CONCLUSION
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The Century spanning 1661 to 1760, chosen as a period of study, has its own significance. In 1661, Bombay as a settlement came into being under Crown which later transferred to Company in 1668. Company was desperately groping for a settlement, which could relieved it from increasing pressure on Surat, the principal settlement on Western Coast in particular and headquarter on sub-continent in general. Since its inception Bombay witnessed political turmoil in its vicinity loosely owing to wars among indigenous polities but mainly due to jealousy of its European trading rivals as well as native states, who looked upon it as a potential threat. This entire century was replete with wars among various native states as well as companies besides formation of opportunistic alliances, which relegated the trade to the background. Though Company was, initially, reluctant to participate in politics of native states but could not resist itself from falling prey to temptation from emerging opportunities, which could secure her, trading comfort at the cost of her enemies. To this aim in mind Company became ally to antagonistic contenders in wars at times alternatively and when convenient simultaneously. By the first decade of seventeenth century, the glory of imperial Mughals declined and with it gradually waned the power of Sidi’s, who lost in absence of Mughal’s patronage and could not survive the intensified assault from Maratha’s and Angre’s side. Angre’s too wasted its energies with Sidi’s but it was primarily Maratha’s who contributed to its demise.

From 1755, onwards the dynamics of politics was changing all over the Indian sub-continent. Where, Maratha’s, who appeared as the legitimate successors of Mughal’s, failed to establish its supremacy on the sub-continent with its defeat in Third battle of Panipat. But on the other hand, English were on the threshold of becoming a power to reckon with. They with battle of Plassey in 1757 and later with battle of Buxar not only established its supremacy over Bengal but also in 1759, with battle of Bedera, managed to remove the threat from Dutch side. With Madras and Surat already glorifying the Company’s success, Bombay also came of age and furiously contributed in Company’s aforementioned adventures for territorial expansion. How this settlement emerged from mere fishing village into a world class town settlement had its own dynamics and complexities. It emergence has been overshadowed by
either the decline of Surat as a first class port settlement as well as study of trade in context of Indian Ocean but here what we need is to look inward in order to clear the our hazy vision.

In the seventeenth century the Portuguese power in Indian waters were on decline. The Dutch and the English were making attempts to step into the void created by the slackening of the Portuguese control. There was also incessant warfare among Deccan states. The attempts by the Mughal’s to extend their sway over the rich tracts of Deccan added another dimension to the scene. Shivaji was making inroads into Konkan territories after 1650’s and Sidi of Janjira was also actively fishing in the troubled water. It was the period when political control of different regions changed hands intermittently from the Mughals to Nizam Shah and Adil Shah and with Shivaji. This political disequilibrium had its impact on the trading pattern of the West Coast. The Mughal-Maratha conquest during the middle of the 17th century carried considerable damage to trade especially in the regions of Poona, Junnar, Vdgir, as many villages were buried down and plundered1.

The two very important ports of the Konkan i.e. Rajapore, Chaul had considerably lost their prosperity by 1662 and 1674 respectively owing to Adil Shahi, Mughal-Maratha fighting and the Portuguese depredations. There were occasional famines in Deccan such as in 1631, 1655, 1682, 1684 etc. which devastated crops and depleted human population.2

It was in these prevailing political environments that Bombay was taken by the English from the Portuguese. The Company acquired Bombay in 1668 with the objective of carrying on a lucrative and peaceful trade on the Indian subcontinent. The standing orders of the Directors were to maintain peace with all neighbors, to be neutral in quarrels and struggles of the Indian powers and obtain privileges of trade from all of them. However, English found it impossible to keep herself aloof from the affairs of Indian powers. Bombay was gradually drawn into politics of her neighbors, and for her safety and protection of her trade she was not only compelled to increase her garrison and navy but also forced to strengthen her fort.

