

# **MEMORANDUM**

**THE STATES REORGANISATION COMMISSION**

**By**

**THE BOMBAY CITIZENS' COMMITTEE**

**1954**

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submitted to

**THE STATES REORGANISATION COMMISSION**

By

**THE BOMBAY CITIZENS' COMMITTEE**

Re:

**REORGANISATION OF STATES**

1954

BOMBAY,  
14th June 1954.

From

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, K.B.E., C.I.E.,  
President,  
The Bombay Citizens' Committee,  
BOMBAY I.

To

The Chairman,  
The States Reorganisation Commission,  
NEW DELHI.

SIR,

May I invite your reference to the press communique issued by your Commission on 23rd February 1954 for submission of memoranda on the question of the Reorganisation of States in the Indian Union? In terms of the same I have the privilege of submitting, on behalf of the Bombay Citizens' Committee, a memorandum which places before the Commission the considered views of the Committee on the general approach to the principles of Reorganisation of States in the Indian Union (Part I) and the future of Bombay City in event it is decided to split up the present composite State of Bombay (Part II).

It would be appropriate for me to refer here briefly to the purpose for which The Bombay Citizens' Committee was originally constituted. In 1947, when the Linguistic Provinces Commission was appointed by the Constituent Assembly for enquiring into and reporting on the desirability or otherwise of the creation of the proposed provinces of Andhra, Kerala, Karnataka and Maharashtra, a meeting of some leading citizens of Bombay representing different sections of the population who have settled down in the City was held on 26th August 1948. At this meeting a representative Committee was appointed to prepare and submit

a detailed Memorandum to the Commission. The Meeting also passed certain resolutions to give effect to their views on this question and these were duly forwarded to the Commission.

This Committee regarding Regrouping of Provinces which was specially appointed for the purpose of preparing and submitting a memorandum to the Dar Commission has been continuing to function in view of the importance of the subject and the need for a further and fuller study of the whole problem. The passing of time has helped the Committee to study further the developments that have followed the agitation for formation of linguistic States and also to take steps from time to time to explain, without in any way trying to rouse popular passions, to the citizens of Bombay the dangers inherent in reorganising the State of Bombay on a linguistic basis. The formation of Andhra State and the consequent increase in the tempo of agitation for the Reorganisation of States on a linguistic basis particularly by Maharashtra, Karnataka and Kerala obviously led to the appointment of the present Commission with a view to examining the question of a balanced Reorganisation of States as a whole, in a dispassionate and objective manner.

The original Committee, since the appointment of the Commission, has been re-constituted as Bombay Citizens' Committee re: Reorganisation of States. The representative character of the Committee has been strengthened by broadening its base through enlisting of more members. I need hardly emphasize that this Committee, as will be noted from the enclosed List of Members, is not exclusively confined to any particular communal, political or linguistic group, but is composed of enlightened representatives drawn from all walks of life and speaking different languages. The members are actively connected with the public life of the City of Bombay.

Though functioning in Bombay, the Committee may claim to reflect the views of responsible leaders of public opinion, who have no provincial or sectarian bias in their approach to the problem. The one common binding force that has drawn them together on the same platform is their desire to contribute towards the political solidarity and national unity of the country. They have been unanimously of the view that unless the people are infused with the spirit of national consciousness



and rise above considerations of regional or sectarian interests, it would not be possible to consolidate the forces of national unity, for economic reconstruction, essential for the maintenance of our hard-won freedom. In this connection, I may be permitted to refer to the recent appeal made by Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru in which he has aptly emphasized that all is not well in the World or India today and we cannot entertain any feeling of complacency at a time when there is need for the country to be disciplined with a view to facing any crisis or development which may require the mobilisation of all our strength and courage. He has particularly referred to the great danger of the language issue disrupting our national life and promoting a sense of disunity.

I would add that these words of our Prime Minister have a great significance in stressing the responsibility which the Commission and leaders of public opinion share in examining the problem of Reorganisation of States which raises fundamental issues affecting national unity, particularly by an undue emphasis on the linguistic principle. I would not like to burden this letter with anything more than an emphasis on the primary need for avoiding any step that would ultimately strike at the foundation of our Sovereign Democratic Republic which India has been able to establish after nearly a century and a half of foreign rule.

I hope, that in view of the representative character of the Bombay Citizens' Committee, the Commission will be pleased to give their careful consideration to the views and observations contained in the memorandum.

Yours faithfully,

PURSHOTAMDAS THAKURDAS.

## CORRIGENDA

The names of the following members of the Committee may be deleted from the list :

Mr. P. J. Shroff.	(Since deceased)
Mr. Naval Jerajani.	"
Mr. B. N. Maheshwari.	"
Mr. Kanjibhai Parikh.	"
Mrs. Violet Alva, M.P.	(Resigned)
Mr. Joachim Alva, M.P.	"

Page No.	Line No.	Incorrect.	Correct.
6	35	Admiinstrative,	Administrative
21	21	"a genuine uni-national state"	"a genuine un-national State"
42	36	dves	dyes
44	18	Scyhelles	Seychelles.
44	22	is direct	is a direct
54	37	men's	man's
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68	26	Marathi	Maratha
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81	28	of	omit "of"
85	14	in	is
85	30	Schemes	Scheme
86	27	treasury than	treasury rather than

## OFFICE-BEARERS AND THE MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE

### *President:*

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, K.B.E., C.I.E.

### *Vice-Presidents:*

Sir H. P. Mody, K.B.E.  
Shri M. C. Setalvad.  
Shri Pranlal D. Nanji.  
Shri Ramdas Kilachand.  
Dr. K. A. Hamied.  
Dr. Jos. Alban D'Souza.

### *Members of the Committee:*

Mr. J. R. D. Tata.  
Mrs. Mithan Lam.  
Mr. K. R. P. Shroff.  
Mr. A. D. Shroff.  
Sir Behram N. Karanjia.  
Mr. Neville Wadia.  
Dr. R. N. Cooper.  
Mr. H. R. Pardiwala.  
Mr. P. J. Shroff.  
Mr. Homi Talyerkhan, M.L.A.  
Mr. Rameshwardas Birla.  
Mr. Madanmohan R. Ruia.  
Mr. Bisesarlal Chidavawala.  
Mr. Fatehchand Jhunjunwala.  
Sir Suleman Cassum Mitha.  
Mr. Mahomed Husein Hasham Premji.  
Mr. Mahomedbhoy I. M. Rowjee.  
Mr. Ibrahim Bhai Saheb.  
Sir Rahimtoola M. Chinoy.  
Mr. Salebhoy Abdul Kadar.  
Mr. Ismail Mohammedally Kanga.  
Mr. Ramnath A. Podar, M.P.  
Mr. Mangaldas Varma.  
Mr. Begraj Gupta.  
Prof. D. S. Sodhi.  
Mr. Srinivas Bagadka.  
Mr. Kameshwar Vyas.  
Mr. Radhakishan Khaitan.  
Mr. R. S. Panday.  
Mr. P. N. Shukla.  
Mr. Meghraj Sethi.  
Mr. Nilkanth Tiwari.  
Mr. Gobind Ram Jolly.  
Pandit Shiv Sharma.  
Bakshi S. Dalip Singhji.  
Mr. Autar Singhji Bedi.  
Mr. Shiv Sundarlal Tripathi.  
Mr. S. M. Shukla.  
Dr. S. S. Krishnan.  
Mr. A. C. Ramalingam.  
Mr. Purshottamdas Sabnani.  
Rai Bahadur Mangaram.  
Mr. Fatehchand Assudomal.  
Lady Premlila V. Thakersey.  
Mrs. Lilavati K. Munshi.  
Mrs. Jaishree Raijee.

