order to Ensign Shaw. Mr. Aislabie also was

ordered in 1694 "to permit the Moormen to come upon this island to worship at the tomb at Mahim as customary; but let none come armed at any time but persons of some considerable quality." Even the Marathas were treated with civility, for an order of 1701 permits "ten of the Shivajis belonging to their galivat to come on shore to dinner"; and on various occasions petty benefits of ferry convoy and the like were granted to the Sidi's followers. Throughout the dark days of pestilence, and in spite of external agression and annoyance, the standard which Aungier had so firmly planted was kept ever in view. "We would, therefore, have you keep the island always in a strong posture of defence and our soldiers strictly to their duty and in the constant exercise of their arms. You should set your wits effectually on work to create some considerable manufacture upon the island that may augment the number of the inhabitants whom we would have modelled into trained bands under English or other officers, as you shall see cause." So counsels the Court. "Take special care," they cry, "that all who pay the duties and deal fairly be encouraged to trade; that none be suffered to engross all or any commodities imported, or to do anything else that may discourage merchants frequenting the port or the inhabitants that reside on the island." Advances were made to cultivators, notably "14 mudás of batty to the Currambees of all the alldears (villages) of this island by the hand of Alvazo Mozello," and "4 mudás to the Kunbis, in part of the quantity usually advanced to them." Encouragement was given to silk-weavers "half a score of whom will come and inhabit here, if the Company build them houses." "Let none have our work," write the Directors in 1684, "but such only as will become inhabitants upon our island of Bombay, and persuade all you can from the main to go over and settle at Bombay upon the terms of having constant work." Right well were the orders carried out; for in 1686 we learn that "Here is of late many silk-weavers and others come from Thana and Chaul, and if encouragement is given, they will daily come from other parts to us. The Portuguese merely tyrannise over those poor people and enact such great taxes and customs from them that they fly from the cities and principal places of trade." Nor was the Koli neglected, for an order of the 5th April 1715 forbade anyone "to oppress the fishermen, by forcing them to sell fish to a particular person. Let the market be free to everybody." Nothing indeed was left undone, which might counteract the baleful influence at work during the period; and the fact that the population did not decrease more largely, must be ascribed to the untiring efforts of the Company to render the island habitable by both rich and poor. "Suffer poor people to come and inhabit on the island; and call the militia to watch with you every night sparing the Padre of Parel's servants;" so writes Sir John Wyborne in 1686. Night patrols for the protection of persons at Mahim, Worli, Sewri, and Sion; the increase of the militia, "to a complete body of near 600 men, who are all possessors of land on the island"; the addition "of a third standing company and two standing companies of Rashpouts (Rajputs)"; the continual building of bastions, which culminated in the completion of the town wall on Christmas Day, 1718; orders to complete a dry dock and the improvement of "the wretched arrangements hitherto deemed sufficient for repairing ships"; the provision of communication between Bombay, Mahim and Sion, by ferry-boats "rented for 103 Xeraphins and one laree per month"; the despatch of 'twenty moneyers' to the Bombay Mint; and the permission to all men, notably Parsis, Hindus, and Christians, to occupy what land they pleased, so that "by 1707 the greater portion of the Fort was private property"; all these various actions were dictated by the stern resolve to render Bombay, come what might, rich and populous. A Post Office, a Cotton Press, as we learn from Maclean, were established during this period; and lastly St. Thomás' Cathedral. Sir George Oxenden began to build a church in 1668, gathering subscriptions for that purpose; but on his death, "piety grew sick and the building of churches was grown unfashionable"; wherefore, the only place of prayer until 1718 was the Fort Chapel, consisting of two rooms in the Governor's House. But at length, after embezzlement of building-funds by Sir John Child, "performance of public devotions under lock and key," and stirring exhortations by Mr. Cobbe to wipe away the reproach of being godless in the sight of the heathen, we find "the Honourable Charles Boone, Esq." giving orders "for the opening the Church of Bombay," on the 25th December 1718. "The church was dressed with palm branches and plantain trees," so writes the chronicler; "the pillars were adorned with wreaths

of greens, and the double crosses over the arches looked like so many stars in the firmament. Service began as usual on Christmas Day, but with this additional satisfaction, the making a new Christian the same day in the new Church, a good omen doubtless of a future increase. A whole crowd of black people stood round about, among them Ramaji and all his caste, who were so well pleased with the decency and regularity of the way of worship, that they stood it out the whole service. When the sermon from Isaiah LVI. 7, was over, the Governor and Council and ladies repaired to the vestry, where having drunk success to the new Church in a glass of sack, the whole town returned to the Governor's lodgings within the Fort." The oldest relic of the early British period, yet in existence, is the ruined Court House; next in point of age, if we exclude the remains of the fortifications, is the Cathedral. They seem to us to symbolise the two strongest bulwarks of our dominion in India,—Justice for all men, and the clemency that cometh of true Christianity.

Here then we would take leave of a period, in which the moral and material progress, which should have crowned the efforts of our ancestors, was retarded and nullified by the presence of the foeman and of the "fell sergeant, Death." Perchance the perusal of that troublous record may inspire even us, who are so differently circumstanced, with hopes for the future. The small town was sorely chastened in those early days; but she rose triumphant in the years that followed, owing her success in no small degree to the politic and prudent actions, which had quietly taken place during the years of "Sturm und Drang." The city of our day likewise has been sore beset; has watched her people die, and knows not when the evil may be stayed. Can we not hope that improvements initiated in the day of sickness will hereafter assist her to rise, like the phœnix, more glorious from the ashes of the dead past?

Period the Third.—1718 to 1744.

The period, with which we now have to deal, extends from the year 1718 till the year 1744, and is characterised in the main by quiet and steady progress, and by the gradual restitution of the population, which the troubles of preceding years had driven from the Island. Niebuhr states that the population of Bombay in 1744 numbered 70,000, or ten thousand in excess of the number gained during the earliest years of British occupation. To what cause is the increase ascribable? Our island was as exposed to external aggression as it had ever been: for the Portuguese, during the early portion of the period, followed their ancient policy of obstruction; the Sidi, albeit his dominion was moribund, could yet make his presence felt; while Angria and the Maratha were in the very zenith of their power. The secret of our progress lies, we believe, in the fact of our being for the first time an united community; the house was no longer divided against itself; the dual control of affairs by Surat and Bombay Presidents had vanished; internal feuds had been laid to rest; unity of interests, unity of purpose had supervened. Released from the fetters of private dissension, our President, our Council and our Officers were free to formulate and carry out a careful line of policy towards the various powers, by whom the island was surrounded; while the comparative tranquillity, induced by prudent dealings with external forces, afforded them the opportunity of further improving the internal condition of their charge.

The keynote of the Company's policy during the period under review was the necessity for holding aloof from hostilities, until they should be prepared to stand alone; to temporise, in fact, until the blighting effects of past years had been eradicated. Complete isolation was impossible; but, having decided which of their natural enemies were likely to prove the most troublesome, the representatives of the Company endeavoured to, as far as possible, keep on good terms with them; and wherever it became necessary to side with one party or the other, to give such assistance to the weaker power, as would prevent their being too speedily overwhelmed. Both in the matter of Angria and the Sidi, and in the matter of the Portuguese and the Marathas, their policy was based upon the same considerations. That the power of the Sidi was waning, that Angria was an extremely dangerous neighbour, they fully comprehended; that the English were not yet strong enough to sweep the latter from their path, was also unquestionable. Time was essential for perfecting their own stability and resources; and in the meanwhile, therefore, they determined, by supporting the former, to use him as a foil to the Angria, until such time as they should be themselves ready to stand alone. Hence in 1724 the President reports "that Sidi Saut of Anjanvel or Dabhol has at sundry time sent off to our vessels provision and refreshment while cruizing off that port and been otherwise very courteous in his advices in relation to Angria; 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." As late as 1735, indeed, by which date "there was no longer any prospect," as Mr. Cowan informed the Board, "of the Sidi being ever again able to make any figure at sea, since the Marathas and Angria are in possession of their whole fleet," the same line of action was adopted. "We are well convinced," argues the Board, "of the truth of what Sidi Saut sets forth in regard to their poverty and the danger of their country. We greatly apprehend that if we deny them our assistance at this time, they may be so far disgusted as to strike up a peace with the Shahu Raja, by submitting to his yoke. Thereby we should not only lose what they now owe us, but they would even become our enemies in conjunction with Shahu Raja and Angria. Should not this be the immediate consequence, we are certain they would proceed with their force to plunder the country bordering on Pen river, which would entirely put a stop to the trade carried on thither by this island. On the other hand we have good reason to believe they will recover a large sum from the Surat Government, and that, upon their fleet appearing at the bar, our chief will be applied to for adjusting their demands, which will give us an opportunity of repaying ourselves as far as the circumstances of the Sidis will permit. For these reasons it is agreed to advance the Sidis Rs. 30,000." Fifty mudás of batty were also advanced to them in the same year, as "we would not willingly disgust them by a refusal at this time"; while from 1736 to 1737 the policy of the Company led to the establishment at Sion Fort of a body of Sidi troops, designed to assist

the garrison in repelling attack. While employing the Sidi as a foil, the Company forbore not to harass Angria, whenever a favourable opportunity was presented. At the outset of the period the pirate carries off vessels belonging to "Mulla Muhammad Ali, the Great Surat merchant, commits his piracies on the seas without restraint and thereby disturbs and hinders trade." Shaikh Islam Khan urges reprisals, saying "I will represent to the King the method that the said pirate may be totally ruined, and I hope in God it will be done in a few days." The upshot of the business was a secret war committee, and an expedition against the Angria, under the command of Mr. Walter Brown. On the 17th October 1720, "the Defiance, Elizabeth and a galivat from our fleet before Ghéria" brought news that Mr. Brown had landed a detachment, slain a good number of the enemy, with very little loss on our side; "has burnt some of the enemy's shipping and utterly destroyed two of Angria's best grabs." In 1724 there were negotiations for the release of English prisoners; in 1731 a fresh engagement between "the Bengal galley and Angria's grabs;" in 1733, the year in which we undertook, at the instance of Teg Beg Khan, the duties of "Protectors of Trade," an expedition against Underi under Lieutenant Inchbird, and an alliance with the seven principal Sidis of Rajpuri. From that date until the close of the period, the Sidi sinks into insignificance; and the success of our policy depends as much upon fostering the strife which has arisen between the brothers, Sambhaji and Manaji Angria, as upon subsidising the Sidi. The Company still needed time, was not yet prepared to emerge as a political power, and abstained therefore from all but petty attacks. Aid to Manaji Angria against his brother, and a refusal to conclude peace with Sambhaji, for fear that "such a concession would expose us to the contempt of all our neighbours," were followed by renewed hostilities with the twain, capture of grabs, confinement of their subehdars in irons, and confiscation of the batty aboard two boats captured by "the Dolphin." In 1737 the Company blockaded the Angria's ports with "the Brittania, King George and Prince of Wales' galleys," but hesitated to make any attack by land. The President informed the Council that the land forces of Bombay were of the following strength :—

A. Military.	
Europeans (including Officers)	449
Topasses	817
Sepoys	943
B. Mariners.	
Europeans (including Officers)	299
At Mokha	115
Total ...	2,623

"Will it be prudent," he asks, "with the above force and the assistance of three Europe ships to undertake anything against the common enemy Angria by land?" "The safety of the island ought to be first considered," replies the Council. "As we could not expect to undertake any such expedition without the enemy gaining intelligence of our design, he would have time to make application to Shahu Raja, who can and in such cases would send a large number of men to his assistance." The greatest care was needed to prevent a declaration of war, ere we felt ourselves strong enough to support a contest, requiring a large expenditure of money and stores. Once again in 1739, we were tempted to hostilities in the matter of the island of Karanja. Sundry inhabitants thereof proposed to take possession of and hold the same for the Honourable Company; "the situation and conveniency of that island together with its surrender from the Portuguese to an enemy" appeared to demand our compliance with their suggestion. But prudence once more prevailed; our position was not yet sufficiently assured. "It would require the raising at least twelve or fifteen hundred men," argued the Council, "to dislodge the troops now on Karanja with Manaji in person. And though it is probable, unless opposed by the Marathas, we might carry the attack through with success, yet as a sufficient force could not be got together without disarming our passes, and that the President has certain intelligence of a large number of Marathas assembled at Marol, apparently with no good intention, such a step might and probably would be attended with bad consequences to our island, as it is reasonable to expect the Marathas would attack our passes when they found them unguarded. Nor would our seizure or taking of Karanja be attended with any secure maintenance. For so long

as the Marathas continue in the neighbourhood, the charges must exceed the revenue which we are sure our Honourable Masters would be little inclined to support. The fort itself at Karanja is in its present condition entirely untenable, being a large ruinous fortification commanded by a neighbouring eminence. A new fort would be necessary for the preservation of the place, and the Marathas would not fail of attacking it, as they consider Karanja part of the Portuguese domain, and even now avow that Manaji Angria has taken possession of it for them. In which case it would require at least 1,200 men with competent ammunition and stores to garrison it with any hopes of holding out. Especially since the Agris or salt labourers, who made a body from seven to eight hundred men well armed, and chiefly depended upon for the defence of the place, are gone over to the enemy and were indeed the means of his introduction. All which considered, though we cannot but be sensible of the great inconvenience to Bombay of this new neighbour, it is agreed that we forbear any attempt of this sort that may either endanger the safety of our own island or involve us in increased charges." Up to the end of the period the Company's object remained unaltered. In 1739 they were again assisting Manaji against his brother; in 1740 they were forced to break with him, but obtained a respite from hostilities, by inducing the Marathas to check the depredations of their piratical allies.

The same cautious policy of establishing firmly our own position, before attempting any forward movement, marked our dealings with the Portuguese and the Marathas. At the opening of the period, the old sentiments of enmity betwixt English and "Portugal" were still rife, and found vent in various annoying actions and counter actions. On the 15th May 1720, we read of Portuguese priests and bishops, suspected of complicity with Rama Kamathi in his treasonable dealings with the Marathas, being ordered to quit the island within twenty-four hours; to which the Portuguese respond by "stopping several of our patamars," beating and ill-using our workmen, and by seizing letters intended for Madras. On the 5th July, in the same year, the President 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 our rivals, many of whom owned properties on the island, that they got a gibbet erected at Bandora, and "hoisted up and let down again three times D'Chaves and another man, both inhabitants of this island, who were sent hence to give Fernando d'Silvera notice of the proclamation." The estates were nevertheless confiscated; and to obviate a recrudescence of the trouble, it was unanimously resolved that "as the practice of Portuguese and other foreigners making land purchases on this island has been prejudicial to the Government, no person, who is not an inhabitant on this island, shall for the future purchase any estates."

By the year 1735, however, the forward march of the Maratha had effected a change in our mutual relations. To both the Portuguese and the English the presence of these people was synonymous with peril; and when the invasion of Salsette commenced in 1735, the vital question for the Company's decision was whether they should stand shoulder to shoulder with their ancient enemy and endeavour to stay the onslaught of the invader, or leave the Portuguese dominion to its inevitable fate. Thus on the 27th April 1737 we read of the President recommending to the Board "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." The Board after deep cogitation comes to an unanimous decision that "If our force, joined with the Portuguese, should be judged capable of withstanding the Marathas or sufficient to regain the Island of Salsette, our coming to hostilities with the Marathas would be more eligible than our continuing in our present state. Because, if the Marathas were removed from Salsette, we should be under no apprehension of danger from them, nor be obliged to continue the great additional expense we are now at, to secure ourselves against them, while

they remain on that island. Still when we consider the great number of men the Marathas can at any time bring into the field, they appear too powerful for the Portuguese and our united force to stand against, and (according to information we have received) they are too well secured in Thana for us to hope to expel them. Therefore seeing that as we might draw great inconveniences upon ourselves, besides a heavy expense, by declaring against them, it is resolved not to do it unless a very favourable opportunity offers of effecting something considerable against them." For the present, therefore, it was decided to hold aloof from the struggle, and to content ourselves with despatching "Ramji Parbhu, a person of capacity and experience," to discover what were Chimnaji's exact intentions. Closer and closer press the invaders round the Portuguese; and once again the General of the North "entreats our succours for the expulsion of our enemies, the Marathas, from the island of Salsette"; sends his request by the hand of Padre Manoel Rodrigo d'Estrado, who being called before the Council, "uses many arguments to induce us to join with the Portuguese in this undertaking; that there would be little doubt of success with our united force; how great credit our nation would gain thereby and the returns of service we might on any occasion so justly claim from the Portuguese." The arguments of the Padre are in truth specious, might haply command success if addressed to Councillors endowed with less subtlety and foresight. But the Englishmen of that day walked circumspectly, knowing that their instruction in political matters was but just begun. "The strict alliance," they wrote, "between our respective sovereigns in Europe, and the natural interest of this island render us heartily inclined to assist the Portuguese for regaining their territories. Still we cannot help remarking that their affairs in India are in a very declining, if not desperate and irretrievable condition. The President assures the Board that from the letters he has received from the Viceroy, and the late and present Generals of the North, as well as from the frequent discourse he has held with many of the gentlemen and Padres of that nation, it seems as if they themselves had little hopes of doing anything but depend upon us to fight their battles. We are, therefore, very apprehensive that, if we were once engaged in the war, they would afterwards take very little upon themselves but saddle us with the burthen of the whole charge and trouble. If we declare openly against the Marathas, the trade of this island would be entirely stopped and our Honourable Masters be great sufferers in the loss of the Customs, and would be driven to great strait for provisions for our inhabitants, and other stores and necessaries greatly wanted for the service of the island and which are furnished from the Maratha's country. Another objection that occurs against joining with the Portuguese on the present occasion is that some years ago when we acted in conjunction against Kanhoji Angria, though our force was four times greater than what we can now raise and strengthened with the assistance of the squadron of men-of-war under the command of Commodore Mathews, we were not able to effect anything, and therefore we cannot hope for better success at present. The foregoing reasons and objections being duly weighed in, the Board is unanimous in opinion that we cannot join with the Portuguese in the present undertaking with any hopes of success against the enemy, but that we should involve ourselves in numberless difficulties and bring on an excessive expense. It is, therefore, unanimously agreed to decline it, and the President is desired to write a letter in answer to the General of the North drawn from the substance of the foregoing resolutions."

The storm-cloud gathered dark over Bassein in 1738; the Portuguese knew their weakness, knew that it must burst ere long and wreak their ruin; could only appeal vainly to the English Governor for assistance. "I dare not," writes the Governor in a letter to Pedro D'Mello, "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." So matters remain; the cloud lowers darker; one last despairing appeal comes from Goa for money and munitions of war, to which we respond "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 cloud bursts, Bassein capitulates, a once powerful community bids adieu for ever to dominion in the North Konkan and sails dejected from its capital in vessels provided by a former rival!

But what shall our Council do under these circumstances? We are at last face to face with the Maratha; his outposts are in dangerous propinquity to our boundary-hamlet. Should we fight or temporise? Prudence once more declares for the latter course; for we are not yet ready to meet the foe on equal terms. Consequently we read that on May 15th, 1739, the Board decided that "as Bassein is reduced, it will be highly proper to send a letter of compliment to Chimnaji Appa with a small present in the Eastern manner, to consist of six yards of red velvet, six yards of green, and six yards of cloth. This present Bhiku Sinay (Shenvi) is pitched upon to carry, a person the best qualified we can find for such an employ, as the same may be an opening or introduction to a further knowledge and insight into Chimnaji's movements." The transfer of Chaul to the Marathas in 1740, might well have given rise to ill-feeling between those people and ourselves; but so certain was the Council of the wisdom of its policy, that they even appointed one of their own officers, Captain James Inchbird, to act as mediator between the Portuguese and Chimnaji. "The protection of our trade is all that arms us or make us desirous even of holding Bombay, without extending our dominion or gaining ports or settlements that might give them a jealousy, since they cannot but confess that we had a fair opportunity of getting Chaul for ourselves, had not those maxims we profess been against it." Such are the concluding words of the orders to Captain Inchbird; and during the remainder of the period, the views expressed in those orders were rigidly adhered to. There are letters extant from Shahu Raja to the Bombay Government, which breathe a spirit of friendliness; answers thereto from Bombay, begging the serene Maharaja's acceptance of "a statue of a cow and calf; also a clock with chimes and several moving figures." The greatest care was observed in dealing with a power, whose good faith was in the highest degree questionable. "As we have it not in our power," says the President, "to oppose them by force, it is indispensably necessary to proceed with the utmost caution, and as far as possible prevent the evil designs which sooner or later they may attempt to put more effectually in execution." A letter from the Directors, dated the 13th March 1743, show how far successful was this policy, the object whereof was to gain time, until our community was strong enough to march forth and conquer. "We take notice with satisfaction," so runs the letter, "that you continue on good terms with the Marathas upon Salsette, there being no manner of complaints in the advices before us of their conduct. We persuade ourselves that by a prudent management and behaviour, they will be very good neighbours, and for the welfare of the island we would have you cultivate a lasting friendship with them, being at the same time duly upon your guard against all treachery and deceit."

These twenty-six years, therefore, witnessed a radical alteration in the relations existing between our island and surrounding principalities. The Sidi, as a sea-power, disappeared; the Portuguese lost the land-rule which their strong men had built up more than a century before; both nations yielded place to younger and more vigorous peoples, in dealing with whom our rulers in this island received their first instructions in the art of Western Indian politics. Ostensibly we were still no more than merchants, actuated solely by the desire for peaceful commerce; and our Presidents yet affected to set more store by "dutties," "tapseils," "guinea-stuffs," "chintzes with large nosegays and bunches of flowers," than by Sidi alliances and the course of political affairs in the Deccan. But slowly and surely we were exchanging the rôle of a purely mercantile community for that of a great political power; and the years which elapsed between 1718 and 1744 were pregnant with events, testifying to the alteration of our character. As yet, it is true, we were but learning our part; were waiting, watching and perfecting our knowledge; but some god-given instinct was with us, as we directed the affairs of the warehouse, and guided our faltering steps along the path to conquest and omnipotence. It prompted, as we have seen, our action in dealing with Chimnaji Appa and his fighting hordes; it prompted us to make a friend of Bajirao. "The watch that came out in the Queen Caroline packet for Bajirao having been sent to his son, and the receipt thereof acknowledged with a complaisant answer for the favour, the Board think it will be best to omit charging Bajirao anything for the mending, but make him a compliment thereof in regard to the friendship which exists between our governments." So runs the record of November 7th, 1741; and in the

year following, on the occasion of the marriage of one of Bajirao's sons, one learns that "a present was unavoidable, and it is, therefore, agreed that the following articles be sent by a special messenger :—

6 Shawls of Rs. 20 each	120
1 Gold chain	105
1 Sari or covering for a woman	40
Putalis or gold coins	75
Charges for the person sent	50
Total Rs. ...	390 "

The strengthening of our possessions was not the least important of the actions undertaken during these years, and resulted naturally from the transformation, which we, as a community, were being forced to undergo. Thus, there are constant references to the strength of the garrison, to the necessity for maintaining so many European and Topass Companies in spite of an impoverished exchequer ; "for we have judged it highly proper," writes the Court, "to put our military and artillery upon a new footing" ; "a reasonably commodious lodgment or cazern" is built for the troops at Sion ; strict orders are issued in regard to "the present pernicious license given to the inhabitants of dealing in the several ammunitions of war" ; while pecuniary inducement is offered to the Topasses to live within the walls, in order that they may be more readily martialled in an emergency. The Fort also is strengthened, after tours of inspection by the President and military officers. "As we cannot be certain," say the Council, "that the enemy will not force a passage upon the island and attack the town, its safety ought to be provided for by cutting down all trees within point blank shot, that is, within 120 yards of the wall, and thinning them for such further distance as shall be found necessary. A survey made by the fazendars and the landholders and elders shows that about 3,200 trees may be cut down." In 1739 there is a movement afoot "for the carrying of a ditch round the town wall" ; the principal merchants of the place subscribe thirty thousand rupees towards the cost of the business ; for "our inhabitants are grown so apprehensive of the insecure posture of the place against the power of our encroaching neighbours." By 1743, the Ditch is completed at a cost of Rs. 2,50,000 ; and the eight bastions of the Fort are in charge of sixty-one European gentlemen, responsible for the safety thereof. Further evidence of our preparations is afforded by the construction of a powder mill on Old Woman's Island. "Such a mill," write the Board, "is greatly wanted on this island, partly through a deficiency of working people, partly because they are unwilling to be employed in such service." As a matter of fact, this powder-house was never utilised ; for an improved mill was shortly afterwards erected on a spot close to the site of the present Secretariat.

Not only in respect of land-forces was this restless activity apparent. The Dockyard was extended ; the marine was established. Read the words of the Council in 1733 :—"It is observed our marine charges of late years have been very great, and are likely to increase by the additional strength the two sons of Angria have acquired by their conquest of the Sidis' country. With the Sidis' fleet of grabs and galivats in their possession, the Angrias are become too formidable to be kept in awe with the small sea-force we have at present in our service." Hence comes it that the marine paymaster was directed to treat with the proprietors for the Rose galley, "a vessel very fit for our purpose, being strong and well built, a prime sailer, and three years old" ; that the "Fort St. George, the Bombay, and the Britannia" were condemned in 1736, and new grabs and country vessels constructed in their stead ; that continual additions were made to the fleet until the year 1742 ; and finally that Lowji Nassarwanji, the Wadia or Shipbuilder, of whom we shall speak again, was brought down from Surat to superintend the construction of new vessels.

The instinct, which led the Company to built fleets and fortifications, obliged them also to the stern repression of treachery within their own ranks. In the early portion of the period, the public mind was much exercised by the tale of Rama Kamathi's treachery ; in 1743 the President proposed to deport certain Topasses from Sion, who had acted mutinously. The old days of Keigwin revolts and the like had passed away ; the island was to become powerful ;

domestic intrigue could not be permitted to jeopardise its future well-being. This trial of the Shenvi, Rama Kamathi, for treasonable dealings with the Angria, was in truth a very sorry business. The Governor and his Council seem never to have doubted the man's guilt. Before them lay that damning letter of October 12th, 1718, which we here reproduce in part:—"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 Karhoji Angria Sarqueel—Ramaji Kamathi, 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, and thus it is agreed to environ the said fort on the 17th October, and the armada powder and ball and all other necessaries for war are ready. I, therefore, write your honour that you may have the said fort well furnished." Beside that letter, the wretched Rama's protestations of innocence seemed utterly worthless; were in the eyes of Government proved to be false by the confession of Govindji, lately his clerk, "who was subjected to the barbarous practice of screwing irons on his thumbs, until under the smart of them the truth was squeezed out of him." Perpetual imprisonment in the "Trunk" (Portuguese, Tronco-Jail), and confiscation of property worth some forty thousand rupees was the punishment meted out to the Shenvi, to whom as a comrade in misfortune came soon afterwards, one Dalba Bhandari, likewise guilty of high crimes and misdemeanours. We can never forgive Mr. Boone for countenancing the torture of the ill-starred Govind. The memory of what he effected towards ameliorating the helpless condition of our island is completely overshadowed by regret for this act of inhumanity; regret which is heightened by the knowledge now vouchsafed to us, that Rama Kamathi was guiltless, that the incriminating letters were the merest forgeries!

Now the politic behaviour of the Company towards those in whose power it lay to blockade and impoverish the island, afforded leisure for the progress of internal administration, and thereby led to the immigration of people from the mainland. We read of justice being advanced by the creation, in 1728, of a Mayor's Court, declared to be a Court of Record and empowered to hear civil cases of all kinds, subject to an appeal to the Governor and Council; by the constitution, in 1727, of the Governor and Council as a Court of Oyer and Terminer and Goal Delivery, whereby the community might be purged of felons and burglars such as Joseph Coutinho and Badhou, whereby also "the horrid crime of murder may be better prevented." The island for the purposes of criminal justice was considered to be a county; and Dongri Fort, after sundry repairs and alterations, was constituted the county-gaol. Trade was encouraged by the establishment of a Bank in 1720; the President proposing that "Messrs. Brown and Phillips be appointed for his assistance in that affair, as the setting a bank on this island will indisputably be for the mutual benefit and advantage both of the Right Honourable Company and the inhabitants, by the increase of the trade and revenues thereof." Hence comes it that we read of "12 Fazendars of Mahim representing that they have borrowed money of the Bank to the amount of Rs. 6,250, for security of which their estates are mortgaged, and that they have regularly paid interest for the same every six months and are ready to do so in future; but that the assistant to the managers of the Bank having demanded the principal as well as the interest, they are not able at present to comply therewith, and therefore request the space of four months to pay it in." The Council responds by allowing them three months to clear their respective debts, considering that "all trade is entirely stagnated during the rains and that there is a scarcity of money at this time upon the island." One can well imagine how great an inducement to immigration and settlement such a Bank would prove. Later on, we meet with evidence of trade with China; a letter from the Court in 1738 stated that "with a view to encourage our servants at Bombay and the subordinate factories to carry on the China trade in a defensible Europe ship, we shall in future send out yearly to Bombay, on or before the 20th May, a ship which may arrive at Anjengo or Tellicherry in December following. After delivering her outward cargo at Bombay, and doing other service, she must about the end of March be laid in at Surat or Bombay for a voyage to China and back to Bombay." The expansion of Bombay commerce was sought by

all means possible, even at the expense of our other ports in Western India. "In case you have reason to apprehend," write the Directors in 1743, "that any species of goods will, at some periods, sell better at Surat than Bombay, we would have them disposed of accordingly, although in general we choose that the sales should be made on the island in order to render it the grand mart on your side of India."

But not only by the maintenance of law and order, and by the facilities granted to traders, was an increase of population assured. Reclamation of land was taken in hand, of land which had indirectly caused the death of many an inhabitant in years past. The memory of that dread time, when the aged and the young alike succumbed to the pestilence of the climate, had not yet departed; and hope of immigration could scarcely be entertained, unless and until the land was rendered habitable. So we read of "salt ground, recovered by the causeway built from Sion to Mahim" being let to cultivators on a seven years' lease; of proposals by Captain Bates and Captain Johnson for "stopping the Great or Mahalakshmi Love Grove Breach;" of how Captain Bates' scheme was approved and measures were taken to fill the Breach as soon as possible. The work was carried on until 1727, when the Directors ordered that all further outlay should cease; after which date "such an expense was continued as seemed necessary for the preservation of the dam until the work was secured." But the ocean was thereby robbed of much that was once his portion; new lands lay ready for cultivation, out of which we note in particular "1,440 square yards, let to the Kunbis at 4 res each, that is, Rs. 14-1-60 per annum." This process of reclamation, albeit it was but in its infancy during the period we are now reviewing, has contributed in a very marked degree to the growth of the island's population. So long as the inroad of the sea was unchecked, so long was unhealthiness prevalent; so long as native craft could float over the site of our modern district of Kamathipura, the expansion of our numbers was a practical impossibility. By the year 1730 our population began to outgrow the limits of the Fort, and cast about for fresh sites within easy distance of the wharf and warehouses; and then indeed, the value of breach-stopping and reclamation was fully realized. In minor matters, such for example as the supervision of the market and the regulation of prices, the convenience of the people was carefully studied. "The Moodys used many arguments," we are told, "against any reduction of the prices stipulated in their former agreement." But the Council was obdurate, referred "to the present course of the markets at this place, as also to the last received price-current from Surat," and let it be clearly understood that the people were not to be starved out of the Island for the private benefit of a few victuallers. Facilities for journeying to and from the island, which fear of invasion had obliged the Council in earlier years to do away with, were re-established: for, when Lakshman Pant requested the resettlement of the Mahim and Salsette ferry boat in 1739, the Council, after full consideration of the island's circumstances, decided that "the passage be again opened and freedom given for all unsuspected persons to have free egress and regress to our island." That the tide of population was setting towards the island in these years is apparent from the concluding portion of the same resolution. "As regards Lakshmanji's further request," so the record runs, "that leave be given for the return of such persons as have forsaken Salsette and are at present on our island, as this point is strongly insisted upon the part of the Marathas, and as a refusal may be attended with great disgust; it is agreed that free liberty be given to such as have a mind to return under the Maratha Government." These few examples will, perhaps, suffice as proof of the encouragement granted to immigration by the domestic policy of the Government.

The "Corumbees" or Kunbis are met with during the period; appear to be dissatisfied with the terms of the Royal Charter, and "will not manure the batty grounds upon the ancient established terms." "Excite these useful men," is the Court's advice, "to continue among you by good usage; grant them relief, if, on serious consideration, you are persuaded that the prohibiting of kut or fish manure has sensibly lessened the produce of the lands." To the Kunbis, "who make salt in the several villages", also, consideration is shown by the loan of "200 bags of Bengal rice at Rs. 6½ per bag, the patels and mukadums signing a bond for the amount"; while in 1735, a year of great scarcity, the Kunbis of Parel, Bombay, and Mahim were allowed "an abatement of the toka (assessment), to the amount of mudás 44-18-8½."