1 Fukazawa, H., op.cit, 476-77.
It was because of their inability to keep aloof from regional politics and their ambition to emulate Dutch in Batavia forced Company to shift from its policy of peaceful trading and not indulging in sub-continental affairs as designed by Thomas Roe to the policy of active dominance propounded by Josiah Child. He insisted on the need of the force in every region where the Company had settled its trade. The initial response gave a jolt to such a policy in the form of military rebellion under Captain Keigwin and war with Mughals, which had significant bearing on the future development on their settlements. This forced the Company to rethink their political ambitions on the Indian subcontinent. It was during this period, they decided that if they were to have a secured base they have to give up their policy of complete aggression or isolation. This they did in eighteenth century by temporizing with various powers like Angria, Sidi, Maratha, and Portuguese etc. and utilized the comparative tranquility to strengthen their commercial and political position in the region.

The development and growth of Bombay thus in its early stages served mainly as the base for the British territorial and commercial expansion in the heartland and in times of need, they became the impregnable asylums against commercial natives and foreign powers. Establishing and developing fortified settlements, utilizing maritime power and overt exercise of force were all components in the evolution of an expansionary ideology among the English in India. Protection and sanctuary imply the existence of effective force with which to provide and maintain them. These notions were intensified in the course of time and were themselves sustained by English attitudes towards raising revenues in the settlements. Originally seen simply as one way to save at the cost of maintaining the infrastructure of the Company revenues from this source became of central importance to the way in which the English regarded their presence in India.

The revenue figures scattered throughout the Company's records and appear to have been only irregularly collated by the Company servants during the period. Nevertheless we can discern an upward trend in the amount of revenue collected which was wholly consistent with the assumption that once instituted, revenues and their increase become the prime concern of those responsible for the collection. This was all the more crucial since the expenses of English settlements were generally in
excess of revenues, for the most of the period in question and most particularly in times of crisis.

Bombay underwent a similar experience during this period. In 1667 revenues of the island was £6,490 while expenses were £11,498. In 1669 Aungier remitted customs at Bombay for five years in order to promote the trade for settlement. Consequently, the revenues in 1672 amounted to only £3,333. In 1675, revenues had increased again to £8,983, of which £2,587 came from the sea customs. By 1686, the settlement was raising £12,717 but fell to a mere £1,416 by 1694 during the conflicts with the Mughals, the Sidis, and the Marathas. It took some time for Bombay to recover its position in the maritime trade of northwest, and expenses continued to remain a concern both for the settlement and for the Directors in London. In 1736, the revenues had increased to £26,338, increasingly sustaining to £37,500 during next 8 years, with further rise to about £42,000 in 1759.

In order to make Bombay the hub on the coast it was necessary to bring trade on the island. In her initial years Bombay’s trade was greatly hampered by the jealous restrictions of the Portuguese, lack of sufficient fund, feud with the Surat Council, piracy on the coast, interlopers and war on the coast among various coastal powers etc. It was in the period of Gerald Aungier that many merchants came to settle at Bombay. Not only the individual entrepreneurs, but groups were also attracted to the new commercial centre. Expert weavers were also persuaded to come from Chaul, Thana and Bhiwandi. Unfortunately the years following the death of Aungier till 1708 saw the decline in trade of the island. This was the period that witnessed invasion, piracy, mortality on the island, trade rivalries between the New and the Old companies brought also considerable strife to the living on the island. Added to these there were troubles of war with Mughal’s in 1689. In eighteenth century, the trade of Bombay received impetus with the establishment of bank in 1720. The new trade contacts with China were also developing. But all this would not have been possible without proper mint system of the town. The mint though started working from

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4 Ibid.
3 Ibid, 441.
6 Ibid, 444.
Aungier's period but had always been surrounded by problems such as need of expert mint master, counterfeiting of the coins by the shroffs etc. These problems of mint had many corollary effects such as problem of payment of the garrison and labour. In case of no money on the island there was always probability of labour running away from the island in search of work which led to delays in completion of various Company schemes.