Mr. Ratilal M. Gandhi.  
Mr. R. G. Saraiya.  
Sir Manilal B. Nanavati.  
Sir H. V. Divetia.  
Mr. Tulsidas Kilachand, M.P.  
Mr. Amritlal D. Sheth.  
Mr. Dahyabhai V. Patel.  
Prof. C. N. Vakil.  
D.B. Krishnalal M. Jhaveri.  
Mr. Devjee Rattansey, M.L.C.  
Mr. Dharamsey M. Khatau.  
Mr. Krishnaraj M. D. Thackersey.  
Mr. Navinchandra Mafatlal.  
Mr. Purshotam Kanji.  
Sir Chunilal B. Mehta.  
Dr. B. B. Yodh.  
Dr. Jeenabhai Desai.  
Mr. Naval Jerajani.  
Mr. K. C. Desai.  
Mr. Hiralal Dave.  
Mr. Markandrai Mehta.  
Mr. Venilal Patwa.  
Mr. Mangaldas B. Mehta.  
Mr. B. N. Maheshwari.  
Mr. Panalal M. Chinai, M.L.C.  
Mr. T. J. Raja.  
Mr. Chandulal B. Parekh, M.P.  
Mr. M. M. Amersey.  
Mr. Khimji M. Thakker.  
Mr. Chimanlal Balubhai Gandhi.  
Mr. Girdharlal Devraj.  
Mr. Kanjibhai Parikh.  
Prof. M. L. Dantwala.  
Mr. M. P. Gandhi.  
Mr. G. N. Joshi.  
Mr. Shantilal H. Shah.  
Mr. R. S. Dixit.  
Mr. Gordhandas Thaker.  
Mr. Jamnadas K. Ladiwala.  
Mrs. Violet Alva, M.P.  
Mr. Joachim Alva, M.P.  
Prof. George M. Moraes.  
Fr. H. O. Mascarenhas.  
Mr. F. Correia-Afonso.  
Dr. M. C. Bilpodiwala.  
Dr. K. K. Dadachanji.

### *Hon. Secretaries:*

Mr. C. L. Gheevala.  
Mr. C. C. Shah, M.P.  
Mr. Nanik Motwani.

## PART I

# General Approach

At the outset, we welcome the appointment of The States Reorganisation Commission, which is constituted of eminent persons known for their disinterested approach and broad national outlook.

The attainment of Independence after an intense non-violent struggle spread over a period of more than half a century and the establishment of the Sovereign Democratic Republic, are events of great significance to the Indian people. The consolidation of this freedom and strengthening of the bonds of national unity call for a high degree of statesmanship and unremitting effort on the part of the leaders and the people of the country. During the short period of seven years of our freedom, the country had to face formidable problems of great complexity. The partition, the unavoidable price paid for Independence, resulted in mass movements of population on an unprecedented scale creating an acute situation arising out of refugee rehabilitation and a host of other inter-connected problems. The second major problem which the country had to tackle was that of the integration with the rest of India of about 560 heterogeneous princely States covering nearly one-third of the Indian territory. While this magnificent achievement brought about a large measure of political integration and national cohesion, the consequent process of merger by itself has created additional administrative problems. Simultaneously the problems of establishing a democratic Constitution of a Federal type engaged the primary attention of our national leadership and the Constitutional framework as finally accepted by the people of India has paved the way for introducing dynamic changes in the economic and social life of the country. Having passed through the difficult phase of post-war economic problems, in terms of shortages of food and other basic requirements, inflationary forces and the consequent stress and strain on the economic structure as a whole, the country has now launched upon planned economic development of the country, with a view to raising the standard of living of the masses of the people and providing increased opportunities for employment. The First Five-Year Plan, now under implementation, is the basis for policy objectives, action programmes and achievement targets. The great task ahead of the country requires mobilisation of all our resources and a concerted and co-ordinated approach. Evidently, the fundamental need of the hour therefore is national unity, not only for

the consolidation and preservation of the freedom that has been attained but also for successfully bringing about the great social and economic changes which are essential for national uplift and progress.

Internally, the country is yet to achieve complete integration of its territory, as the foreign pockets, such as the French and Portuguese possessions, have still to be brought within the administrative jurisdiction of India. The problem of Kashmir is yet an intriguing and burning question between India and Pakistan. The recent U.S.-Pakistan Military Aid Pact has completely altered the setting in which this problem has been previously placed and has further complicated the settlement of outstanding disputes between India and the State of Pakistan. In the international sphere, the rivalries of the power blocs particularly in the Asian countries have intensified international tensions. All these have already brought the cold war at the door of India and raise vital issues of security directly affecting India in the event of any future outbreak of war. In the context of the conditions at home and the developments abroad, the basic need of India is to concentrate all her efforts in strengthening her economic structure and consolidating the forces which promote national unity.

Unfortunately at a time, when Government has been emphasizing the need for collective and co-operative endeavour, the persistent demand for linguistic States on the part of various groups and politicians has raised feelings of bitterness between different groups and released fissiparous tendencies which are bound to react most unfavourably on the purposive attainment of our national objectives. The demand for linguistic States has taken an undesirable turn particularly since the events connected with the formation of the Andhra State. The formation of Andhra has strengthened the agitation by other linguistic groups in the country and this has been followed by a spate of claims and counter-claims, leading to activities calculated to disrupt the unity of the country. The demand for linguistic States is bound to rouse particularist passions and breed narrow parochial outlook, emphasizing regional loyalty above all other considerations. Such a diversion of the public mind and energy from objects of very vital and national concern to one of regional interest would be highly detrimental at a time when defence and security considerations and those of the economic development of the country emphasize the imperative need for national unity. Realising the potential danger inherent in such an atmosphere, it was appropriate for "the Government of India to come to the conclusion that the whole question of reorganisation of States of the Indian Union should be carefully examined, objectively and dispassionately, so that the welfare of the people of each constituent unit as well as of the nation as a whole

is promoted". It is with this objective that the States Reorganisation Commission was appointed in December 1953, with wide and comprehensive terms of reference, so as to enable them to examine the entire problem, in all its aspects.