A consultation of May 7th, 1736, records the loan of Rs. 200 to the Mukadam or head of some new Bhandaris come from the other side to settle in Bombay, to provide them with houses and other conveniences; and in 1740 members of the same community, resident in Chaul, forwarded to Bombay a lengthy petition, stating that Manaji Angria had burnt their houses and cut down their trees, that, the Portuguese being no longer strong enough to protect them, they were desirous of placing themselves under the protection of some other Government, and promising, that if Bombay would provide them with a home, they would be "with all fidelity good subjects to this Government." "Let them come," replied the Council, "for they are a useful body of people fit for action and always esteemed faithful to the Government they live under; and let the President admit them on such terms of entertainment as he shall please to adjust with them for the good of the service." Nor were the weavers forgotten. In 1735 the Company's officers at Surat were directed to persuade "sundry weavers who have deserted from Ahmedabad, Dolka and other parts," to come to Bombay, and to promise them, in the event of their agreement, "all fitting encouragement and employment." We also assisted the community with loans—Rs. 4,000 in 1735, "to enable them to carry on the investment of Bombay stuffs," Rs. 5,000 in 1739 to their mukadam, Janoji, for the same purpose; and Rs. 2,000, on the security of the Mukadam and Rupji Dhanji, in the year 1740, to enable them to rebuild their houses, recently destroyed by fire. In 1736, under the auspices of one Bamanji Patel, "who came down hither from Surat with Mr. Braddyll," forty or fifty families of weavers immigrated to the island, and were provided with "small habitations, rent free for two years." Towards the Kolis the same philanthropic attitude was adopted; for when they complained of being forced to act as palanquin-coolies, to the detriment of their ancient and time-honoured duties as fishermen and agriculturists, the Council restricted the number of those entitled to such service, and further granted "to all licensed palanquin Kolis half a rupee advance on their present wages": and in 1741, on a representation made by Mr. Charles Crommelin, Collector of the Revenues, a sum of Rs. 100 was advanced to help towards the repair of their fishing craft. No community can be said to have lacked encouragement. To the Banias were presented in 1724 "four horses, altogether unserviceable, and if offered to sale, not likely to fetch anything", but rendered more acceptable by "their being dressed, on the suggestion of the President, with a yard and-a-half of red cloth." To us, such a donation may appear of little value; but the quartette of spavined steeds doubtless served its purpose, by keeping us on good terms with those who knew how to augment our trade. To Laldas Vithaldas, the Company's broker at Surat, the Council turned not a deaf ear, when he sought "to build a commodious house on Bombay Island" merely stipulating that he should send one of his family to reside here, in order that "other merchants of substance may be encouraged to follow his example." Then there were the "Vanjaras or heads of caravans," who were much inconvenienced by an order of 1742, forbidding strangers to lodge within the town. "These Vanjaras," wrote the Council, "are inhabitants of the Ghat country, who, in the fair season, resort hither bringing considerable sums of money, with which they purchase large quantities of goods, and then return up-country. As the trade carried on by these Vanjaras is beneficial to the island, we should be loth to give them any disgust. We therefore resolve that any Vanjaras, who come directly to the house of any merchant or broker, may be permitted to remain, provided the person to whose house they resort make a report thereof immediately to the Governor and be answerable for their behaviour during their continuance on the island." The adoption of handicrafts and trades was favourably regarded; and wherever there was scarcity of any class of artisan, measures were at once taken to supply the deficiency. Ten goldsmiths were sent hither from Surat in 1719; twenty-five smiths in 1741, "to whom we may promise Rs. 4. for every cwt. of iron they may work up and their provisions"; while the children of the inhabitants of Mazagon were apprenticed "to the several trades of carpenters, caulkers and sawyers, so as to complete and keep up the number of carpenters now on the island to twenty, caulkers to thirty and sawyers to thirty." The influx of the wealthier communities resulted in the presence of large numbers of slaves, chiefly from Madagascar, whom the Company either shipped to St. Helena or enlisted as soldiers; as for example, in 1741, when "14 men, 2 boys and 3 women are received from our Honourable Masters' ship Onslow." The Council considering how to employ these individuals to their Honourable Masters'

advantage, cannot help remarking "that from the experience of those already here they are but of little service, and the maintenance of them far exceeds the expense of pay to the other common labourers. Whether from the change of climate or what other cause we cannot say, the Madagascar slaves do not appear of a constitution robust enough to bear any laborious work adequate to the charge incurred. We are of opinion the only method will be to employ them in the military." So the Paymaster is directed to furnish the fourteen with accoutrements, the officers being enjoined to render them expert in the use of fire-arms. That the import of these people was not always a source of unmixed joy to our Governor and Council is further proved by a proclamation of the 3rd June 1741, wherein it is laid down that "the custom which hitherto prevailed on this Island of persons buying and selling slaves from or to whomsoever without any regard to the caste or religion of the persons so purchasing or selling, has been attended with great inconveniences and frequently occasions disputes and troubles to the Government of this island." The President and Governor "by and with the advice of his Council, therefore, orders that from and after publication of the proclamation, no slave either male or female shall be bought or sold to any person but such who are of the same caste and religion both with respect to the seller and purchaser."

Of individuals, who resided or journeyed hither during this period, we note in particular Rustom Dorabji and Lowji Nassarwanji Wadia. The former had been connected with the island since the year 1692, when he assisted with a body of Kolis to repel the invasion of the Sidi. For this good work he was appointed by Government Patel of Bombay, and a sanad was issued conferring the title upon him and his heirs for ever. At the time of which we write, he was living quietly in the island, honoured alike by Government and by the Kolis, whose domestic disputes he was empowered to settle. In later years his son Cowasji built the tank, which bears his name, and has given its title to the "Cowasji Patel Tank Road" of our modern C. Ward.

The history of Lowji may be said to be in some measure the history of the Bombay Dockyard. The Company, as we have already shown, had been obliged to have ships built for many years, in order to defend their coast against the pirates; but up to the year 1735 these had been constructed generally in Surat. In that year, the Company's agent, who had been despatched to Surat in connection with the building of a new ship, became acquainted with Lowji, and persuaded him to migrate to Bombay. Lowji came with his artificers, and having selected for the Docks part of the ground upon which they now stand, set to work to perfect our marine. In 1736 we hear of his being commissioned to buy timber from the forests inland, there being great scarcity of material in Bombay. In 1737 he brought his family here; and from that day forth for several generations Lowji and his descendants were the master-builders of the Dockyard. His great-great-grandson was at work there in the year 1810. Besides these twain there were other Parsis of whom history makes no special mention—Homji Byramji of the Dadysett family, Banaji Limji from Bhagwa Dandi near Surat, Jessaji Jivanji, a supervisor on the Town Ditch work; Muncharji Jivanji, ancestor of Sir Cowasji Jehangir, who came from Nowsari in 1728 to engage in the China trade; Cooverji of the Kama family, a fellow-immigrant with Lowji in 1735; and Manekji Sett who built an Agiari at Bazaar Gate Street in 1734. The last-named was the owner of Nowroji Hill, once part and parcel of the Mazagon Manor, now the chief land-mark of the Dongri Section. Other communities sent hither "Shenvi Bapu," the shroff; Madhavji Tankoji, Sonar, the money-lender; "Sahanoba Vithoji" and "Putalaji Parbhu," men of commerce; as also "Sadashiv Mangesh" and "Shenvi Pandurang Shivaji." "Krishna Joshi," the astrologer, from Kelva-Mahim; Rupji Dhanji and Shet Ramdass from Kathiawar; Dhakji, the Parbhu from Thana; Sakhidas Nagardas Shah from Ahmedabad; Pitambar Chaturbhuj Parekh and Vrijbhucandas Tapidas from Surat, and Babulshet Ganbasheth, ancestor of Mr. Jagannath Shankarshet, from Ghodbandar—all these were attracted to the island in these years by the liberal policy of the Company's Government, and were in many cases the founders of rich and respected families. One wonders whether the tide of immigration bore hither any members of the Beni-Israel community. It is not unlikely:—for ever since the dark days of the thirteenth century when their ancestors were shipwrecked near Chaul, they had gradually increased in

numbers and spread themselves among the villages, and particularly among the coast hamlets of the Konkan. Unimpeachable authority declares that they commenced to settle in Bombay, after the island had passed over to the English; and inasmuch as the community consisted for the most part of artisans, masons and carpenters—classes which were much in request during these years—it is quite probable that some of the more adventurous spirits may have voyaged hither from the mainland by the year 1744, and formed the nucleus of that most respectable community, which now dwells in Israel Moholla and neighbouring localities.

Enough, perhaps, has been said to show that our population largely increased in this period, that Niebuhr's estimate of 70,000 was justified; but if any final evidence be needed that this result was attained, by the careful policy of the Company in both external and internal matters, we would ask the reader to peruse a record of the 28th January 1742, describing the measures taken for the protection of our growing town. "Considering the situation of this Island," observes the President, "with respect to the several neighbouring governments, the various and large numbers of people who continually resort hither, either on trade or otherwise, furnishes cause of anxiety. Further even as regards those properly esteemed inhabitants, we are not sufficiently acquainted either with their character or their trustiness. Bearing in mind that it is the undoubted and fundamental maxim of all states to enforce such cautionary measures as may be best calculated for the prevention of any designs whether attempted from open force or secret treachery, I am induced to propose the following points for the consideration of the Board, as tending to greater safety and security:—That as the Bazar Gate, where is a continual concourse of people either to and from the town, has at present only a few privates on duty under a Serjeant's command, it would be better, both in point of security as well as discipline, that an Ensign be stationed in that post with two Serjeants, two Corporals, and thirty private men, and that a proper apartment be provided for the accommodation of the Officer. Further that for the shutting the town gates hours should be fixed, namely for the Apollo and Church Gates at sunset and for the Bazar Gate within half an hour after sunset." The President's proposals, of which the above remarks are but the prelude, deal with a variety of matters, such as the entrance of men from the boats and vessels in Moody's Bay, a census of the inhabitants of the Fort, and the reservation of sites for the dwellings of "Europeans, topasses, sepoys and the better sort of Christians."

How different were our circumstances by this year of our Lord 1742; how changed the island from the days of Sir Nicholas Waite! The "unhealthful, depopulated and ruined" possession of his day had been blest with increased population, with commercial progress, and was rapidly advancing along the path to pre-eminence in Western India.

Ere the curtain rings down upon these years, we would pause a moment for a brief survey of the Town and Island. To the extreme south lies "the point called Koleo (Kolaba)," with a few scattered houses, yielding the Company 4,000 to 5,000 Xeraphins per annum; and next to it Old Woman's Island, upon which some houses and a gunpowder-mill have been erected, and which we let to Mr. Richard Broughton for a rental of Rs. 200 a year. Across the strait lie the old Apollo Parish and the Esplanade; the latter not greatly altered, save that its palms have been thinned, the former still remarkable for its burial ground, Mendham's point, "where are some tombs that make a pretty show at entering the haven." From the burial ground the traveller reaches the Ditch and Apollo 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 wall; he leaves on his right hand the Hospital and Doctor's House, the House of the Superintendent of Marine, the Marine Store-house, 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 westward he sees the Church (St. Thomas' Cathedral), and letting the eye wander past it, catches a glimpse of the great Church Gate (situated where the modern fountain now stands, opposite to the Post Office), and the bridge over the Town Ditch. On his right, at the most easterly point, stands the Fort proper, with its Flag Staff Bastion, 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 wall to Town wall, and finally arrives at the Bazar Gate, which is the most northernly entrance to the Town. Our 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 seaward side. From the Castle which was described by the Viceroy of Goa about 1730 as having "six modern bastions and being well defended with artillery," one looked across to the "Island of Patecas" (Butcher's Island), also well fortified "with six or seven guns and a garrison of about seventy lascars." One Mr. Hollomore lived there about 1739, to whom we let the trees on the island for Rs. 15.

North of the Bazar Gate were more native houses, oarts, and the Dongri Fort, erstwhiles a prison, but transformed into a fortress once again in the year 1739. From the latter one looked across a wide expanse of low-lying ground to Malabar Hill, which we let to Jiji Moody in 1738 for Rs. 150 a year, and again in 1744 to "Savaji Dharamset, Rupji Dhanji and Vithaldas Keshavram jointly, for Rs. 175 a year." 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 sufficed to entirely shut out the ocean; that benefit was effected later by the building of the Vellard; but there was a larger area open for cultivation; "plots yielding 8 to 10 mudas of rice which represents Xs. 224 per annum, and some salt rice-land paying a quit-rent of Xs. 200." Together with "40,000 cocoa palms worth Xs. 6 to Xs. 9 a piece," the estimated yearly rental of the town or Kasba of Bombay was Xs. 30,424, "representing a sale value of Xs. 3,04,240." The higher portions of the ground thus reclaimed must have shown signs of habitation by the year 1744. The people were beginning to build them dwellings in areas now comprised in the Chakla, Oomerkhari, Bhuleshvar and Mandvi Sections. Whether the Fig-Tree Creek and the Foot-wash, Pydhoni, were anything more than mere names, we cannot with certainty say; but are inclined to believe that the works at Mahalakshmi had by 1744 left them high and dry. Northward again was Mazagon village, "yielding about 184 mudás of rice and 250 brab-palms, representing a yearly revenue of Xs. 4,000 (Rs. 2,769$\frac{3}{53}$)," and the Fort "armed with three guns and garrisoned by one sergeant and 24 men." Mazagon contained one of the six great Kolivadas of Bombay, "which together yielded Xs. 7,000 a year." Other Koli hamlets were found at Warli, Parel, Sion, Dharavi and in Bombay proper. It was not a long walk from Mazagon to the village of Parel, "with its hamlets Bhoivada, Pomalla and Salgado, once the property of the Jesuits, yielding 154 mudás of rice, and some brab palms, representing a yearly revenue of Xs. 4,000"; and thence one wandered into the village of Vadala, divided into Aivadi and Govádi, and formerly owned by the Jesuits of Agra, which yielded a yearly revenue of some 1,900 Xs. There were the village of Nágaon (Naigaum) worth Xs. 1,000 per annum, the hamlets of "Bamanavali and Coltem (North of Parel), yielding Xs. 400 per annum, Dhárávi the pákhadi of Sion, worth Xs. 225 a year, and the big village of Sion, "once the property of Miguel Muzzello Coutinho, yielding a yearly sum of Xs. 1400." In Sewri and Vadala there were salt-pans, "belonging to the Company and yielding 34 rásis or heaps, worth Xs. 1,100 annually." South of Dharavi, between Mahim and Sion, lay the village of Matunga, or Matuquem, which yielded every year 65 mudas of rice, or Xs. 1,700, and also contained salt pans (at Rauli), from which the Company derived a rent of Xs. 1,200. Lastly there was the Kasba of Mahim, and the village of Varli. The former, according to contemporary Portuguese records, contained "70,000 cocoa palms, of which about 23,000 belonged to the English Company. Some gardens and paddy fields which have fallen to the Company from want of heirs, yielded 592 mudás of rice. The Company has also land yielding 18 mudás of rice, once Jesuit property and other lands yielding 18 mudás, once held by other quit-rent payers. That is a total yearly

rental of Xs. 50,000." But besides these sources of revenue, there was also a Bandvastae or distillery, which together with one other in the Kasba of Bombay proper, realised 2,000 Xs. a year ; and a ferry, which was farmed out with the Sion ferry-service, for Xs. 12,000.

The total rental of our island for the year 1727 was estimated at 1,44,150 Xs.,—a considerable advance upon the revenue of Xs. 3,335, which the Portuguese were proud of drawing in 1537. To protect the island, its population of 70,000, its gardens, groves, rice-lands, fisheries, grave-yards, and salt-pans, there were in existence at the end of the period the Great Fort, with Bastions and Town-wall ; the Mazagon and Dongri Forts ; " the Fort of Sivri on the shore in front of the Salsette village of Maula, with a garrison of 50 sepoys and one Subehdar, and eight to ten guns " ; " the small tower and one breast work with nine to ten guns, 60 soldiers and one captain, at Sion, facing Kurla " ; the " triple-bastioned Fortress of Mahim," on the shore in front of Bandra, manned by 100 soldiers, and armed with thirty guns ; and lastly the fort of Worli, " on the high point facing the Chapel of our Lady of the Mount, armed with seven to eight guns and manned by an ensign and 25 soldiers."

Such were the outward features of the land at the close of a period, which witnessed not only an amelioration of the general conditions of life, and a great rise in the number of inhabitants, but also the commencement of that political and commercial activity, which was destined to raise the island to the proud position which she holds at the opening of the twentieth century.

Period the Fourth.—1744 to 1764.

That any increase of population took place between the close of the last period and the year 1764, which constitutes our next halting-place, is *primâ facie* open to doubt. Niebuhr, who was in Bombay in 1764, certainly declares that our inhabitants numbered 140,000 : but opposed to this view, is a statement in the Historical Account that 60,000 was the gross total of our population in that year. Upon which of these two estimates most reliance should be placed, it is of course impossible now to decide. But personally we are inclined to believe that both are wide of the truth ; for on the one hand, as we shall attempt to show, no event likely to occasion a decrease of ten thousand, occurred during these twenty years, while on the other hand so great an increase as 70,000 is scarcely credible considering the shortness of the period and the fact that in 1780 the total number of our inhabitants was 113,726. It appears to us a more reasonable supposition, that the population gradually increased between 1744 and 1780 from 70,000 to 113,000; and that by 1764, which is approximately the midmost point of this period, it numbered some eighty or eighty-five thousand. The foundations of our belief in an increase are firstly the condition of the island by the year 1764, and secondly the fact that throughout this period the Company in no wise relaxed its efforts to expand the community by the same prudential and beneficent methods which had met with such marked success in preceding years.

Regarding the first point—the condition of the Island—it is necessary to dwell briefly upon the external circumstances of these years, and discover what effect they exercised upon the policy of the Company and its servants. The period opens with a declaration of war by France and Spain against England, which, as the Directors warned the Bombay Government, required all our servants "to exert all possible sagacity for the preservation of our property, trade and estate." Aided by the presence of a squadron of His Majesty's ships, which had been despatched "to cruise against the French and Spaniards in the Indian Seas," our Council set themselves to carry out the wishes of the Court of Directors. "Although Bombay is in good condition against all country enemies," they wrote in 1746, "yet as the European manner of attacking a town differs widely from that of the Indians, some additional works are judged necessary towards the sea side, the better to annoy such ships of the enemy as may be stationed in the road to bombard the town. * * * * Taking all the circumstances into consideration, it is unanimously agreed that the President write to the Chief of Surat to raise with all possible expedition for the present season 2,000 men-of-arms, consisting of Arabs, Turks, and others of different nations, preferable to their being all Moors or of any other one nation. Further as the Sidis are a very resolute and warlike people and, from the assistance they have often received, likely to be attached to this Government, it is resolved to send to Janjira Captain James Sterling, who speaks the language, with the President's letter to the Sidi, asking leave to enlist 200 men. Except a party of 200, the Sidis and the 2,000 recruits from Surat will be encamped in the body of the island ready on the shortest notice to be sent to any part where they may be wanted." Great activity was manifested, and sustained efforts were made to strengthen our garrison and fortifications until 1748, in which year, as the Court wrote, "a treaty of general peace is happily concluded between Great Britain, France, and Holland, to which Germany, Spain and the other powers engaged in the late war have acceded." Fear of French aggression was thus for the time being removed : but was evoked, once again ere the period ended, by the arrival in October 1756 of a packet "from the Honourable the Secret Committee (in England), enclosing some of his Majesty's printed declarations of war against the French king." This second war lasted till the end of the year 1762, and indirectly resulted, as the former had, in the strengthening of our position in Bombay. "We continue putting this island," wrote the Bombay Government in 1758, "in the best posture of defence under the direction of Major Mace. Your Honours may depend our utmost endeavours will always be exerted for its security. We have no account of the enemy having yet any force on this coast." The state of the castle was carefully noted by a committee of five, its curtains were faced with stone, its upper works mounted with heavy cannon, its buildings rendered bomb-proof, while the European inhabitants and the militia were formed into companies to be stationed at various parts of the walls. Large stores of provisions

were laid in as a necessary precaution, while general proposals for the better defence of the island were drawn up by Major Fraser in 1760, and adopted by the President and Council. In 1760 the French suffered several reverses; for a letter of October 14th from Fort St. George describes them "as effectually shut up within their walls, and beginning to give tokens of distress by forcing the black inhabitants to leave the place;" while about a month later the Directors wrote to Bombay saying, "In the course of this year it has pleased God to bless the British arms with most remarkable success against the French in all parts of the world. The most vigorous measures are still pursuing as the best, indeed as the only, means of bringing the enemy to equitable terms of accommodation and attaining that desirable object, a safe and honourable peace." Two years later the war was brought to a close by the preliminary articles of peace, signed at Fontainebleau on November the 3rd, and the prospect of danger to our island, which had been heightened during the early portion of that year by the adhesion of Spain to the enemy's side, was finally obviated.

Not from France and Spain only was trouble anticipated during these years. The Dutch also seemed likely to prove dangerous rivals. "We shall depend likewise," write the Directors in 1757, "upon your using all prudent measures to prevent the Dutch settling in the Sidi's country at Rajpuri";—a letter which was followed a year later by a despatch couched in the following terms:—"It is with infinite concern we plainly see that the destruction of Angria proves a happy event to our rivals in trade. After all our immense expenses the Company's affairs are brought into a worse situation. For, although from year to year we have been amused with the most specious promises that the Dutch should be drove from Rajapur, and this indeed is one of the strongest articles in the treaty, yet the Nána has not driven them out. And now Gheria is gone, we are in doubt if he ever will. Now as we esteem it a matter of the last importance to Bombay that the Dutch should be dislodged for ever from Rajapur, we call upon you in the most serious manner to exert yourselves, using every prudent and political step with the Marathas and Sidis to shut out these dangerous competitors in trade." Till the end of the period, indeed, the possibility of Dutch aggression was contemplated by both the Directors in England and their servants in Bombay: for in 1762, we find the former concluding a letter to Government with the following remarks:—"It is further necessary to inform you that relations with the Dutch nation are at present so critical that we should not be surprised if they took some unjustifiable measures to our prejudice in the East Indies, particularly in Bengal. In these circumstances, you cannot be too watchful to prevent any dangers apprehended from the Dutch."

The obligation to render the island more secure, which resulted from the hostility of European powers, was further emphasized by the unsettled condition of Western Indian politics. From 1748 to 1752 there was serious trouble in Surat, owing to an attempt by Safdar Khan and Sidi Masud to seize the reins of Government in that city: "City gates all shut, batteries built by both parties in every quarter of the town, daily skirmishes, street fights, and incendiarism," such was the condition of affairs as reported by the Surat Factors to the Bombay Government, who endeavoured to, as far as possible, protect their own interest by the despatch thither of "200 sepoys with their officers" in 1748, and of "18 Europeans with an officer and 12 sepoys on the Drake Ketch" in 1750. The strict neutrality, however, which the Bombay Council enjoined on their compatriots at Surat, led to no solution of the trouble. In 1751, the latter wrote that "since the capture of the Durbar the Sidi and Safdar Khan's slaves have seized on four merchants and shroffs and forced from them upwards of Rs. 40,000. That Achan's people had that day made a sally and destroyed the batteries which the other people were raising against the castle, the cannon of which also greatly annoyed them. That Achan reports he has provisions and ammunition for two years and that he will defend the fort to the utmost. On the other hand, the Sidi declares he intends to take and make himself Governor of the Castle and establish Safdar Khan Governor of the Durbar. That the Ghinims (that is, Ghanim robbers or Marathas) are retired out of the town and stop provisions and trade of all kinds from coming into it, threatening to return with a number of men to revenge the Sidis burning the house of one of their principal officers." Eventually, after endeavouring to arrange matters with the

help of "Nana the Pandit Pradhan" (*i.e.*, Balaji Bajirao), the Bombay Governor concluded a treaty of peace with Sidi Masud, whereby the castle was given to him, and the city to Safdar Khan on payment to the Company of compensation amounting to Rs. 2,00,000. Until 1760 no further trouble was experienced; and, according to a letter of 1757, the Company was on terms of cordiality with the native government. But in 1760, shortly after receipt of the news that the Company had been made commandants of Surat Castle, we find the Court of Directors expressing their sorrow at "the dangerous and disgraceful situation" of affairs in that city, and opining that "the promoter of these misfortunes was the Dutch broker Muncher (Muncherji), a miscreant who, although in a foreign interest, has been most shamefully suffered to influence all our public concerns." The Company, however, held manfully to the castle; and by keeping in readiness "a respectable force," by the maintenance of "great order and severe discipline," by choosing their commanders rather on the score of temper and ability than of seniority, by "keeping fair with the Governor of Surat City," and lastly by gaining the support of the merchant community, they managed to avoid further trouble during the remainder of the period.

Of the Sidi some mention has already been made. Notwithstanding that his quarrels at Surat caused the Company some annoyance and temporary loss, his attitude in general was one of friendliness, to which our Council responded by permitting him to enlist troops on the island in 1747, and by supplying him with implements of war. "Sidi Masud," according to the words of the record, "requesting to be supplied with two four-pounder and six six-pounder iron guns for the use of his grab, the storekeeper is directed to deliver them accordingly at the rate of Rs. 18 per cwt., the price charged our own inhabitants, taking care duly to receive the amount before the guns are delivered."

The Company's relations with Angria were of more importance. At the outset of the period, he appears to have been extremely obnoxious; for the Court on the 17th June 1748 informed the Council that they must "employ the cruizers in the best manner for the protection of trade on the coast against Angria," and that they should "also keep his brother Manaji in due subjection." In 1752 one learns that "Manaji Angria having been guilty of many insults to the vessels belonging to the inhabitants of this island, and in particular lately seized four vessels coming from Muskat which he plundered of goods to the amount of Rs. 1,500; it is resolved to deter him from the like in future by the issue of orders to the commanders of the Honourable Company's vessels to treat him as a common enemy by taking, sinking and destroying his grabs and galivats or otherwise distressing him. This we doubt not will soon bring him to reason." Three years later the object for which the Company had watched and schemed, was attained: they had waited for many years, in anticipation of the hour, when with increased strength they might assume the offensive and rid themselves for ever of the pirate's opposition. In 1755 they coalesced with the Marathas and sent forth an expedition against Tuloji Angria, which, meeting with unqualified success, resulted in the inclusion of Bankot among our possessions in Western India. "By articles of agreement with the Marathas in March last," so the President informed the Board, "when our troops went with them on an expedition against Tulaji Angria, it was stipulated that the forts at Pancote (Bankot) and Himmatgad with their dependent villages should be yielded to our Honourable Masters and the other conquered places to the Marathas. In consequence of this stipulation the Marathas have offered and are now ready to comply with their engagement." The Board, "hoping the possession of it will prove agreeable to our Honourable Masters," thereupon nominated Mr. William Andrew Price as Chief of Bankot, "as he is perfectly acquainted with the manners and customs of the country-people and their language"; and sent thither with him a company of artillery, another of sepoys and a detachment of the train to be held in readiness to garrison it. But the Angria was not yet conquered; from his stronghold of Gheria (Viziadrug) he could yet sally forth and imperil our trade and shipping. Severndroog had fallen "by the vigour and judgment of Commodore James, of the Bombay Marine, and the resolution of his handful of troops and sailors." One more expedition was necessary to reduce our ancient enemy to absolute harmlessness. Hence comes it that we read of the President informing the

Committee on January 15th 1756, that, "in consequence of the assurances given him as regards ammunition and damage in attacking Gheria, Rear Admiral Watson had agreed to proceed with the squadron under his command to act in conjunction with the Marathas." Though we were ostensibly working in concert with the Marathas, operations were precipitated so as to exclude them from all share of the enterprise, as suspicions were entertained of communication between them and Angria. On the 7th February 1756 started the expedition which, according to Grant Duff, consisted of three ships of the line, one ship of 50 and another of 44 guns, with several armed vessels, amounting in all to 14 sail, and manned by 800 European soldiers and 1,000 Native Infantry. On the 13th February at 6-23 p.m., the flag in Gheria Fort 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 Colonel Clive with all the land forces marched into the fort, and then despatched an express boat to the Honourable Richard Bourchier, Esquire, President and Governor of Bombay, with advices of having taken Gheria and burnt all Angria's fleet, which consisted of 'the Restoration,' eight ketch grabs, and two large three-mast grabs on the stocks ready for launching, besides a number of smaller craft." Thus, aided by the genius and spirit of Arcot's defender, the Company reaped the reward of many years of patient preparation. The need for a defensive attitude had passed away; and the once invincible corsair retired from the political arena to found a family of Konkan landholders, who should in after time be bound by the decisions of the English Government.

With the Marathas we still cultivated the friendliness of preceding years. Deliverance from the attacks of Native powers was a necessarily gradual process; one by one, the Portuguese, the Sidi and Angria, had been removed from our path. The "imperial banditti" alone remained, and were destined yet to meet us in open battle. But for the present, their great strength and infinite capacity for harming our island obliged the Bombay Government to cherish peaceful relations with them, keeping watch in the meanwhile against any act of treachery or aggression. "We are very glad," wrote the Directors in 1746, "that you continue on good terms with your neighbours the Marathas. For the benefit of our island you will do well to cultivate a friendship with them, always being watchful against any surprise": and ten years later, while discussing Dutch rivalry, they remark that "It gives us pleasure to observe that harmony and friendship continue between you and your neighbours the Marathas. We cannot too earnestly recommend you to exercise the utmost care and attention in preserving friendly relations. Among other advantages from their friendship we hope to be informed that the Marathas will not permit the Dutch to establish a factory at Bassein." In 1757, when the prospect of a French invasion was imminent, the Nana (*i.e.*, Peshva Balaji) offered through Ramaji Pant to accommodate European ladies and children at Thana; while in 1760, according to an entry in the Government diary, Govind Shivrampant "delivered at the Company's new house an elephant, presented by Nana to our Honourable Masters." Apparently the elephant proved more valuable as a symbol of amity than as a possession; for in the same year Bombay informed the Directors that "a very fair opportunity presented for easing you of the charge incurred by the elephant given your Honours by Nana, namely, by sending it to Pharas Khan at Surat as a mark of your favour, and in consideration of his services and assistance in procuring the Phirman for the Castle and Tanka. To Pharas Khan's great disappointment the elephant unluckily died on the road. We intend to consider Pharas Khan's services in some other as frugal a manner as we can."

Now these political events—the hostility of France, Holland and Spain, the insolence and final overthrow of Angria, the close proximity of the Marathas—resulted directly in the strengthening of fortifications and an increase of sea power. In 1746 we read of enlargement of the Dock Pier Head, "so as to mount nine guns in the face towards the road, and two more for flanking the face of the Royal Bastion"; repairs to walls of communication; and the excavation of dry ditches. Ten years later "fascine batteries made of cocoanut trees and bamboos and mounted with heavy cannon" were erected between the bandar and the fort; two prahms were constructed "to block up the entrance between the two Pier Heads; and Major Chalmers with the king's and our own artillery captains is consulted

regarding our present situation and what is necessary to render the place more defensible." Two names which come most prominently before us during these years are those of Captain Jacques de Funck and Major Mace, the Engineers. Each of these in turn strove to turn the fort into an impregnable citadel. "The bastion of the castle called the Cavalier bastion," wrote the Council in 1760, "has been raised 16 feet, filled up with earth and completed for mounting eleven guns ; and the passage which communicated with the lower part has been converted into a small magazine for fixed shells. The low curtain between that bastion and the flagstaff bastion has been raised nearly to a level with the Cavalier, completed and mounted with ten 32-pounders. The embrasures are disposed so as to have a more extensive command over the greatest part of the anchoring ground before the fort. Two bomb-proof casemates either for troops or stores are nearly finished, one behind part of that which was a low curtain as above-mentioned, and the other behind the low curtain on the other side of the Cavalier bastion. By this means also a good communication is made for transporting guns, and that curtain will be broad enough for conveniently working the guns thereon, which it was not before. The parapets of the face and flank towards the sea on the flagstaff bastion, which before was a mouldering sodwork, have been faced with brick and masonry. Another embrasure has been made on that face and five 32-pounders mounted thereon. A battedeaux or dam with a sluice has been made across the ditch near the Apollo Gate to secure the water in case of any accident to the sluice at the angle of the Royal Bastion. The dock wall has been continued and joined to the last face which is almost up to its proper height. The wall, called here the dock wall, is built so as to answer the purpose in case another side should be added when another outward dock will be complete. The two low flanks at the Royal Bastion have been raised nearly ten feet higher, and three embrasures provided in each. The parapets on the Royal bastion have been faced with brick and masonry. The covert way and parapets to the northward have been continued and the communicator to Dongri Hill has been carried above half way. The two flanks and one face of the ravelin before the Bazar Gate have been completed and terrace platforms raised. One face with five embrasures and flanks to each and the other face with a draw bridge are far advanced. Several of the deep holes and pits adjacent to the walls have been fitted with sand from a rising ground opposite to the Prince's bastion. A battery to secure the ground before the Apollo Gate and prevent any attempts to land near Old Woman's Island is not quite finished. A wall has been raised about eight feet and carried from the north shoulder of the Cavalier bastion, northward obliquely before the low curtain between that bastion and that of the tank. On this wall there will be three returns or faces towards the before mentioned anchoring ground opposite the Cavalier bastion. This is extremely necessary, as the battery which was behind it and raised with cocoanut trees was wasted away and rendered useless." Dongri Fort was partially dismantled, on the ground that it was in dangerous proximity to the town ; while the general protection of the island was sought in the strengthening of the outforts. "As the safety and preservation of the island," runs the Government record, "so much depend on the artillery, it is unanimously resolved to lay in a quantity of timber proper to gun carriages, as this is deemed the cheapest season of the year for entering into a contract." The strength of the garrison was a subject constantly before the President and Council in these years; Sidis, as we have already seen, were enlisted ; "the Honourable Company's covenant servants, with such other English inhabitants as are capable of bearing arms, were stationed upon the works in accordance with the orders of the Governor" ; and in 1759 Mr. Thomas Byfield drew up an estimate of the number of persons available for the defence of Bombay. Fifteen thousand seven hundred and fifty men were, according to his scheme, prepared to hold the Island against all opponents.

In regard to our sea-power, the same activity was manifested. Additions were made to the fleet in 1752 ; in 1761 "many inconveniences having been found to result in the course of refitting the squadron from a want of the third dry dock, it is ordered that it be carried out with the utmost expedition, which will enable us to dock the largest ship of the squadron at any springs." Till 1748 indeed, the only dry dock was a mud basin in and out of which the tide flowed at will. This basin was situated near the centre of the present Government Dock-

yard. Under the auspices of the Honourable William Wake, a new dock was completed by 1750 on the site of this old mud basin, and proved so successful that in 1754 the Marine Superintendent suggested the construction of a second. To the latter, apparently, Admiral Cornish referred in his letter of June 10th, 1762, "urging the completion of the outer dock before the return of the squadron." This work, which was finished by the close of 1762, was almost immediately followed by the building of a third dock, to which the Honourable Charles Crommelin referred in 1765. "Our treasury," he remarks, "being now pretty strong, and the third dock nearly completed, the same is ordered to be continued and finished as soon as possible." The provision of docks coincided with the augmentation of the fleet, to which the Directors referred in 1757 in the following words :—"Although your success in taking Gheria with the entire destruction of Angria's fleet would at another time have made it prudent and necessary to have reduced our marine force, the unhappy event of a French war for the present forbids it. You must, therefore, continue the marine upon our last establishment until you have our further orders." More power by land and sea was the constant refrain of our Government's consultations. Lowji was hard at work all these years, planning and constructing, helping us, by his industry and fidelity, towards the position which we coveted. On two occasions his merits were openly rewarded: once in 1754, when a silver rule, a set of instruments and a shawl, were presented to him in the Company's name ; and again in 1764, when, "The marine paymaster and superintendent representing that the long services of Lowji Master Builder, and the attention he and his two sons have paid to his Majesty's squadron ever since it has been in India, as well as to the Honourable Company's and all private shipping, renders them truly deserving of every encouragement, it is agreed that their standing monthly pay in future be as follows: Lowji Rs. 50, his eldest son Rs. 30, and his youngest son Rs. 25."