To see Bombay as the replacement of Surat in 18th century will be moving away from the reality. Bombay had the potential for being the commercial hub on the western coast as perceived by the English in the 1680's. This perhaps was one of the reasons for shifting headquarters from Surat in 1687. But as soon as Bombay became the headquarter on the Western Coast it was caught in several problems both internal and external. The internal problems were the rivalry between the old and the new Company. The external was the war with the Mughals. The beginning of the early eighteenth century saw the decline of Mughal power which changed the fortunes of many political powers on the subcontinent in general and on the Western Coast in particular. The main contender to replace the Mughal was the Marathas with their sound footings on Western Coast. The changed political conditions forced English to change their political and diplomatic strategies and look for the viable alliances. Thus the British authorities of the time had to devote much of their energies to save their establishment in the changed political environment. This they hardly would have thought in 1687 when Bombay became the main headquarter on the coast. With many contenders of power mushrooming on the coast the security of the Bombay became their prime object. Thus it was no surprise that the British governor Boone in 1715 again revived the projects of Aungier of building the town wall.

The location of Bombay also forced the Company to take the defence of island on a priority basis. This becomes evident throughout the ensuing period in the letters and dispatches of Bombay Council, which constantly refers to such a need. But the Court of Directors and the secret and political committee formulated the ruthless policy against such developments, which required proper raising of funds for these purposes.

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8 For instance see, E.F.I., 1665-67, 107, 109.
This led in the reduction and alteration in the garrison and marine throughout the period reviewed.

Defence of the town was of prime importance becomes evident from the fact that for nearly twenty years (1672-91) Bombay faced many difficulties. The Sidi supported by Mughal’s desired the safe anchorage for their fleets in the Bombay harbour during the rainy season. The situation was most embarrassing for Bombay when they allowed Sidi to “winter” in Bombay harbour and Sidi being the arch enemy of Marathas used to enrage them. Since the Marathas were important on the Malabar Coast, English were dependent on them for provisions. For English situation thus was like between deep blue sea and the devil.

The situation for the town was worse because the staying of Sidi’s not only made their relations with Marathas worse but also led to severe problems of provisions for the town. The other related but the important problem was the influx of refugees that use to come with the army of Sidi’s. This increase of unwanted population not only added pressure on the provisions of the town but also alters the demand and supply market of the town. Since Bombay did not have any agrarian production apart from coconuts, the town was dependent on other places of the coast to meet their demand of grains, rice etc. The political conditions on the coast; rivalry among the regional and European powers, further worsened the situation for the town. Among the Europeans their main rivals on the coast were Portuguese, who were troubling them since the transfer of island to them. Portuguese had occupied Thana and Karanja, the places from where the supply of Bombay usually passed through. Any difference with the Portuguese was liable to stop this passage or increase in custom duty which adds to extra burden on exchequer of Bombay.

Bombay thus, constantly faced the problem of provisions and worsened when the coast became the theater for political rivalry between different power groups. These problems were further compounded by the Marathas in the eighteenth century after they captured Salsette in 1737 and Bassein in 1739. With the Marathas and Angria becoming their neighbour in 1740’s problem worsened as Marathas now blocked the supply of provisions from their territory which was so desperately wanted by the Bombay. Bombay took several measures to prevent the scarcity of grains on the island
by procuring it from Mangalore and other ports of the coast. They even tried to bring the grains from Bengal and Sind. Bombay government also issued proclamation from time to time to address the problem of hoarding and people were encouraged to report about those persons who were engaged in hoarding. Bombay government also took several steps to provide relief to its poor population by asking its warehouse keeper from time to time to sell batty at minimum prices. Similarly, steps were also taken to provide grains to their garrison so that they may not be the worst sufferer. Despite all this Bombay has to face the scarcity of provisions throughout our period of study.