## TERMS OF REFERENCE

The terms of reference of the Commission, in paragraph 4 of the Government Resolution dated 29th December 1953, provide the conditions under which the problem of reorganisation of States should be examined. After giving a brief perspective of the whole problem and stating how the existing pattern of territorial distribution of States in India is the result of historical accidents and circumstances, the Resolution emphasizes that the mere existence of this pattern for over a 100 years has developed political, administrative and cultural associations within and between them, which cannot be ignored. It is recognised that language and culture of an area have an undoubted importance in considering the reorganisation of States, as they represent a pattern of living which is common in that area. But it is pointed out that the first essential consideration is the preservation and the strengthening of the unity and security of India, and there are also other factors, such as financial, economic and administrative, which must be examined from the point of view not only of each State, but of the whole nation. Thus, we believe that, though consideration has to be given to language as a factor, it is not to be taken as the sole or even the principal criterion. The linguistic claim would have obviously to be set against economic and administrative and other vital considerations. Reference is made to the great ordered plan on which the country has embarked for her economic, cultural and moral progress, and it is rightly observed that changes which interfere with the successful prosecution of such a national plan would be harmful to national interests.

In terms of paragraph 7, the Commission after investigating the conditions of the problem, the historical background, the existing situation and the bearing of all important and relevant factors thereon, are expected to make recommendations in regard to the broad principles governing the solution of this problem, without going into details. Read as a whole, the terms of reference clearly indicate that the Commission would directly be concerned with the wider problem of the principles of a balanced reorganisation of the States of the Indian Union and that they would examine all the principles—economic and administrative and other considerations that have a bearing on the question—and would not over-emphasize the linguistic principle alone. The over-riding considerations are the strengthening of national unity and the preservation of the security of the country. Economic and adminis-

trative considerations would rank next in priority. We infer that linguistic, cultural, historical and even economic considerations will have to be subordinated, if necessary, to the paramount strategic interests of the country. It would follow from the interpretation of the terms of reference that, while linguistic, cultural and historical associations which together may produce a certain degree of homogeneity among the people of a region and will merit due consideration, no demand by such units will be conceded which seeks to extend boundaries under the pressure of an aggressive expansionist urge.

## HISTORY OF THE PROBLEM

We may briefly refer to the history of the demand for linguistic Provinces with a view to presenting the correct perspective, as to its genesis and the nature and content of the demand in the altered conditions. It had its origin in the demand for Constitutional Reforms, which were being put through during the days of our national struggle. In its application to constitutional reforms, the principle was vaguely accepted, if it satisfied the needs of administrative efficiency and financial adequacy. Even the All Parties Conference (1928) presided over by late Pandit Motilal Nehru, accepted the principle of language only as one of the factors governing the re-distribution of existing provinces. In subsequent resolutions and election manifestos, wherever the linguistic principle has been conceded, the same has always been qualified by the demands of national interest and the fulfilment of other conditions, such as administrative convenience and financial viability. In the pre-Independence period, the principle of language appealed to the political consciousness of the time and was a convenient vehicle for propaganda for an intensive campaign to arouse national consciousness for the struggle against British imperialism.

The principle of language thus was not recognised either exclusively or as a sole guiding principle for all times in the formation of States. After Independence, in the process of Constitution-making, a Commission (Dar Commission) was appointed for the purpose of inquiring into the desirability or otherwise of linguistic Provinces. The findings of this Commission and of the J.V.P. Committee (appointed at the Jaipur Session of the Indian National Congress) which further examined and reported on the recommendations of the Linguistic Provinces Commission, have clearly indicated the limitations of the linguistic principle and the dangers of accepting the same in the formation of States. It is pertinent to note that the J.V.P. Report represents the official view of the Congress on the question of Linguistic Provinces. The considered views of the Dar Commission as also the J.V.P. Committee, on the question are stated below:

“The formation of provinces on exclusively or even mainly linguistic considerations is not in the larger interests of the Indian Nation and should not be taken in hand. . . . In the formation of new provinces, whenever such a work is taken in hand, oneness of language may be one of the factors to be taken into consideration along with others; but it should not be the ‘decisive’ or even the ‘main’ factor. . . . If India lives, all her problems will be solved. If India does not survive, nothing will be gained by solving her linguistic provinces problem alone.”<sup>1</sup>

The J.V.P. Committee, viewing the problem in the context of altered conditions after attainment of Independence, and the new problems facing the country, observe:

“We feel that the conditions that have emerged in India since the achievement of Independence are such as to make us view the problem of linguistic provinces in a new light. The first consideration must be the security, unity and economic prosperity of India and every separatist and disruptive tendency should be rigorously discouraged. Therefore, the old Congress policy of having linguistic provinces can only be applied after careful thought being given to each separate case, and without creating serious administrative dislocation or mutual conflicts which would jeopardise the political and economic stability of the country. We would prefer to postpone the formation of new provinces for a few years so that we might concentrate during this period on other matters of vital importance and not allow ourselves to be distracted by this question. However, if public sentiment is insistent and overwhelming, we, as democrats, have to submit to it, but subject to certain limitations in regard to the good of India as a whole and certain conditions which we have specified above. Public sentiment must clearly realise the consequence of any further division so that it may fully appreciate what will flow from their demand.”<sup>2</sup>

## PRESENT PHASE OF THE DEMAND

The formation of the Andhra State has intensified the tempo of the agitation for the creation of other linguistic States, particularly those of Karnataka, Kerala and Maharashtra. The demand which was till now restricted to the areas in the South has also spread to the regions

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<sup>1</sup> Dar Commission Report, pp. 30, 34, 35.

<sup>2</sup> Report, p. 15.



in the North, where various claims have been put forward not only on the basis of language for carving out separate States but also for splitting up existing linguistically and politically homogeneous units. In the South, there is a clamour for the disintegration of Hyderabad State and the formation of a separate West Coast State. The aborigines of the Eastern Ghat Hills claim a homogeneous tribal unit carved out of Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Hyderabad and Andhra. A separate State known as Mithila comprising the territories in Bihar is claimed by a section of the people in that State. There is a move for the creation of Maha Punjab State with the merger of PEPSU, Himachal Pradesh, and some parts of the Delhi State with East Punjab. A group of interests demands a greater Himachal Pradesh through the merging of Bilaspur. A Maha Seema Prant is advocated from the point of view of the security of the country. Bhopal has claimed to remain a separate State. The demand for the State of Maha Kosal includes areas of Vindhya Pradesh, Bhopal, Jhansi, U.P. and Hindi-speaking regions from Madhya Pradesh. The splitting up of Rajasthan into two States has also been suggested.

All the above conflicting claims which have recently been inspired by the linguistic principle only reveal the extent of harm that an undue emphasis on the principle can do in reversing the process of political integration achieved after Independence with great effort and statesmanship. It appears that the question of Reorganisation of States in India is not merely a simple problem of adjusting administrative divisions but a great political problem involving a fundamental change in the basis and formation of the constituent units of the Indian Union. We strongly urge on the Commission and on all concerned to carefully examine the implications and repercussions of such demands, from the point of view not of meeting the demands of various sections made at a time when feelings have been aroused but from the larger and vital points of national solidarity and financial, economic and security interests of the country as a whole. In this context, we would like to express our view that there will be no imperative need to reorganise the territories of all the existing component units *de novo* but only of such units which for administrative, economic and other considerations, require readjustment and reorganisation.