Now this protracted endeavour on the part of Government to render the island unassailable by European fleet or Native legion, must have influenced the mind of at least one section of the Indian public. The merchant, noting how capable of defence the island had become, comparing the orderly progress of affairs here with the turmoil and confusion at Surat, and finally witnessing the overthrow of one of the most powerful obstructors of commerce, can have arrived at one conclusion only ; that here indeed was an island, whence one might trade almost undisturbed both with the main land and with ports outside India, and the Government of which would put forth all its might to protect the immigrant and settler. We cannot but believe that the foreign policy of the company and their strengthening of garrison, marine and fortifications indirectly fostered an increase in the number of inhabitants : while, added to the incentive to immigration afforded by a prospect of protection to trade, there must have arisen a natural desire to dwell under the shadow of a Government, which manifestly treated its subjects with liberality. Read that old letter of the 15th March 1748, in which the Directors summarise their aims.—"We are encouraged to believe our island of Bombay may be rendered a very advantageous settlement and less expensive to us. To this end, therefore, we positively direct and require that by the exercise of a mild good Government, people from other parts may be induced to come and reside under our protection. Let there be entire justice exercised to all persons without distinction, an open trade allowed to all, and as often as necessary or as the force allotted will enable you, let convoys be provided to the ships and vessels in a body. In this we require exactness, as much depends upon it. An able honest man must ever direct the custom-houses at Bombay as well as at Mahim. No preference must be given to any merchant over others; for as all must and will pay our duties, no distinction should be made under any pretence. A constant steady pursuance of these rules will naturally draw people to leave the oppressions of other country Governments, and come to you while freedom and exact justice subsist in our settlements. And because the inhabitants will constantly require materials for building and provisions for their families, which must be brought to the island, we direct that no obstructions be given in this or more duties charged thereon than may be publicly established. Be particularly careful that our servants take no fees or perquisites that are not consonant with reason or the ease and freedom of the inhabitants. We are determined to resent oppression, be it by whomsoever exercised." So counselled the Court at the opening of this period, nor forbore in subsequent despatches to emphasise the desirability of

immigration. "It is very agreeable to us," they remark in 1755, "to observe that notwithstanding the superstitious attachment of the Indians to the places of their nativity, the number of inhabitants are greatly increased and that some very substantial people have settled among you to the great advantage of the island. As it is our earnest desire that as many people as possible, especially those of circumstance, be encouraged to settle at Bombay, we strongly recommend it to you, to use the most prudent, equitable and encouraging methods for that purpose. In particular we direct that so long as it incommodes not the defence of the place, you suffer newcomers to build houses wherever it shall be convenient to them ; that they have free liberty to build and repair their own ships themselves in what manner and how they please, and be supplied out of our stores with what materials they want at the rates and prices allowed to Europeans ; and, in general, that they have all the reasonable privileges that can possibly be given them." The wishes of the Directors were faithfully carried out. Did scarcity of grain, as in 1755, threaten to cause discomfort, the import duty was at once cancelled, "to encourage merchants and others to bring in a quantity for the relief of the inhabitants" ; or a committee was specially appointed, as in 1757, "to concert the most proper measures for bringing and constantly keeping a sufficient quantity of batty on our masters' account for the relief and support of the inhabitants in general." Relief, we doubt it not, was afforded to the shoe-makers, who represented in 1759 that they suffered much "from a notable rise not only in the price of leather, but also in food and house rent;" help was extended in 1747 "to the poorer sort of our inhabitants," who had been much troubled by "the common people belonging to Nadir Shah's two ships" ; and protection was extended in 1747 with the full approval of the Court "to a wealthy merchant who retired from Surat," as also "to a shroff belonging to Tarvari's house," who settled on the island in 1762. Mr. Richard Bourchier prevailed upon certain weavers to come hither from Bassein in 1758 ; thirty-six bricklayers, each granted "an advance of three months' pay and ten days' provisions," voyaged from Surat in 1756 ; while towards the end of the period, many of the principal traders of Poona asked and received permission to repair hither with their families, in consequence of the destruction of Poona by the Nizam's army. "As our Honourable Masters," quoth Government, "have frequently recommended us to give all suitable encouragement to people of substance resorting to this island, it is ordered that a publication be issued signifying that all persons who may repair hither shall enjoy the same privileges as other inhabitants, and be permitted to purchase lands or houses from any persons they think proper." The welfare of the inhabitants in general was sought by the issue in 1757 of "regulations for preserving good order and government on the island" ; by the appointment of a member of the Board as Town-Scavenger, "as the town has become very dirty in great measure owing to the little regard the inhabitants pay to the scavenger, on account of his being always a junior servant;" by the prevention of "all combinations, monopolies and attempts against the freedom of trade" ; by the promulgation in 1748 of building-rules, designed to minimise the danger of fires among merchants' houses and warehouses ; by advances of money from the Land Pay Office to those whom the fire of that year had rendered homeless ; by the systematised up-keep of communications, such as the Bombay passage boat, which was "let to Curwa Bhat (Kharva Bhát) in 1763 for Rs. 675 per annum" ; by strict attention to the religious foibles of the people, as manifested in an order of 1746 that "the cow-oath," which had occasioned so much uneasiness and discontent was no longer to be administered in the Mayor's Court ; and lastly by the institution in 1753 of a Court of Requests for the recovery of debt. "As this Court," wrote the Directors, "is calculated for the benefit of the poorest of the people, we hope none of our servants, or of the inhabitants that shall be nominated Commissioners, will decline the service, as by an honest and faithful discharge of their duty they may be a blessing to the people."

Various communities are separately mentioned in the records appertaining to this period. "Two of our sepoys have gone over to the Maratha country and under pretence of being Sidis plundered several people there," so runs the record of April 24th, 1759. "It is ordered that the Sheriff cause them to be whipped through the town at a cart's tail and turned off the island, and that the produce of their effects be applied to the use of the charity school."

Two hundred and fifty Arab soldiers also were discharged in the following year for misbehaviour. Arab and Topass, however, were not singular in their defiance of authority; for on the 18th November 1673 we find "Andrew Pope, W. Bruce and T. Moore convicted of piracy and condemned to be hanged as the law directs." The Parsis are spoken of as offering "to supply the island with provisions agreeable to the enclosed rates settled by your Honourable Board on the 20th September 1757." "Upwards of 400 other side (*i.e.*, across harbour) Kolis have settled with their families in the district of Mahim," from whom the ordinary 'pension' was levied in 1748; and for the benefit of the fisher-folk generally, fresh orders were issued in 1754, forbidding any one to keep Koli palanquin-bearers, except "the Governor, Council, Superintendent, Mayor, Chaplains, Surgeons, and such English as have families." We hear of Kamati labourers, employed on the fortifications, being enrolled in 1757 into a regular body of militia: of Hamals and Carwars (Kharvas or Sailors), of whom there were many on the island out of work, being placed in 1760 "under the Bombay Custom Master's orders for fortification purposes"; of Potters and Tile-makers, whose business necessitated their removal to the suburbs in 1758; of the Kunbis and other inhabitants of Mazagon village being relieved from the oppression of an intemperate farmer; of "Dadaji Naik and all the Bhandari inhabitants of this island" entering into a five-years' agreement "for forming the arrack rents and *aut salami*, that is the toddy-knife tax"; of Topasses, whose pay was raised in 1760 to Rs. 7 a month, "in consideration of the dearness of provisions and all the other requisites of life at this place"; of the Portuguese, in the person of Ignatio da Gama, who offered Rs. 3,000 in 1760 "for the privilege of keeping four licensed punch-houses"; and lastly of the Madagascar slaves. For the benefit of the last-named community special regulations were framed in 1753, the nature whereof may be determined from the following paragraph in the draft:—"A particular regard to the diet of the slaves to preserve their health and thereby render them more fit for effectual service being essentially necessary, a sober judicious person should have the care of inspecting their provisions to prevent any abuses in their quality, that so the slaves having no cause of complaint, their servitude may become easy. Positive orders to be given to the land and sea officers that they be treated with the greatest humanity, carefully instructed in their respective professions, and on no account whatever be made either servants or drudges." One notable element of the population during these years was introduced in consequence of the desire to strengthen our garrison. "We acquainted you by the Durington," wrote the Directors in 1752, "that we intended to send for the service of Bombay Presidency an entire company of Protestant Swiss soldiers to consist of one hundred and forty men, commission and non-commission officers included. We are now to acquaint you that the said company is embarked on the ships Royal Duke and Dodington under the command of Alexander de Zeigler, Esq., to whom we have granted a commission."

Some further proof of the various nature of the population in these years is afforded by a statement, drawn up by the Bombay Custom Master in 1759, showing the amount of grain and provisions upon the island. He apportions the stores among the following communities:—

Rugvedi Brahmins.	Ironsmiths.	Parsis.	Turners.
Gujarat do.	Bhansalis.	Moors.	Washermen.
Yajurvedi do.	Weavers.	Pot-makers.	Carpenters.
Shenvis.	Painsallas (Panchkalshis).	Mat-makers.	Hamals.
Parbhus.	Chaukalshis.	Tailors.	Sweetmeat-makers.
Banians.	Bhandaris.	Shoe-makers.	Bombay Coolies (Kolis).
Goldsmiths.	Christians.	Barbers.	Thana do.
Coppersmiths.			

When we consider that this list referred only to Bombay proper, that a separate statement was submitted for "the district of Mahim"; when we consider all the circumstances of the period, and the policy of the Company towards immigration, as evidenced by its treatment of individuals and communities, we are assailed by an overpowering conviction that the estimate of 60,000 in the historical account is incorrect, and that our population had increased by 1764, though not perhaps to the extent suggested by Karsten Niebuhr. A perusal of the scattered references to the appearance of the town and island in these years only serves to strengthen that conviction. In 1746 Messrs. Rawdon and Saunders were appointed "to allot proper

spaces of ground to such of the inhabitants as may be inclined to build in the town." This order was doubtless necessitated by an influx of people, prepared to settle on any vacant spot that they might find. Four years later Grose referred to "the houses of the black merchants," situated "in the town, which was about a mile in circuit. Most of these merchants' houses were ill-built and incommodious with small window lights and ill-arranged rooms. Even the best have a certain air of meanness and clumsiness." But more valuable evidence of the expansion of the town is perhaps afforded by the following publication of 1754:—"Whereas, in contempt of the Government, several of the inhabitants have made encroachments on the highroads by erecting buildings and sheds without license, the President and Governor by and with the advice and consent of his Council has thought proper to ordain and direct that all *cajan* and palm-leafed sheds and pent-houses are to be pulled down till the monsoon sets in. That in future no houses, walls, compounds or sheds be erected within the town wall before a certificate is granted by the Committee under their hands for that purpose. When liberty is given for building a house, the applicant must set about it in twenty days. No stones, chunam or other materials to lay longer in the public streets than ten days before the work of building begins. All the *gramalook* (prickly-pear, *grão maluco*) hedges within the town wall to be dug up by the roots, especially those around the ramparts. That, as few of the present holders of houses agree with the names on the rent roll, the name of every person purchasing a house within the walls be recorded in the Collector's office before the purchaser enters in the premises." Two years later came a letter from the Court saying: "It is with satisfaction we observe your scheme for accommodating many of the creditable inhabitants in the town, who much against their inclinations were obliged to live without it. We shall add that whatever regulations are made for the encouragement of the people in general, and of the richer sort in particular, will always meet with our approbation when they are calculated for the mutual interest of the company and the people residing under their protection." So numerous were the houses in the native town, that many of them had eventually for safety's sake to be removed; and were then rebuilt outside the walls. "Several of the proprietors of the houses now pulling down by your Honour's orders just without the Bazar Gate have lately applied to me for ground to rebuild"; so wrote the Collector in 1757. We hear of clearances outside the Apollo Gate; of the demolition of Moormen's mosques at the Bazar Gate in 1760; of petitions from the evicted house-holders for space to rebuild in any locality set apart by the fazendars; of "large and lofty houses built betwixt the Church and the Fort, with several others contiguous"; of waste ground "at the line of communication between Dongri and Back Bay being let out for the rebuilding of houses on the same terms as ground is let within the wall, namely, 11 *res* the square yard." The town was indeeed choked with dwellings, and was during these years subjected to improvements, the ultimate result of which was to distribute the population over the wide area, rendered habitable by partial reclamation. Grose, in speaking of the oarts in 1750, remarks that "many together form groves with shaded roads and pathways, thick set with houses but wanting in air"; and as the displacement of the people progressed, new roads and burial grounds were opened up. We hear of land taken up for a public road from Parel to Sion, compensation for which had not been paid to the proprietors in 1767; of a road "from Church Gate to the Black Town, carried very near its full length of 360 yards; and of a branch from this road leading 672 feet to the English burying-ground." The burying-ground here mentioned was Sonapur "in a cocoanut garden near the water side at the nether end of the Moormen's old burying-place," which from the year 1760 was utilised for the interment of the English dead in place of the historical Mendham's point. The latter was doomed to demolition at the time of the clearance in front of the Apollo Gate. The batty grounds without the town-wall were reserved for building-sites; for Captain Cameron, according to a letter of April 9th, 1756, expressed doubts whether the lining out of streets thereupon might not interfere with the cannon at Dongri. Not only the Native but the European also had commenced by the close of these years to journey outside the Fort and Town. There was Mr. Thomas Whitehill "with a house called Villa Nova, and a garden of some consequence at Mahim;" there were "two very pleasant gardens," according to Grose, outside the gates "and cultivated after the European manner"; and at Parel the Governor had "a very agreeable country-house which was origi-

nally a Romish chapel belonging to the Jesuits, but confiscated about 1719 for some foul practices against the English interest." "It is now converted," says the same writer, "into a pleasant mansion house, and what with the additional buildings and improvements of the gardens, affords a spacious and commodious habitation." In 1758 Mr. Thomas Byfield proposed "to fit up at his own expense for an habitation to live in" the old Mark House on Mazagon Hill, which, in the early part of the century, had always been kept well white-washed, to serve as a mark for vessels sailing up and down the harbour. To this proposal Government agreed, on condition that the tenant would white-wash the front of the house once a year, "to continue a mark to the shipping coming in or going out of this harbour."

At this point our survey of the period must close. We leave the islands strongly fortified, and more compact than when we started. Colaba and Old Woman's Island are still separated from Bombay and from one another by sea; but the dam at Worli has already worked a wondrous change. Save for a narrow strip of salt water on the inner side of the breach, there is firm ground from the ruined village of Apollo to Worli Fort, from the Lighthouse at Malabar Point to the Salt pans of the northern villages and the Sion Fortress. The Fort, with its vast array of native and European dwellings, the latter "white-washed and with covered piazzas," of warehouses, shops, work-yards, with its triple Dock, Green, Protestant Charity Schools, called in after time the Byculla Education Society's Schools, Courts of Justice, Mint, and Church of St. Thomas, frowns across the Harbour to the east, and on the west over the Esplanade, whence the old Portuguese Church has but lately been removed. A new town is a-building to northward of the great walls, flanked on the one side by the partially-demolished Dongri Fort, and on the other by the house-dotted oarts and gardens, which crowd along the shore of Back Bay, and are broken only by the new burial ground of Sonapur, and the village and the waste-ground of Girgaon. The dwellers in this town rent parts of Malabar Hill from the Company; and also till the wide expanse of low-lying land, which, starting from the northern boundary of our new settlement, stretches away to the cocoa-woods of Mahim, to the Breach on the east and the populous villages of Parel and Mazagon on the west. Mahim and Sion, the outposts, are strongly defended, and are proud of forming part of that territory, which, erstwhiles a cluster of islets, now one almost unbroken island, is being gradually colonised and enriched by the wisdom and beneficence of its merchant-rulers.

Period the Fifth.—1764 to 1780.

It is probable, as we have remarked, that by the year 1764 an increase of population had taken place, the precise extent of which must remain undetermined. At the close of the next sixteen years, which constitute a fresh chapter of this review, the number of inhabitants is no longer open to question; for we have it on the authority of the Compiler of the *Gazetteer* that a special Committee was appointed in 1780 to enquire into the causes of the high price of grain, and was incidentally furnished with a preliminary return of 47,170 persons, of whom 13,726 lived in Mahim and 33,444 in Bombay. As this total appeared to the Committee to be far short of the actuals, and as it was shown that no sepoys, labourers or others from the adjacent countries were included, the vereadores were asked to give their estimate of the population. They replied that the least which ought to be reckoned for the district of Bombay was 100,000. The Mahim return of 13,726, they imagined to be pretty just. By the year 1780, therefore, the Bombay population had risen to 113,726! The increase is considerable, and warrants at least a cursory review of the external and domestic changes which our island underwent during these years.

The political history of the period is concerned for the most part with the relations subsisting between ourselves and the Marathas. Danger of war with France was not wholly absent; for letters from Madras in 1771 observed that such an event was probable; while in 1777, we received from Mr. Mostyn "alarming accounts of the proceedings of the French with the Poona Government," and applied "to Sir Edward Hughes or his successor in command to bring round his Majesty's squadron to Bombay as early as he possibly can." 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 August 2nd, 1779, there was never any apprehension of direct interference with our island; there was only the possibility that Nana Fadnavis, who was at the head of the military party in the Maratha State, might encourage the French by grants of territory to settle as a barrier between English and Maratha Dominions; and that, in consequence, the expansion of our power and trade might be seriously jeopardised. But the Bombay Government had attained a very strong position by the pursuance of a careful policy in earlier years, and by the gradual disappearance of former foes; and the danger of French designs merely resulted in greater caution and in the adoption of measures for more sternly resisting external aggression. The confidence in their own strength, which now characterised the Company's Government, is seen in the despatch of an expedition to Persia in 1768. "The unhappy accident of the ship Defiance being blown up in the Gulf of Persia," wrote the Board in 1767, "renders the sending another capital cruizer to the gulf unavoidable. As we have already determined to accept Kharim Khan's proposals for acting jointly with him against Carruck and Ormuz, and have directed the Agent and Council at Basra to signify the same to him, our Honourable Masters' interest would be greatly affected, if not entirely ruined, in case of the Khan's being disappointed in the assistance promised him, which must be the consequence if the Defiance is not replaced." A month later orders were issued to Major Mackenzie "to embark such a number of men on the vessels bound to Persia as will complete the force originally intended, allowing for the men lost on the Defiance."

Regarding the Marathas, it will be remembered, that the closing years of our last period found us on good terms with them, but keenly alive at the same time to the danger of treachery and hostility. "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 Angria, had clearly shown the Bombay Government that no reliance ought to be placed upon the good faith of the Marathas: and the Government had by the year 1764 decided once for all that exceptional prudence was necessary, to prevent their undermining our power or precipitating hostilities with us. For the first few years of this period, therefore, the old policy of caution and outward friendship was pursued. It was responsible for an order of March 22nd, 1765, from the Directors, absolutely forbidding the supply of arms to any country power, "unless for special reasons to

the King of Travankor." "Cannon," they said, "we absolutely forbid your supplying. We further positively forbid your supplying country powers with any warlike stores whatever. The same prohibition extends to all kinds of marine stores unless upon very extraordinary occasions, for which we shall expect the fullest and most explicit reasons. We forbid the building in Bombay of any ships for the use of country powers." It was likewise responsible for a letter of March 12th, 1766, in which the Court states that "you acquaint us that two sons of Tulaji Angria, escaped from Maratha confinement, are arrived at Bombay claiming our protection. We wish you had not entertained these fugitives, as it may give umbrage to the Marathas. It will be more agreeable to us if you can get rid of the Angrias by giving a small sum of money to each and desiring them to go to some other country." The prohibition of the export of iron, "which Bohoras and others sent across the harbour for the service of the Marathas" was a further measure of precaution, dictated by the knowledge that before long we should have to meet the army of the enemy. As late as 1771, when that keen politician, the Honorable William Hornby, succeeded to the Governorship, we find the Board objecting 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 onwards the Company's policy suffered a radical alteration. The time had arrived for us to emerge as a political power, prepared not only to safeguard our island of Bombay, but to acquire, by force of arms, if necessary, additional territory. Dissensions among the Marathas themselves afforded us the opportunity of casting aside the rôle of a purely mercantile body, and putting to the test that military and political capacity, which for so many years we had been quietly perfecting. "Maratha affairs," remarked Mr. Hornby in one of his minutes, "are fast verging to a period which must compel the English nation either to take some active and decisive part in them or relinquish for ever all hopes of bettering their own situation on the west of India." On the death of the Peshva Madhavrao, his uncle Raghunathrao, or Raghoba, had usurped the throne; but had subsequently been driven from the capital, Poona, by a party which favoured the succession of a posthumous son of Madhavrao. It was at this moment that the Bombay Government appeared, offering to assist in replacing Raghunathrao upon the *gadi*, provided that he would cede to them Broach, Jambusar and Olpad, Bassein and all its dependencies, the whole and entire island of Salsette, and the islands of Karanja, Kenery, Elephanta and Hog Island in Bombay Harbour. The Company had for some time coveted Salsette, Bassein, and Karanja, knowing full well that possession of them would preclude other nations from having 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 fourteen lakhs of rupees. They had endeavoured to obtain these islands by diplomatic measures, had despatched a Resident to negotiate with the Peshva at Poona; but the negotiations proved fruitless. The advantage of acquiring these islands, under the pretext of alliance with the fugitive ruler of Poona, was emphasised by a sudden burst of activity on the part of the Portuguese. On the 28th November 1774, the President informed the Select Committee that he had called a meeting to lay before them a letter "from Mr. Robert Henshaw, who at present resides at Goa." Mr. Henshaw therein gave an account of the military and marine force lately arrived at Goa from Portugal, and of the intention of the Portuguese speedily to attempt the recovery of the dominions they formerly possessed to the northward of Bombay and particularly of the island of Salsette and Bassein. The Committee, after due consideration, observed that "there appears no doubt of the Portuguese intentions against the island of Salsette; and as surely as they attempt the conquest of that island with their present force, so surely they will gain the possession of it. This event will not only put it out of our power ever to acquire its possession for the Honourable Company, who have so frequently expressed their ardent wish to obtain it, but will also be attended with infinite prejudice to the trade and interest of the Honourable Company at Bombay, by reducing their customs and revenues in a very great degree, as by the possession of Salsette the Portuguese will become masters of all the passes inland and will consequently be able, as they were formerly so prone on every occasion to do, to obstruct our trade and to lay whatever impositions they please upon it. We, therefere, think it becomes our undoubted duty by taking it ourselves without the least delay to prevent

Salsette falling into Portuguese hands. It is observed that a more favourable opportunity than the present will probably never again offer, as by the divisions in the Maratha Government that Empire is now without a head, and it will be out of the power of either party to send any effectual force to obstruct our proceedings." On these considerations the Company signed a treaty of alliance with Raghoba, and commenced the first Maratha War, by invading Salsette and laying siege to Thana. The Portuguese protested, on the ground that all the coast between Chaul and Daman belonged by right to their nation, to which our Government replied curtly in the following words :—"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." The expedition prospered; Thana was taken by storm ; Salsette and the smaller islands were occupied. Although Warren Hastings, the Governor-General, subsequently annulled the treaty with Raghoba, Salsette, Karanja, Elephanta and Hog Island remained in the Company's possession ; and to them were added Bassein, Kenery and other islands in a second treaty with Raghoba, formulated by Mr. Hornby in 1778. We pass over the tale of the second Maratha War, the expedition up the Bhor Ghat, the battle and disgraceful Convention of Wargaum, whereby the English gave up the territory and islands about Bombay, on condition of obtaining a free return passage for their troops. Humiliating as this treaty was, its effects were counteracted to some extent by Goddard's successes over the army of Sindia, and his capture of Ahmedabad in 1780; while the coveted isands were restored very shortly afterwards by the Treaty of Salbye.

These years, therefore, witnessed the début of the Company as a military power in Western India. The garrison was strengthened, "after consulting Lord Clive, Generals Lawrence, Caillland, Carnac, and other military gentlemen on this important subject" ; barracks were built for sepoys, "a full number of whom it was indispensably proper to keep on the island" ; the Marine Battalion was established ; and "since a considerable number of troops had to be posted on Salsette to garrison Thana and the other outposts on that island, an additional military force for the Presidency was absolutely necessary." The Fort and Castle were again surveyed ; ravelins were built, faces raised, dock pier-heads heightened under Captain Keating's supervision. The outforts, such as Sion and Reva, were rendered more impregnable ; Dongri, after much delay and doubt, was finally blown up in 1769, a new fortress, to be called Fort St. George, being commenced in the following year. The reports of the period bristle with projects for "counterscarps," "terraces," "ravelins," "mines," "glacis," "casemates" and "cremaillere works," the completion of which fully justified the account of our position, which Parsons recorded, in 1775. "Between the two marine gates," he writes, "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 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 and repair of the fleet was at the same time actively prosecuted. "As it is essentially necessary," wrote the Court in 1778, "that a large stock of timbor should be constantly kept up for the service of our marine, that the vessels may be built and repaired with seasoned timber, we strongly recommend this object to your attention. We hereby positively order and direct that the Company's timber be used in building and repairing our cruisers only, and on no pretence whatever be applied to the service of private vessels." In 1769 it was decided to build a new dock at Mazagon "for the use of ships that do not exceed 300 tons of burthen" ; and in 1781 was recorded a letter from Rear Admiral Sir Edward Hughes warmly acknowledging the assistance which the marine department had granted "in docking, repairing and refitting His Majesty's squadron."

Apart from the influx of people, which must have been occasioned by the mere extension of our fortifications and marine, an inducement to settle in the Island was doubtless afforded by our position relative to the Marathas. The trading community witnessed on the one hand a huge

confederacy, formerly masters of all India from the Carnatic to Agra, but now rapidly degenerating into a congeries of states ruled by intriguing princes, whose mutual jealousy was an unending source of weakness; a nation, whose chances of imperial dominion had for ever vanished on that fatal day, when Ahmed Shah routed the Maratha army under Sadashiv Rao Bhau with a slaughter of 200,000 men. On the other hand they saw a small but vigorous community, animated by one common sentiment of patriotic ambition, and keenly athirst for territorial sovereignty; a community which in the course of years had disposed effectually of all its enemies but one, and was now prepared to confidently join issue with that foe; a community, which could offer such protection and freedom of trade as could never be expected in lands subject to native misrule. The Company, in a word, was rapidly acquiring prestige; had emerged successful from struggles with Portuguese and Princes of Piracy, and was now strong enough to meet the Maratha on equal terms, and send out expeditions against his strong places.

The advantages of living under a community so clearly destined to advancement, must, we think, have been patent to the inhabitants of the mainland, and have to some degree occasioned the increase of population, which was recorded in 1780. Added to this, was the knowledge of the consideration shown to the commercial community, irrespective of caste or creed. "As it is our wish," wrote the Court in 1775, "to give every encouragement in our power to the trade of Bombay and Surat, we direct that regular convoys be appointed monthly or oftener, if you shall judge it proper, to and from those ports. We are fully convinced that vessels on the Surat station, with a small assistance from your Presidency, will in general be fully adèquate to such service without increasing your marine establishment." In the following year the Company went so far as to forward to Colonel Upton a copy of a memorial from "the principal European and country merchants," complaining of the obstruction offered to free trade by the Poona Government, and to strongly recommend him to obtain from the Peshva an amelioration of the conditions, under which communications were carried on between Bombay and the territory of the Marathas.

The progress of internal administration during these years is shadowed forth in a miscellany of orders. At one moment the Court is endeavouring to protect the native servant, whom careless Europeans were in the habit of taking to England and then forsaking; at another they are seeking to protect the highways of the town, by forbidding "the owners of private buildings to lay large quantities of stones in improper places." Communications were improved by the establishment of a ferry boat between Thana and Bombay in 1776, "as regular passage boats will be convenient to both islands and be of some advantage to the Company." Orders were issued for the erection "of two large sheds, for the markets to be held in, one for meat and fowls, the other for fruit and greens," and for the attendance "of a constable with an allowance of a quarter-rupee a day." Committees were appointed to fix a tariff of labour rates; while between 1771 and 1780 the health of the public was a subject constantly under the consideration of Government. "Orders must be given," observe the Board in 1777, "for cleaning the town ditch in the most effectual manner, and 1,500 men must be immediately raised for this service, who must be employed upon the fortifications until the proper season arrives for setting about the other work. And as the common sewers which are discharged into the ditch make the water very offensive, and we are inclined to think must affect the health of the inhabitants, it is further ordered that estimates be prepared of the expense of making sewers to discharge themselves into the sea, which in every respect must be preferable to the present ones." By 1780, radical reforms had been effected in police arrangements. "Frequent robberies," wrote the Grand Jury in 1779, "with the difficulty attending the detection of the aggressors, call aloud for some establishment with such authority as will effectually protect the innocent inhabitants and bring the guilty to trial." In consequence we hear of the substitution of regular sepoy patrols for the old Bhandari Militia, and of the appointment of Mr. James Tod to be "Deputy of Police." A convalescent hospital was started in 1768 on Old Woman's Island; plans for a sepoys' hospital were called for in 1769; so that by the time Forbes left Bombay there were three large hospitals, "one within the gates for Europeans, another on the Espla-

nade for sepoys or native troops in the Company's service, and a third on an adjacent island for convalescents." In the matter of land, the Board expressed their satisfaction at the immense improvement of cart-revenues. "We find," they add, "that upon the whole the carts have been let out for Rs. 21,615 a year, which is Rs. 6,333 more than what they were last farmed for, though the present term is for two years less." 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, Nagaon, Vadala, Mahim and Bamancally, and of all the Honourable Company's carts 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; the year 1770 was marked by the commencement of a cotton trade 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 grain." The demand for cotton went on increasing from that year until "the scanty supply during the Maratha War, the inattention to the quality, and the many frauds that had been practised, prompted the Chinese to again grow cotton for their own consumption."

Meanwhile the aspect of the town was undergoing a gradual alteration. In the previous period we remarked the beginnings of extension; the present period witnessed the furtherance of that work. In 1770 the principal Engineer represented that the Kolis' houses on the ridge of Dongri Hill must be immediately removed; in 1772 the Board stated that "as there is great want of room within the town walls for Europeans to build, and as the Church Street is a very proper place for that purpose, the present proprietors are positively prohibited repairing their houses"; and in the same year was issued an order that "the shops to the south of Church Street having become a great nuisance, they shall all be removed to the bazaar. In future no shop must be permitted to the south of the north side of Church Street." We read of the demolition of "small houses at present occupied by hamals and other indigent people between the Church and Bazaar Gates"; of "the refusal of Government to permit the existence within the town walls of cocoanut plantations, and orders to the proprietors of such lands to let them out for house-building." Such measures were not enforced without giving rise to complaints; the Moormen, the cart-owners, and others, all petitioned against the removal of their dwelling-places; but the work progressed in spite of them; the town proper was gradually cleared; a new town began to rise to the north of the Bazaar Gate. 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 1,000 yards. "It is very improper," wrote the Board, "to erect buildings thereon, which may in a short time be again pulled down. Some other accommodation must, therefore, be found for the first battalion of sepoys." Here and there the mention of particular buildings or areas testifies to the gradual improvement of the island. There are barracks on Old Woman's Island, "put into proper order for the reception of the Europeans now encamped in tents"; "small buildings erected distinct from the barracks to serve as a kanji or conjee, that is, gruel or correction house"; and directions are given to the Engineer for the preparation of plans "for separate bungalows, to accommodate the officers of two battalions." The old powder-house, between the Church and Apollo Gates, which had gradually spread to within 210 yards of the Stanhope Bastion, disappears during these years and is replaced by new powder works at Mazagon. The Chief Engineer in a report of 1782 remarks that: "The sand-hills between the burying ground and sepoy hospital have been removed and a great part of the Esplanade between the burying ground and the woods has been levelled. The dwelling-house, called the Powder-House, has been levelled to the ground." Houses of entertainment began to be established, "W. Chambers and David Ecklin desiring they may be permitted to keep such institutions for strangers." The Board granted the request, drew up regulations and a scale of rates for them; and four years later permitted Mr. Ogilvie Geddes to establish "a well-regulated punch-house without the town-walls," hoping that European soldiers and seamen

would no longer be forced to purchase "from the Bhandaris and others strong inflammatory liquors." One of the best known buildings in Bombay was Mr. Hornby's Great House, which stands in his name in the Bombay Collector's rent roll for the first time in 1771. Subsequently it was used as an Admiralty house; and has been improved and converted by a later generation into the present Great Western Hotel, facing the main gate of the Government Dockyard.

Of the outlying portions of the island an occasional glimpse is vouchsafed There was a lofty tower on Malabar Hill in those days, in which Raghunath Rao passed the period of his exile from Poona, and whence he sallied forth occasionally to pass through the holy cleft at Malabar Point; but the hill was still waste-land, small portions of which were utilised for grazing and other similar purposes. We hear of excavations for limestone at Parel and Sion, whereby the Kunbis were put to some loss; of a petition on the point from Gaspar Dagon, the farmer of several villages in that locality. A petition was also received from Lieutenant James Jackson of the Artillery, "requesting that a lease of a piece of waste ground situated near Byculla may be granted him, as he is desirous of building and making other improvements on the same." In 1768 the old Mazagon estate finally disappeared; for on the 27th March 1767 the Board decided that "as the lease of Mazgaon estate expires on the 11th May next, and as our Honourable Masters have recommended the letting it out in small lots, it shall be let out accordingly on Tuesday, the 15th day of May, in such lots as the Collector, after making a proper enquiry, may judge most to our Honourable Masters' interest." Eventually the following sub-divisions of the estate were let separately for fourteen years :—"1st Lot Naugar, including Ghodap Dev, let to Framji Hirji Moody for Rs. 845 a year; 2nd lot Mallavady, including Byculla, except the Mango tree generally known by the name of the Governor's mango tree, which is to remain as heretofore for his use, and the ground let to Mr. Andrew Ramsay, and one muda of batty ground to be allowed to the Mhatara for his pay, let to Dadabhai Manekji Rustamji and Dhanji Punja for Rs. 410 a year; 3rd lot Culvodey (Kolivada) Surji let to Raguset Goldsmith for Rs. 340 a year; 4th lot Bandarvadia let to Manekji Limji and Bhimji Ramset for Rs. 500 a year; 5th lot Mazagaon Cullowdy (Kolivadi) let to Raghuset Madset for Rs. 640 a year. In case the Honourable Company should want ground for the Dock or the Powder Works, they are to have such ground on making a reasonable deduction in the rent; 6th lot Oart Charney let to Mungaji Visaji for Rs. 715."

Perhaps the most remarkable alteration in the outward aspect of the island was the construction of the Hornby Vellard (from Portuguese *Vallado*=a fence), called in these days also Breach Candy or "the Beach beside the 'Khind' or Pass." We have seen that in the preceding period some attempt was made to resist the encroachment of the ocean; but the dam erected in those years was scarcely stout enough to wholly check the wanton inrush of its waves. So, during the Governorship of William Hornby, the great vellard was built, which rendered available for cultivation and settlement the wide stretch of the flats, and resulted in the welding of the eastern and western shores of our island into one united area. A general description of the town, as it appeared in these years, is given by two writers—the traveller Parsons, and Forbes, the author of "Oriental Memoirs." The former, who visited Bombay in 1775, informs us that: "The town of Bombay is near a mile in length from Apollo Gate to that of the Bazaar, 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 Bazaar Gate. 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 marines 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 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." Mr. Forbes is 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 a 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 (1766-1784), 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 Mahommedans 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 bazaar 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."