For Bombay, the most important instrument of survival was its defense system comprising of forts, garrison and marine. It was because Bombay throughout the period remained surrounded with hostile neighbours be it indigenous or European as stated above. Bombay hardly saw a decade when it was not worried about the war going in its vicinity or on the island itself. Thus defense of the town was of prime importance, which forced the Company to establish forts and strengthen its garrison.

The fortification of the town was the need of the hour. The town of Bombay was built for the first time during Aungier’s governorship. The nucleus of the town was the Old Portuguese Manor House, converted into a castle. The Castle, around which the town developed in a semicircle, was a combined administrative-military-commercial centre. Development of fort and castle area was not easy though it has its beginning from the time of Cooke but it was in the period of Aungier the work of fortification gained momentum despite the policy of Court of Directors not to spend much on the fortification. It was because of this weak state of defenses that the Bombay has to face the wrath of its neighbor in the last decade of seventeenth century.

In the early eighteenth century, the most important settlement in Bombay Island was Bombay Town, situated in the Jurisdiction of Bombay. Its nucleus was the Castle, a square with four bastions of unequal size built on the rocky shore, where its walls were constantly washed by the sea. It housed the factory, its officers, and a garrison. A town wall, with three strongly fortified gates in the north, west, and south, was completed in 1716. The fortified Town then came to be known as the Fort, a term applied earlier only to the Castle. The concept of town wall though mooted by Aungier was given shape by Charles Boone. He emphasized on the defence
considering island's importance on the West Coast politics. Since little or no fund was coming many a times from the home authorities, it became necessary to levy certain taxes on its inhabitants which were subsequently done in the years in 1673, 1710, 1718, 1737 and 1744.

The development of Bombay Marine during this period served twin objectives i.e. to check the Maratha influence and to impress the native traders of the security offered by the English shipping. The Marine therefore became the instrument through which English were establishing law and order to enable, uninterrupted trade to be carried out, but necessarily and only under the British dispensation. The role of Marine became the utmost important in their relations in overcoming the Angria’s. The Bombay Marine and army thus played a decisive role in carrying Bombay’s aggrandizement policies and conquering of vast tract of area on the West Cost of India.

During this period, one finds civil authorities dominating the military administration and performing the role of military Generals too. Forrest describes the officers in 1752 as illiterate, adventurers or European butlers, who knew no drill while the sepoys spent their time running with palanquins and carriages of the senior merchants. These weaknesses became more pronounced during the Anglo-French war, which forced the Company to almost change their policy and to have disciplined, trained troops as the French had in their army. This was later done by the Mutiny Act of 1754.

The other problems apart from the finances for forts and garrison, Bombay faced was in the establishment of administrative institutions on the island. When the English took the island from Portuguese the system of judicial administration was very much on Portuguese lines and cannot be removed at once. It was only in the times of Gerald Aungier several efforts were taken to establish court and bring judges to run those courts on the island. It was he who gave the shape to Bombay judicial administration and established though in rudimentary form Bombay panchayats and office of Coroner etc.

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9 Forrest Cf. GBCI, II, 261.
Later the Charter of 1683 authorized the Company to make war and maintain forces in factories. Through this Charter, Court of Admiralty, to punish interlopers was also established. There was hardly any judicial work performed during the period 1690 to 1718, largely, due to Sir John child’s mismanagement of the Company’s affairs, Keigwin’s mutiny, the rivalry of old and new East India companies etc., all these contributed to upset the administration. But it was in 1726, the Mayor Court was established under the Charter of 1726 for effectual administration of justice in civil cases. The Mayor’s Court was merely a Company’s Court till it was superseded under a Royal Charter. It had a very wide jurisdiction being empowered to try all cases civil or criminal subject to a right to appeal to the Admiralty Court in civil cases, where the value of the award exceeded three pagodas and in criminal cases the offender was sentence to lose limb or life. The jurisdiction of Mayor Court was restricted to Suit and actions between the natives only. The Charter of 1753 under some alternatives deleted from the jurisdiction of Mayor’s Courts all Suits and actions between the natives only and directed that these Suits should be determined among themselves. Most of the litigations were of simple character, such as, claims from debts and dealt with in a prompt and satisfactory manner. The Supreme Court put an end to Mayors Court in 1774.