## CONCEPT OF THE LINGUISTIC STATE AND ITS DANGERS

We would now like to refer to the theoretical postulates underlying the concept of a linguistic State as propounded by its protagonists. It is significant to note that the advocates of linguistic States do not conceive the problem of States reorganisation from the point of view of administrative convenience, but look upon the creation of linguistic

States as providing the basis for the constituent units of the Federal Union.<sup>1</sup> It is further significant that in the creation of such linguistic units, according to them, language alone should be the main consideration, and all other important relevant factors, such as economic, geographical, financial and administrative, are to be dismissed as factors having no direct bearing on the question or having no special relevance to the problem.

Advocates of linguistic States start with the assumption that the Indian Union is a Federation, formed by 'the coming together of peoples' inhabiting various regions of India and that 'most of these have had an independent political existence in the historical past and enjoyed a status comparable to that of the nationalities of the continent of Europe'.<sup>2</sup> It is further claimed by them that these autonomous States, inasmuch as they are composed of territories peopled by citizens united with common purposes and fired with common loyalties to their States have a claim to territorial inviolability.<sup>3</sup> The formation of such States implies, according to them, the search for a principle in the light of which homogeneity of political sentiments can be determined. It is asserted that this has been found in linguistic affiliations.<sup>4</sup> It is also argued that such linguistic groups have a socio-cultural homogeneity and are distinct societies. These units are further invested with a peculiar mystic emotional unity, very much akin to the mystic folk-unity attributed by the pioneers of German nationalism to the German people on the basis of language. Having provided a sort of theoretical basis for their demand, the advocates of linguistic States start advancing their claims to "the territory of the peoples speaking that language", which of course 'must be considered inviolable'. Such a State again should be as large as possible and all contiguous territories inhabited by people speaking one language even if they be in a minority, should incontestably be incorporated in the proposed linguistic State. From this to linguistic or pseudo-linguistic Imperialism is but a short step.

It may be mentioned at the very outset that the concept of a linguistic State, as formulated by its sponsors, is based on certain pre-conceived notions and completely misjudges the nature of the Indian Union. There is one vital difference in the federal character of the Indian Union and that of other federations. The Union of India is not a federation formed by the coming together of pre-existing sovereign States. In fact, the words "Federation of India" in the earlier draft of the Constitution were rejected by the Constituent Assembly in favour of the words "Union of India". The reasons for

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<sup>1</sup> See 'The Future of Bombay City' by Prof. D. R. Gadgil, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> The Future of Bombay City, p. 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.

the change, as is evident from the Preamble, were that (a) the Constituent Assembly was the appropriate organ representing the people of India as a whole and not a mere representative gathering of sovereign States, and (b) that as such the Constituent Assembly established a Sovereign Republic with all residual powers vesting in the Union Government. It was the clear intention of the framers of our Constitution to establish a strong Central Government and avoid the inherent dangers of creating regional loyalties, springing from parochial patriotism of various groups, which may at any future time endanger the unity and solidarity of the nation.

Such dangers inherent in the creation of constituent units on the basis of racial or linguistic considerations have been very aptly pointed out by K. C. Wheare:

“Therein lies always a possible source of weakness in a federal government that State loyalty may prevail over general loyalty. More particularly is this likely to be true where State boundaries coincide with racial, linguistic or national boundaries. It is obviously an advantage that units in a federation should be homogeneous ; nothing strengthens a regional government so much. But the danger is that the region may inspire a loyalty greater than that of the Union and that in time of conflict the Union will fall apart.”<sup>1</sup>

The Indian Constitution clearly rejects any basis for the formation of constituent units, which aim at creating regional loyalties, based on peculiar emotional response generated by linguistic affinity, as against the overriding and the only loyalty which the citizen must owe to the Indian Union as a whole. If the linguistic States are seeking to create something special and distinct in terms of loyalties apart from that which a citizen must owe to the country as a whole, it is a phase in our development which is fraught with dangerous possibilities and must be discarded as the basic test for the formation of constituent units for a Federal Union. There can be only one citizenship for all the people of India, owing undivided allegiance to the Indian Republic as its citizens, and if competing loyalties, by virtue of their membership of communities united by mystic linguistic ideologies and ties, are allowed to be created, the same will tend to weaken the fabric of our infant State.

The implications of the concept of a linguistic State examined above have, in our opinion, far-reaching significance and raise fundamental issues which, we believe, have a relevant bearing on the nature of the

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<sup>1</sup> K. C. Wheare: *Federal Government*, p. 51.

Indian Constitution and the provisions contained therein. We would, therefore, request the Commission to have these constitutional issues examined most carefully. The Preamble as well as the several provisions of the Constitution unambiguously indicate that sovereignty under the Constitution vests in the Republic of India and not in any of its component parts and that there is only one citizenship. Secondly, in Articles 2 and 3, the Parliament of the people of India as a whole have been vested with the indefeasible power of admitting or establishing new States, increasing or decreasing the area of a State or to alter its boundaries, the right of the legislature or legislatures of the State concerned being restricted only to giving its or their views on the proposals. It is for the Commission to examine whether the creation of Linguistic States, which would result in conceding *de facto* if not *de jure* territorial inviolability and autonomous status to the units, would not in actual practice cause a serious friction in the functioning of the Constitution due to coming into existence of conflicting loyalties.<sup>1</sup> Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, who had an important share in the framing of our Constitution, had expressed the fear that "Linguistic Provinces will result in creating as many nations as there are groups with pride in their race, language and literature. . . . They may develop the mentality of political insubordination, i.e. refusal to obey the majority or of staging walk-outs." Stating that the development of such a mentality is not to be altogether discounted, he further observes, "The creation of Linguistic Provinces would be fatal to the maintenance of the necessary administrative relations between the Centre and the Provinces."<sup>2</sup> The objective of the Indian Constitution is the creation of a strong Centre for resisting not only external aggression but also checking disruptive forces within the boundaries of the country, which may endanger the unity of the State. Whether the concept of Linguistic States would be in consonance with this spirit of the Indian Constitution suggests itself to be an issue of vital constitutional import, which we hope the Commission will examine in detail.

There is nothing axiomatic or sacrosanct about linguistic affinity as a principle in the formation of constituent units. The criterion of language as the sole determinant in the formation of States is not accepted by what is claimed to be the general consensus of opinion. On the contrary, recent political thought has discredited it as basically unsound and consider it as dangerous as the criterion of

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<sup>1</sup> It may be noted that the demand of Maharashtra for being constituted into a linguistic State is based on this concept, which reveals the force of linguistic sentiment in claiming autonomy and inviolability of territory. "Any attempt to take away any part of area or region falling within the territory of the speakers of a language constitutes a violation of the federal principle, and of the integrity of the State, actual or potential, and an insult and an indignity offered to that linguistic group."