And what of the population in these years? Before noticing the scattered references to this or that caste or individual, we would remark that the number of temples and fire-temples, which existed in the year 1780, affords striking testimony of the increase of inhabitants in our island. Between 1740 and 1780 Dady Sett had built an Agiari in the Fort, Dossabhoy N. Sett had founded a fire-temple near Phanaswadi; Manekji N. Sett and the Parsi Panchayat had erected Towers-of-Silence. The Hindu community had shown even greater zeal. By the close of this period there were temples of Gamdevi, below Malabar Hill, and of Venkatesh in the Fort; a temple of Samalialal, a new temple of Walkeshvar, a shrine of Prabhadevi at Mahim, shrines of Girdharilal at Thakurdvar and of Babulnath near Chowpatty; a temple of Kalbadevi in the town; the Shiva Mandir in Mughbhat, Mahadev Mandir in Varli, and finally the great temple of Mahalakshmi, hard by the newly-built Hornby Vellard. The "Moormen" also had their mosques, for religious toleration was still the watchword of our Government.

Of individuals who made Bombay their home during these sixteen years, one may note Amirchand Sakarchand Shah from Cambay, Megji Abhichand Shah from Radhanpore, Krishna Narayan from Bassein, Rustom D. Nadirsha, Framji Manekji Karani, and Jamsedji Nanabhai Gazdar from Surat, Edalji Jijibhai Vacha from Nowsari, Cavasji R. Narielwala from Hansot, and Bhimji Dhanji Umrigar from Umra. The names seem familiar enough to us of the twentieth century. In 1774 died old Lavji Nasarvanji Wadia, leaving behind him a house, a sum of money under £ 3,000, and an untarnished reputation. His sons and grandsons succeeded him in the Dockyard, built two ships of 900 tons burthen, and received increases of pay and presents for their diligence and fidelity. Of castes and communities, mention is as usual made of the Kolis. The old grievance about palanquin-duty formed the subject of a petition to Government in 1767; and is subsequently referred to in a letter from the Collector. "I beg to inform your Honourable Board," he writes, "that not any Kolis who act under me have ever been employed to fish in the Breach water. The Dolkars, who are the fishing Kolis in my depart-

ment and the only people who possess nets, are never employed to carry palanquins. Those Kolis employed for that purpose receive the same fixed pay established for all Kolis who carry palanquins on this island; and whenever they are employed in such a manner as to leave their families and habitations, they receive, if only for a single day, much higher 'bhatta' than what it is customary to allow Kolis in adjacent countries. The great opulence of these people is too notorious to need my noticing to your Honourable Board further than to remark that this opulence has in a great measure been acquired from the many indulgences granted them and which no other caste on this island ever enjoy." Slaves from Madagascar and other parts are spoken of as employed in the Marine yard, and as being apprenticed as caulkers in 1765, the Mazagon boys, who had hitherto performed such duties, being "bred up as cooks and servants in the manner formerly practised." Mr. John Watson contracted in 1771, for the supply of 800 slaves to Fort Marlborough; while in 1780 the Directors sent to Bombay the following advice:— "Having given direction to our servants on the west coast of Sumatra to send to Bombay or the Snow Elizabeth a number of coffrees which were unnecessary at the before-mentioned settlement, we direct that the said coffrees be employed under your Presidency either in your military or marine in such manner as you shall judge will best promote the Company's interest." The population return of 1780 shows that 431 slaves were then resident on the island, 189 of whom belonged to Bombay and the remainder to the Mahim district. The number of domestic servants must have been an increasing factor in our population during these years. The Indo-Portuguese or Goanese had apparently not yet taken up the duties of butler and cook; for Forbes in his Memoirs tells us that "European ladies were well served by young female Malabars trained by themselves; and the men by Negro or Malabar boys, who were our favourite personal attendants." "The upper servants," he adds, "were usually Mahommedans and Parsis." Times have changed since then; the Parsi has yielded place to the Goanese, the Mahommedan to the 'Surti,' who is of Dhed or Mhar extraction. The Moors or Mahommedan sepoys are heard of in 1769; such of them as were in military service declined to wear 'Christian boots,' as being opposed to religious principles; and in 1774 'Shâtuddin Patel, Commandant-Subhedar of the Moormen' appealed against an order to pull down certain houses. The Bhattias attained an unenviable notoriety in 1775, in connection with 'a most horrid murder committed on a Banian boy named Pitambar,' whose body was afterwards found in a house occupied by their caste-fellows. The Bhandaris figure as militia, present a petition in connection with that system in the year 1780. "Ever since this island," so the appeal runs, "has been under the jurisdiction of the East India Company the Bhandaris have proved themselves good and faithful subjects they have been instrumental to the increase of the inhabitants of this place, and it is notorious that when the Sidis invaded Bombay, their forefathers did distinguish themselves in the defence thereof, for which they have received repeated marks of favour and countenance from this Government. * * * * It was with no little trouble that the Bhandaris were induced to come and reside on this island, and your petitioners are entirely ignorant of their having deserved the ill-treatment they now suffer. The farmer has contracted with your Honour to supply 800 men upon the shortest notice. In this matter your petitioners are manifestly injured, as they are by this become the immediate dependents of a Parsi, instead of your Honour, to whom they have ever looked for protection and for whose service they are always ready whether they are paid for their trouble or not." Some compromise, doubtless, was made between the distressed Bhandaris and the arrack-farmer. The Kunbis have already been noticed in connection with the excavations in Parel and Sion rice-lands; the Topasses were still being enlisted in military service, were in 1775 granted "Rs. 6 a month for their subsistence, and Re. 1 a month for their clothing in like manner as those that are kept for the Mandvi Guard, that is, Re. 1 a month less than the topasses were formerly allowed." Lastly a new European element was introduced into the island by the import of German artificers. Ensign Witman declared that the native was unsuitable for the conduct of Military works, and was despatched at his own suggestion to Germany to raise a Company of artificers, "to be added to the battalion of infantry on this Establishment." As far as can be determined from existing records, Mr. Witman's journey was not highly successful, as only 25 men of the required description had been despatched to Bombay by the year 1779.

The survey of these sixteen years may end most fittingly with the details of population, submitted to the Grain Committee of 1780. The castes, resident in Bombay, exclusive of labourers and non-residents, were as follows :—

No.	Caste.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Slaves.	Total.
1	Rugvedi Brahmins	40	42	46	19	147
2	Palshe Brahmins	60	67	49	13	189
3	Gujarati Brahmins	72	42	31	.....	145
4	Shenvi Brahmins	140	175	94	.....	409
5	Prabhus	380	436	202	101	1,119
6	Goldsmiths	316	224	48	.....	588
7	Banians	722	522	255	.....	1,499
8	Coppersmiths	145	160	68	19	392
9	Weavers	151	172	90	22	435
10	Bhansalis	104	109	98	.....	311
11	Carpenters	125	168	71	7	371
12	Panch Kalshis	484	560	140	.....	1,184
13	Chau Kalshis	86	104	38	.....	228
14	Bhatias	108	74	84	.....	266
15	Parsis	1,583	1,308	196	.....	3,087
16	Ironsmiths	48	53	34	.....	135
17	Bhandaris	677	820	357	.....	1,854
18	Tailors	228	234	184	8	654
19	Sweetmeat Makers	9	7	2	.....	18
20	Telara Kunbis	45	61	24	.....	130
21	Kunbis	50	67	27	.....	144
22	Kilme Kunbis	19	22	17	.....	58
23	Surat Kunbis	22	10	7	.....	39
24	Turners	38	40	19	.....	97
25	Mat-makers	51	45	16	.....	112
26	Tarias of Surat	17	9	4	.....	30
27	Tarias of Bombay	13	11	8	.....	32
28	Moormen	3,035	3,953	1,347	.....	8,335
29	Coolies of Bombay, Tanker and Mazagon	1,089	1,417	808	.....	3,314
30	Oil-makers	115	78	67	.....	260
31	Golas	36	35	31	.....	102
32	Pot-makers	62	51	37	.....	150
33	Barbers	88	41	20	.....	149
34	Christians	.....	.....	.....	.....	6,960
35	Shoe-makers	63	57	25	.....	145
36	Washermen	.....	.....	.....	.....	356
	Total	10,221	11,174	4,544	189	33,444

This return, it must be remembered, appeared to the Committee inaccurate, inasmuch as no account had been taken of persons in military service or of labourers. Then, as now, there was a very considerable floating population, which spent some months of the year on the island, and the rest in the villages of the mainland. It was the knowledge of this fact, presumably, which led the vereadores to reckon the Bombay population at 100,000. The caste-names entered in the list, with one exception, offer no ground for discussion. But who are the "Tarias" of Surat and Bombay? Sir James Campbell suggests that they were "Ferrymen"; and no better explanation having yet been offered, one would adopt his view of the matter.

The corresponding details for the Mahim District were as follows :—

No.	Caste.	Men.	Women.	Children.		Slaves.		Total.
				Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.	
1	Rugvedi Brahmins	17	18	13	3	.....	8	59
2	Palshe Brahmins	15	21	13	.....	1	2	52
3	Gujarati Brahmins	11	14	5	2	.....	.....	32
4	Shenois and Chittis (Chitparans)	19	21	16	.....	6	.....	62
5	Parbhus	22	25	9	5	6	3	70
6	Goldsmiths	60	90	31	22	4	.....	207
7	Banians	54	48	18	16	2	.....	138
8	Bhansalis	30	30	18	22	1	.....	101
9	Coppersmiths	6	18	15	6	.....	.....	45
10	Panch Kalshis of Parel	101	114	46	23	.....	.....	284
11	Agri Kunbis	37	44	17	12	.....	.....	110
12	Kunbis of Nagaon	36	50	14	12	.....	.....	112
13	Sion Coolies	30	45	12	18	.....	.....	105
14	Kunbis of Matunga	61	82	31	14	1	.....	189
15	Mahim Punch Kalshis	158	192	83	53	.....	.....	486
16	Kunbis of Sion	48	52	26	26	.....	.....	152
17	Agris of Thakurwadi	46	42	15	10	.....	.....	113
18	Bhoivada Kunbis	46	57	26	18	.....	.....	147
19	Mahim Sattas Coolies	17	25	7	5	.....	.....	54
20	Mahim Bhandaris	38	63	32	17	.....	.....	150
21	Kunbis of Sivri	16	18	9	7	.....	.....	50
22	Kunbis of Vadala	104	132	39	39	.....	.....	314
23	Bhandaris of Matunga	43	55	28	21	.....	.....	147
24	Carpenters of Mahim	21	27	8	2	1	.....	59
25	Barbers	22	5	.....	.....	.....	.....	27
26	Kunbis of Khar	84	97	56	35	.....	.....	272
27	Sivri Coolies	53	53	28	19	.....	.....	153
28	Dharavi Coolies	27	32	19	5	.....	.....	93
29	Sion Bhandaris	43	52	14	16	.....	.....	125
30	Kilmekars	80	54	49	7	.....	.....	190
31	Chau Kalshis	33	47	21	14	.....	.....	115
32	Weavers	20	27	10	2	.....	.....	59
33	Kunbis of Bamnauli	19	21	8	7	.....	.....	55
34	Bhandaris of Mahim	43	53	32	14	.....	.....	142
35	Washermen	21	23	11	7	3	1	66
36	Worli Panch Kalshis	107	124	72	30	.....	.....	333
37	Tailors	20	32	14	.....	.....	.....	66
38	Kitta Bhandaris	12	11	.....	.....	.....	.....	23
39	Bhatias	11	6	6	1	.....	.....	24
40	Moormen (see 49 below)	113	114	80	38	13	11	369
41	Moorish Weavers	123	124	47	26	4	4	328
42	Maguellas	64	73	34	25	.....	.....	196
43	Wool-makers	22	25	3	5	.....	.....	55
44	Mocry Coolies	13	17	10	4	.....	.....	44
45	Warli Coolies Pankars	296	302	107	97	.....	.....	802
46	Do. do. Thalkars	210	239	117	81	.....	...	647
47	Turners	4	6	.....	2	.....	.....	12
48	Shoe-makers	5	4	1	.....	.....	.....	10
49	Moormen	136	168	37	35	30	.....	406
50	Bhandaris Kate Kamle	32	36	8	10	.....	.....	86
51	Washermen of Parel	18	26	7	4	9	.....	64
52	Christians	1,686	2,092	1,090	726	74	58	5,726
	Total	4,353	5,146	2,412	1,573	155	87	13,726

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As we close the tale of this period, we cannot help remarking the extraordinary change which our island underwent in the space of little more than a century. Those seven disconnected isles of 1661, with a population of ten thousand persons, had by 1780 become practically one land with a population more than ten times as numerous. Colaba and Old Woman's Island, it is true, still held aloof; but the time was not far distant when they also should become merged in the Island of Bombay. The nineteenth century, to which the course of the narrative has almost brought us, is characterised possibly by more brilliant progress, by more notable reforms; but the satisfaction which they evoke cannot be greater than that with which the tale of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries inspires us—the tale of quiet progress in the face of many and great difficulties, of triumph over internal disabilities and external peril, the story of a Company of merchants practising with one accord the old doctrine of good-will to all, and guided by their strong men towards the goal of political supremacy.

Period the Sixth.—1780 to 1814.

As we survey the period subsequent to the year 1780, and cast about for the most convenient point at which to intercept the course of the narrative, two dates—the years 1812 and 1814—at once engage the attention. Estimates of the population of Bombay are recorded against both years; and the only question for decision is which of the two is the more suitable for our purpose. Glancing at the figures of 1812, one notes that the large total of 235,000 by no means represents the normal population of Bombay; but that some 70,000 persons are classed as "migratory" or as "famine refugees." It is quite clear that the population of Bombay in 1812 was abnormal, was subjected to spurious and temporary augmentation owing to certain unusual circumstances. This being so, it seems advisable to reject the year 1812 as a halting-stage, and look forward instead to 1814, in which year, according to Warden, our population was 18,000. There is no reason to doubt the approximate accuracy of this estimate, and it only remains, therefore, to notice whether a rise of over sixty-five thousand in the number of our inhabitants synchronized with any conspicuous political events or with any remarkable internal changes.

So far as the Marathas are concerned, the present period merely witnessed a continuance of the struggle, which, commencing with the 1st Maratha War, had been temporarily interrupted by the humiliating retreat of Colonel Egerton's army to Wurgaum. In 1781 Mr. Hornby was still at the head of affairs in Bombay; and knowing the views which he held in regard to the Maratha power, one is not surprised to find hostilities recommenced in that year. We do not mean to infer that Mr. Hornby alone was responsible for the continuance of hostilities. The Bengal Government recognised quite as fully as he, that the struggle between ourselves and the Marathas was both necessary and inevitable. But there may have been among the Bombay public persons who, knowing in what great need of funds Government then was placed, might have felt disposed to postpone actual warfare for some time longer; and to the subversion of such opinions the general belief in Hornby's sagacity and prudence must have in no small degree contributed. In 1781, therefore, we find the English in possession of Kalyan, and General Goddard marching to the siege of Bassein. "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 neighbourhood, 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 that 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, whereby the enemy were for a time driven out of the Konkan, Hartley was enabled to cover so successfully the siege of Bassein, that the city capitulated on the 11th December 1781.

In the meantime Hyder Ali of Mysore had been endeavouring to form a confederacy of all the Native Powers of India against the English; and the opportunity appearing favourable, the Governor-General decided to make peace with the Marathas, and utilise against Hyder the forces which would otherwise be engaged against them. General Goddard was accordingly directed to offer terms to the Court at Poona, while Scindia was vigorously attacked in his own dominions by another division under Colonel Carnac. Of Goddard's advance to the foot of the Bhore Ghaut, and his disastrous retreat to Panvel, "with a heavy loss of 466 in killed and wounded, of whom 18 were European Officers," it is unnecessary to speak at length. Hostilities were eventually closed by the Treaty of Salbye in 1782, whereby we at last gained permanent

possession of Salsette, Elephanta, Caranja and Hog Island, but gave back Bassein and all our conquests in Guzarat to the Peshva, and made over Broach to Scindia. The Marathas on their part agreed to become the allies of the English against Mysore, and the Peshva pledged himself to hold no intercourse with Europeans of any other nation. The cause of Raghoba was definitely abandoned by the English and he became a pensioner of the Peshva. "The treaty was a good stroke of imperial policy," says Maclean, "for it set the English free to deal separately with Hyder Ali; but, in spite of some brilliant feats of arms performed 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 Wurgaum, and the retreat of General Goddard. These disasters were plainly due to the incompetency and want of enterprise of the officers in command, who systematically over-rated the strength of the enemy, though the Marathas were always beaten easily, when there was any actual fighting. There was safety in aggression, but none in retreat before an enemy quickly elated by any sign of discouragement among their adversaries; and had some of the brave young officers who chafed at Colonel Egerton's irresolution been in command at Talleygaum, the British force would have entered Poona as conquerors instead of being sent back in disgrace to Bombay."

Until 1802, no further hostilities took place openly between ourselves and the Marathas. But the internal affairs of their kingdom were in the interval leading to a crisis, which resulted in the Treaty of Bassein and the Campaign of Assaye. "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 Tippoo, and used all his means of persuasion to induce the Peshva and Sindia to become subsidized allies of the British Government. Nana Fadnavis, "the Maratha Machiavel," who for the last quarter of the eighteenth century was the principal political personage at the court of Poona, always steadfastly opposed the admission of the English into the Deccan; and, even when Madhaji Scindia marched to Poona with the design of upsetting the authority of the Brahmins, and becoming master of the Deccan, Nana did not ask for the fatal aid of English troops to secure himself in power. Madhaji died at Poona at the moment when his ambition seemed on the point of being fully gratified: and Daulat Rao, who succeeded him in 1794, had not the capacity to carry out his plans. The influence of Sindia's military power remained, however, supreme in the Deccan. The young Peshva Mahadu Rao, in a fit of despondency at being kept in a state of tutelage by Nana Fadnavis, and forbidden to recognize his cousin Bajee Rao—the son of Raghoba—threw himself from his palace window and died from the effects of the fall; and Baji Rao, obtaining the support of Sindia, was proclaimed Peshva, to the temporary discomfiture of Nana Fadnavis, who, however, subsequently had the address to reconcile himself with Baji Rao and Sindia and to regain the office of Minister, which he held till his death in 1800. The Governor-General tried to persuade Sindia to return from Poona in order to defend his diminions in the North-west against the Afghans, but instead of listening to this advice, Sindia and the Peshva meditated joining Tippoo against the English, and were only disconcerted by the rapidity and completeness of the English success. The weakness of the Peshva'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 Poona itself lawless excesses of all kinds were committed; and the Peshva and Sindia 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 Sindia: but Jasvant Rao Holkar, the most celebrated of all the Maratha freebooters, succeeded in getting together an army strong both in cavalry and in disciplined infantry and artillery. Marching on Poona in 1802 he won a complete victory over Sindia in a desperately contested battle; and the pusillanimous Peshva, who had not appeared on the field, fled first to the fort of Singhur, and thence to Revadanda on the coast, where he found an English ship to take him to Bassein."

This crisis of affairs appeared to Lord Wellesley "to afford a most favourable opportunity for the complete establishment of the interests of the British power in the Maratha Empire." Hence negotiations were set on foot, which resulted in the Treaty of Bassein being signed by Baji Rao on the 31st December 1802. By that treaty he bound himself to accept a subsidiary force of 6,000 men and to assign territory worth £260,000 a year for their pay, to give up his claims on Surat, to accept the Company as arbiter in the disputes of the Peshva with the Gaekwar, to admit no Europeans into 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 replace him on the "Masnad" at Poona, and did so on the 13th May 1803; an action which resulted in the campaign of Assaye, Argaum, and Laswari against Sindia and the Raja of Berar. The military force at Bombay was employed during the campaign in reducing the Fort and territory of Broach, and the possessions of Sindia in Gujarat and to the southward of the Nerbudda—a work which was successfully carried out. It may be noted that in 1799, when extra help was required to crush Tippoo, our town and Island raised a corps of Fencibles 1,000 strong, of which Mr. Forbes equipped and paid 50 men; and that for the campaign of 1803, Mr. Duncan, the Governor, was authorised to convert this corps into a regular regiment, the 9th Regiment of Native Infantry. The war of 1803 was followed by war with Holkar in 1804, which was finally concluded by the peace of 1805. From that year up to the end of the period under review open hostilities with the Maratha power were temporarily held in abeyance.

It was not only for her own hand that Bombay fought during this period; she also aided the Government of India in its war with Mysore, by the despatch in 1781 of an expedition under Colonel Humberstone, which took Calicut and Ponany, and by the supply of reinforcements in 1782 which took Honore, Mangalore, Cundapur, Karwar, and all the strong places on the coast of the province of Kanara. The story of the assault of Bednore and the death of General Mathews and twenty other Bombay officers is too well known to require repetition. Once again in 1799 did Bombay stretch out a helping hand against the son of Hyder Ali; and to such good purpose that the Marquis Wellesley expressed in the warmest terms to Mr. Jonathan Duncan, then Governor of Bombay, his appreciation of the work done by 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."

Bombay, in truth, was supremely conscious that she had become a political power, and was determined to raise her military prestige to the same level with her commercial reputation. Thus we hear of her citizens, headed by the Governor himself, subscribing a sum of Rs. 3,00,000 towards prosecuting the war with France, of the raising of a corps of armed men; and finally there are the eulogistic words of Lord Wellesley, in reply to an address from the inhabitants of Bombay upon the glorious termination of the Mysore War. "The distinguished part," he wrote, "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."

The despatch of a detachment to occupy the island of Perim in 1799, and to initiate political relations with the Arab chief of Aden, the equipment of the expedition to Egypt under Sir D. 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 finally the operations against the Pirates of the Coast; all these events are proof that the power of our settlement was increasing, that our island was gradually gaining the position, which might justify the subjects of other Governments seeking her protection. Notwithstanding that

Angria's power had been shattered, piracy was still carried on by Maratha cruisers which issued from Malwan in Kolhapur or from Vingorla in Savantwadi; "while to the north of Bombay no serious attempt had yet been made to harry the nests of pirates, who had sheltered from time immemorial in the creeks and islands along the coasts of Gujarat, Cutch and Kathiawar." During these years Bombay bestirred herself to rid the western coast for ever of those atrocious sea-rovers, of whom such early writers as Ptolemy and Marco Polo had spoken with disgust, and whose presence had given the name of "Pirate's Isle" to the sacred island of Beyt. In 1807 the Kathiawar 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 Vingurla was ceded to the English, and all vessels found equipped in a warlike manner were given up. Although the final blow to piracy was not dealt till the period succeeding that of which we write, enough has been said to show that the long-established power of the Corsairs was seriously undermined by the year 1814.

What then was the position of our Island by the end of this period? In 1782 our outposts had advanced as far as Thana; and the Bombay Government could claim the sovereignty of all the group of islands in the estuary from Bassein to Colaba. The Bombay Marine had established its supremacy along the Malabar Coast; the Bankot district had become British territory; and in Gujarat the authority of the Gaekwar was practically wielded by servants of the English Government. The year 1800 witnessed the transfer to the Company of the whole administration and revenues 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 Gaekwar of Baroda and the Peshva, and garrisoned the Portuguese city of Goa, occupied by the English during the continuance of the French War." She could send out expeditions to foreign lands, and at the same time 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."

These events were sufficient in themselves to occasion a rise of population; for, as General Wellesley remarked during his visit to the Island in 1804, "increasing channels of wealth" had in consequence of his victories been opened "to this opulent settlement." "This island," he wrote on another occasion, "has now become the only place of security in this part of India for property, and for those who are the objects of the Peshva's enmity and vengeance, a circumstance equally honourable to the character of the British nation and advantageous to their interests, and affording the strongest proof of the confidence which the natives repose in the justice and wisdom of our policy and our laws." Commercial rivalry on the part of other European nations was an event no longer to be apprehended; trade was in a flourishing condition; and the old system of impartiality and good-will to all manner of men, which had first been born of the great mind of Aungier, had, in conjunction with carefully fostered military strength, insensibly, but none the less inevitably, led to the steady colonisation of a once barren and "inconsiderable" land.

As regards domestic affairs, it will perhaps suffice to notice on the one hand certain administrative measures, designed for the better government of our possession, and on the other hand any alterations which the town or island may have undergone during this period. We have already made mention of the good work done by the Bombay Marine; of how the fleets of the king were repaired in the Dockyard; how it had become the police-force of the Indian seas. Its importance as a part of the executive power was increased by the appointment in 1785 of a Marine Board, and in 1786 of a Comptroller of Marine. "The reasons which you offered during the war," wrote the Court in March 1785, "that the ships belonging to his Majesty's squadron so fully engrossed the marine yard that you could not then carry into execution our orders and regulation of December 1778 for forming a Marine Board, can no longer exist, now that peace is restored. Nor can the excuses offered in your letter

of the 10th February 1784 of the many more necessary avocations in which our President is engaged be admitted for further postponing this essential business. In our opinions the Regulations bid fair to produce the most beneficial consequences to the Company as well as to those merchants who may build or repair their ships at Bombay. They have been drawn up with all the care and attention due to so salutary a measure. And we are determined our orders shall in this respect be obeyed. You are, therefore, to consider it as our positive demand to which we will not admit any further evasion or excuse, that immediately upon receipt of this letter you do form the Marine Board and comply with the several orders and instructions *respecting the same, as directed in our letter of the 23rd December 1778.*" *During these* years, a Marine Survey was also established, for the benefit of both Government and private merchants. Equally important were the measures taken to ensure more accuracy and despatch in the general business of the State. In September 1785 the Directors forwarded the following instructions :—" Instead of the various sub-divisions of departments by which the business of our settlement is now conducted, it is our order that the whole detail should be carried under the following branches :—

1. The Board of Council,
2. A Military Board,
3. Board of Revenue,
4. Board of Trade.

Our President and Council will still continue to act in their double capacity of Public and Secret. As the duties respectively belonging to each seem to be accurately defined in a Minute of the Governor-General and Council of September 23rd, 1783, we enclose a copy thereof for your guidance. The sole difference is that, in the definition of the business of the Public Department, it mentions matters which regard commerce and shipping, whereas our intention is that matters of that description shall belong to the Commercial Department." The Court proceed to lay down the constitution of the Military Board, and of 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; and also "the post of Private Secretary to the Governor's Office," to which Mr. Edward Galley was appointed on a salary of Rs. 500 a month.

The most notable change in the *Judicial* Department of the administration was the foundation in 1798 of a Recorder's Court, which succeeded the old Mayor's Court, on the arrival of Sir William Syer, the First Recorder. The Court was accommodated at first in Colonel Jones' House in Marine Street (now the Apollo Bonded Warehouses); and by 1800 in the Admiralty House (Mr. Hornby's), which in these days has become the Great Western Hotel. Sir William Syer died in 1802, and was succeeded by "Sir James Mackintosh, 'the Man of Promise,' who, in the words of his diary, used to vary his idle and disengaged life at the Governor's noble country house of Parel by days of business at the Recorder's Court. In 1804 he writes: I have four terms for civil business and four sessions for criminal. The number of my days of attendances is about 110 in a year; and I commonly sit three or four hours each day. I have found the business very easy, indeed rather an amusement than a toil. The two Barristers are gentlemenlike men." Another important measure during these years was the appointment of Justices of the Peace. In 1793 the Governor and Members of Council were the only Justices of the Peace in Bombay, and in 1796 sat in a Court of Quarter Sessions, inviting two of the inhabitants, agreeably to Section 155 of the Assessment and License Act, to sit with them. This system appears to have continued until 1798, when the duties of the Justices were lightened by the transfer to the Recorder's Court of the Sessions of Oyer and Terminer. In 1807 the Governor and Council of Bombay were empowered by Act 47, George III, to issue commissions, appointing so 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, whereby 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 on its inhabitants, and to grant licenses for the sale of spirituous liquors.

Not only by appointment of Justices did the Bombay Government endeavour to preserve the health of the growing town. Vaccination is for the first time spoken of in these years; is mentioned by Dr. Hovè, the Polish Savant, who visited Bombay in 1788. "Mr. Farmer," he writes, "has inoculated about thirteen hundred old and young, out of which he did not lose more than two. This has remarkably abated the small-pox." In 1803 we find the Bombay Government forwarding to the Court "twenty copies of a pamphlet recently published at this Presidency by Dr. George Keir of your medical establishment, containing an account of the introduction of the cow-pox into India," and adding that "the zealous exertions of that gentleman have proved a principal means of securing the blessing of the discovery to this island."

For the further convenience of Bombay inhabitants, regular postal communication with Madras was established in 1788. The scheme originated with the Governor and Council at Fort St. George, who "resolved that an attempt should be made to keep up a regular and constant communication between that settlement and Bombay, on the principle of its being attended with both a public and private benefit" and the following plan, proposed by Mr. Morris, was carried into execution:—

1. That there shall be stationed at each Presidency 4 pairs of Kásids (messengers).

2. That the first pair shall be despatched by the Government of Madras the first Wednesday in the month, and be directed to proceed to Bombay by Hyderabad and Poona.

3. That the second pair shall follow on the third Wednesday, and so to proceed in regular routine, despatching them every other Wednesday till the four pairs are in employ.

4. That as soon as the Kásids can be procured at Bombay, they shall be returned from thence on the second and fourth Wednesday of every month, by pursuing of which method, a constant and regular communication will be kept on foot.

5. That such individuals as choose to avail themselves of this mode of conveying letters to and from each Presidency, are to pay when put into the office, for a single letter Rs. 2, for a double letter Rs. 4, and for a treble letter Rs. 6. Packets, according to their weight, at the rate of Rs. 4 per ounce.

6. That the Kásids undertake to deliver the packets entrusted to their charge for either settlement within 25 days, and to return within the same period with other despatches, unless detained by Government on account of their packets not being ready.

Of minor arrangements for the benefit of the people, one may remark in particular the emancipation of the Kolis, and the refusal to grant a five years' monopoly to the sellers of betel-leaf. "As we understand," wrote the Directors in 1791, "that an old arbitrary power, which was established when the island belonged to the Portuguese, has been exercised in later times, and perhaps is in some degree still exercised, against that most useful set of people, the fishermen, a certain number of them being obliged to fish in the Breach water, and to act as palanquin-bearers to some of the gentlemen in office, for the first of which duties they either receive no pay or scarce any and for the latter not near the wages customary, and that they experience other grievances which must not only subject their industry to imposition, but their persons to insult and oppression from the sepoys or others authorized to compel them to execute such duties, we direct that in case such grievances do still in any degree exist, they be on receipt of this letter entirely abolished and the fishermen released from all such servitude and left as free as the other inhabitants of the island." The idea of a betel-leaf monopoly was sternly discountenanced, on the ground that "monopolies of this nature, however apparently calculated or intended for the public good, frequently produce inconvenience and grievances, which in this case would chiefly fall on the lower order of people, to whom betel-leaf is an absolute necessary of life."

Such were the more important domestic improvements of this year; but no survey of the period would be complete without a reference to building operations. As early as 1787, encroachments within the walls of the garrison had become so numerous that a special Committee,

consisting of the Land Paymaster, Collector and 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. One learns that in the absence of any restriction respecting the height of houses, "the confined extent of their ground has led many of the black inhabitants to raise their houses to so great a height as may be injurious to the healthiness of the town. It has likewise been unfortunate, both for the coolness and the appearance of the town, that little attention has been given to the breadth of the streets, and to keeping them as much as possible straight cutting each other at right angles." The Committee made various suggestions for improvement; that the principal street of the town should be enlarged to fifty feet, the cross-streets to twenty-five feet, and the lanes or 'galis' to fifteen feet; that no native house should exceed thirty-two feet in height, "from the terreplein to the eaves"; that all shop-projections should be removed, "as being positive encroachments on the streets, and receptacles for every kind of filth and nastiness"; that every house-holder should be compelled to clean daily that part of the street opposite his dwelling-house; that any house-holder "allowing dirt to remain in the street opposite his dwelling-house" should be fined; and that the piling of goods on the green or any other open area within the town should be restricted to particular kinds of specified goods; "and that the inspection and control of the business should be placed under such authority as might effectually prevent the incovenience from going beyond the limits allowed by Government." Notwithstanding the approval of these suggestions, and the issue of an order to carry them to a practical issue, some external stimulus was needed to effect definite expansion and improvement. An opportunity of introducing wider and more regular streets, and of relieving congested localities, was eventually afforded by the great fire which broke out in the north of the town on the 17th February 1803. How it arose, was never definitely decided; but to quote the words of the Honourable Jonathan Duncan, "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 Bazaar 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." A letter from the Bombay Government of the 26th February 1803 shows that altogether 471 houses were destroyed, out of which 5 were the property of Europeans, 231 of Hindus, 141 of Parsis, 83 of Mahommedans; while 6 "places of worship" and 5 barracks (the Tank barracks) were also burnt to the ground. The last embers were hardly extinguished, before the Bombay Government was initiating the work of reform. A careful survey was made not only of the quarter affected but also of those localities which had escaped; we read of many houses being removed as dangerous, 10 in Church Gate Street, 7 in Govind Kanoba's Street, 5 in the lane opposite Sorabji's house, 2 in Vithoba Yadavji's Lane, 2 in Framji Nanabhai's Lane, 4 in Purshottam Chimaji's Street, 5 in Cavasji Patel's Street, 3 in Nanabhai Bamanji's Street, 2 in Kavasji Subehdar's Lane, 5 in the Governor's old stable and 9 others. A large quantity of matting was removed from the European quarter to the north of Church Street, and demands were made for the demolition of certain Bhoys' (Bhois or Palanquin-bearers') houses near the Bazar Gate. The real importance of the fire, however, lay not so much in the improvement of the town within the fort walls, as in the inducement which it offered to the construction of a new town outside. The area beyond the fort had in an earlier period been practically and sparsely built over; but it was not till after the fire of 1803 that the native town, as we know it to-day, began to spring up. The idea of a new town outside the walls was strongly approved by Government. "It must probably appear," they wrote, "under every point of view preferable to allot a space in the oarts adjoining the fort and esplanade for the erection of a black town such as at Madras; or gradually to effect such a separation between the town and fortifications, as exists at Calcutta." Later, 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." In order to encourage the building and rebuilding of houses outside the walls, a fresh site was selected for the import and traffic in such inflammable substances as oil, dammer and ghi ; the old passage of the Mandvi or custom house was closed ; and every facility was afforded to the dealers in such substances for settling in close proximity to the new site. Pressure was also brought to bear upon those whose houses had been destroyed, and who were anxious to rebuild upon their old sites, in order that the area of the conflagration might be reserved for a better and less inflammable style of building. "The exclusion of inhabitants," said the Committee, "is a desirable object to be attained, as many of the previous inhabitants had no right to a residence in Fort. They had no business to transact, and were merely drones in the hive interrupting the business and pursuits of others. The change of the Mandvi will also withdraw a considerable number of petty traders who will find it to their interest as well as to be more convenient to be near the scene of their traffic. Thus the accommodations within the Fort will be left to the more respectable and wealthy merchants, who have the best claim to its protection." By the close of 1803 the Committee were steadily engaged in apportioning new sites outside the town walls, and in granting reasonable pecuniary compensation as well, in all cases where the new extra-mural plots were of less value than the old sites.