Security and justice though were important for making of this town but what was more important was the health conditions on the island. It was the growing mortality of the English on the island which gave the island the dictum ‘two monsoons are the ages of man’. The climate was so hostile that Ovington commented that island had no one except the parish graveyard. The health condition of town especially for the English was of utmost importance for the proper functioning of the town. It was because of these reasons that none of the officers were willing to serve on this island. There were many causes attributed to mortalities i.e. fever, scurvy, flux, fish manure, wars, storms and intemperance of the early English settlers, etc, all contributed in the growing mortality of the island. The development of hospital, need of surgeon, procurement of medicine and beds, diets for the patient became the often repeated statements in the consultation of Bombay in this period. The hospital though established at the time of Aungier was always in need of the surgeon, medicine and

10 Ovington, Voyage to Surat, op.cit, 86.
proper sanitary conditions. It was only in 1740 on the report of the inspectors of the hospital Board agreed to make repairs, alterations and to provide it with other necessities such as bedding, patient's cloths, kitchen utensils etc. It was also agreed to make arrangements for frequent visits of the doctors and to meet their demands about the medicines.\footnote{P.D.D. 13-A of 1740, 370.}

By 1750's Bombay as an establishment came of age. It transformed from just a fishing village to a well developed settlement playing an active role in economy and polity of the subcontinent in general and on the Western Coast in particular. It was a time when the Western Coast also witnessed watershed change in political dynamics of the region. The decline of imperial Mughal, left the Sidi's of Janjira without any patronage and soon their power withered away. The remnants of Sidi's, English, used to counter the emerging Angrias, which also resulted in latter's gradual demise. To which Marathas also contributed substantially. This entire scenario brought English at par with the Marathas, the most powerful power of the time.

Thus, Bombay in the mid-eighteenth century still lagged behind the other English factories in India and fell short of the Company's expectations; it had at least overcome its earlier disadvantages of site situation. The unhealthiness which had made it the "burying ground of the English" in Fryer's time was now definitely a thing of the past, mainly due to the reclamation of the salt marshes, discontinuation of fish manure for the cocoanut trees, and the presence of more skillful physicians than before. The climate was now considered "rather agreeable to a European constitution", "no longer fatal to the English inhabitants as it used to be, and incomparably more healthy than many other settlements in India" (Grose, 1757: 47-51). The situation of the Island and the formation of the bay, "one of the most commodious bays perhaps in the world", were also greatly appreciated. Economic constraints, which Bombay experienced in its initial days, were significantly reduced with the development of Bank and mint during the first few decades of Eighteenth century. Establishment of appropriate judicial administration replacing the old Portuguese style of dispensing justice entrusted Company with social and legal authority to deal with interlopers, rebels besides keeping in awe the habitual
manpower, who was deterred from Visiting Island owing to increasing mortality. Trinity of ‘Forts’, ‘Garrison’ and ‘Marine’ which were the bulwark of the defense mechanism relieved the Company of political insecurity which haunted the island since its inception. Change in Company’s policy from peaceful neutrality and complete aggression, which it practiced consecutively, to one of temporizing as well as opportunistic alliances, afforded it the latitude to defend its own interest in most perilous of conditions. Last but not the least it was the resilience of Bombay besides other geographical and locational advantages, which afforded Bombay to replace Surat as Company’s headquarter. It was not for the decline of Surat nor for any other coincidental reasons that the rise of Bombay as a town is to be read but rather it was owing to the internal dynamics and vibrancy of Bombay as settlement, resoluteness of the players, who despite discouragement from court of directors endeavored to endow the Bombay with requisite defense mechanism and its geography and potentiality to become a world class settlement, that Bombay was the town in the making.