—*The Future of Bombay City*, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> See "Maharashtra as a Linguistic Province", by B. R. Ambedkar, p. 2.

race. The attempt to create territorially inviolable linguistic States in India is nothing but a revival of the discarded Nation State theory, which sought to make the boundaries of the State co-extensive with that of the Nation founded either on racial, religious or as, in the present context, linguistic nationalism. Having discovered the principle of linguistic affiliation, the advocates of linguistic States soon equate the same with the homogeneity of political sentiment. The next step is to claim all such contiguous territory inhabited by people speaking one major language. As Alfred Zimmern has pointed out, the principle of language, which aims at all the States being assigned territory co-extensive with an arbitrary division of population who are now distributed over the country on the basis of historic, economic and other factors into uni-lingual groups, will not be based on "any universal principle, such as justice, democracy or collective consent or on moral or universally human at all, but on something partial, arbitrary and accidental".<sup>1</sup>

In the contemporary world, it is difficult to accept language alone as the criterion for demarcating the boundaries of States and more so of the constituent units of a Federal Union, which is united under a common sentiment of national consciousness. The difficulties experienced in regard to territorial demarcations at the time of the Paris Peace Conference and the subsequent developments in Central Europe—Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Austria, Yugoslavia, Albania, Finland, Estonia and other States—amply bear out the point that such claims were advanced only to serve as the basis for furthering annexationist ambitions. Prof. Schuman after a study of the operation of the principle in Central and Eastern Europe, has very aptly summarised the consequences of such linguistic nationalism in the realm of politics:

"Whatever the location of political boundaries may be at any given time, nations in the non-political sense are aggregations of people aware of themselves as units by virtue of linguistic and cultural ties. If the language group does not possess independence it must achieve it. If having attained independence it does not include within the nation state all those who speak the mother-tongue, efforts must be made towards their annexation, even at the cost of dismemberment of neighbouring States. If there are those within the State who do not speak the mother-tongue, they must be taught, assimilated and, if necessary, coerced into abandoning their own language and culture in the name of national unity and power."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Nationality and Government, p. 47.

<sup>2</sup> International Politics, p. 440.

Linguism all over the world has expressed itself as positively intolerant, aggressive and expansionist in character. In the earlier stages its protagonists disown any antagonism between their claims and the claims of national unity. But, invariably such advocates come to identify language first with culture or ethnic homogeneity and by equating such homogeneity with expanding political frontiers. Even where linguistic and historical claims, however doubtful, have been conceded, they have never satisfied group ambitions. Aggressive claims of linguistic majority to continuously expand its boundaries have proved insatiable and boundary-making has failed to provide any remedy against it. It has been the common experience in Central Europe that linguistic claims have led to interminable boundary disputes leading to unending bitterness, ceaseless insistence on revision of boundaries and eventual disruption.

The problem of reorganisation of States, particularly with reference to the linguistic principle, must be viewed in the light of the experience in other parts of the world, where such attempts have resulted in creating acute minority problems. These tendencies have already given rise to the intractable problem of linguistic minorities in regions, which happen to be either bi-lingual or multi-lingual, and we are likely to be faced with a fresh crop of problems which may lead to intensification of tensions and bitterness. It would be idle to contemplate that such mixed or multi-lingual areas can be dis-membered and merged in uni-lingual areas on the ground that the minorities would receive equal and fair treatment with the members of the dominant linguistic group of the region. The Dar Commission, which had examined the question from this point of view, observed that "Linguistic homogeneity in the formation of new provinces is certainly attainable within certain limits, but only at the cost of creating a fresh minority problem". They further remarked that "Nowhere will it be possible to form a linguistic province of more than 70 to 80 per cent of the people speaking the same language, thus leaving in each province a minority of 20 per cent of people speaking other languages."<sup>1</sup> The latest Census on the Linguistic Zones issued by the Government of India indicates the complexity of reorganising the States on the basis of languages spoken in each State. In the various districts constituting the linguistic zones, the percentage of people speaking the language of the area varies very widely. In the Marathi zone, the variation is between 69 and 96 per cent ; in the Telugu zone the variation is between 54 and 94 per cent ; in the Kannad speaking zone the percentage of the majority group is 72 per cent. It is only in the Malayalam, Gujarati, Hindi and Tamil zones that there is a lesser variation of the percentage of the majority group—89, 94, 85 and 82 per cents respectively. It is, therefore, clear

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<sup>1</sup> See Report, p. 28.

that any reorganisation of the political divisions of India purely on the basis of language would result in the minority groups being coerced to become parts of uni-lingual States with all the attendant consequences that would follow from such a position.

Since it is virtually impossible to include all speakers of one language within the territorial boundaries of one single State, the formation of linguistic States is bound to create a problem of irredentism and national minorities constituting an abiding source of constant unrest. The dangers inherent in such a doctrine were pointed out by Lord Acton long ago in his famous essay on Nationality:

“By making the State and Nation commensurate with each other in theory, this principle reduces practically to a subject condition all other nationalities that may be within their boundary. It cannot admit them to equality with the ruling Nation, which constitutes the State, because the State would then cease to be National, which would be a contradiction of the principle of its existence.”<sup>1</sup>

By the very logic of its formative principle such a State has all the characteristics of an intolerant nationalism. All other linguistic groups within the principal language area are to be treated as aliens or outsiders. Such nationalism has inevitably asserted that linguism “implies friendship with members of ‘in-group’ and hostility towards members of ‘out-group’. ‘In-group’ is focus of all social life. . . . Stranger is usually enemy and foreign cultures are strange and hostile.”<sup>2</sup> The political aims which inspire a linguistic group for demanding a State of their own can only be satisfied by the exclusion of and discrimination against all other linguistic groups within the area. No safeguards and no assurances and even no fundamental rights can save them from the subtle psychological exclusion in the social, cultural and other spheres which linguism implies. As observed by Macartney, “In such a case the rule of the majority exercised more often under the title of a democracy is a true tyranny. It is the worst, which is the corruption of the best. . . . The lot of a member of a national minority is indeed a hard one. He is by definition a stranger to all those special hopes and ambitions which went to the making of the community, in which his whole public life must be conducted. It was founded to protect the liberty and to foster the development of a particular set of ideals ; those ideals are not his. . . . The more fully the majority rejoices in the expression through the State of their national personality, the more bitterly he must feel his exclusion.”<sup>3</sup> The concept of a linguistic State

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<sup>1</sup> History of Freedom and Other Essays, p. 297.

<sup>2</sup> Schuman: International Politics, pp. 424-425.

<sup>3</sup> National States and National Minorities, pp. 16-17.

examined both theoretically and in the light of the experience in Central and Eastern Europe emphasizes the dangerous implications of the same in the context of the problem of reorganisation of States in our country.