The fire of 1803 was in reality a blessing in disguise ; for it accelerated the foundation of that settlement, which gradually grew into the City of Bombay. The Hornby Vellard and smaller dams had provided the necessary ground ; the conflagration resulted in the conversion of that ground to a practical purpose. Milburn in his "Oriental Commerce" gives the following sketch of the old town, as it appeared 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 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 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 Governorship of Jonathan Duncan will ever be remarkable, if for no other reason, for the construction of the Sion Causeway, which connected the island with Salsette. The doom of the old ferry-boat service was sealed in 1798, when the work was begun under the supervision of Mr. Robert Nicholson. In 1799 we find mention thereof made in connection with a severe storm which swept over the island in the month of November. "I have further the satisfaction to inform you," writes the Engineer, "that during the late severe storm, in which it may be supposed the water was very much agitated, not a single stone was displaced." The causeway was completed in the year 1803, and must have proved of incalculable benefit to the migratory portion of the island's population.

Before finally quitting this subject, we would call attention to one or two of the more noteworthy buildings of this epoch. The Colaba Light-house, which was completed by the year 1772, is noticed by Milburn in the following paragraph :—"Close to Bombay, separated only by a small creek fordable at low water, is Colaba or Old Woman's Island, which partly forms the north side of the harbour. It is about 2½ miles long. Near its southern extremity stands the light-house. This building is of a circular form, and has within it a flight of steps to ascend to the top; the height is upwards of 150 feet above the level of the sea, and the light may be seen in clear weather the distance of seven leagues. There is also a signal station where a regular watch is kept day and night, the expense of which is defrayed by a rate levied on all vessels frequenting the port. On this island are barracks for the military, and occasionally a camp is formed here, being esteemed a healthy situation. It has many delightful villas scattered about. The point of Colaba on which the Light-house stands, is guarded on all sides by an extensive reef of rocks, divided into prongs; the most dangerous is the S.-W. prong, which forms the northern boundary of the entrance into the harbour, and Tull Reef the southern. The breadth of the channel between the prongs and Tull reef is about three miles."

For many years there had been complaints about the inconvenience of the Town Jail, which after 1745 was situated in the Marine Yard. "This building, the County Jail," wrote the Civil Auditor in 1798, "would be very valuable, if laid into the Marine Yard. And I do not see any necessity for having a prison within the fort. The present one has been often and very justly complained of for not affording sufficient accommodation to the prisoners." In 1799, therefore, a plot of ground was purchased at Umarkhadi, upon which the present Common Jail was built. An inscription on the western gateway of the enclosure shows that: "This Gaol was built during the administration of the Honourable Jonathan Duncan, Esquire, 1804."

Mr. Hornby's house in Marine Street, which forms another landmark, was used till the opening of the nineteenth century as an Admiralty House; for, as the Bombay Government explained, it was "necessary to provide a proper house for the accommodation of the Commander-in-Chief of the fleet in India, and there was no other in the place either in point of situation or convenience or in other respect so well adapted for his residence." But in 1800 the main building was reserved for the accommodation of the newly established Recorder's Court, a small portion being utilized as a store-room for the Admiralty furniture.

Another building, which has given its name to a portion of the Island, was the Cooperage, described in 1759 as "a shed the coopers work in." The erection in 1781 of proper Cooperage buildings on the Esplanade resulted from a recommendation by Rear Admiral Sir Edward Hughes to the effect that, "As the Company furnish warehouses for the reception of salt provisions sent to this place for the service of his Majesty's squadron, and as much inconvenience has arisen to the inhabitants residing in the garrison from the necessary surveying, repacking and repickling the said provisions, I am of opinion that lodging such provisions in a dry well-built shed or in a house erected on the Apollo Ground, walled round and tiled on the roof, would relieve the inhabitants from the much-complained-of stench, arising from doing what is absolutely necessary for the preservation of the salt provisions." In consequence of the Admiral's letter, Government decided to erect "a proper shed on the Apollo Ground for the reception of the King's provisions."

Of some interest in those years must have been the house, long since pulled down, which was occupied by the Duke of Wellington in 1801-2. A correspondent of the *Bombay Times* wrote the following account of it in 1856 :—"It is a mere hut of a place, such as a subaltern of the Bombay Army would perhaps turn up his nose at, and think only fit for servants or for a stable. It is situated between the road and the sea at the curve of the Bay (Back Bay) towards Malabar Hill, close to where the road from Byculla turns into the Breach road from the Fort. It is in the middle of a wood yard, and in fact cannot be mistaken." This explanation will be clearer to modern minds by remembering that "the road from Byculla" corresponds to the "Gamdevi Road" of the twentieth century.

The increase of population, which had taken place by the year 1814, was in great measure due to the political and internal progress, which we have briefly delineated. But it is doubtful whether military achievements, protection of trade and good government, could by themselves have ensured an increase of 67,000. It is a recorded fact that in 1812 the population of Bombay was 235,000, and that of the whole number 20,000 at least were famine refugees, and we incline to the belief that in 1814 also, there were on the island a considerable number of persons who, originally driven hither by the great famine of 1803, had decided not to return to their homes in the Konkan or Deccan, but to seek such new means of subsistence, as were afforded by a thriving and well-governed settlement. Many no doubt returned to their villages, when the stress was over, as they do in these later days; but many must have remained and contributed by their presence to the total of 180,000. Of that memorable famine one catches a glimpse in the "Oriental Memoirs." "What infinite advantage," says the writer, "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. It indirectly points out the object I have often mentioned, the amelioration of the natives of India by the introduction of religion, laws, art, science and civilisation, in their best and most comprehensive sense. The upright and able Magistrate, after descanting upon famine in general, enters into the 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 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 of 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, though from that city I have seen no exact returns. * * * * * * 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 100,000 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." One cannot help thinking that the beneficent attitude of our Government towards the starving immigrants of those years formed a direct inducement to the latter to remain upon the island, and that had there been no famine to drive them hither in the first instance, our population would not have increased to quite so great an extent.

The trading communities were steadily advancing in numbers during these years, and were settling in localities outside the fortifications, and as near the docks as possible. From 1803 onwards, dwelling-houses, godowns, shops, and markets began to rise, the original nucleus of our Mandvi, Chakla and Oomerkharry sections. The present Secretary of the "Dassa Oswal Jain" Community informs us that by 1800 there were some six or eight families of that class, settled in what we now know as Dongri Street; and that in immediately succeeding years, there were fresh arrivals from Cutch, tempted to the island by the prospect of fair trade, who bought land, built houses, and generally laid the foundations of one of the most prosperous of our modern commercial classes. The Parsis were in no wise behindhand: a considerable list of names, which it would be but tedious to recall, has been handed down to us, proving that the ancestors of several families, well-known in these days, were in Bombay by the year 1814. Lavji's grandson, Jamshedji Wadia, was carefully guarding the reputation which his sire and grandsire had bequeathed, and earning the golden opinions of the ruling body by building first class frigates for the Indian Marine, and stout vessels for such friendly powers as the Imam of Muscat. The *Ján-i-Bambái* (*i. e.*, the Soul of Bombay), a Persian pamphlet written in 1818 by an anonymous Mughal scribe, speaks of the Memons as sellers of fuel, and of one "Abba Fateh Muhammad" as the headman of that community. The Khojas are also mentioned as hawkers of parched rice. Notwithstanding that the Bohras and other Mahommedan communities were permitted to reside within the Fort, a considerable number of "Moors" must, by the close of this period, have gathered round the four main "bandars" or ports of the Island, namely, the Bori Bandar (now the Victoria Railway Terminus), the Koli Bandar or Gowli Bandar, the Masjid Bandar, and the Chinch Bandar. The two latter have given their names to well-known modern localities. The situation of those Mahommedan cemeteries and shrines also, which existed at the close of this period, point perhaps to the gradual dispersion of the community over the face of the island. Our unknown Persian historian tells of burial-grounds at Sonapur, Oomerkhari, Khetwadi, Tarvadi and Mahim; and gives the following lengthy list of shrines upon the island:—

(i) The shrine of the Saint Makhdum Fakih Ali.
(ii) „ „ „ Sheikh Misri at Sewri.
(iii) „ „ „ Sayad Badruddin in the Bhendy Bazaar.
(iv) „ „ „ Sayads Nizamuddin and Muhiuddin in Oomerkhari.
(v) „ „ „ Sayad Ashik Shah in Dongri.
(vi) „ „ „ Sayad Hussein Idrus in Sat-Tar—(hodie Satar Street).
(vii) „ „ „ Sayad Hisamuddin at Do-Tar—(*i. e.*, Don Tad, modern Dontar).
(viii) „ „ „ Sana Shah in Cowasji Patel's garden.
(ix) „ „ „ Pedro Shah (a Portuguese convert who on conversion to Islam obtained the honour of sacrosanctity), on the 'maidan' (*i. e.*, the Esplanade, north of the modern G. I. P. Railway Terminus).
(x) „ „ „ Bismillah Shah, adjoining the Fort walls (*i. e.*, to the east of modern Victoria Terminus).
(xi) The "Chilla" of Shah Dawat in Kumbharwada.
(xii) The two "Chillas" of Shah Madar, one in Sat Tar, and one near the Bhendy Bazaar.
(xiii) The shrine of Shah Hasan Ghazáti near the light-house.
(xiv) „ „ „ Shah Hussein Ghazáti at Moba (?).
(xv) „ „ „ Sheikh Momin Barkat near Barkat Bazaar.

That the foundations of our modern city were laid in these years, will appear more clearly by reference to the numbers of persons actually resident within the Fort. A survey of the Fort population was made in 1813, whence it appeared that 10,801 persons were dwelling within the walls. Of these 250 were English, 5,464 were Parsis, 4,061 Hindus, 775 Moors, 146 Portuguese and 105 were Armenians. On deduction of these figures from the total population of the island, one may assume that the extra-mural population was roughly 170,000; and allowing twenty or thirty thousand persons to the Mahim district, it seems probable that there were about one hundred and thirty or one hundred and forty thousand resident between the Bazar Gate in the south and the Parel village and the Mahalakshmi temple in the north.

A few remarks upon the commercial circumstances of the Island will form a suitable epilogue to the history of the period. Up till the year 1813, as we learn from Maclean and other writers, the East India Company retained exclusive possession of trade, private persons

being allowed to indulge in commerce only with the Company's license. "Private enterprise 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 following as a complete list of independent European firms :—

Bruce, Fawcett & Co.
Forbes & Co.
Shotton & Co.
John Leckie.
S. Beaufort.
Baxter, Son & Co.
John Mitchell & Co.
Wooller & Co.
R. McLean & Co.

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."

Notwithstanding the restrictive effect of a monopoly, which certainly contributed, conjointly with the subversion of the Moghal Empire, to a decline in the trade of Surat, Bombay attained increasing importance as a trade-centre, and appeared to Milburn, at the commencement of the eighteenth century, likely to prove the most durable of all the English possessions in India. We read of imports between 1802 and 1806 valued at £2,400,000, and of exports worth £1,928,000; of cotton exported to China in 1805, worth Sicca Rupees 64,73,639; of goods and treasure exported between 1792 and 1809 of the aggregate value of £2,851,006.

But in 1813 a change was introduced into commercial conditions by the passing of Lord Melville's Bill, which abolished the exclusive trade of the Company with India, securing to it for twenty years longer the monopoly of the trade with China. The removal of old privileges gave great encouragement to the island's commerce, particularly to the export trade to England in raw cotton, which rose from 30 million lbs. in 1809 to 90 million lbs. in 1816. What would those old adventurers, Ralph Fitch and John Newbury, have thought, had they been alive in these years and witnessed the opportunities for trade, wherein all might, if they so wished, equally participate. They, after tedious overland journey in 1583, had met with but a poor welcome, and learned more of Portuguese jails than of the spices, ivory and fine stuffs of India.

By the year 1814 the circumstances of Bombay were most favourable. Military and political prestige had been acquired; trade was expanding; progress in domestic matters was assured; and these three facts produced so favourable an impression upon those communities, which recognised or had learnt by experience the inherent weaknesses of Maratha dominion, that increase of population and occupation of hitherto waste areas bid fair to be simply a question of time.

Period the Seventh.—1814 to 1838.

On two occasions during the period lasting from 1814 to 1838, estimates of the Bombay population were recorded. In 1830, according to Lagrange, the numbers on the Island had risen from 180,000 to 229,000 : by 1836, they had again increased to 236,000. The latter date should, strictly speaking, form the close of the period : but, on the supposition that a period of two years would not have largely affected the total of 1836, and in consideration also of the fact that Sir Robert Grant's retirement in 1838 constitutes a more natural conclusion to a fresh chapter, it is proposed to extend the boundary of our survey to the latter date. The lapse of roughly two additional years cannot have added more than a few hundred—if indeed any increase whatever occurred—to the total of 236,000 recorded against the year 1836.

The political history of the period under review is remarkable for the final extinction of piracy on the Western Coast of India, and for the dethronement of the dynasty of Peshvas. We have already reviewed the steps taken to undermine the power of the pirates in the preceding period. "Those arrangements," remarks Maclean, "led of course to disorders and insurrections among the turbulent classes of the population ; and the final blow was not given to the pirates of Kathiawar till 1819, when a British force under Colonel Stanhope escaladed Dwarka and put the whole garrison, who refused to ask for quarter, to the sword." Thus a just retribution overtook them, who had for many a long year terrorised the peaceful merchants of Surat and Bombay ; the last of the Rover galleys, "a goodly and imposing-looking vessel, having a lofty poop and beaked rostrum" lay high and dry upon the shores ; and Beyt, the Robber's Isle, was bereft for ever of its chieftain, who preferred the prospect of peace and a pension, to the chance of amassing more wealth by acts of violence against the subjects of a nation, which had already proved its superiority to the Native powers of Western India.

Baji Rao, the Peshva, had been restored to his throne at Poona on the 13th May 1803 ; and up till the year 1817 remained ostensibly an ally of the English, to whose intervention he owed his restoration. But, "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 the 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 of estates and by extortion, both from individuals and from the general public, subject to his authority, led to insurrection and unrest, and rendered the continuation of his sway abhorrent to the inhabitants of his kingdom. Baji Rao's hostility to the English provoked him to stultify a guarantee of safety which the latter had granted to the Gaekwar's Agent, Gangadhar Shastri, who visited Poona in 1815, for the purpose of settling certain claims preferred against his master by the Peshva. The story of his murder by Trimbakji Danglia, of the latter's imprisonment at Thana, and escape in 1816, through the kind offices of "a Maratha horse-keeper, who sang in an apparently careless manner outside Trimbakji's cell, the information which would help him to escape," needs but passing reference. No sooner was the infamous minister back in Poona, than we find Baji Rao allying himself with Pindari free-booters, and with Scindia, Holkar, and the Raja of Berar, in a confederacy to overthrow the British power. The hesitation, which formed a considerable element in the Peshva'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 Panwell to Poona 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, the crowning-point of the struggle against Native powers, which had commenced in the latter half of the seventeenth century. "Those only," quotes Maclean, "who have witnessed the Bore in the Gulf of Cambay, and have seen in perfection the approach of that roaring tide, can form the exact idea presented to the author at sight of the Peshva's army. It was towards the afternoon of a very sultry day; there was a dead calm, and no sound was heard, except the rushing, the trampling and neighing of the horses, and the rumbling of the gun-wheels. The effect was heightened by seeing the peaceful peasantry flying from their work in the fields, the bullocks breaking from their yokes, the wild antelopes startled from sleep, bounding off and then turning for a moment to gaze on this tremendous inundation, which swept all before it, levelled the hedges and standing corn, and completely overwhelmed every ordinary barrier as it moved." But the doom of Maratha misrule had been sealed; an army of 18,000 horse and 8,000 foot was powerless to save his kingdom for Baji Rao, who, from the hills overlooking the plain of Kirkee, watched his ranks shiver, break and flee. Accompanied by a small band of personal attendants, the Peshva escaped, and passed the next few months in concealment, and in attempts 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 £80,000 a year to Bithoor 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 the year 1857.

Of military events, subsequent to the battle of Kirkee, of battles of Sholapur, the capture of Raighur, and heroic defences of Koregaon, it is unnecessary here to speak. The dynasty of the Peshvas was dead; their dominions, or the major portion thereof, were annexed to the Company's territory in 1818. A small tract was reserved "for the comfort and dignity of the imprisoned Raja of Satara, which might serve as a counterpoise to the remaining influence of the Brahmins, conciliate the Maratha nation, and leave an opening for the employment of many persons in their own way, whom it would have been expensive to subsist, and who could not obtain a livelihood under the English administration." Kolhapur, Savantvadi and Angria's Colaba remained for some time longer independent Maratha principalities.

The annexation of the Deccan is regarded by a well-known student of Bombay History as one of the three great events, which materially contributed to the making of our Town and Island of Bombay. Free and uninterrupted trade between our port and the mainland, which had suffered greatly in the past from the jealous restrictions of the Maratha government, was thereby assured; the milder sway of the British in both the Deccan and Konkan permitted the house-holder to journey to the coast, without fear of danger to his homestead and belongings during his absence, and lightened the burden of taxation, which had formerly kept him prisoner within the limits of his village. "The dynasty of the Peshvas," says Maclean, "existed only for seventy years, and its decay was so rapid that if the English had not dethroned Baji Rao, the Arab mercenaries whom the Marathas had hired to fight for them would soon have founded kingdoms of their own in India. 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 Baji Rao's troops entered the service of the British Government within thirty-six hours after the proclamation of the Peshva'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 civilisation, it should never be forgotten that the conquest of India is really the fruit of the incomparable fighting qualities of the British soldier." Whatever the immediate cause of our success may have been, this period witnessed the final emancipation of our Island from the fear of attack by native powers. Throughout a century and-a-half she had followed a policy, which enabled her to gradually strengthen her own hand and deal with

surrounding foes one by one, until the last and most powerful of all fled like a hunted animal from his capital, and relinquished his down-trodden subjects to her mercy and protection. Having thus gained the supremacy by the close of the second decade of the eighteenth century, she set her face steadily towards the improvements necessary to raise her to the proud position of the gateway of India.

By good fortune, her affairs were entrusted to a man of genius at the very moment when supreme prudence and statecraft were necessary for the repair of damages caused by centuries of desultory warfare. Mountstuart Elphinstone, who took up the reins of Government on the 1st November 1819, fostered so vigorously the expansion of trade, the moderate and uniform settlement of revenues, and the education of the people, that Bishop Heber was moved to declare in 1827 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 buildings, the conciliation of the natives 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 noteworthy improvement of this period, which must have greatly assisted the intercourse of the inhabitants of the Deccan with our island, was the construction of a good carriage road up the Bhore Ghat. As early as 1803 Wellesley had constructed a road, for the benefit of his transport, which had been designedly destroyed by the Peshva; and one of the earliest orders of the Hon'ble Mountstuart Elphinstone resulted from the need of easy communication between the Konkan and the country above the Ghats. By the time Bishop Heber, whose experience of the journey from Bombay to Poona is quoted in Maclean's Guide, was resident in this island, a passably good road had been constructed. "From Campoolee," he writes, "I walked up the Bhore Ghat 4½ miles to Khandalla, 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 thus 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 Bhore 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."

Better communication by sea was as eagerly sought during this period as increased facilities for travelling by land. Maclean tells us that as early as 1830 a project had been started for regular communication with England by steamers navigating the Red Sea and the Mediterranean. Sir John Malcolm wrote on April 30th, 1830:—"I do hope this steam navigation will be pushed through. It will make a revolution in many things to great advantage. Though I cannot understand that a scheme upon the scale Mr. T—— proposes will answer at present, one of a more moderate nature could not fail; and I must

think that individual enterprise will do more in such a case than Government ever can. But should the jealousy of your Post Office in England regarding the Mediterranean, or the desire to keep the Red Sea navigation under our own control, lay a cold hand upon the project of individuals, let us be supported in our efforts to maintain this intercourse in an efficient manner." In the closing year of this period—1838—regular monthly communication between Bombay and England by the overland route was established. In the *Asiatic Journal* of July 1838 we read that, "The Governor in Council has been pleased to sanction the following arrangements for the conveyance from the Red Sea to Bombay of the English Mails of June, July, August and September. The June packet will be brought by the new schooner just launched. The July packet will be brought by the Palinurus. The August packet will be brought by the second new schooner which is now being built. The September mail may be expected to arrive at Suez by the 2nd October; if a steamer cannot be sent for it, it will be brought to Bombay by the Euphrates." In the following month an anonymous contributor to the same journal remarks that "The intelligence which we have just received by the Atalanta is the quickest which has ever reached India. London news to March 5th reached Bombay in forty-three days, and Calcutta in fifty-six days. How easily might the communication betwen Calcutta and London be fixed at fifty days!" Between Bombay and Suez, apparently, the mails were carried by steamers of the Indian Navy: but their further conveyance beyond Suez, was often a matter of some uncertainty. "In 1838," says Maclean, "the Bombay Chamber of Commerce recorded an explanation by Mr. Waghorn of the cause of delay in the transmission to Bombay of the portion of the June mail addressed to his care, and suggested that the commanders of the Company's vessels should be instructed to wait a few hours at Suez, after the receipt of packets, whenever it may be ascertained that others are on their way and may within a short time be expected at that place." We of this later time can scarcely realise the tedium of that journey by the overland mail, the track boat on the Nile, and the vans that crawled across the desert from Cairo to Suez. Waghorn worked indefatigably for the amelioration of the service, urging the steam Committees of Bengal, Madras and Bombay to subscribe money for two iron tug steamers and accommodation boats on the Nile, so as to save three days in the transit through Egypt and his labours undoubtedly served in the making our island more habitable, and increasing its importance during these years.

Expansion of trade necessarily followed the settlement of the interior. About 1825 the exports from Bombay became considerable; while 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 imports of Indian cotton into England. Indeed, between 1835 and 1836, these imports expanded by the enormous total of one million bales. No better proof of our progress in this respect is forthcoming than the foundation in 1836 of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, which, as Maclean remarks, owed its existence to the increase in the numbers of the independent European population subsequent to the year 1830, and "which has since taken an important share in the formation of public opinion and the direction of affairs."

The spirit of progress, by which this period is characterised, led to alterations and improvements within the limits of our Island, of which the most remarkable was the construction of the Colaba Causeway in 1838. Colaba and Old Woman's Island formed, as we have seen, the only remaining vestiges of old Ptolemy's Heptanesia, and were the last of the seven to be absorbed into the island of Bombay. Since the year 1743, when Mr. Broughton rented the island for Rs. 200 per annum, both Colaba and Old Woman's Island had gradually been built over; and in 1796 "enquiries were instituted as to several houses built at Colaba, and it was declared that Government never intended that houses of permanent construction should be built on the island, which was a place for Cantonment for the troops." At the time of which we write, the widow of General Waddington held Colaba on a yearly tenure, though the buildings erected by her husband were considered as military quarters in the possession of Government. The island, which contained no very great number of private dwellings, and was occasionally the scene of robbery and house-breaking, is described by the Abbé Cottineau de Kloguen in 1827 as follows:—"J'ai été

me promener avec le Père Augustin á l'Ile de Culaba qui n'est séparé de celle de Bombay que dans la marée haute, et alors on y passe en bateau : c'est sur cette île, que l'on appelle aussi l'Ile de la vieille femme, qu'est la tour d'eau ou le fanal à son extremité meridionale ; c'est lá aussi la nouvelle église que l'on veut me donner à desservir, et que j'aurais bien voulu voir ; mais comme il était trop tard, nons ne sommes allés que jusqu' à un petit hospice qu'on habite un Religieux de St. Augustin de Goa, et qui y dessert un oratoire pour les Portugais de Culaba." The church, to which the Abbé refers, is the Roman Catholic Church of St. Joseph, which was consecrated on the 27th January 1828 by the Bishop of Antiphile. Ten years later the causeway was built, and the welding together of the seven pristine islands was an accomplished fact. By the close of the period Mrs. Postans was able to remark that " The island of Colabah is a pretty retired spot, whose dullness is redeemed by the health-inspiring breezes, which play around its shores ; a good road runs to its extreme end on which stands the light-house, and the lunatic asylum. The Queen's 6th Regiment is at present stationed there, and many families reside on the island, who prefer such quiet to the gaieties of the sister land. In truth, until late improvements were considered necessary, few residences could be so inconvenient, for any but the very quiet, as Angria's Colaba (?) A rocky sort of way about a mile in length connected this tongue of land with Bombay, which at high tide was covered with the rolling flood. Many have been the luckless wights, who, returning from a festive meeting, heedless of Neptune's certain visit, have found the curling waves beating over their homeward path, compelling them to seek again " the banquet hall deserted," and beg a shake-down at the quarters of their host. The more impetuous have sought to swim their horses across this dangerous pass, and lives have been lost in the attempt. This inconvenience, so severely felt, led at length to the erection of a solid and handsome vallade, with a footpath protecting the elevated and level road." The junction of Colaba and Bombay was followed almost immediately by " commercial speculation in recovering a certain portion of ground for building factories, wharfs, and the greater facility of mercantile operations." " This scheme," says a writer in the *Monthly Miscellany* of 1850, " has since proved a miserable failure ; but property in Colaba at one time worthless now rose some five hundred per cent. in value, land was purchased wherever procurable, and houses raised in every possible locality."

North of Colaba, also, improvements were carried out. We hear of the Wellington Pier or Apollo Bunder being extended and brought into use for passenger traffic in the year 1819. " The new bunder run out from the Esplanade," as it was then termed, was probably subjected to further extension before the close of the period ; for Mrs. Postans relates in 1838 that " on landing either at the new Apollo or the Customs House bunders, hamals bearing palanquins, rich in green paint and silken curtains, entreat the custom of the new arrival." The Elphinstone High School and the Elphinstone College both had their origin in these years ; the former was established in 1822 under its original title of the Native Education Society's School ; the founding of the latter resulted from a meeting of the same society, held on the 22nd August 1827, to consider the most appropriate testimonial to the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone on his resignation of the Government of Bombay. By 1835 the first Elphinstone Professors had arrived and commenced their work in the Town Hall. The proposal to build a Town Hall had originated with Sir James Mackintosh 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 established, one in 1812, another in 1823 in the hope of raising sufficient funds for the buildings, a site for which was obtained from the Directors of 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. This period also witnessed the erection of a new Mint. The first stone was laid on 1st January 1825 ; the machinery was working in December 1827, and three years later coining was commenced. We hear of the old Church in the Fort being consecrated in 1816 in honour of St. Thomas, " the Apostle, who first brought the gospel to India," and gazetted as the Cathedral of the diocese in 1838, our Island having been raised to the dignity of a bishopric in 1835. We read of a new presbyterian church of St. Andrew in the Fort, constructed in 1818, and endowed with an organ in 1825 : of " a thatched building got up at Colaba in 1825 for the spiritual welfare of the soldiers

in the Cantonment there, and called St. Mary's Church : " of Christ Church, Byculla, consecrated in 1835 for the special benefit of those children, who belonged to the Protestant school, originally founded by the Reverend Richard Cobbe within the Fort, but removed in 1825 to the building which we all know as the Byculla Education Society's Schools. From 1817 onwards there are continual references in the Government records to the building of a new Hospital, to be situated in Hornby Row, until on the 25th January 1825, the Directors informed the Bombay Government that, " as the majority of the members of your Government were of opinion that a new hospital as described in your letter of April 30th, 1825, was necessary, we shall not object to your resolution for erecting it."

Not only in the Fort was the face of the land undergoing change. The town was creeping gradually over the reclaimed higher grounds, westward along Back Bay, and northward to Byculla, so that by 1835 it became imperative to construct new communications. One of the first and most noteworthy was that great main road, named after Governor Grant, and constructed during his term of office, which to this day links Byculla with the palm-groves of Chowpatty. Mr. James Douglas tells of country-houses at Mazagon ; of four bungalows at Malabar Hill ; of the Market, Mandvi, Oomerkhadi and Bhuleshvar, providing homes for a constantly increasing population. Another writer, speaking of the fragile residences which people constructed on the Esplanade during the fair season, mentions " the groups of pakka built and handsome houses, to be found at Girgaum, Byculla, Chinchpoogly and other places." Government House, Malabar Point, the original residence of Sir John Malcolm, was in use as a hot-weather residence by the close of the period. Another well-known edifice was the Pinjara Pole or home for aged and diseased animals, which was " erected by a Parbhu in the office of Messrs. Forbes and Company, who had amassed considerable wealth with the object of devoting it to charitable purposes." By the close of the period there were two large bazaars in the Fort—the China Bazaar and the Thieves Bazaar, the latter being " crowded with warehouses, whence European articles were disposed of at a small profit ;" and three great bazaars in the Native Town, " from which branch innumerable cross roads, each swarming with its busy crowds. During the last few years, 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 bazaars 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 may be considered to have comprised roughly a portion of the modern C Ward, most of B Ward, Byculla, Mazagon and Kamathipura, where the Kamathis had some years before made their first settlement, and was just commencing to creep westward over the modern areas of Dhobi Talao, Girgaum, Chowpatty and Khetwadi. Parel was fairly populated, but had not yet been metamorphosed into the hive of industry, which we know. Sion, Sewri and Mahim contained probably much the same proportion of our inhabitants as they had in the preceding period. Matunga, once a pretty artillery station, was deserted. " Graceful boughs of shady trees," remarks the author of 1838, " droop upon the broken roofs of crumbling dwellings; gaudy blossoms, and the paler 'moonflower' peep from amid the fallen stones ; and gardens, once gay in 'bloom and fruitage bright' are tangled and overgrown with thorns. Matunga is now abandoned : the demon of disease claimed for his own, and, under the insidious form of 'Dracunculus,' worked havoc among the troops. The prevalence of this disease caused either by the badness of the water, or some less suspected cause, formed abundant reason for the desertion of this lovely spot as a military station."

Of the different communities or castes, which together formed our total population of 236,000, no distinct list is in existence ; though, here and there, reference is made by contemporary documents to distinct classes of the people. The Parsis appear to have been ubiquitous ; for we read of the representative of the Wadias " residing at Lowjee Castle, on the road

leading from the main road up to Government House"; of "the Parsi gentry owning beautiful country houses, which are scattered about the island, at various distances from the native town"; and of Jehangir Nassarvanji, "who vends goods of all descriptions from purple velvet to raspberry jam." The Jews and their Rabbis are mentioned; the Armenians are spoken of as wearing the persian dress, and dyeing their hair and whiskers with henna. "Armenian ladies," adds the writer, "pass their time either engaged in the care of their families, or in receiving and paying visits, drinking coffee or sherbet, embroidering and making delicious confections of *Hulwah* and various sweetmeats. They have very considerable influence in their families, understand business admirably, and are commonly entrusted with the full control of their own property. Their condition is easy and agreeable, little restraint being placed upon their conduct; a slight degree of personal seclusion being considered honourable and dignified." Our friends, the Arabs, with their unmistakeable head-gear, were already in Bombay, and offering their excellent black coffee to possible purchasers, while their silken-skinned charges cantered up and down the yard before them. "The Arab Stables," writes Mrs. Postans, "which occupy a considerable space in the great bazar, form a powerful attraction to the gentlemen of the Presidency." Added to Jews, Armenians, Arabs, Africans and Parsis, there were Marathas, Rajputs, Moghals, Banias and Hindus of many denominations, Portuguese, Persians and British—forming together, perhaps, the most motley assemblage in any quarter of this orb. One element alone was needed to put a finishing touch to the cosmopolitan character of our island: the white race and the dark-skinned people were dwelling side by side: surely the yellow race also had contributed its quota to the population? There is no reasonable doubt that the Chinese were in Bombay by the close of 1838: tradition tells of "Aho-Na and Wow-Sing, who came hither to dispose of silks;" of "Thow-wing," an artist; while there is a definite statement in the *Asiatic Journal* of May 1838, to the effect that certain of "the celestials" were domiciled within the limits of the bazar.

The period, therefore, which extended from the year 1814 to 1838, was remarkable for a very decided increase of population of a heterogeneous character. The increase was engendered for the most part by trade-expansion, amelioration of communications and general internal progress, for the steady prosecution of which the success of military operations against their foes had afforded the Bombay Government ample leisure. So long as the supremacy of the English in military and political matters remained undecided, the progress of the island could not fail to be delayed; but by 1820 that supremacy was assured; and the last obstacle in the path of steady settlement and expansion of the population had vanished. We would close the tale of these four and twenty years with a quotation from an anonymous account of Bombay, published in the *Asiatic Journal* of May—August 1838.

"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 ship-builders. 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 coco-nut 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 coco-nut 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 ; but any defalcation in external splendour is amply compensated by the convenience of the interiors. * * * 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 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. 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 Parsi who, at a very remote period—the eighth century of the Christian era—were driven by persecution of the Mahommedan conquerors of Persia, to take refuge in Hindustan. The

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 Mussulmans 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 toilette. 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 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 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 Pareil, 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 sepoys 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 circumstance 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 ultra-sentimental school formerly excited, has become much faded, and there seems to be some doubt whether her existence will be remembered 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."

Period the Eighth.—1838 to 1872.

We have now arrived at the most important epoch in the History of the Island of Bombay; for, during these years the old commercial town was transformed into a royal city; her population expanded to an extent, unparalleled in past eras; and those great works of public convenience and adornment, which fitted her to take high rank among the most beautiful possessions of a world-wide empire, were by the exertions and genius of her leading men brought to completion. In accordance with the plan, which has guided our treatment of previous years, it becomes necessary to review the causes which led by 1872 to an increase of 408,405 in the number of Bombay's inhabitants. In 1838 the population, as we have seen, was estimated at 236,000: in 1872 the figure recorded by Dr. Hewlett was 644,405! A census of the people had been taken in 1864, which manifested a still larger increase: but inasmuch as that year was one of wholly abnormal commercial excitement, it seems advisable to disregard those figures for the present, and refer to them in a later paragraph dealing more directly with the details of population.

For the sake of lucidity, it is desirable to sub-divide the period under review into two parts, the first of which will comprise the years 1838 to 1860, and the second the years 1861 to 1872: and dealing with the earlier period first, it remains to decide whether there occurred therein any events, likely to influence the numerical strength of the island's inhabitants.

The military and political events of these years cannot have exercised any very direct effect upon the population of Bombay City. The appointment of a British resident to Savantvadi in 1838, the inclusion of Angria's Colaba 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 transactions doubtless enhanced the prestige of an island, which contained a government strong enough to thus dictate to native powers, and served to impress more deeply upon the public mind the fact that Bombay was the headquarters of the paramount power in Western India. But save in this respect and in so far as they extended to a wider area the benefits of an orderly and peaceful administration, thereby enabling the people to move more freely towards a flourishing trade-centre, these events cannot be held to have occasioned any definite increase in the numbers of those resident in the town of Bombay.

Supremacy in military and political matters was practically assured to the Company by the close of the preceding period, and afforded their government the opportunity so earnestly desired of initiating such internal reforms, as were necessitated by the heightened commercial importance of the island. Rather to the latter causes than to fresh political successes must the immigration of fresh people during these years be ascribed.

Foremost among the reforms, carried out prior to 1861, was the introduction of railway communication. In 1844 the Great Indian Peninsula Railway, to which Sir Bartle Frere afterwards 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 Thana were opened in 1853. "The 16th April 1853," exclaimed the *Bombay Times* of that date, "will hereafter stand as a red-letter day on the calendar. The opening of the first railway ever constructed in India forms one of the most important events in the annals of the east, since the soil of Hindustan was first trodden by European foot. The train that starts from beneath the walls of Fort George this afternoon goes forth conquering and to conquer." Even so! In spite of the "dismal prophecies of men who foretold that no native of good caste would ever defile himself by entering a railway carriage," the progress of the railway has been steadily sustained, and has aided the island to draw unto herself the best talent from surrounding provinces and districts, and to wield influence in regions far beyond her own limits.

Nor were improved communications by land the only factors in the increase of commerce. A monthly mail service, of which "the inefficiency and disorganisation called loudly for reform," was deemed inadequate for the needs of a growing community. The old system, therefore, of

employing ships of the Indian Navy for this purpose was discontinued in 1855 ; and a contract was undertaken by the Peninsular and Oriental Company for the carriage of passengers and mails between Bombay and Aden twice a month, in connection with their Calcutta and Mediterranean service. Two years later even the bi-monthly voyage was decried ; and an agitation was set on foot for an effective weekly mail service. But as the results of that agitation, and the determination to make Bombay the port of arrival and departure or all the English Mails, belong to the second half of the period under review, it is unnecessary at this juncture to say more than that communication by steamer between the two islands of England and Bombay, which commended itself to Sir John Malcolm in 1830, and was perfected during these years, contributed in a superlative degree to the expansion of our commerce, and, consequently, of our population also.

The progress of trade, for which opportunity had been afforded by the military achievements of preceding years, is evidenced in various ways. The old system of houses of agency had perforce to yield place to joint-stock banks, of which the earliest—the Bank of Bombay—was started in the year 1840. The *Times of India* of April 15th in that year 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 1844 the Oriental Banking Corporation established a branch here, and by 1860 "the Commercial Bank, 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 a local cotton spinning and weaving industry dates from this period. 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 districts subordinate to her. In 1857 the first mill—the Alliance Spinning and Weaving Company's Mill—commenced working: by the year 1860, six more had opened, and attracted to the island a considerable industrial population. So rapid indeed was the extension of this and allied industries, that Journalism was moved to remark on July 7th, 1860 :—"Whatever may be the state of other parts of India, it is manifest that Bombay feels neither anxiety nor apprehension regarding the future of the empire. Capital was never more plentiful amongst us than at present, nor the spirit of enterprise more powerful. Money, to the amount of nearly a quarter of a million pounds sterling, has been invested during the last fortnight in the establishment of manufactories calculated to promote industry and assist in the development of the resources of the country. Bombay has long been the Liverpool of the East, and she is now become the Manchester also. Factory chimney-stacks already meet the eye on every side, and when the numerous companies recently formed are in full operation, Western India will have cause to be proud of her capital. In 1850 we question much if even the model of a cotton mill had found its way to Bombay : but now the tall chimneys of half-a-dozen factories tower solemn and sombre above the surrounding buildings. Wherever commercial enterprise can be successfully prosecuted, the Parsis of Bombay will be found ready for the adventure."

Meanwhile the influx of population, engendered by the above causes, impressed upon all minds the need for introducing improvements into the island itself. More space for building, a better system of conservancy, and new communications were some of the most urgently needed reforms. In consequence, we find the idea of demolishing the Fort-walls mooted as early as 1841, while reclamation had already been initiated in the previous year, according to Mr. James Douglas, by Messrs. Skinner, Brownrigg and Richmond. "The maintenance of the Fort of Bombay," wrote the *Times* correspondent in 1841, "is not only useless, but has become a downright and most serious nuisance to the inhabitants at large. It is the source of a ridiculous waste of money to Government itself: witness the erection, not yet completed, of a gate at the cost of

Rs. 30,000, to block up the way to the Church. The Fort is a costly and filthy nuisance." Notwithstanding that the final order for the demolition of the ramparts and the filling of the Town ditch was not given till later, the advantage to be gained thereby was clearly foreseen by Lord Elphinstone, the pioneer of the improvement schemes projected during these years; and some effort was made before 1860 to clear away the oldest portion of the defences. We read in a journal of 1855 that, "The Apollo Gate is now all but dismantled, the last portion of the arch tottering to its fall; and thus one of the oldest fragments of the Fort will, in a few days, have vanished. A large portion of the wall betwixt the gate and the southern entrance to the dock has been dismantled; and the only matter of regret is that the hand of the destroyer should not extend itself all round." The Fort had indeed become superannuated. While the small community of former years had been liable to attack by sea, it had gallantly served as a protection to the trader; but now that British power was supreme both by sea and land, no reason for maintaining it remained; while the ground, which its destruction would lay open, was most urgently required. The delay in demolishing the ramparts and the decision of the Fort Improvement Committee in 1848 to remove merely the ravelins and outworks, was perhaps partly occasioned by the opposition to the measure evinced by the native inhabitants, who in an appeal forwarded the same year, pointed out that, if fresh space were required for the extension of the town, such might be found in Colaba, Girgaum, Dhobi Talao or at Breach Candy. But it was not only by the need of fresh space for roads and buildings that the doom of the old Fort was rendered necessary. Overcrowding had already assumed serious proportions, and heightened the chances of conflagrations, which, so long as communication with the Fort was confined to moat-bridges and a few gateways, were capable of very considerable damage to house and other property. "The fire which occurred lately," says a writer of 1844, "attracted me to a part of the Fort which I never before visited, namely, a street running along the ramparts between the Town Barracks and Fort George. Its name is Moodee Street. The first object which attracted my attention was a vast building, in which were 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 flames to mount to the rafters. The danger is very great and is by no means lessened by the situation, exactly in the rear, of a 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."

As the number of the inhabitants increased, efforts were made to ameliorate the sanitary condition of the city. The public health and conduct of civic affairs was originally in the hands of 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 modicum of public spirit was still conserved among its members." Justification for this sweeping accusation may be found in the description given in 1849 of one small portion of the island. "Colaba," we are told, "lies groaning under nuisances of the most unwholesome description; the living dwell among the graves of the dead; the roads are macadamised with rotten fish and the dead carcases of household vermin." The first step towards adequate supervision of the town was taken in 1858, when an Act was passed abolishing the old Conservancy Board, and substituting therefor a triumvirate of Municipal Commissioners, which existed till 1865. It was during their régime that the great Vehar Water Works, for the opening of which the City is 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. Tramway communication, which has proved so great a boon to our inhabitants, was also commenced in these years; for, in the press of October 1st, 1860, we read that "The Municipal Commissioners have, on the application of the Colaba Land Company, allowed them to lay down Tramways through the Company's ground and across the Causeway, conditionally for six months, with a view to their satisfying themselves that the working of it will not prove an obstruction to the public traffic over the Causeway." There was ample need, in truth, for increasing facilities of transit, and

opening up new thoroughfares. Previous to the time of the mutiny, the most important improvements were the Bellasis Road, "with its two gaping black ditches on either side," and the building 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 after the year 1857 the City 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 well-to-do native population; the ancient oarts and gardens were peopled by the poorer classes, whom the prospect of lucrative employment enticed from the districts of mainland. "On the whole of that district," wrote the *Times* correspondent of 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 and 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."

As the occupied area expanded, as industrial enterprises and schemes, such as the Elphinstone Reclamation Scheme, were from time to time promoted, and introduced ever fresh relays of trading and industrial families, it became apparent that some suitable system of drainage was required, to assure the health of the City. During the early years of the period one hears of "uncovered main drains, poisoning the Byculla district," of "terrible miasmata in the Fort and Esplanade," of nuisances approximating to those which Coleridge discovered in the holy city of Cologne: and one can well understand the sentiments of relief, experienced by the public in 1861, on learning from the daily journals that the Municipal Commissioners had prepared a new system of drainage for the island.

We may assume, therefore, that by the year 1860, an increase of population had taken place owing to the general progress of trade, the foundation of local industries, and the amelioration of communications. One reads in the *Bombay Times* of 1848, for example, that "our shopkeepers are nearly all Parsis,—so are our furniture makers also—but the workmen employed in the manufacture of Bombay furniture of such exquisite design, and, beyond mere carving, of such indifferent workmanship, are nearly all men from Cutch and Gujarat. Our best shoemakers are Chinamen; our stone-cutters are all from the interior. Our armourers and perfume dealers are mostly Persians; our horse-dealers are Afghans and Baluchis. Our potters form a regular organised craft and pay homage to a deity, presiding over them, just as our crafts at home had their organisation and patron saints in days of yore—our shoomakers their St. Crispin, our gardeners their St. Andrew, and our masons their St. John." One reads of five Jain temples in Bhendy Bazaar, one to Shantenath, two to Parasnath, and two to Adeshvarnath; of others, in the Fort and Love Lane, Mazagon; a fact which may be taken to prove that the number of Jains in Bombay by the year 1848 was by no means inconsiderable. By 1847 the workmen of the island had attained such prestige that the Maharajah of Jeypore despatched hither five of his subjects, "to obtain instruction in certain handicrafts, and in the manufacture and use of implements likely to be of value in advancing rural economy in their native land." The Portuguese are spoken of by Lady Falkland in 1848, as sharing the duties of domestic service with the Mussulman and Parsi; and as being "converted Hindus of the coast, partaking of all the physical peculiarities of the present Hindu inhabitants—small, black, ill-favoured, with an occasional infusion of European and Negro-blood." According to the same writer, great numbers of them, and of native Christians also, lived near the old Portuguese College at Mahim, which was swept away by the hand of the reformer in 1851. For many years previous, the College had been in a state of ruin—"the dwellings broken and desolate of tenants, the columns and colonnades, roofs and pediments, crumbling year after year to decay." The bat and the owl occupied the halls where the merriment and laughter of youth once rang

clear. "A merry place, 'twas said, in days of yore, but something ails it now—the place seems cursed:" and pitying its forlorn condition, the restless improver of these years removed the last remnants of a once famous and handsome seminary.

The years, which elapsed between 1838 and 1860, were emphatically years of improvement. And yet, notwithstanding the opening of new roads, the foundation of temples and churches, the establishment of institutions like the Grant Medical College, with the object of "imparting, through a scientific system, the benefit of medical instruction to the natives of Western India," the building of mills, and the projection of great water works, much yet remained to be accomplished in succeeding years. The City had still to be decked in a fashion worthy of its position as a Crown-possession; the increasing numbers of residents demanded new facilities for transit; growth of commerce required yet more land. The Bombay Almanac of 1855 speaks of the Supreme Court within the Fort, and the Court of Small Causes in the native town as "having been selected with the special object of suppressing litigation, being both incommodious and ill-ventilated:" while the *Times* of 1860, in warning the public against the too rapid erection of cotton-mills, remarks that "the want of wharfage and pier accommodation thrusts itself so prominently before us, that the apathy of our merchants thereon is past belief. Every man who reclaims a foot of land or gives a new foot of pier-room in Bombay deserves to be looked upon as a public benefactor." Fortunately, for the city and posterity, her welfare was at this juncture entrusted to one, who realised the need for improvement in the highest degree, and possessed the energy and determination to carry it out in the face of the obstruction, terror and indignation of the Supreme Government. Moreover, circumstances to which we shall refer hereafter, placed within her grasp the funds, which were needed to perfect her transformation from a mercantile town into a splendid and populous city. Bombay, in days of yore, had earned the title of "the Island of the Good Life," but by mishap had lost her right thereto. The achievements of Sir Bartle Frere's administration, and of the period subsequent to 1860, regained for her the right to bear that title, which, even though the arrow fly by night and the sickness destroy in the noon-day, shall abide with her for evermore.

We pass on to the period of the making of modern Bombay; and in reviewing the events which helped to swell the stream of immigration, would deal firstly with the growth of railways. At the close of the year 1860, the Great Indian Peninsula Company had opened the line as far as the head-quarters of the Thana Collectorate. Three years later, on the 22nd April 1863, the Bhor Ghat incline was opened, which reaches by one long lift of 15½ miles, the height of 1,832 feet. Sir Bartle Frere, as we learn from Maclean, was present at the ceremony, and, 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 then to be seen on it in a whole year. But the days of mail cart and bullock cart, as well as the brinjaree pack bullocks, are now drawing to a close." The value of the Railway in fostering the growth of Bombay has been well-nigh incalculable; saving of time and expense was afforded to both European and Native traveller; a journey of at least twenty-four hours, costing £6, was exchanged by virtue of a splendid feat of engineering, for one costing but a few rupees and lasting only for some six hours! Meanwhile Gujarat was not forgotten. The first section of the Bombay Baroda and Central India Railway was opened in 1860; the Broach and Baroda section in 1861; the Ahmedabad section in 1863; and finally in 1864 "the line, which the Company had been forced by the Government to commence at a distance from its base of operations, was completed southwards as far as Bombay." The inhabitant of the cotton country was at last in touch with the merchant, who exported the produce of his land across the seas; and, remembering the tedious journey by indifferent roads, which he had perforce undergone in former years, was quick to appreciate a system which carried him to his destination more speedily and at lessened expense.

Further encouragement to trade, and therefore also to the growth of our population, was afforded by sea-communication with the mainland, and by the opening of the Suez Canal. In 1866, as we learn from the *Times* of March 30th in that year, arrangements were made by Government with the Bombay Coast and River Steam Navigation Company for running steam ferries between Bombay and Mandva, Karanja, Revas and Dharamtar, Uran and Ulwa. With the railway on one hand, and the steam-boat on the other, the island of Bombay could no longer be a *terra incognita* to the dweller in the Konkan. 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 conveyed in ships round the Cape; and largely assisted Bombay to become the imperial port of India. Early in the previous year, the weekly mail service had been instituted in response to the agitation, which we noted in 1857, and our Island had become the port of arrival and departure for all the English Mails. "The claims of Bombay," writes Maclean in 1875, "had by that time become too strong to be disregarded for the sake of local interests; and now we have not only the P. and O. Steamers running here, but the transports conveying the annual reliefs to India, and a number of independent lines of passenger steamers, including the Austrian Lloyd's, the Rubattino and the Anchor Line. The British India Company, too, have a contract with the Indian Government for carrying mails from Bombay to all the other large ports of India. Finally, to complete our record of what has been done to improve communication between Bombay and the rest of the world, we should 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 Karachi and England by a Persian Gulf cable had, however, been successfully established in 1865." The opening of the canal was, perhaps, more instrumental than any other event in raising our island to "the proud position of the gateway of Western India."

The third most patent reason for the growth of the city and the rise of population was the enormous increase of the cotton trade, and subsequent Share Mania, of the years 1861-65. The outbreak of the Civil War in America, which at once cut off the 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 considered 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 so long as the war was carried on. "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 termination of the American War," said the *Times* of March 1862, "will leave England inundated with inferior Surats; and the article will stink in the nostrils of English manufacturers. Let those whom it concerns look to it; for there is danger in the present aspect of trade." But no warning could stem the insatiate greed for riches, which were saved and accumulated far too rapidly to allow of their being sunk in sound investments. The economic history of most commercial countries, as Sir Richard Temple remarks, has shewn 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 speculation that Bombay fell a victim at this time. Financial associations formed for various purposes, sprang up like mushrooms; companies expanded with an inflation as that of bubbles; projects blossomed only to decay." By the end of 1864 the whole community, 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. The newspapers were filled with announcements of new Financial Associations, and Land Reclamation Companies, of which the most noteworthy was the Back Bay Association, designed to provide in the first place the land on the shore of Back Bay, along which the B. B. & C. I. Railway now runs, and afterwards to use the residue of the ground, permitted to be reclaimed, for the purpose of providing sites for marine residences. "The value of land had been trebled and quadrupled in Bombay; the population was every day increasing in numbers, and, as the available space within the island was very small, every additional foot tacked on seemed likely to be worth its weight in gold. Fierce opposition was made to the grant to a 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 compelled 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." By the close of the year 1864, there were 31 banks in existence, 16 financial associations, 8 land companies, 16 press companies, 20 insurance companies against 10 in 1855, 62 joint-stock companies against 0 in 1855. Journalism bade the public take heed, indulged in Cassandra-like prophecies of the ruin that was imminent. "We must rebuke the wild rage going on side by side with honest effort. This must end in a fearful smash, and we warn the Bombay public to beware!" Thus croaked the Press; and later cried more shrilly:—"There is a gambling saturnalia going on! Speculation is rife, and with financial folly the rigging of the share market is now pursued. Three hundred and forty-seven Acts were once passed at the cost of £120,334,087. Such was 1846 in England! Let us all take care of 1865 in India!" But the malady was too virulent and too wide-spread to be checked by reproof; could only be healed by the universal humiliation and distress of a mercantile community. The conduct of some of the banking institutions of these years was without precedent, and undoubtedly fostered the growth of disaster. "To understand what their conduct has been," remarked a contemporary, "it is necessary to go much further back than 1864-5, and even than the outbreak of the American War itself. The truth is that the mania of 1864-65 supervened upon a community in which the seeds of ruin were already sown broadcast by the demoralization of the personnel of its banking institutions. From the foundation of the Mercantile Bank of India in this city in 1852, down to this day, there has hardly been a Bank Manager who has not had interested relations with one or other of the brokers. Such relations could not but be dangerous. In other words, the command of nearly all Banks has been in the hands of men engaged in speculative operations of the most formidable kind, and in secret partnership with the brokers. It cannot be too distinctly impressed upon the public mind that the recent share mania was possible, only because an utterly demoralized executive had the command of all the banking resources in the place; and with the vast means behind them were in all but open partnership with the brokers, as leaders of or participators in the great gambling operations of the time. The Back Bay scheme is said to have been the cause of the mania; but this is incorrect. It was the demoralization of the banking executive, at the time the scheme was launched upon the market, that ruined us."

In the spring of 1865 the long protracted resistance of the Southern states collapsed, Lee's army surrendered, the blockade ended, and a mass of American cotton entered the English markets. The price of Bombay cotton fell fast; the prices of all securities declined in sympathy with it; property in produce estimated at many millions sterling declined in a few weeks to less than half its value. "Every one," writes Maclean, "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. 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." With the downfall of the Commercial Bank, the misfortunes of Bombay reached a

climax ; then the Agra and Masterman's Bank broke, and in mid-September Messrs. Premchand Roychand and R. Jamsetji Jeejeebhoy, the two most influential exporters of cotton, were declared insolvent. "Returning to India in the autumn of 1865," writes Sir Richard Temple, "I again passed through Bombay, and found the City in the very throes of her trouble, her leading merchants ruined, many of her old-established firms in peril, her banking corporations in liquidation, her enterprises suspended. Never had I witnessed in any place a ruin so widely distributed, nor such distress following so quickly on the heels of such prosperity. The native merchants were as important as, and much more numerous than, the Europeans; and upon both alike had swift retribution descended. As is usual in disastrous times, recrimination and mutual reproach were rife, and accusations of mercantile misconduct were bandied about. Happily the instances of misbehaviour on the part of Europeans, or on the part of natives of rank and status, were rare. But many natives of lesser education and position were drawn into the vortex of the speculation which verges upon gambling, and leads to paths heaped with temptations to questionable actions. Soon the courts of justice became overloaded with cases in which misguided natives were figuring as defendants. Amid the crash of companies, firms and individuals, all ruined, the failure of the Bank of Bombay was announced. The Government held shares in this Bank and had directors sitting at the Board of Management ; there also the public funds needed for current expenses were deposited. The rule in this Bank, as in the other banks in India with which the Government was connected, had been that advances should not be made on any securities except those of Government. But unfortunately by some recent legislation on a renewal of the Bank's charter, some provisions had been inserted whereby the Bank was empowered to make advances on certain kinds of securities other than those of Government. In virtue of this power, the Bank had made advances to companies during the time of prosperity, on the security of their shares, to such an extent that when the companies became insolvent amidst the general ruin, the Bank also failed. This failure was noticed with sharp animadversion by the public, and especially by those who had become shareholders in the Bank, on the faith of its being supervised by the Government. Indignation rose high against the Government Director, who as financial adviser in this matter, was specially bound to see that the Bank steered clear of the threatening shoals." 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 them gave rise to a wide-spread undercurrent of distress, blighting careers once promising, and condemning many lives to a hopeless and degrading bondage. "The value of the lands and houses that have to be sold," wrote the *Times* of August 1866, "must be estimated at four crores of rupees ; and this sum is owed five times over by the community at large." Two Land Companies only lived through the day of reckoning, the Colaba and Elphinstone Companies. The latter had done good work and possessed a valuable property ; and was able to keep on its way for some years, till a sympathatic Government relieved it of anxiety by buying all its shares at par. By the close of the year 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 and success 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," remarked the Press, "has the strongest negative guarantee for safety in the history of the four years' downfall of the old Bank."

Such is, in outline, the history of the great Share Mania. Posterity, while regretting that chastisement of so terrible a nature should have been meted out to individuals, is yet forced to admit that modern Bombay was really established in those troublous years. She emerged purified from the furnace of affliction, more populous and more beautiful than she had ever been in former years. At the outset, when the piles of gold commenced to stream into her coffers, the public mind was turned towards improvement of the land, improvement that might render her larger and more wholesome : and at the head of the Government was just the one man, who could stimulate that desire, and guide it by zeal and enthusiasm to a practical issue. These causes led to the final order of 1862 for the demolition of the Fort walls and to the great Reclamations, which have

so largely contributed to the general health of the island. Bombay had by 1862 grown beyond both natural and artificial limits; "the fort was too small to furnish warehouse room for her merchandize; the island too crowded to afford space for the residence of the community." "The exigencies of the case," cried the daily journals, "demand not only that we should recover space from obsolete and useless works, but that we should likewise reclaim land from the sea." The old Fort, therefore, which had frowned upon the Malabar pirate, and watched the merchant fleet sail forth to punish Angria, disappeared for ever. Some remnant of it still exists in the modern Arsenal, or "Black Fort," as the buggy-driver terms it. The task of driving back the ocean was also taken in hand. "The traveller, landing at Apollo Bunder about the year 1855, would have found a foul and hideous foreshore from the Fort to Sewri on the East; from Apollo Bunder 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 Chowpatty 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 Bunder 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 the year 1860, some six million pounds sterling was utilised in regulating and advancing into the sea below low water mark the whole of the island's foreshore. Handsome works were effected on either side of the Apollo Bunder, extending south-westward almost to Colaba Church, and stretching from the Custom House to Sewri along the Mody Bay, Elphinstone, Mazagon, Tank Bunder 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. Considering what the effect of these works has been upon the sanitary condition of the city, and the great convenience and comfort which they have afforded to the masses, the speculation and mania of the years 1861-65 appear rightly to have been a blessing in disguise. According to Dr. Hewlett's report of 1872, the area reclaimed amounted to 4,348,918 square yards which is equivalent to 898·5 acres; and by the year 1872 the area of the whole island had risen from 18·62 square miles to 22 square miles, 149 acres and 1,897 square yards.

Not upon reclamation alone was the public wealth expended during these years. New roads were made; old tracks improved. The Colaba Causeway was widened and rebuilt in 1861-63; the Esplanade Main Road, Rampart Row and Hornby Row, Bori Bunder Road, Market Road past the Markets, a road from Church Gate Street to Esplanade Main Road, the junctions of Apollo Bunder with Marine Street and Rampart Row, were all commenced and completed within fifteen years after the opening of this period. Cruikshank Road and the Esplanade Cross Road were widened by Government in 1865 and 1866; the Nowroji Hill Road from Dongri Street was constructed in 1865; the Carnac, Masjid and Elphinstone over-bridges were built by 1867 at the joint expense of the Municipality and G. I. P. Railway; Rampart Row East from the Mint to Fort George Gate was constructed by Government on the site of the Rampart and part of the Mody Bay reclamation.

But important as these reclamations and communications were, they are less likely to strike the mind of the casual traveller than the great buildings and adornments of the city, which were established in these years. The embellishment of Bombay may be said to have been conducted by two parties, working separately, but both actuated by the spirit of the age, which demanded that some part of the newly-acquired wealth should be spent to the permanent advantage of the city and island. On the one side were private citizens, who sought to leave to the island some outward memento of their success in speculation or, as the case might be, in sound commercial transactions. "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." One thinks at once of the 4 lakhs given by Mr. Premchand Roychand, "the uncrowned king of Bombay" in those days, for an University Library Building and a tower, to be named after his mother "The Rajabai Tower"; of the Jamsetji Jeejeebhoy School of Art; of "the liberality of Cowasji Jehangir, Esq., who will very shortly (1864) provide Bombay with no less than forty drinking fountains, to be placed in various parts of the island"; of Parsi benevolent institutions, such as the Opthalmic Hospital completed in 1866, the Parsi Hospital at Colaba, and the Hospital for Incurables at Byculla; of subscriptions to a Victoria Museum; and of the Sassoon Mechanics' Institute. Public companies helped also in the task of improvement. One reads of new Railway workshops at Parel; of a site being secured for a Gas Company in 1862, and of their commencing work in October 1865. "The first lamps to be lighted," says the *Bombay Builder* of that date, "are the new ones along the Bhendy Bazaar; these by-the-way reflect far more credit upon the Municipal Engineer than the miserable specimens along the Esplanade." A portion of the town was for the first time lighted with gas on Saturday, October 7th, 1866; and as the lamp-lighters went from lamp to lamp they were followed, we are told, "by crowds of inquisitive natives, who gazed in mute astonishment at the new western wonder that had appeared in their midst." The Peninsular and Oriental Company were at work in 1863 upon their great Dockyard at Mazagon. "Very few persons," wrote a correspondent of the *Times*, "have any idea of the magnitude of the new establishment just rising into existence within a stone's throw of the old docks at Mazagon. About three years ago (1860), the Company obtained from Government, for a very low sum, the old Mazagon dock with permission to reclaim the foreshore to low water mark. The works completed or in progress comprise the largest and most perfect timber-slip in Bombay." Lastly one may mention in this connection the Elphinstone Circle, the erection of which was sanctioned by Sir George Clerk, and completed during his successor's tenure of office. The site of this imposing collection of buildings—the old Bombay Green—was bought by the Municipality and resold by them at a large 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 at the office of Messrs. Ritchie Steuart & Co. in the year 1862. The proposal, testifying to the support which Lord Elphinstone had accorded to the scheme in its infancy, was approved by Government; and under the title of the Elphinstone Circle, one more striking improvement was added to the list of those conceived and 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 an 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, while necessitated in the first instance by the increase of the city and of its population, has undoubtedly contributed in no small degree to a further rise in the numbers of residents, by rendering the island habitable alike by the rich and poor. Sir Bartle Frere in a speech delivered at the laying of the foundation-stone of the Elphinistone 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, whom we have seen appointed by an 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. "The great difficulty," remarks the *Bombay Builder* of July 1865, "against which the old régime had to contend, was the constant changes which took place in the Board. We should not like to say how many individuals, consisting of private tutors, Lieutenants of the Navy, disappointed Quarter Masters, Assistant Dock Masters, &c., have held office as Commissioners during the last ten years. How such men—doubtless most able men in their own particular departments—can be expected to understand and superintend the conservancy of a city such as Bombay, is to us a mystery. Therefore, we say that we heartily welcome anything which is likely to prove a change for the better, although at the same time it is by no means certain that the new Act will be found complete in every point." 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. We hear the first notes of action in the two appeals which are new before Government: one for a concession of the waste land, known as "The Flats," intended for house accommodation for the city; the other for the Mody Bay site, intended for the construction of docks. There may be delay in sanctioning these measures, but the former must be sanctioned; and the latter may be, although we much question its necessity. The flats lie unoccupied, because Government are unable to utilize them, while Bombay calls aloud for house-room. So far, therefore, the Municipal Act will give a stimulus, if not to enterprise in a speculative sense, at least to true progress; and for this we owe our gratitude to Sir Bartle Frere. Had the Municipal power been organised and brought into play, before Bombay wasted her money in bubble companies, many of the concessions of Government would have been turned away from greedy promoters. Sir Bartle Frere was able to distinguish the true policy of progress in works of utility; but his Excellency's perceptions came too late to be of any use to Bombay during a severe monetary crisis."

Ere we proceed to details of the improvements effected by the Municipality of 1865, it should be noted that the new system was 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 ratepayers 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 ratepayers 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 election 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 ratepayers 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 ratepayers.

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 1st, 1865, which at once directed its attention to drainage, to the condition of burial grounds and to the presence of dangerous and offensive trades. Thus in the Municipal reports of the period, one reads of the old Horticultural Society's Garden at Sewri being taken in exchange for other outlying plots of Government land in 1866, and handed over as a Christian Cemetery to the Senior Chaplain in 1868; of a new cemetery for native Christians and Portuguese being opened at Dharavi in 1869; and of the following grave-yards, which were a source of danger to the public health, being permanently closed in the same year:—Church Street, Mazagon; Lawrence de Lima Street; Armenian and Roman Catholic grave-yards at Mangalwadi; Protestant grave-yards in Girgaum, St. Thomas' Cathedral, and Grant Road; and Roman Catholic grounds in Upper and Lower Mahim. The old burial ground at Colaba was finally closed in 1870; while in 1871 the Mahommedan

cemetery at Queen's Road was enclosed by a substantial wall, and a new burial ground for certain classes of Hindus was opened at the junction of the Haines and Worli Roads. The closure of most of these grounds was necessitated by the excessive overcrowding, which had taken place in them. Regarding those trades, which caused danger or offence to the public, he who desires information may well consult the Municipal Health Reports of 1866 and 1867 : whence it will appear that all tanners were removed in those years from the precincts of the native town, and settled to a large extent in Bandora or Mahim ; that catgut-makers were driven to Worli, fat-boilers to Naigaum and the Sewri Cross Road ; that the indigo-dyers of Suparibagh in Parel were removed, as also salt-fish-store dealers from Mandvi-Kolivadi to the village of Sewri.

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 pæan 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 thorough 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 the flats. After the Municipality of 1865 had been constituted, distinct improvement was made ; so that by 1870 the Municipal Commissioner could truthfully record that " the new sewer in Portuguese Church Street has reformed a most horrible neighbourhood, and enabled us to drain an oart—Anant Rooshia's oart—long a disgrace to Bombay "; and that the sewering of Kamathipura and part of the Fort was completed.

Closely connected with the question of public health was the condition of the public markets and slaughter-houses ; and it was not long before the Municipal Commissioner turned his mind towards their improvement. In 1867 the Null Bazaar Market and the Bandora Slaughter-houses were opened ; in 1868 a new market was built at Bhuleshwar, and private markets were opened in Sheik Ali Janjikar Street, Rampart Row, and Tank Bunder, the total number of public markets in that year being 8, and of private markets 17, exclusive of those under construction. Finally in 1869, were completed the Arthur Crawford Markets, " the noblest and most useful of all the public improvements executed in Bombay, which form 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. "

It were tedious to recount at length all the measures taken by the Municipality to render the city habitable ; how cattle-pounds and stables of approved pattern were built ; how the water-supply of Vehar was increased, and the Tulsi water works were begun ; how our present Ova and Rotten Row, the playing-grounds of the city, were laid out. But we cannot pass onward without recalling the fact that the Reclamation of the Flats with town-sweepings was first suggested during these years, and that supreme activity was displayed in improving communications within the island. The proposal to fill up the flats in the manner abovementioned met with considerable opposition ; and as late as 1875 Maclean described the work, then begun, as a measure of doubtful sanitary advantage. But, in the words of the Health Officer of 1874, " it must b always remembered that prior to the deposit of town-sweepings on the flats, the locality was a foul pestilential swamp ; and before the garden plots were cultivated, there was, as there is still, the filthy drain which gave them their sewage. When to windward of a town there is a putrid salt marsh, undrained, uncared-for—flooded periodically with sewage,—a charnel-house, a common necessary—a depository for dead animals—horribly offensive, unutterably foul, when from north to south this area is bisected by the filthy drain, already described : when from east to west there runs another only less objectionable, because smaller ; and when all these conditions have remained unabated for thirty years, it is straining at the gnat and swallowing the camel to

speak of danger, because with town-sweepings it is proposed to convert a very limited portion of this waste into a garden for ornament and use, or because sewage was here raised from an existing drain and utilised." Foresight eventually triumphed over obstruction; and the measure, which had originated between the years 1865-70, was being vigourously carried out some years after a new and more representative Municipality had come into existence.

Improved communications were no less ardently desired and constructed than new markets or new drains. The Bori Bunder Road was widened in 1865; the Queen's Road along Back Bay was constructed in 1870 on the occasion of the Duke of Edinburgh's visit; the Nowroji Hill Road from Dongri Koli Street to Mazagon was ready in 1865; the Breach Candy, Mahalakshmi and Tardeo Roads were widened and improved in 1867; Grant Road was completed in 1872; Bellasis, Clare, Falkland and Kamathipura Foras Roads all sprang into existence between 1866 and 1868. Finally, the great Foras Roads across the Flats—the Arthur, Clerk and DeLisle Roads—which had been commenced in 1862, were completed by the Municipality in 1867 and 1868. The Carnac, Masjid and Elphinstone overbridges were in use at the close of 1867, the Kennedy Bridge was completed in 1869. "The widening of the Bellasis Road," wrote the editor of the *Bombay Builder* in 1868, "is progressing well, and the Grant and new Foras Roads are shortly to be similarly treated. The latter road will be diverted to the foot of Frere Bridge, so soon as the Gilder Road is finished. Nepean Sea and Wilderness Roads have also been much improved by widening. All these improvements are very desirable indeed, and the public duly appreciate them; but we would much prefer to see the money spent on all the street-widening that is possible in the Native Town. Mr. Crawford will be conferring an incalculable boon on a large section of the Christian community, if he would effect a wholesale widening of streets and lanes about Sonapur. Trinity Chapel Street and lane sadly need widening, both on account of the Chapel and the worshippers that frequent it, as for the large boarding school in connection therewith. Trinity Chapel Street and its continuation, and all the roads and streets running parallel with it from Back Bay, would, if widened to 50 or 60 feet, increase the health of the districts ten-fold—rather, we should say, decrease the death-rate in that proportion."