## LANGUAGE AS AN INDEX TO SOCIO-CULTURAL ENTITIES

We would now like to examine the claim that the linguistic groups constitute distinct societies and cultural entities. Such a claim lacks a logical foundation and does not correspond in reality to sociological facts. A careful analysis of the concept and meaning of culture and the exact relationship of language to culture would clearly explode the myth of language alone constituting distinct socio-cultural entities. Neither is language the expression of a special folk unity, nor culture a mechanical and static phenomenon as assumed. Every language is an organism in constant flux and has been shaped by the countless influences and points of contact in cultural life of a group or groups of people. Similarly, culture is something much more than mere linguistic expression, and the same culture is expressed in various languages and has enriched them in turn. The existence of different languages does not connote the existence of distinct cultural societies. Culture is the sum total of all human activities and motivates our lives unconditionally, without pretence and without reference to language or the ways of expression. Obviously, the cultural expressions or forms must vary and it is a travesty of historic truth to presume that every language is delimited by a cultural society and possesses a distinctive unity in every change of form or expression.

The characteristic feature of homogeneity in culture and variety in its expressions and forms through various languages is prominently emphasized in the history of India from the ancient past to recent times. As a matter of fact some of the major regional languages are derived from the same source and as such are not fundamentally different from each other. The real truth about India is that not only has she been a geographical and political unit, but she has been the outward embodiment of a culture of the people as a whole irrespective of regional or linguistic diversities. This foundation and the cultural unity of India has not been shaken by the numerous vicissitudes through which the country has passed during the last so many centuries. The cultural unity of India does not reflect a group conception, but an Indian way of life, a culture with a common source and unity with a variety of forms and expressions which have only enriched that culture. In her art, architecture and paintings, literature and philosophy, we see the oneness of the Indian way of life and all the different languages draw their inspiration and vitality from this unity of the Indian cultural heritage. The



superficial distinctions and differences expressed through regional variations in customs and manners should not, therefore, be mistaken for distinct socio-cultural entities. On that basis creating pluralistic societies is to miss the essential oneness of the Indian life and the real spirit of our cultural unity. Thus, a single language can at no time be identified with a distinct culture, nor can it by itself be an index to the culture of a society.

Pushed to its logical conclusion, we would be faced with the dogma of 'One language, One State'. The Linguistic Survey of India has enumerated 179 languages and 544 dialects. The Constitution of India has recognised only 13 languages for purposes of public life. If homogeneity of culture is identified with a linguistic group, then logically all the language groups in India, other than those recognised, would constitute distinct societies and cultural entities, and under the Constitution of India [Article 29(1)] it would be difficult to resist the claim of these entities for the preservation of their distinct language, script or culture, through the formation of separate linguistic States. The consequences of accepting separate linguistic societies would lead to the necessity of recognising all the existing languages in India as the basis for formation of States. It would be for the Commission to consider whether the germ of linguistic nationalism should be allowed to grow and develop in this manner, with a legion of pretenders to a claim to separate statehood ultimately disrupting the unity of the country as a whole.

### WHETHER LINGUISTIC STATES NECESSARY FOR DEMOCRACY

The formation of linguistic States as socio-cultural entities evoking emotional response based on linguistic affinity of its citizens is deemed to be indispensable for the working of the Federal Democracy and a condition precedent to progress towards Social Democracy. In our opinion, the argument is based on an inadequate appreciation of the basic essentials of democracy and in a greater degree of the requirements of social democracy, and on a misconception as to the role of language alone in the successful and effective working of democratic units. Any given community is a complex mechanism functioning through an institutional pattern, social, economic, cultural and religious, and the loyalty which is to be evoked on the part of the citizen is a function of an integrated and harmonious working of the totality of influences, which mould his life as a whole. Mere linguistic affinity, therefore, provides a very superficial bond for binding the people in terms of spontaneous loyalty to the ideal of democracy. The protagonists of linguistic States over-simplify the essentials and problems of

democracy, which confront the modern world by presuming that mere linguistic affinity will solve the difficult problems of making democracy effective and successful. Democracy in its real sense is an affirmation of certain attitudes and values, such as liberty, justice, equality, fraternity, and above all a sense of tolerance, the acceptance and practice of which in day-to-day life alone can make democracy a reality. A linguistic State by the very logic of its formation is based on a principle of intolerance of co-existence with other linguistic groups and unwillingness to work with them in a spirit of co-operation and collaboration. It thus negates one of the basic fundamentals of democracy. The argument that a linguistic State alone can provide the necessary milieu for the successful operation of a democratic government has no support in history. On the contrary, we have the outstanding example of the Swiss democracy, which is multi-lingual in its composition, with Italian, German, French and Romansch as the accepted languages. No one there has asked for breaking up the multi-lingual composite State into linguistic States in the name of democracy.

As far as the functioning of local and civic bodies is concerned, the same are already functioning in terms of the regional languages from district level downwards. Even here, though the argument may sound plausible, the example of the Bombay Municipal Corporation, which is multi-lingual in its composition, provides an effective reply to the argument inasmuch as the civic body represents a very efficient administration with a progressive outlook. What is really essential for making our local bodies efficient and effective democratic units is a high sense of civic duty and public spirit, implicit in the ideal of citizenship. A high percentage of literacy coupled with a sense of integrity and high standard of public morality are real essentials for the successful operation of our local governments, which yet remain to be developed in a large measure.

Likewise, language can be hardly considered to be having any direct relevance to the question of the functioning of social democracy. The country has already placed before itself the ideal of the establishment of a Welfare State, which has for its objective the promotion of the well-being of the common man, raising of the standard of living of the masses, solving serious problems of poverty, unemployment and social exploitation and thereby providing the common man with the minimum essentials of a civilized life. All these, it will be admitted, are essentially problems of economic policy and social services such as public health, medical relief, education, etc. These can be implemented and achieved only through the development of a broad national outlook and by enlisting the co-operation of all communities irrespective of the differences of caste, colour, creed or language. The citizen—the common man—will feel enthused over all this and offer his spon-

taneous loyalty to the extent that he feels and realises that he is not only a participant in the common endeavour but is also a beneficiary. What is therefore essential for the successful working of Federal democracy and making further progress towards social democracy is the acceptance of proper democratic values and a correct approach in the working of the government rather than establishment of linguistic States.

## LINGUISTIC STATES AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The various problems of economic development in India are common both in nature and intensity to every part of the country, and they require to be approached from a broad national outlook. This implies conscious planning and the utilisation of the resources of the country on rational and scientific principles of allocations and priorities, according to set objectives. In the present concept of planning, the evaluation of the resources and the technique of effectively utilising the same in the interests of India as a whole have been based not on any linguistic considerations, but in relation to the fundamental objectives of planning which cover all aspects of national life and activity. Such planning must obviously have the unreserved support and unqualified co-operation of the people in all the States in the sense of a national effort so that the progress may be uniform and may not be held up by any regional or parochial approach. This process of national co-operative endeavour would mean the removal of all such factors as would emphasize narrow regionalism and thereby divert the attention of the people from the main purpose of national reconstruction.