Enough has, perhaps, been said regarding the part played by the Municipality in the making of new Bombay. The erection of new buildings, the provision of architectural adornment was left to Government or wealthy citizens; the foundation of the public health and convenience was relegated to the Municipality; and no stronger proof of the benefits which that body introduced can be adduced than the picture drawn by Dr. Hewlett in 1878, of the condition of the city prior to 1865. "Filth was allowed," so we learn, "to accumulate in Pathakwadi, where heaps of rubbish had been consolidated to a height of 2 feet above the original road. The city had an unenviable reputation for unhealthiness. Little was done towards the removal of filth; and if we are to judge from the accounts we have before us of the way in which excreta and filth were allowed to run over and soak into the ground around the wells, the well water, which was the only source of supply for the town, must have been abominably impure. In some places in the town, even in very densely-peopled parts, where scavengers had been at work in cleaning gutters and gullies, the filth had been left by them on the road to evaporate to a more convenient consistence, before being carted away. In the dry and hot months, the people were unable to draw water from many of the wells in seasons, when the rainfall had been less than 70 inches, but were compelled to descend into tanks and the Fort ditch to scoop up a semi-liquid mud, which was transferred to the pitcher after being passed through a piece of dirty cloth. Thousands of persons were thus forced to drink a liquid which could only be regarded as sewage." Whatever may have been the shortcomings of the Municipal administration of 1865-72, it, at any rate, rectified to a great extent the evils which had arisen during the rule of the so-called Sanitary Department and its Scavenging Contractor.

The birth of Bombay, as a royal, a populous and a beautiful city, is ascribable, as we have attempted to show, to the joint labours of Government, the Municipality, private firms and individual citizens, all of whom strove in their several spheres to render a once "inconsidera-ble

island" worthy both of posterity and of the Imperial Monarch, to whose liberal sway she was now proud to owe her allegiance. Ere the numbers of the population claim our attention, let us glance briefly at the outward features of the island, as described in the press or official records of the day. The *Times* of 1864 contains a paragraph stating that in that year H. E. the Governnor in Council prescribed the limits of Bombay to be "The Island of Bombay, and Colaba and Old Woman's Island," and sub-divided them into the following areas :—

Colaba.	Breach Candy.	Chinchpokli.
Fort.	Malabar Hill.	Worli.
Mandvi and Bunders.	Kamathipura.	Mahim Woods and Matunga.
Bhuleshwar.	Mazagon Mount.	

In the year 1865 the new Municipality had, for the purposes of assessment, to formulate a scheme of wards, which are shown in a map accompanying the Commissioner's report for that year. At the extreme south lies the Colaba Ward, comprising "Upper, Middle and Small Colaba"; north of it is the Fort Ward (No. 2) embracing the Fort proper, the Esplanade, and Dhobi Talao. Northward again are the Mandvi (No. 3) and Bhuleshwar (No. 4) Wards. The former includes all that area now known as Chakla and the Market; the latter embraces a modern Phanaswadi, and Bhuleshwar proper. Beyond Mandvi lies the Oomerkhadi Ward (No. 5), comprising the modern Dongri and Oomerkhadi proper. Girgaum Ward (No. 6) and Kamathipura Ward (No. 7) adjoin Bhuleshwar, and include the former Chowpatty and Khetwadi, the latter Kamathipura, Kumbharwada and Khara Talao; though these modern sectional names do not figure in the map. Portions of our modern Byculla district are also included in the Kamathipura Ward. Malabar Hill Ward (No. 8) is composed of the modern Walkeshwar and Mahalakshmi sections; Mazagon Ward (No. 9), on the other side of the island, embraces Mazagon proper and Tarwadi. The tenth and last Ward is called "Mahim and Parel," and comprises Mahim, Parel, Sewri, Sion and Worli; or rather the area which these modern sections now occupy. By 1872, a further re-distribution of areas had been found necessary; and we find an A Division made up of Colaba, the Fort and Esplanade; B Division comprising Market, Mandvi, Chakla, Oomerkhadi and Dongri; C Division including Dhobi Talao, Phanaswadi, Bhuleshwar, Khara Talao, Kumbharwada, Girgaum and Khetwadi; D Division made up of Chowpatty, Walkeshwar, and Mahalakshmi; E Division comprising Mazagon, Tarwadi, Kamathipura, Parel and Sewri; and lastly an F Division composed of Sion, Mahim and Worli. These changes in the nomenclature of localities testify as strongly as other facts to the great expansion of the town and the large area built over during these years. The journals published between 1861 and 1872 from time to time refer to the want of a Building Act, to the necessity of "regulating the construction of the numerous houses constantly springing up in and about the City." So immense was the influx of people, attracted hither by the prospect of employment on great public works or by the hope of gain, that house-room could not be provided sufficiently quickly for all classes. The *Bombay Builder* of September 1866 speaks of "coolies and other workmen finding the greatest difficulty in housing themselves even in the most miserable and unwholesome lodgings." "Let any one," adds the paper, "visit the purlieus of the Byculla Tanks, and examine for himself the wretched rows of cadian huts occupied by human beings, but only raised by a few inches above the fetid mud of the flats; and he will no longer be astonished to hear that two out of three coolies that come to Bombay for employment do not return to their homes, but are carried off by fever or other diseases. When the Railways are open through to Calcutta and Madras, Bombay will become in a great measure the port of India, commercial transactions will greatly extend, and more room for dwellings will be imperatively required." In 1872, the need of new house-accommodation was still of the highest urgency. "I wish to bring to notice," wrote the Health Officer to the Municipal Commissioner, "the desirability of erecting artisans' and labourers' dwellings. It is extremely difficult for European mechanics and others to get respectable lodgings at a reasonable rate; and the filthy dens in which the labouring classes of the city live are among the chief causes of the very high death-rate." The island was, in truth, wholly unprepared for the sudden increase of population, occasioned by the stirring circumstances of 1861 to 1872; as much room as possible was provided by the building of new houses, and by the erection of fresh

storeys upon old buildings, which were totally unfit to bear their weight; but by so doing, those conditions of life in the city were introduced, which have remained an unsolved problem to the present day. Great as were the benefits which the period under review introduced, one can never forget that therein were sown the seeds of ill-health and overcrowding, which have obtruded themselves so persistently upon later governments and municipalities. Maclean gives a general and very pleasant sketch of the island, as it appeared about the year 1872. He speaks of the splendid buildings, the streets full of shops, "the pretty mosque in Parel Road," the cloth-market, the Marwadis' bazaar with its handsomer style of houses, the accumulated riches of Kalbadevi Road and Sheikh Memon Street, the pillars and quaint over-hanging verandahs of the lofty houses near the Mumbadevi Tank, the warrens of Dhobi Talao, the coach-building factories of the Maratha quarter, the numerous and comfortable dwellings on Malabar Hill, and the "glorious panorama of water, wood, hills, shipping, and the stately edifices of a great city," which strike the eye from the summit of the Ridge. And it was undoubtedly the truth that he spoke; for the city had become in his day both beautiful and rich. But a clearer idea of the conditions of that period will be gained by observing also the dark shadows which lie in the back-ground of the canvass. There was "a thickly crowded and insanitary village of Hamalwadi" in Lower Colaba; a high death-rate in the Market Section, arising from "the condition of the individual houses in that locality." "Land in the Maudvi Section," wrote the Municipal Health Officer in 1872, "is so valuable, that the houses are built very high, the streets are narrow and the people overcrowded; while the imperfect drains in the section are, from being carelessly constructed, often choked." Chakla was no better; was full of dark and ill-ventilated milch-cattle stables. Nowroji Hill had already been ruined by its owner, "who lets out plots of land to persons to build as they please, 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." Fanaswadi was honeycombed with sewers. Bhuleshvar contained the "indescribably filthy quarter of the milk-sellers," known as 'Gogari'; while Kumbharwada ranked as "a shamefully neglected district, where the inhabitants sleep in an atmosphere tainted with sulphurated hydrogen. The people are generally poor, and the house-owners portion off the floors of their houses into as many rooms as possible." Khetwadi, once the "Place of Fields," 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. Chowpatty and Girgaum were full of cess-pools; the state of Malabar Hill was such as to cause grave anxiety to the guardians of the public health. "It is chiefly occupied by European residents, who do not, as a rule, take any trouble regarding the sanitary condition of their compounds; the consequence being that the servants allow their friends and relatives to come and overcrowd the servants' quarters, and thereby increase the chance of ill-health." Tardeo was beginning to attract so many people to its mills, that a properly laid out village for mill-employés appeared desirable. Khara Talao possessed many houses in which it was essential to carry a light by day; "the villages of Sindulpada, Agripada and Julaipada" 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 Mazagon and Sewri was more satisfactory. The former, however, yet 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 another. 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 Ghorupdev and Jackeria Bunder, in which dwelt the labourers and quarry-men of that epoch. Mahim was, as it still is, covered with thick cocoa-nut plantations, and formed an agreeable resort during the morning or evening hours.

Such were the conditions of our city, as disclosed by the deeper enquiries of a department of public health. Beautiful were her public buildings, great was the increase of her commerce, huge was her population, by the year 1872; and yet she was suffering from evils, of which, as Dr. Leith wrote, the most prominent and at the same time the most open to immediate remedy

was great filthiness. While, therefore, we justly attribute to this period the genesis of a prosperous and royal city, we should not forget that it also is responsible for the birth of those troubles, which have exercised the mind of the public for so many years, and have finally necessitated the creation in our own day of a special Board, charged with the relief of overcrowding and the sanitary regeneration of the island.

We pass on to the details of the population during the years 1838 to 1872. At the close of the previous period, the inhabitants of the island, as we have seen, numbered 236,000, or probably a little more. Ten years later the benefits of peace, the growth of commerce, and improvement of communications had raised the total to 566,119. Such is the figure recorded against that year in Murray's Handbook of India, Part II, which distributes the total as follows among the various communities resident within the island:—

Jains, Lingayats or Buddhists	1,902
Brahmins	6,936
Hindus of other castes	289,995
Mahommedans	124,115
Parsis (over-rated)	114,698
Jews	1,132
Native Christians	7,456
Indo-Britons	1,333
Indo-Portuguese	5,417
Pure Europeans (including soldiers)	5,008
Sidi, Negro-Africans	889
Other castes	7,118
Total ...	566,119

Sir Bartle Frere, who recognised that no attempt at sanitary improvement could be initiated, without first obtaining some tolerably accurate estimate of population, decided to have a census taken in the year 1864. The opposition to the measure, manifested by the Home Government, has become a matter of history; but the Governor was persuaded of its utility; and entrusted the task to the then Health Officer, Dr. Leith. As was only natural, a very considerable increase of population was recorded: for swarms of adventurers from all parts of India and from abroad had been attracted to the city by the speculative enterprise which marked the season of unexampled prosperity enjoyed by Bombay during the American War; and "vast numbers of labourers and artisans had flocked from the mofussil in consequence of the demand for, and the high prices of, labour." The figure recorded was 816,562, out of which 783,980 represented the city population, and 32,582 the "harbour population." "No scheme," remarked Dr. Hewlett in his report of 1872, "was too grand for the promoters of Companies in those days, and labour of all kinds was in great request. The city was literally crammed with men, women and children, for whom there was not sufficient house-accommodation; and the consequent overcrowding of a great part of the people was excessive." The total number of occupied houses was stated to be 25,994 for the whole island; and in the Market, Dongri, Dhobi Talao and Girgaum sections, the number of families to a two-storeyed house, averaged from 3·71 to 9·42; while the number of persons to each house ranged from 39 to 83. The following instance of overcrowding was witnessed by Dr. Leith, at the time the census was taken:— "In a lane, 9 feet wide, the houses on each side were of two or of three floors, and the various rooms were densely peopled, and the floors of the verandahs were fully occupied, while to eke out the accommodation in some of the verandahs there were charpoys or cots slung up and screened with old matting, to form a second tier of sleeping-places for labourers, who were employed in the day-time at the Railway Terminus and elsewhere." Such was 1864 in the city. But fortunately for the well-being of the community, these conditions did not ast. After the financial crash occurred, and company after company collapsed, "the labourers who had been engaged in reclamation and other works were discharged, and finding no further employment in Bombay, returned to their villages in the interior."

By the year 1872, "it had become evident to all," as the census officer of that date remarked, "but especially to those whose avocations called them into the labour quarters of the town, that a decrease in population had taken place, and that the figures, as shown in the Census Report of 1864, no longer gave a trustworthy approximation to the numbers of the inhabitants." In consequence the census of 1872 was undertaken, at the instance and under the guidance of the Municipal Commissioner, and resulted in the enumeration of a population of 644,405. Maclean, commenting upon the result, remarks that "the disproportion between the sexes is extraordinary, there being 399,716 males to 244,689 females; and it is partly attributed, with good reason, to the fact that the census was taken in the winter months of the year, "when the fixed population is annually much augmented by an influx of men, who come from their villages for the purposes of trade and in search of service, and who do not bring their wives and families with them. The Soortees and Indo-Portuguese, too, from among whom the class of domestic servants is chiefly recruited, hardly ever have their wives with them."

"Nowhere else probably in the world, not even in Alexandria, are so many and such striking varieties of race, nationality, and religion represented as in Bombay. Not only is there great diversity of type among the Hindoos, the Banian of Gujarat differing as widely in appearance and manners from the Maratha of the Deccan, as the Englishman differs from the Italian; not only do the Mahommedans include, besides Indian Musalmans, many Afghans, Persians, Arabs, Turks, Malays and Abyssinians; not only are colonies of Jews and Armenians to be found among this motley population; but the city is the head-quarters of the thriving and prolific race of Parsis, and contains many thousand Indo-Portuguese inhabitants. To crown all, there are the European inhabitants, engaged either in the service of Government, or in professional or mercantile pursuits—a class of the community not strong in numbers, but supreme in political and social power." The population of 1872 was officially classified under the following heads:—

Caste.	*Persons.*	*Percentage to Population.*
Buddhists or Jains	15,121	2·35
Brahmins	25,757	4·00
Lingayats	1,242	·19
Bhattias	9,466	1·47
Hindoos of other castes	340,868	52·90
Hindoo out-castes	31,347	4·86
Mahommedans	137,644	21·36
Negro-Africans	1,171	·18
Parsis	44,091	6·84
Jews	2,669	·41
Native Christians and Goanese	25,119	3·90
Eurasians	2,352	·36
Europeans	7,253	1·13
Chinese	305	·05
All races and castes ...	644,405	100·00

This motley of tribes, castes and races was housed in 29,691 dwellings. Notwithstanding the fact that the number of houses in the Island had increased since 1864 by 4,027, and that the population had decreased by 172,157, overcrowding was still excessive, and moved Dr. Hewlett to remark that "what has been said of Scotland may with equal truth be applied to Bombay, that families instead of living on the earth in the pure air with the sky over their dwellings, in many instances prefer lying stratum over stratum in flats opening into a common staircase, a 'continuation of the street,' as it has been called, which receives the organic emanations of the families on each floor."

It is not a pleasant picture, this, of the conditions of life in the city of 1872: but, fortunately, the evils which resulted from the frenzied progress of the period were counterbalanced by the good which accrued therefrom; and in the years that followed, increased science

in sanitation, combined with a keen desire for the common good, assisted in minimising the dangers which attended the elevation of Bombay to that pinnacle of greatness, upon which she is now proudly seated.

In taking leave of this most important portion of Bombay history, we would touch upon three facts of general interest, which testify, each in its own way, to the change which came over the island during these years. *Firstly*, we note a considerable growth of handicrafts: there are silk-looms near the Babula Tank, and in the Jail Road, which produce many a *Sari*, *choli*, *pagadi* or waistcoat; gold and silver thread is manufactured and used for embroidery in two or three localities; a poor quality of packing paper is prepared from fibres; while "very good boots and shoes, saddles, bags, &c., are made in the European fashion by native workmen under European superintendence." The precious metals are fused and beaten into ornaments by over 2,000 goldsmiths, "who find constant and lucrative employment"; 300 jewellers cater to the public demand for pearls, diamonds and emeralds; carved black-wood furniture has became celebrated; Madras workmen have journeyed hither, and supply "a most attractive reed-matting," which seems likely to supersede the China matting, hitherto in vogue; copper cooking pots and other utensils of universal use are supplied by hundreds in the Copper Bazaar, opposite the Mumbadevi Tank, "the busiest and noisiest street in the native town." The supply of carriages, "inferior in elegance, indeed, to the best vehicles from Long Acre, but of substantial and good workmanship" keeps many a man employed; the Byculla and Parel Railway workshops manufacture all kinds of rolling stock, except engines; great progress has been made in the iron industry, so that, "with the important exception of machinery, there is hardly any description of iron work which cannot be manufactured in Bombay." Even ivory and sandalwood carving, and the manufacture of tortoise-shell armlets for women, can be seen in process of completion amid the dark by-ways and cross-lanes of the native town. The industrial importance of the island had fully kept pace with architectural embellishment and with its physical expansion.

Secondly, one notes a growing tendency to travel on the part of the native population, a tendency which arose, perhaps, naturally from improvement of communications between England, India and China. There was 'the editor of the *Hindu Harbinger*' who sailed for England in 1854; a Nagar Brahmin in 1860, who desired to study the English educational system; and two gentlemen of the Bania community, who left India in 1866 to found a firm in England. To China there sailed members of the Khoja, Marwadi, and Borah communities, whose names it is perhaps unnecessary to repeat. In most cases these adventurous spirits returned after a short time; but the fact that they essayed the dangers of the deep, with the full conviction, in some cases, that they would be outcasted by their spiritual leaders or *gurus*, seems to us proof of the fact that the wealthier portion of the native community was becoming imbued with the spirit of progress, which animated its English rulers.

Thirdly, we remark in the year 1862, an event, which the contemporary press characterised as a "Triumph over Public Immorality"—the Maharaja Libel Case. Into the history of the Vallabacharyas, into the tale of credulity and corruption, license and degradation, elicited by cross-examination, it is not our purpose to enter; nor is there occasion to trace the gradual conversion of the high-toned mysticism of the early Hindu religion into a debasing and anthropomorphic superstition. The real importance of the case is shadowed forth in the concluding portion of the judgment delivered by Sir Joseph Arnould. "This trial," remarked the learned judge, "has been spoken of as having involved a great waste of the public time. I cannot quite agree with that opinion. No doubt much time has been spent in hearing this cause, but I would fain hope it has not been all time wasted. It seems impossible that this matter should have been discussed thus openly before a population so intelligent as that of the natives of Western India, without producing its results. It has probably taught some to think; it must have led many to enquire. It is not a question of theology that has been before us! it is a question of morality. The principle for which the defendant and his witnesses have been contending is simply this—that what is morally wrong cannot be theologically right—that when

practices which sap the very foundations of morality, which involve a violation of the eternal and immutable laws of Right—are established in the name and under the sanction of Religion, they ought, for the common welfare of society, and in the interest of humanity itself, to be publicly denounced and exposed. They have denounced—they have exposed them. At a risk and at a cost which we cannot adequately measure, these men have waged determined battle against a foul and powerful delusion. They have dared to look custom and error boldly in the face, and proclaim before the world of their votaries that their evil is not good, that their lie is not the truth. In thus doing, they have done bravely and well. It may be allowable to express a hope that what they have done will not have been in vain, that the seed they have sown will bear its fruit, that their courage and consistency will be rewarded by a steady increase in the number of those, whom their words and their example have quickened into thought, and animated to resistance, whose homes they have helped to cleanse from loathsome lewdness, and whose souls they have set free from a debasing bondage." The public conscience had indeed been stirred to its very depths; the native community of Western India were beginning to discern the truth of the maxim, which Carlyle openly preached, that 'A lie cannot live'; and to realise that both for the individual and the community it is well to "have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness."

It is time to close the narrative of these years. We leave Bombay in happiest plight, looking out hopefully upon the future. Commercial stability has not suffered from the delirium of the early sixties; the advancement of the Railway system bids fair to render her the outlet for the exports of the larger part of Hindustan; her magnificent and capacious harbour has not been sensibly injured for the last two hundred years, either by the forces of nature or by the hand of man, while it has been explored and defined with greatest accuracy. The bunders and places for the loading or storage of merchandise are extending; and that so carefully, that there is little danger of the anchorage being impaired, as happened in Phœnician land reclamations at Tyre and Sidon. The city, though huge, is not, on the whole, unhealthy; its water-supply is assured; the scientific endeavours to facilitate its drainage, under the auspices of a Government representing the spirit of the times, promise great sanitary improvement. Architecture, as an art, has made its appearance; streets and dwellings are being illuminated with gas. Finally, the character of the island has changed: the Company has passed away, its life-work ended: and Bombay is now one of the strongest outposts of a wide empire, the devoted adherent of a "Queen of Isles" who "stretches forth, in her right hand the sceptre of the sea, and in her left the balance of the earth."

Period the Ninth.—1872 to 1881.

The nine years that elapsed between the dates of Dr. Hewlett's enumeration, and that carried out by Surgeon-Lieutenant-Colonel Weir, were characterised by quiet and steady progress. They witnessed no sudden and unparalleled access of wealth, no extraordinary influx of population, such as rendered a previous period remarkable; but rather a gradual growth in the number of inhabitants, occasioned by advance of trade, growth of public works, and the unremitting attention paid to the general convenience and comfort of the community.

Before alluding to the improvements carried out in these years, one noteworthy change in the status of our city and island deserves mention. In 1877 her late Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland was declared Empress of India; and Bombay, which in 1858 had become a Royal City, ranked from that day forth as an Imperial possession. Mahommedan rulers of Gujarat had yielded her to the Portuguese in 1534; the latter had been succeeded by the representatives of the British Crown in 1661; and seven years later the merchants of London had gained her as their own. But destiny willed that her status should increase, even as her wealth and population expanded; that to her social and commercial importance should be added the prestige, which inclusion in a world-wide empire can alone afford. Long may she hold her proud position, mindful ever of the duties which her imperial character imposes!

The increase of population, recorded in 1882, was partially assured by the continued improvement of communications. The Great Indian Peninsula and the Bombay, Baroda & Central India Railways threw out fresh lines, linked themselves with other and more remote rail-roads, 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; its advantages acquired more celebrity among the dwellers in the coast-hamlets: news of the city, and of the means of livelihood which it afforded, was thereby spread further afield. One of the most curious features of the census of 1881 was the rapid rise of the female population of the city. The immigration, to which a total increase of 128,791 was chiefly due, was "not solely an adult male immigration." The women had been tempted by easy and rapid communications, both by land and sea, to accompany their menkind from the plains of the Deccan, from Cutch and from the villages that lay along the coast. In previous years, the men had sallied forth alone, had dared not risk the peace, perhaps the lives, of their wives and children in a journey to the unknown city: but by 1881, the steam-boat and "the fire-carriage" had done their work; and the women of the Deccan, Konkan and Gujarat had come to share their masters' fortunes in the factory and the docks.

Trade increased steadily during these years. For the three years, 1870 to 1872, Bombay exports averaged 24 crores, her imports 12 crores; between 1880 and 1882 they respectively averaged 27 crores and 17 crores. Her exports of wheat rose from a triennial average of 150 tons in 1870-72 to 231,402 tons in 1880-82; of linseed from 4,766 tons to 76,685 tons; of rapeseed from 1,416 tons to 19,781 tons; and of gingelly from 685 tons to 37,433 tons. And ever as her trade increased, there were new demands for labour, new opportunities for the up-country villager to earn a livelihood. Hence arose the spectacle of a Maratha population enormously expanded since 1872, and forming 22·86 per cent. of the total population; for "whether in the prolonged labour of the factory, or in the severe toil of the dock, the frugal and brave-hearted Maratha is the chief toiler." To the increase of commerce the Municipal Corporation alluded with just pride in an address presented to His Majesty the King-Emperor, on the occasion of his visit to the city in November 1877. "Bombay," said the city fathers, "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 cocoanuts 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 worthy forty-five millions and yielding in customs-duties to the Imperial Treasury three millions a year."

The mill-industry also increased apace during these years. In 1861 there were some 195,673 spindles and 2,700 looms at work; in 1875 the number of spindles was computed at 806,705 and of looms at 7,754. The number of cotton-mills in 1872 was 12, by 1875 they had increased to 17, and by 1879 to 30; and in addition to them, were several minor factories, of which detailed information no longer exists. The foundation of each new mill or new press, the opening of each new spinning or weaving department, augmented the numbers of the operative population; so that, by 1882, 31,812 persons, or 8·4 per cent., of the total industrial community were returned as mill-workers.

But the growth of trade and cotton-spinning and weaving industries did not alone contribute to swell the total of the island's inhabitants. Building and reclamation were steadily proceeding. We read of new markets built at Mazagon in 1875; of the Dhobi's lines on the Esplanade being acquired for new railway buildings; of house-building which, "though progressing at the rate of about 300 new houses a year, does not seem to be checked by, and perhaps tends to produce a fall in rents"; of numerous ill-lighted and damp dwellings, notably in the Kamathipura district, being removed to make way for well-built chals and substantial houses. New police-stations were erected at Pydhoni and Bazar Gate during these years; churches, temples and mosques sprang into existence; and the construction of new water works aided the expansion of the labouring-classes. "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 the city at a higher level than before." The Tulsi water-works were completed in 1879; the construction of its filter beds was still proceeding in 1881. Another great work was the construction of the Prince's Dock, the first stone of which was laid by the present King Emperor in 1875. It was designed by Thomas Ormiston as part of a scheme for improving the whole foreshore of the harbour. "The project," remarks Sir Richard Temple, "was first undertaken in Sir Bartle Frere's time by the Elphinstone Reclamation Company. Under the administration of his successor, the Right Honorable Sir Seymour Fitzgerald, the property of the Company was purchased by Government, the scheme was enlarged, the wet dock undertaken, and a harbour trust established. Progress with this great work was made under his successor, Sir Philip Wodehouse. In my time the dock and its subsidiary works were finished and opened for traffic. It was found, however, that neighbouring docks, which were private property, interfered with the general management of the foreshore; therefore these also were purchased for the State, and the constitution of the Harbour Trust was further developed after the model of the trust, which succeeds on a much larger scale for the Mersey at Liverpool." The Dock, which had been four years under construction, was opened on the 1st January 1880, having cost more than 80 lakhs of rupees, of which 76 lakhs were advanced by Government at 4½ per cent. interest. And the earth, which had been excavated during the process from an area of 30 acres, was applied to the further reclamation of the Mody Bay foreshore. Meanwhile land-reclamation had been vigorously prosecuted. The Municipal reports of the period tell of "fifty acres of swamp at Sion and Coorla reclaimed with town-garbage, and converted into a garden, the right of cultivation being sold in 1873 for Rs. 1,750; of part of the foreshore near 'The Wilderness' being reclaimed by Dinshaw Petit, Esq.; of the rapid filling up of the flats near Tardeo; of the ground thus provided being at once taken up for cultivation; and of reclamation near the Arthur Road. Simultaneously with the construction of docks, house-accommodation, and with the provision of new areas for cultivation, or building, much progress was effected in internal communications. The Tramways, as we know them to-day, were commenced between 1872 and 1877. Some attempt at this form of communication had already been made in Colaba during a former period; but a properly

organised system was not projected till the date of Sir Philip Wodehouse's administration. By 1875 the Company had extended their line as far as the Byculla Bridge ; in 1876 they crept from the Wellington Fountain to Bazar Gate Street ; in the following year a line was laid down from their stables to the Sassoon Dock ; in 1878 they travelled up the Girgaum Road from the Esplanade to Portuguese Church Street ; and in the last year of this period, a line was laid from the old "footwash," Pydhowni, *via* Bapu Khote Street to the Grant Road Bridge. The demand for labour was further enhanced by the opening of new roads under the auspices of the Municipality. Cumballa Hill, two or three roads on Malabar Hill, the Fuller, Wodehouse and Mayo Roads, Hope Street, Musjid Bunder Station Road, and communications between the Bandstand and Colaba Overbridge were opened to the public in 1874. Streets were widened in 58 localities, footpaths were constructed in the Grant and Falkland Roads in the following year : Beach Road Magdala Road, Napier Road, Kazi Syed Street, Chinch Bunder 2nd Road, Shaikh Ali Jenjikar Street were ready by1875 ; Annesley Road, Kamathipura 15th Street, Trimbak Parasharam Street, and Memonwada Road had all become busy thoroughfares by 1876. In 1878 the Arthur Road had been improved ; Mahim was benefited by the opening of the Prabhadevi Road ; a thoroughfare guided the traveller to the old Worli Fort. One reads of new communication between Mazagon, Frere Road, and Lawrence de Lima Street ; of the opening of Gibbs Road in connection with the Malabar Hill Reservoir in 1879 ; of extensions to Mathew and Frere roads in 1881. Even the old pathway of the pilgrims, the Siri or "Ladder", was taken in hand, and converted into a satisfactory thoroughfare for foot-passengers. Yet, this activity notwithstanding, the task was incomplete ; for 'the provision of adequate trade routes in connection with the rapidly increasing business of the docks is now one of the most important wants of the city, especially in the Mandvi quarter, where the old and narrow streets are choked with traffic, struggling to and from the warehouses and quays.'" So wrote the Commissioner in 1881. The labourer was sure of employment for many years to come.

The progress of house-building, the execution of public works, the erection of new mills, during this period, left their mark upon the population of the Island. Not only did special classes, such as the wood and timber merchants and wood-sellers, receive additions to their numerical strength, but of the whole population of the Island, 27 per cent. only were returned in 1881 as having been born in Bombay. Great had been the immigration of the industrial classes, 16 per cent. of the whole population hailing from Ratnagiri, 8 per cent. from Poona, 5 per cent. from Satara and 5 per cent. from Cutch. New mosques and new temples testified to the presence of new-comers ; for the seventy-six mosques of 1872 had increased in 1882 to ninety-three, the Hindu temples from 176 to 209.

Another noteworthy result of these years' administration was a very large increase of the infant population, which one would ascribe in some measure to the labours of the Health Department and to the promotion of the general comfort of the inhabitants of the island. Children under one year of age had increased by 96 per cent. in 1882 ; those between 6 and 12 years by 62 per cent. ; and those between 12 and 20 by 40 per cent. ! And this had happened in spite of a terrible outbreak of small-pox in 1876, of the immigration of very large bodies of famine refugees in 1877, thirty-six thousand of whom entered the city in a destitute and diseased condition between August 15th and September 30th in that year. The *Lancet* of that year remarked that, "as a consequence of the wide-spread scarcity, if not famine, which as a result of the failure of the monsoon rains of last year is now causing so much anxiety to the Governments of Bombay and Madras, large numbers of poverty-stricken people have flocked to the already overcrowded city of Bombay ; and gravitating into the worst and most unhealthy localities, have by increasing largely the population per square mile, set up those conditions which in every part of the world, under like circumstances, give rise to epidemic disease." Phthisis also claimed many victims in Khara Talao and other sections : a severe cholera epidemic swept through the city in 1881. But the Department of Public Health was at work, combating disease and doing all in its power to render the city more sanitary and to preserve infant life. Regular conservancy was in force ; old cemeteries, such as that of the Chinese in Suklaji Street, were closed ; new sites for burial grounds, such as those near DeLisle Road for Musulman and Hindu, were set apart beyond the crowded lanes of the

city. The mortality at Mahim and Parel was lessened by the removal of the baneful Dadur distillery; "a great advance in sanitary administration took place in the matter of cattle-stables," which, by reason of neglect or perfunctory supervision only, had till 1879 poisoned the air of many a crowded street. By the year following, seventeen of the worst had been removed from the ground floor of human habitations in Bhuleshvar; regular supervision of all such buildings had been instituted; and a list of penalties for all infringements of requirements had been brought into force. Systematic drainage of the island was also attempted. "Much had already been done," writes Sir Richard Temple, "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." In his administration reports for 1875 and 1876 the Health Officer had vigorously advocated the drainage scheme prepared by Mr. Pedder and Major Tulloch, "and had never ceased to proclaim in the ears of the citizens the dangers of further delay." The Town Council and the Corporation were as eager for improvement as the Health Officer. Finally, as we learn from Mr. Acworth's monograph upon this subject, "Sir Richard Temple's Government addressed the Municipality, drawing their immediate attention to the necessity for the provision of additional drainage for the city, and adding that there seemed to be a consensus of opinion as to the urgency of certain evils, and the mode of remedying them." A special commission was appointed; its report was received in the early portion of 1878; the Municipality at once resolved to sanction "the immediate commencement and vigorous prosecution of the approved scheme"; a loan of 27 lakhs was raised; and on the 17th December in the same year the task of laying a new main sewer from Carnac Bunder to Love Grove, a number of pipe sewers connected with it, and a new outfall sewer, pumping station and pumping plant, at Love Grove, Worli, was initiated.

Among the general measures adopted by the Corporation for the convenience of the public were the extension of lighting and opening of public gardens. In 1865 the total number of gas lamps in the Island was 220; by 1874, they numbered 2,415. We read of Queen's Road being supplied with 72 lamps in 1875, of Mahim and the Elphinstone Estate being lighted in the following year, of the French and Mathew Roads being lighted with gas in 1881. Oil lamps were necessarily used to a considerable extent, but were being gradually supplanted by the labours of the Gas Company. In 1873 the site of the Victoria Gardens, which had originally passed to the Agri-horticultural Society in exchange for land at Sewri, was presented to the Municipality by Government, for conversion into a public garden: the Elphinstone Circle Garden was described "as flourishing and ornamental"; and in 1874 the Northbrook Gardens near Grant Road and Trimbak Parasharam Street came into existence, and found much favour, as a place of mild recreation, with the poorer inhabitants of Kumbharvada and the neighbouring localities. One can hardly, perhaps, boast that the Victoria Gardens have gained as great distinction as that old Portuguese garden in the Fort, which was "voiced to be the pleasantest in India"; but no one, who visits the former on a Sunday or holiday, can fail to remark how greatly the native community—rich and poor, young and old—appreciates such a retreat.

The general results of the census of 1881 were embodied in the following table:—

Class.	No. of Persons.	Percentage of total population.
Jain	17,218	2·23
Brahmin	35,428	4·58
Lingayat	1,167	·15
Bhattia	9,417	1·22
Hindus of other castes	407,717	52·73
Hindu, low castes	49,122	6·35
Musulman...	158,024	20·44
Negro-African	689	·09
Parsi	48,597	6·29
Jew	3,321	·43
Native Christian and Goanese...	30,708	3·97
Eurasian	1,168	·15
European	10,451	1·35
Buddhist	169	·02
Total...	773,196	100·00

Further statistics need find no place here for they are available in Colonel Weir's report to such as desire to delve deeper into the circumstances of the population during these years. But one fact, to which contemporary reports frequently refer, was the great poverty of the bulk of the population. Marathas, Musalmans, Native Christians, Kolis, Bhandaris and Mahars are characterised as the poorest classes in a city, wherein "the poverty of the great masses is incredible"; wherein, also, the bulk of the people "lives upon a starvation diet"; wherein, "a dozen families herd together in houses, only large enough to contain one." Nowroji Hill, for example, should have been one of the healthiest spots in Bombay; yet its denizens, poor and ill-fed, were "almost choking one another in their miserable abodes." The Colaba Bazaar was filled with "a motley and improvident population." The squalor of Kamathipura and Khara Talao increased the difficulties of Municipal officers in fighting phthisis and fevers. House and street-ventilation were almost unknown in the Northern portions of the Fort; Chakla, Bhuleshwar and Oomerkhary were replete with ill-conditioned and reeking dwellings, upon which the reformer of these years would have instantly painted the damnatory letters U. H. H. The Municipality strove hard during these years to minimise in one way or another the dangers, to which such conditions gave rise; promulgated orders, confining "the storage of hides and shark-fins to Dharavi and Sewri Bunder"; insisted upon "pigs being kept in properly-adapted places apart from dwellings"; and, as we have before remarked, purged many a locality of pestilence-breeding cattle-stables. Considering the epidemics, which occurred during the period, we must admit that their campaign met with tolerable success. They could scarcely be expected within the space of 9 years to obviate all the dangers and disabilities which had arisen from a very sudden colonisation of the city on a large scale, and which were intensified by constant immigration subsequent to that event. Much improvement yet remained to be effected in succeeding years.

The general prosperity of the island continued unabated; and Sir Richard Temple thus sums up its condition during the years of his governorship. "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 ratepayers 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) engaged 48,000 tons of merchant shipping, then in the harbour, 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, with sailing ships towed by steamers, caused us anxiety." The Marine Department has ever maintained a high reputation for celerity in the despatch of expeditions or reinforcements. We heard

of them in 1801, when Sir David Baird started for Egypt. Sir Richard Temple complemented them upon the signal service rendered on the occasion of the Malta expedition; and yet more modern residents of Bombay have viewed with something of surprise and certainly with pride, the dexterity and speed with which men, horses and stores, were sent forth from this port, to save a serious situation in South Africa.

Period the Tenth.—1881 to 1891.

The decade preceding the census of 1891, during which the population of the island rose from 773,196 to 821,764, was mainly remarkable for an increase of the trade of the port, and for the foundation of educational and other institutions by private liberality. Municipal Government, also, was subjected to improvements, calculated to render it more capable and more representative of an age of progress. Established originally, as we have remarked, on its modern basis in the year 1856, it had been modified or developed by the subsequent measures of 1865, 1872, and 1878; until at the time when Lord Reay's Government undertook to legislate, the constitutional law of Bombay City was embodied in eleven separate enactments. "The first purpose of the new Bill," remarks Sir William Hunter, "was to consolidate the law, but in doing so important alterations were introduced. Its provisions, drafted by Mr. J. R. Naylor, aided by Mr. (now Sir Charles) Ollivant, the Municipal Commissioner, were divided into twenty-one chapters. At first received with strenuous opposition, it was carefully revised by a Select Committee of the Legislative Council, with whose members Lord Reay discussed the alterations. It eventually passed with general approval. One of the chief modifications introduced during its passage was the regulation for handing over the primary schools to the Municipal Corporation." The new code could, indeed, claim to be the most complete that had yet been elaborated. Long-needed improvements were introduced into the regulations affecting drainage, water works and other sanitary matters; the procedure relating to the registration and assessment of properties was systematized; exemptions from liability to taxes in respect of immoveable property were restricted; and better security was given for the recovery of arrears.

The Municipality throughout the entire period was actively engaged in rendering the island better suited to the needs of a population, augmented by the immigration of labourers and artisans. Ground was from time to time purchased for the widening of streets; the Fergusson Road from Worli to Parel was stated to be almost completed in 1884; the Ripon Road had been marked out; the Girgaum Road had been widened. The Charni Road was carried as far as the Falkland Road in 1885; and several old houses at the corner of Gunbow Lane and Hornby Row were demolished, in order to open a new road into the crowded portion of the Fort. One reads of improvements to the Thakurdvar and Tardeo roads in the following year, and of the formation of a large circle on the Flats, formerly known as the Central Station, but henceforward to be called "Jacob's Circle," in memory of General Le Grand Jacob, and to be adorned with an ornamental fountain, provided by public subscription. Sankli Street was opened in 1887; new communications were constructed between Sewri Cemetery and the Jackeria Bunder thoroughfare, between Lady Jamsetji Road and Matunga, between the Elphinstone Bridge and Dongri Street *viâ* Nowroji Hill. Seventy-three thousand rupees were disbursed in the year 1889-90 alone, for the sole purpose of street-improvement, and are evidence of a protracted endeavour to benefit the localities, which had expanded by the constant influx of an industrial population. The Kamathipura region would suffice as an instance of what was effected by Municipal Government during this and the previous decade; and was pointed to with pride in 1891 as a locality vastly improved by the provision of numerous roads and streets, and of drainage.

The subject of drainage was as keenly followed as in the preceding period. In 1881 the Commissioner laid before the Corporation proposals for an expenditure of 33 lakhs for sewerage, of 9 lakhs for surface drainage, and of 10½ lakhs for house-connections. Queen's Road was supplied with a great sewer, which the Executive Engineer, "working with extraordinary energy and favoured by a late monsoon," was able to complete in 1884; extensions were laid down from the Crawford Markets to the Mint, along the Ripon Road, and across the Agripada district; the Fort, in which drainage arrangements had become either obsolete or ruinous, was, in spite of difficulties with contractors, completely provided for by the year 1889; Khetwadi, Gilder Street, the DeLisle and Arthur Roads, the Marine Lines and other localities were subjected to similar improvements; while on the 10th February 1882, the Corporation sanctioned an expenditure of Rs. 12,12,250 upon a comprehensive scheme for the disposal of storm-water and for surface drainage. The Commissioner, writing in 1886, speaks of the storm-water works as practically

complete, and adds that "the beneficial result of these works and of raising the Khetwadi and Kamathipura roads is incontestable, and has been amply proved in the exceptionally heavy rains of the monsoon, which is now terminating. Places, which formerly were knee-deep in water for many hours after a comparatively moderate fall of rain, are now dry in a very short space of time; and the nuisance, which has always existed on the Flats during certain months, has now been much reduced by the new arrangements."

At the outset of this period, the water-supply of the city still fell short of perfection. In consequence, we read of the Bandarwada water-works and of filter-beds at Malabar Hill being completed in 1884, of Mr. Tomlinson's scheme for works in the Pawai Valley being put into execution in the year 1889-90. But these improvements were of minor importance in comparison with the Great Tansa Waterworks, which were commenced about the middle of the decade. Sir William Hunter, characterising 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 the 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 and benefits 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.

Of other matters, connected with the welfare of the people, in which the Municipality played a prominent part, we may note the extension of education and the provision of an Asylum for the homeless leper population. In 1872 the contributions by the Corporation towards primary education amounted only to Rs. 8,500: in 1882 they had risen to Rs. 22,500; in 1886-87 to Rs. 31,374; and during the closing year of the decade they had been again increased to Rs. 39,500. Contemporaneous with the passing of the new Municipal Act was the institution of the Joint Schools Committee for the management of primary education in the city, which contained 32 Marathi and 30 Gujarathi schools in the year 1890. We hear of grants made to schools for deaf-mutes; of a sum of Rs. 80,000 sanctioned in aid of the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute, which was founded by Lord Reay's Government for practical instruction in the mechanical industries, and was destined to be the normal school for teachers of technical education throughout the Presidency. The period was indeed one of progress, in most matters connected with Municipal Administration. Tramway communications were greatly extended; fresh roads were lighted every year; contracts were sanctioned for lighting the Crawford Markets and the Prince's Dock by Electricity; special sums were set apart for the disposal of the dead bodies of Hindu paupers, and for the erection of special and temporary cholera hospitals in 1883: a small-pox hospital was built in 1887, and 39,000 rupees were voted for the erection of a similar building in the Arthur Road. Fire brigade stations were constructed; taps and fountains were gradually substituted for the old and insanitary dipping wells; and over 87,000 rupees were spent in one year (1890-91) upon the improvement of various public gardens. Her late Majesty the Queen-Empress, in a reply to the address of congratulation forwarded by the Municipality on the occasion of her first Jubilee, described with what pleasure she had watched "the progress of the great city of Bombay, and its advance not only in material prosperity, but also in education and in matters tending to the improved health and comfort of the people."

The treatment of vagrant lepers had long been a vexed question between Government and the Municipality; and was not finally settled till the year 1890, when Mr. Acworth, the Municipal Commissioner, vigorously set about the collection of funds for a leper asylum. The public, following the lead of the late Sir Dinshaw Manekji Petit, who offered a lakh of rupees for the purpose, subscribed willingly; a good site was chosen at Matunga; and several buildings were constructed. "Under an old Act of 1867," remarked Mr. Forrest in a recent lecture,

"Mr. Acworth, with the assistance of the Police Commissioner, collected all the vagrant lepers and put them in the Asylum, and obtained a grant from the Government and Municipality for their maintenance, organised the staff, and personally supervised all the arrangements for their food, sanitation, etc. He induced rich native gentlemen to add a hospital, a Hindu temple, a Mahommedan mosque, and even a Roman Catholic chapel. The place is enclosed with a weak fence, but the lepers are perfectly happy, and never attempt to leave. The streets of Bombay are absolutely cleared of lepers; and though compulsion has been objected to, Mr. Acworth's procedure has been approved of by most practical men; and the Government of Bengal in 1895, and the Government of India in 1896, have legislated entirely on his lines. About 350 lepers spend their lives in absolute contentment, in Mr. Acworth's Asylum, which is considered the best in India. The Government of Bombay should find satisfaction in the fact of one of their officers having thus practically settled the vagrant leper question for the whole of the Indian Empire."

But the improvement of the city during these years was not allowed to devolve entirely upon the Municipality. The period was remarkable for great benefactions by private citizens. Both charitable and educational schemes in Bombay city, as Sir William Hunter has related, benefited by Sir Dinshaw Petit's liberality. "In January 1888 he offered Rs. 1,25,000 for the erection of a Lying-in-Hospital, which sum he afterwards allowed to be used for the construction of a Hospital for Women and Children, as an extension of the Jamsetji Jejeebhai Hospital. In promotion of education Sir Dinshaw presented the property known as the Hydraulic Press, valued at three lakhs of rupees, in exchange for the Elphinstone College buildings which were converted into the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute. He likewise gave Rs. 16,419 for the construction of a Patho Bacteriological Laboratory in connection with the Veterinary College at Parel, and Rs. 6,000 towards the erection of Gymnastic Institution in Bombay. Coming to other benefactors, Bai Motlibai, widow of Mr. Nowroji Wadia, gave a lakh and-a-half of rupees and a valuable site of 20,954 square yards, adjoining the Jamsetji Jejeebhoy Hospital, for the building of an obstetric hospital. Mr. Harkissondas Narottamdas gave a lakh of rupees for a clinical hospital for women and children; but the conditions made by Government were not acceptable to the donor, and the amount was, therefore, refunded. Mr. Framji Dinshaw Petit gave Rs. 75,000 for the erection of a Laboratory, fitted with the most modern appliances, in connection with the Grant Medical College at Bombay. The Allbless family, namely, the trustees of the late Bomanji Edulji Allbless, the widow of Mr. Edulji Framji Allbless, and the sons of Mr. Dorabji Edulji Allbless, presented amongst them Rs. 72,000 for the establishment of an Obstetric Hospital on land adjoining the Cama Hospital, and of a mortuary for Parsis in connection with it, and also (with the assistance of Rs. 5,000 from the Countess of Dufferin's Fund) for the building of quarters for the lady doctors of the Cama and Allbless Hospitals. Mr. Sorabji Cowasji Powalla gave Rs. 31,473 for a gratuitous charitable dispensary in the Fort; Sir M. M. Bhownaggree, Rs. 15,699 for a Home for Pupil Nurses, in connection with the Jamsetji Jejeebhoy Hospital; Mr. Pestonji Hormasji Cama, Rs. 15,000 for nurses' quarters at the Cama Hospital; and Mr. Dwarkadas Lallubhai, Rs. 10,000 for a cholera ward at the Jamsetji Jejeebhoy Hospital, which was utilised instead for the establishment of an out-door dispensary for women and children. Lastly, mention must be made of the gift of the Parsi Panchayat Fund of Rs. 2,000 for the erection of a separate mortuary for Parsis, in connection with the hospital, which bears the name of the best known member of their body." A hospital for animals at Parel was founded by Bai Sakarbai and opened by the Earl of Dufferin in 1884; Mr. Byramji Jijibhoy, C.S.I., gave a handsome donation in 1890 towards the establishment of an Anglo-Vernacular School for poor Parsis; and to this period also belongs the handsome fountain and clock erected in Bazar Gate Street to the memory of Bomanji Hormasji Wadia. Among other landmarks of the island, completed during these years, and which do not owe their existence to private benevolence and philanthropy, one may remark in particular the Victoria Terminus of the G. I. P. Railway, 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, in order to allow space for fresh fortifications, a new shrine being erected by a Sonar, Pandurang Shivaji, on the present site near Paidhoni. The old gibbet,

however, was permitted to remain till 1805, when it was re-erected close to the Umarkhadi Jail. Government and the Port Trust were not behindhand in the work of improvement. The European Hospital for the use of poor Europeans resident in the City and of sailors from ships in the port, and of railway officials and their families, had long proved insufficient; and it was therefore resolved by Government to erect a new European Hospital at a cost of Rs. 5,69,667 on the ruins of the old Fort George, to which Lord Reay, on laying the foundation stone in February 1889, gave the name of "St. George's Hospital." The Government Central Press, the new home of the Elphinstone College, and the Police Magistrates' Court were also commenced or completed during these years. The defences of the Harbour received attention. As the Press pointed out in 1884, they were in so unsatisfactory a state as to be practically useless; Colaba battery was untenable, the turret ships were not in working order, the Middle Island and Cross Batteries were inefficient, while the Malabar Hill and Breach Candy batteries were powerless to prevent the destruction of the place by any hostile squadron. But in the following year a new scheme of defence was sanctioned by the Government of India and carried into execution by the close of the period.

The Port Trust, which in spite of yearly reductions of dues, showed a steady surplus of revenue over expenditure between 1880 and 1889, was responsible for the construction and opening in 1884 of a new Light-house at the entrance of the harbour and of the Victoria Dock. The Prince's Dock indeed proved too small for all demands, and was, therefore, supplemented by the Victoria Dock of nearly the same size, and giving still greater facilities for shipping, the first sluice of which was opened by Lady Reay on the 21st February 1888. "Some idea of the magnitude of the interests involved in the management of the Bombay Port Trust may be formed from the statements, that its capital expenditure up to the close of the year 1889-90, deducting sales of land, etc., amounted to Rs. 5,08,56,602, that its revenue for 1889-90 was Rs. 41,97,746, and its expenditure including interest on capital Rs. 42,83,282, and that 645 vessels entered the two docks during that year." In 1891 yet another extension—the Merewether Graving Dock—was opened by H. E. the Governor.

Other well-known buildings are the Municipal Offices, the foundation-stone of which was laid by Lord Ripon in December 1884; the Wilson College at Chowpatty, of which Sir James Fergusson laid the foundation in 1885; and the Jafar Suliman Charitable Dispensary, which was opened in March 1886.

The activity in building to which private philanthropy or the progressive attitude of Government and public bodies gave rise, may be considered to have indirectly affected the numbers of the population, by creating a demand for the labour of the poorer classes; but its influence in this respect was not so superficially apparent as the effect of increasing trade and of the growth of the cotton spinning and weaving industry. With the exception, perhaps, of the year 1889-90, the commercial prosperity of the island may be held to have steadily increased year by year. Taking a yearly average of three years, and excluding Government stores and treasure, the value of exports rose from 27 crores in 1880-82 to 33 crores in 1885-87, and again to 39 crores in 1890-92; and the value of imports from 17 crores to 22 crores and again to 27 crores during the same periods. The exports of wheat, linseed, rapeseed and gingelly also rose by an extraordinary figure; in 1881-82 alone, the revenue of the Port Trust showed an increase of 10½ lakhs above the estimated value, owing mainly to increased exports of grain and seeds; the value of all imports of cotton during the first 10 months of the year 1886 was 240 lakhs of rupees! Lord Reay, indeed, referred to the growth of commerce in his speech at the Jubilee demonstrations of 1887. "The prosperity of Bombay," said His Excellency, "is certainly 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 effect of such trade-progress was evident in the city proper; for, notwithstanding that numerous buildings were being erected in outlying localities, such as Tardeo, Byculla and Parel, for reasons which we shall subsequently take note of, every available inch of land in Mandvi, Oomerkhari, Dongri, Chakla, the Market, Dhobi Talao, Phanaswadi, and similar sections was eagerly snatched up; and where land was not available, the piling of storeys upon old houses, often incapable of supporting their weight, steadily continued. Hardly a year passed, hardly a a monsoon set in, without some of those overweighted houses collapsing, and dealing swift death or injury to the inmates; as, for example in Bengalpoora in 1890, when 80 persons were killed by the fall of one four-storeyed dwelling-house. The extension of the docks and the expansion of trade made, and at the same time marred, the city; for they attracted into a comparatively small portion of the island the whole of the huge population, which directly or indirectly earned a livelihood from the commerce of the port. Hence came it that such localities as Pathakwadi and the Mandvi Kolivadi entirely lost their original character of hut-settlements, became the merest labyrinths of narrow and pestilential lanes, of crowded and sunless houses, to which no ingress or egress existed, save, perhaps, through the ground floor of some more recent dwelling. Successive Health Officers have cried woe over these pestilence-breeding regions; but their voices have been as the voices of those crying in the wilderness; the old tortuous paths are not yet made straight; the population still huddles round the poisonous tracks, sleeps amid the foulness of sewage, breathes the miasmata that no breeze ever comes to disperse. The density of population in the B Ward and some portions of adjoining wards was far greater in 1887 than in 1881. "There is room," wrote the Health Officer of that date, "for our whole population and for the greater city of the future, if only the doors of communication are opened. The reality to be understood is that 37 per cent. of our population live on $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the surface of the Island, that in 12 sections the lowest number of persons to an acre is 254, and that in 5 sections covering more than half of the Island there are only 8 persons to an acre." One community of merchants, the Jains, had expanded enormously by 1891; but was notorious for a very high death-rate, due mainly to the fact, that, in order to get as near to the business centre as possible, each fresh relay of immigrants settled in ill-built houses, already containing a full complement of residents, and the ground floors of which were in perennial obscurity and were built over old and dangerous drains. Mandvi, and indeed the major portion of the city proper, was by the close of this period pre-eminently in a position to become the plague-centre of the Island; it was choked with population; it was notorious for its insanitary condition. From the year 1803, when the Company moved the old Mandvi or Custom House further north, this eastern portion of the city had gradually expanded till about 1865, when its dimensions began to increase with amazing rapidity. Houses sprang up storey upon storey, stretched towards the docks, climbed tier by tier up the old portion of the Dongri Kolis, closed round the pristine settlements of fisher-folk in impenetrable array, spread away to Dhobi Talao, Bhuleshvar, Khara Talao, and northward, till they faced the new buildings, which a growing mill-industry had brought and was bringing during this period into existence.

The growth of the mill-industry during the decade under review was responsible for the further colonisation of the areas north of the city. Not only in cotton-spinning establishments was an advance made, but miscellaneous factories, such as flour-mills and workshops, sprang into existence and helped to provide for the industrial population, which flocked from the Deccan and Konkan. In 1881 the total number of factories in the Island was 53; in 1886, it had increased to 66, and in 1890 to 83. Complaints in regard to the smoke-nuisance are first brought forward during these years, and are mentioned in the Municipal reports of 1884-85: the Mill-owners' Association are reported in the Press of 1883 to be about to despatch travelling agents to various trade centres in Europe and Africa, for the purpose of opening new markets for the piece-goods of Bombay: by 1890 we are presented with the spectacle of a Factory Commission, assembled in Bombay, which in December of that year publishes proposals for the regulation of female and child-labour. As the steam industries increased, a marked change came over localities such as Byculla, Parel, Tardeo, Tarwadi and even remote Sewri. In-

numerable chals sprang up north of the Bellasis Road, countless habitations for the immigrants from Ratnagiri, Poona, or Satara. "There is growing up in our population," wrote the Health Officer in 1887, "a class which can be distinguished from their own race, engaged in other work, and from every other class, by a pallid look, which may be called a factory countenance." All the open land in Tardeo was being gradually built over during these years; and as fast as the houses were built, there appeared a population to inhabit them. Nagpada was densely peopled, with an average of 67 persons to each house : five new mills were being constructed in Sewri in 1889, and were responsible in great measure for the increased population of that section in 1891. Byculla, Tarwadi and Mazagon, and all the districts north of them were far more populous at the close of the decade than in 1881. Mr. Drew in his Census Report of 1891 notices the following curious phenomenon :—"In some of the most densely crowded parts of the Native Town—Umarkhadi, Dhobi Talao, Phanaswadi and Khara Talao—the total female population has decreased, while the number of those born in Bombay has increased. This may easily be explained, as the immigrant women are chiefly employed now in the parts of Bombay north of the Bellasis Road ; and with the extension of house-building there, they have moved nearer their work, leaving more room for their Bombay-bred sisters in the more central portions of the island." The Press of 1890 records a strike of female operatives belonging to the Jubilee Mill ; and a monster-meeting of mill-hands at Parel to protest against the closing of mills for eight days in every month. By the close of the decade, the Tardeo, Parel, Byculla, Tarwadi, Nagpada, and Chinchpooghly quarters had expanded through the forward march of industrial enterprise into the populous dwelling places of an immigrant labour-population—a character which they possess at the opening of this twentieth century.

The causes which led by the year 1891 to an increase of 48,568 were expansion of trade and of local steam industries, and, to a minor extent, the general measures taken for the public benefit, as exemplified in an increase of hospital accommodation, the initiation of technical education, the Tansa water supply scheme, and the completion of the defences of the harbour. Further, the period was characterised by no unusual wave of sickness, by no extraordinary form of disease. In some localities, it is true, the ordinary death-rate was high ; but this was rendered inevitable firstly by the physical characteristics of the island, secondly by an unparalleled growth of population within a very short period ; for, within a space of roughly fifty years only, the number of inhabitants had risen by 600,000 ! The population of 1891 was officially declared to number 821,764, the total being distributed as follows among different religions :—

Hindu	543,276
Musalman	155,247
Christian	45,310
Jain	25,225
Parsi	47,458
Jew	5,021
Others	227
Total ...	821,764

The chief points of interest were the rise in the numbers of Hindus and Jains, due presumably, to immigration for the purpose of factory-labour and trade, the increase of population in the northern and outlying sections of the island, the decrease of the indigenous population, both male and female, and the rise of 35,448 in the number of literates. The policy of Government, the labours of the Municipality, and the philanthropy of private persons had indeed borne fruit in the more universal education of the people ; and in point of female education alone, as Mr. Drew wrote, "the city ran an European country like Portugal very close."

To one who visited Bombay after a long absence, the change in the appearance of the city must have been wholly extraordinary. "Bombay of to-day," said Sir Edwin Arnold in 1886, "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 her a city of parks and palaces.' " The movement of the people, too, was noteworthy ; all tribes in Western India seemed to have flocked to Bombay, like the Adriatic tribes who took refuge in the city of the Lagoons, and from traditional beliefs, social instincts and tribal affinities, sought certain definite areas within the island. The poorer Parsi sought the home of his ancestors in the North Fort or Dhobi Talao ; the Yogi, the Sanyasi found a resting-place near the Shrines of Lakshmi, Kali, or the God of the Sands ; the Goanese, the Native Christian were never absent from Cavel, the old home of early converts to Roman Catholicism ; the Jolaha, weaver of silk, 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, "the scarlet woman" to Kamathipura ; in the Nall Bazaar lived the progeny of men who fought under Sidi Sambhal ; in Parel, Nagpada and Byculla were mill-hands from the Konkan and labourers from the Deccan ; many a Koliwadi, from Colaba to Sion, gave shelter to the descendants of earliest settlers ; the Musulman was a power in B Ward, the Arab haunted Byculla ; and in Girgaum the Brahmin had made his home.

The above-mentioned communities formed but a fractional portion of the whole medley of tribes, castes, or races, which dwelt in contented allegiance to a Crown, enshrined in another Island, washed by the grey north-seas. The words spoken by Lord Reay in reference to the British Empire on the occasion of the Jubilee of 1887 were eminently applicable to that small portion thereof, which men proudly acknowledged to be the capital of Western India. "This great Empire," said His Excellency, "was never more united than it is at this Jubilee, but the maintenance of that union will require a continuous and united effort. It is a noble inheritance, and the utmost sagacity and wisdom will be required to keep it unimpaired. With God's blessing vouchsafed as in the past it is possible. In an epoch when those who are least able to answer the question, ask *cui bono* at every turn, it was reserved to the Queen-Empress to make of the Throne the institution, which forms the chief link between England and the colonies and India, where of all our institutions it is the one most revered and most loved by the mass of the people. Institutions lose vitality or gain it, not so much by their intrinsic merits or demerits, as by the character of the persons who work them. The Queen not only leaves to her descendants a great Empire, but the invaluable example of the means by which the Throne can be endeared to subjects among whom we count every variety of creeds and races."

Period the Eleventh.—1891 to 1901.

The discussion of the causes which have effected a reduction of 45,758 in the population of the Island during the final period, with which this survey deals, rightly belongs to the Census Report proper of 1901. It will suffice, therefore, to remark that the decrease is in general due to the presence in the city for five years of an extraordinary and very virulent disease, which has so far defied all attempts to hold it in control. Any inducements to immigration or settlement, which, from the point of view of the public, may have been afforded by the improvement of communications, by the improvement of drainage, for which the Municipal Corporation sanctioned an outlay of Rs. 8,24,330 in 1894-95, by the promotion of philanthropic schemes, such as that of Mr. Framji Dinsha Petit, or that of the Memon gentleman who offered two lakhs of rupees for the establishment of an orphanage and asylum for poor Mahommedans, by the foundation of technical schools, such as that for sheet-metal working and enamelling in the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute at Byculla, or by the numerical increase of mills and factories —any inducements of this nature have been more than counterbalanced by the extreme need for emigration, arising from the annual recurrence of a fatal malady. It is not our part to enter into the history or details of plague-attacks and plague-administration, upon which an almost incalculable quantity of mental energy, money and time have already been expended; nor is there need in this portion of our report to trace the influence of the disease upon this or that area, or upon definite classes of our population.

Speaking generally, it may be said that, since that fatal day in 1896, when, as the Press remarked, "what is supposed to be bubonic plague has made its appearance upon a portion of the Port Trust estate, inhabited by natives," the disease has operated adversely upon the numerical strength of the city and island in several distinct ways. Firstly, it has slain the people like sheep, raising the death-rate at some seasons, and notably in the opening months of 1897, to four times its normal figure; secondly, it has led to a huge exodus of the population, especially in the opening months of each year; thirdly, it has paralysed business and disorganized trade, which under ordinary circumstances must inevitably have attracted fresh arrivals; fourthly, it has swallowed huge sums of money, which would undoubtedly have been spent in fair years upon various improvements, tending to provide for and to attract fresh accretions of population. To take one example only, the expenditure incurred by the Bombay Municipality upon plague operations, from the commencement of the disease up to the 18th August 1899, totalled to 38,61,000 rupees! Turning to the subject of trade, one discovers the average triennial value of exports and imports together fallen from 66 crores in 1890-92 to 63 crores in 1895-97; the exports of wheat fallen from 424,000 tons in 1890-92 to 77,000 tons in 1895-97, and by 1900 to 30 tons, the latter decline being due in great measure to the prevalence of famine. The exports of other kinds of grain also show a considerable decrease.

The mill-industry has suffered severely, both from plague and from improvident management. The year 1897 witnessed an universal flight of mill-operatives from the Island, open bidding for labour at the street-corners, and the shattering of the tie hitherto binding the employer and employed; and no sooner had this trouble been minimised by the growing confidence of an industrial population, which felt that the chance of dying of plague in the city, while in receipt of a fair wage, was preferable to the prospect of starvation in up-country homes, than the agents of our local industry had to face the inevitable consequences of over-production. Between 1891 and 1898 the total number of factories in the island rose from 89 to 136, the increase being mainly due to the construction and opening of new mills; and this had taken place, despite the belief that a fall in silver had exercised an adverse influence upon the trade, despite the fact that the China market—the true outlet for Bombay's production—was being rapidly glutted. In 1899 the position of the industry was, in the words of Sir George Cotton, "most critical;" by the end of that year nearly all mills were closed for three days in the week and some were wholly idle. In 1901 the position of many a mill is precarious, and the salvation of the industry is still unconfirmed.

The year 1897 was one of sorrow, not for Bombay alone, but for the whole continent ; and Sir Allan Arthur, speaking at Calcutta of the plague, famine, earthquake, cyclone, rioting, sedition and frontier warfare, which had darkened the political and financial horizon, characterised that year as the blackest in the whole history of India. In one week only of that year 10,000 persons fled from the island of Bombay ; and the condition of the city seemed to approximate to that of Constantinople in the sixth century, when, according to Procopius, thousands of persons died within three months at the seat of Government. In 1898 occurred plague-riots and a strike of Dock and Railway labourers and cartmen, which produced a week's paralysis of trade. The early months of 1899 were marked by a fresh exodus of inhabitants ; the death-rate of later months was augmented by an influx of famine-stricken and diseased paupers. Matters improved not a whit in 1900, and in the present Year of Grace ; for with the passing of the winter months, the epidemic again swept through the city, and the people fled from the unseen death. On the 1st March 1901, the census was taken of a population, thinned by five years' disease, and a considerable portion of which was scattered over districts remote from the Island.

That our population has not decreased to a larger extent, considering the anxieties and ravages which it has suffered, must strike every mind as astonishing. The result is, perhaps, due to the recuperative powers, which Bombay as a young city possesses, and to the extraordinary prestige and influence which she exercises over both the western presidency and other regions beyond her own sphere of administration. She is to India, as Dr. Gerson da Cunha has remarked, what Paris is to *la belle patrie*, what Alexandria is to Egypt! Apart from those hopes for the future, which are based solely upon her geographical position or commercial relations, her past history bids us take heart, and induces a belief that the chastisement of these years may yet prove a blessing in disguise.

> " There is some soul of goodness in things evil
> Would men observingly distil it out. "

Once before, during the period of British occupation, the population of the Island was seriously diminished. The closing years of the seventeenth century were as disastrous as the closing years of the nineteenth ; the public health has in our day been as seriously undermined as in the days when Ovington buried his shipmates, and Sir Nicholas Waite appealed to the Company for succour. The Island was visited in 1896 by a storm, which did considerable damage to house-property, and brings to mind the hurricane of that early period of decline, which " destroyed not only the growing crops, but also wrecked a large portion of the local marine." As the people of those days succumbed to " putrid and malignant fevers " or " the Chinese death ", so the native population of these latter years has succumbed to a pestilence, as grievous as that which swept through Florence in 1348 or through old London in the time of Defoe. And yet, as we have previously had occasion to remark, the troubles of the years prior to 1718 produced no lasting effect upon the Island or upon the size of its population : for, by the year 1744, Bombay had advanced in material prosperity, and the number of her inhabitants had swelled to 70,000. May we not hope that history will repeat itself, that the plague will be stayed, and that our population will not only regain lost ground, but rise to a higher figure than has yet been recorded ? Meanwhile, we should bear in mind that the city cannot afford dwelling-room for many more than crowd together at present in her tenements, and that inducement should therefore be offered towards the colonisation of the northern regions of the Island. The people are in no wise unwilling to go further afield ; the tendency to settle in localities like Mahim and Sion has of late years become more apparent. Could one only be sure that improved communications, that electric traction through Sewri, Parel, Sion, Mahim and Matunga, would be carried into swift execution, then might one prophecy with greater determination regarding the great city of the future, and an increased population, worthy of the capital of Western India. Steady adherence to the doctrine of " Deeds, not words " will effect much, will help towards the further colonisation of those portions of the island, which are by nature fitted to form part of the city, towards the wider and more wholesome distribution of a commercial and industrial community.

That the plague may in after time prove to have been an indirect source of benefit to the public of Bombay, we deem in no wise impossible : and indeed there are even now discernible

signs that its attacks have not been an absolutely unmixed evil. The need for some systematic improvement of the city must have possessed the minds of men for many years ; but it seems doubtful whether the general desire for sanitary reformation and improvement would have been carried without delay to a practical issue, unless epidemics in the crowded wards had emphasised the crying necessity for regeneration of the city. The terrible fate of Mandvi and similar localities must have sunk deep into the minds of those, in whose charge lies the welfare of the island, and have urged them towards the formulation of that elaborate scheme of improvement, of which we see to-day the outward manifestation in the City Improvement Trust. In a little time that "new Bombay," which a late Governor so earnestly desired, will be perfected for the lasting benefit of posterity !

A second most fortunate legacy of the plague is the wider mutual acquaintance, now existing, betwixt the official classes and the people, coupled with the presence in the city of a body of men, who are prepared to work gratuitously for Government, and to act in seasons of difficulty and distress as mediators between them and the uneducated masses. This condition of affairs has not been arrived at without trouble; distrust and sullen obstinacy were at first rife, and culminated in the plague-riots of 1898. But the city is less impatient now of the actions of "the Sirkar," recognises more fully that the orders of the official, be he Military officer or doctor, are directed towards the common weal. In the diffusion of milder feelings, of understanding in regard to the limitations which commend themselves to either party, the company of gentlemen volunteers has played no unimportant part. Ever since the day when Lord Sandhurst convened a meeting of the Justices of the Peace, and asked them, as the modern representatives of a body which had worked so loyally for Government in old times, to aid in the campaign against sickness and death, the community of volunteers has steadily carried out its self-imposed duties : and thus, when a Supreme Government ordered that the people should be numbered, there stood ready to support the Census Department a band of citizens, intimately acquainted with the dark corners of the city, and eager to work as heralds, as advisers, as mediators between the census staff and the populace. The spectacle of good citizenship and self-abnegation, which the census week presented, will not lightly be forgotten by him who witnessed it :—the spectacle of men, who might so easily have declined an arduous undertaking on the plea of commercial, professional, or private business, toiling through the worst portions of the city, cajoling and exhorting the people, utilising their private dependents upon government work, keeping open house for the census staff, in order to lighten their labours, and providing them with rooms for the revision of their schedules, guarding the threatened health of individual members of the staff by prescription and gratuitous supply of medicine, relegating, in a word, their personal convenience and private wishes wholly and entirely to the background ! So long as Bombay can count among her numbers men who maintain so worthy and so practical an idea of their duty towards her, she cannot, in spite of her adversities, be considered unfortunate !

And so here has the time come for us to close the tale. The Silahara chieftain, old Bimb Raja of Devgiri, the Mussulman, the "Portugal," Gerald Aungier, Mountstuart Elphinstone, Bartle Frere, these and many another, ere passing out by "the coulisses of time," left their mark upon the land, and contributed, in greater or less degree, to the fame and beauty of a city, which justly claims to be called "a precious stone set in the silver sea." There is hope that she will grow more beautiful ; that the shadows which now brood in the background will vanish ; and that, as the years pass, the Island of Bombay will be linked by still closer bonds of affection and obedience to that parent land, which, like herself, is encompassed by the Ocean inviolate.

"θεὸς τῶνδε κείνων τε κλυτὰν ἄισαν παρέχοι φιλίαν."