What is required under the schemes of planning, which include measures of agrarian reforms, comprehensive rural development through community projects and national extension services, multi-purpose river valley projects, development of cottage and supplementary industries and large-scale and key industries, is the integration of the schemes at the village, district and State levels with the central objectives of planning. As our Prime Minister has very rightly emphasized, what we need today is an integrated India, meaning a process of co-operation at every level and an understanding that progress lies in the common effort and a close co-ordination of the efforts of the Central Government with that of the States. In the approach of a linguistic State to various problems of social and economic development, the main inspiration would flow from the narrow and regional considerations dominated by group sentiments and power politics.

Once a territorial division is made on the basis of language, there is bound to be a regional concentration in securing control over the

resources which exist in the respective regions. Obviously, such a regional concentration is bound to affect the unity of the Plan and the effective implementation of the schemes at the State level. Regarding industrial location and expansion, it would be difficult to allocate priorities on the basis of linguistic regions. The basis for a rapid expansion in industrial activity is the proper choice of the location most suited for efficient utilisation of natural resources available in the country for specific industries. Similar is the case with the development of communication facilities and other ancillary services, which require a central approach. In every sphere of economic activity comprised in the Plan, what is required is co-ordination and efficient administration. The linguistic principle, since it has a high potency for encouraging sectional and regional approaches, is bound to defeat this objective. Further, as the economic needs and requirements of the population are neither confined to nor coincide with the linguistic frontiers, there is a danger of inter-State disputes and break-downs in the economic sphere. The claim, therefore, that only the formation of linguistic States would create a favourable environment for economic planning and would generate the enthusiasm and sense of co-operation among the people is, to say the least, a most regrettable attempt to give a sectarian approach to purely economic problems which are national in significance and effects.

The requirements of planning emphasize that economic development should proceed, not on principles of linguism, but on principles of economic regions, such as the River Valley Project Development areas, like the Tennessee Valley Authority in the U.S.A. or the Damodar Valley Project in India. In our view, the formation of linguistic States would not only not help in any way in furthering the economic progress of the country, but is bound to adversely affect the pace of progress of planned economic development in the country.

## ADMINISTRATIVE ASPECTS

It is significant to note that the protagonists of linguism have disposed of administrative considerations as having no special relevance to the problem of reorganisation of States in India. This, in our view, is a convenient method of ignoring a very vital issue in the problem of implementation, which has been considered by the Planning Commission as requiring greater attention with a view to attaining the objectives of rapid socio-economic changes under our democratic Constitution. It has been recognised that the progress, which has been achieved in the sphere of economic planning and improving administrative efficiency, has been rather slow and inadequate. This has been partly due to the inherent defects in the administrative structure of the country,

which is a legacy of the past, and which has been sought to be remedied through a process of gradual adjustment to present-day requirements. The overall progress of the country as a whole under the Constitution and under a reorganised scheme of administration can only be achieved through a large degree of inter-State understanding and collaboration. Linguistic States, instead of facilitating this process, will only retard the same.

The linguistic State by the fact of its insistence on the regional language being adopted as the medium for purposes of administrative functions within the State would virtually affect the mobility of people and exclude the personnel from other States from being drafted both for industries and services, however essential this may be from the point of view of efficiency. Thus, we believe that there is every possibility of the efficiency of the Administrative Services in the linguistic State being impaired by putting an indirect bar to the free movement of service personnel. By its very nature, in a linguistic State, the personnel from any outside State would be considered as foreign elements and they would be deprived of equal and free opportunities on the basis of their merit for improving their conditions of work and life. This is an important aspect, which the Commission must carefully examine in the light of the present need for an administrative structure that would provide full scope for the utilisation of the best talents in the country in every sphere of public and economic activity, irrespective of considerations of language.

As for the claim that States organised on the basis of language will be more conducive to administrative efficiency as at present there is no effective link between the people and the administration, we would point out that there is a confusion of issues. There is at present no hindrance to the use of the regional language, that is, the prevalent language in the locality for the purpose of effective link between the various levels of administration. The regional language is given due importance even at present under the Constitution and it is emphasized that the machinery of administration should be so organised as to equip the Officers at the higher levels with the appropriate knowledge of the local conditions and languages. It is one thing to say that the local languages should be used for an effective link between the layers of administrative machinery and another to suggest that for this purpose the States should be reorganised on the linguistic principle. Language is only one of the factors in administrative efficiency as providing the medium of contact. The organisation of the machinery of contact has comparatively a greater importance in guaranteeing efficiency than merely the factor of language. It is also feared that in a linguistic State, there will be wide scope for the most undesir-

able 'spoils system' in administrative services, which is a positive deterrent to efficiency at every stage.

## OUR APPROACH

The above dispassionate and objective analysis of the concept of a linguistic State and the ideology underlying the demand for establishment of such States in India, clearly emphasizes the fact that the entire concept is unsound for providing a basis for reorganising the constituent units of the Indian Union. States, if established on this basis, will create constitutional and political problems of far-reaching significance from the point of view of the unity and solidarity of the country as a whole. Instead of developing a broad national outlook, which is so essential for preserving our hard-won freedom, States founded mainly on the principle of language will accentuate a narrow parochial outlook, culminating in aggressive linguistic nationalism and bringing into existence inter-State isolation and antagonism. The group mentality in politics, which it is likely to engender, will release disruptive and fissiparous forces which will retard the development of forces of national unity. Founded as it is on the principle of linguism, it is likely to assume an aggressive and expansionist form based on irredentist claims.

Within the State, by virtue of the very *raison d'être* of its existence, viz. linguistic and socio-cultural homogeneity arising from the same, it is bound to create a chronic minority problem with all the attendant evils to which minority cultural groups will be subjected to, inasmuch as they will be either coerced or suppressed into being assimilated with the dominating linguistic group in the region. Linguistic States have further the ambition of reviving the spirit of medieval particularism as one of the sources of their inspiration. In view of the above inherent dangers, we are firmly of the view that, if the reorganisation of States is carried out in terms of the demands advanced by various linguistic groups solely in terms of language as the main principle, the same will constitute a grave threat to our national unity and solidarity.

## PLEA FOR A RATIONAL APPROACH

If any reorganisation of States is to be undertaken, the same should be carried out on rational and sound principles, having regard to the fundamental requirements of the country as a whole. The essential principles, that have a prior and legitimate claim in such a reorganisation, are geographical, administrative, economic and financial

factors, which should be examined not only from the point of view of the individual units, but of the entire nation. However, the overriding considerations would be the strengthening of our national unity and the preservation of the security of the country. Even cultural, historical and economic considerations will have to be set against the paramount strategic interests of the country. We, therefore, urge that the Commission should take a broad and comprehensive view of the problem as a whole, and in that process take special note of such areas as have developed political, administrative and cultural associations in the existing pattern of political units of the country for more than a century. While consideration may be given to the factor of linguistic homogeneity as one among the several other factors, it should be seen, as pointed out by the Dar Commission, that the future of bi-lingual or multi-lingual areas are determined primarily with reference to their economic or administrative interests and not on the basis of the principle of language spoken by a particular section of the population.

## PLACE OF MULTI-LINGUAL UNITS

The stand we have taken in opposing uni-lingual States is in keeping with the trends in modern political thought. There is a general unanimity of opinion among distinguished students of the problem, such as Macartney, Schuman, Hertz, Friedmann and Cobban, who all have emphasized the grave and dangerous consequences of the doctrine of a uni-national State. As Cobban points out—

“The multi-national State must re-enter the political canon from which, as Acton many years ago declared, it should never have been expelled. . . . The history of the recent past, as well as of the last century, is far from teaching the necessary identity of the political State and the nation in any other sense. We find ourselves, indeed, forced to the conclusion that in most cases they cannot possibly be made to coincide. The suggestion that only autocratic States can be multi-national hardly allows for the experience of such States as Great Britain, Canada, Belgium and Switzerland.”<sup>1</sup>

When, therefore, the whole trend of recent political thought is in favour of multi-national States as against uni-national States, we would be missing a great lesson of history if we try to reorganise our constituent units on the pattern of uni-national States. This, however, does not mean that attempts should be made to deliberately create multi-lingual units by breaking up the existing uni-lingual areas, which have already

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<sup>1</sup> National Self-Determination, pp. 62-63.

been in existence for over a century. What we are seeking to emphasize is the fact that we must certainly try to preserve multi-lingual territorial units, wherever they are in existence and have developed an organic life of their own, and should not break them up or coerce them into uni-lingual units to satisfy the territorial ambitions of linguistic groups. There is nothing incongruous or incompatible in such units being integral constituent parts of the Indian Union. On the contrary multi-lingual States have an important part to play in promoting a new national consciousness and providing living contacts with different language groups and culture patterns.

### DEVELOPMENT OF REGIONAL LANGUAGE— NON-POLITICAL APPROACH

It is relevant to note in this connection that the modern approach to the solution of the problem of nationalities, as exemplified by Macartney in his "National States & National Minorities", is in terms of emphasizing the imperative necessity of "dissociating nationality from questions of politics, which are in their nature distinct and ought to remain so in practice".<sup>1</sup> The real and effective solution of the problem, if we have to escape the inherent conflicts and friction, lies in the rejection of the doctrine of uni-national States. It means a clear abandonment of the dogma of national States based either on race, religion or language as the basic unit of Government and an attempt to create what Macartney calls "a genuine uni-national State". This approach alone can be fruitful in a country where the problem is one of reconciling diverse languages of various groups at different stages of development. The real problem in India is that of active promotion and development of our regional languages, which have already established great traditions through their literature. This objective of promotion of the growth of regional languages can best be achieved through the regional Universities, which have already been established at various centres and the use of the regional languages in local administration, press and the radio, as also by adopting active measures in terms of establishment of literary academies, special departments in Universities, etc. Adequate measures must also be undertaken to provide for the cultural and educational needs and requirements of linguistic minorities and groups in whichever part of Indian territory they might have been constituted. Simultaneously, with a view to promoting inter-State understanding and fostering the idea of national unity steps should be taken for the development of the National Language on a commonly accepted basis. While, therefore, we recognise the freedom of all languages to develop their arts and cultural traditions through the full and unfettered use of their regional langu-

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<sup>1</sup> National States and National Minorities, p. 463.



ages, we emphatically reject the claim that for fostering such growth of language, literature or art, it is necessary that the country should be reorganised solely on a linguistic basis. As we have shown, such claims to make the boundaries of the State co-terminus with the linguistic nationality have already given rise to aggressive demands, which seek to establish the claims of linguistic groups over areas which have no geographical, cultural, economic, political or even linguistic affinity, but on the sole ground that a certain percentage of the population speaks a particular language. Such claims clearly demonstrate the dangerous expression, which linguistic nationalism, when associated with political demands, assumes.

### THE COMPOSITE STATE OF BOMBAY

In the light of the foregoing observations, we would now like to examine the question of the place and position of the present composite State of Bombay *vis-a-vis* any scheme of Reorganisation of States. It is a matter of common knowledge that the present set-up of the composite State has been in existence for over a century and during this period a certain organic and intimate relationship has developed between the various parts of the State. The phenomenal development of trade, commerce and industry in the City of Bombay and the all-India importance of its port, has drawn people from all parts of the country and this in turn has enriched the life of the regional units of the State of Bombay. Bombay as the capital of the composite State has grown as a multi-lingual cosmopolitan centre and has gained in importance and pre-eminence not because it is being inhabited by a particular linguistic group but by reason of its position as an economic and commercial centre of international importance, towards which every group or sector of the population has made an important contribution. The State of Bombay thus not only enjoys a commanding position in the economic life of the country as a whole, but is also known for its having developed a broad national outlook which it brings to bear on all important problems—social, economic and political—confronting the country. The State as a whole in general, and the City of Bombay in particular, has been the spearhead of our National Movement and has contributed liberally both in men and material towards the success of the same. The Bombay City, besides being the capital of the State, has also become an important centre of intellectual and cultural activities and a focal point towards which even the foreign cultural centres are drawn. The State in spite of its multi-lingual character has functioned in a harmonious manner and no serious difficulties have been experienced in terms of domination by any region or by any unilingual group.

The major linguistic groups in the State as a whole are Marathi, Gujarati and Kannada with approximately 44 per cent, 33 per cent and 12 per cent respectively of the total population. In spite of the diverse linguistic groups, the State has been able to evolve an efficient administrative machinery which has been recently testified to by an eminent authority like Dr. Paul Appleby. Further, no difficulty has been experienced in regard to the development of the various regional languages or the cultural progress of the units comprising the State. In fact this has been facilitated by the establishment of regional universities which were expressly brought into existence with a view to developing language, literature and art peculiar to each region. The State of Bombay thus provides an outstanding example of how several communities despite their diverse languages living together have developed a broad national outlook.

It is further significant to note that it is due to its composite nature that the State has been able to develop a sound financial and economic structure. As it stands today the State has not only been able to balance its budget but also meet the needs and requirements in respect of developmental purposes in different regions of the State. From the district-wise details of Revenue Receipts and Revenue and Capital Expenditure of Bombay State published by the Government of Bombay for the years 1950-51, 1951-52 and 1952-53, it is clear that if each of the three component units or regions are considered separately, each one will have a deficit budget. Whereas, due to the composite nature of the State the surplus to the tune of Rs. 12 crores which accrues to the City of Bombay has been utilised for feeding the three linguistic regions. This surplus it may be noted is largely the result of non-Maharashtrian effort and enterprise. Amongst the recipients of this surplus, the major beneficiary had been the region of Maharashtra. For example, due to extraordinary conditions developing in 1952-53 out of the expenditure on famine relief of about Rs. 4 crores estimated for the State as a whole, the major portion of the expenditure was incurred in regions of Maharashtra. Other regions, in view of the special conditions in Maharashtra, have not grudged the same.

Again, the Statement of Capital Expenditure incurred in the three linguistic units testifies to the same fact. The state of road communications in Maharashtra is much better than that either in Gujarat or Karnatak. While the districts of Gujarat are deficit to the extent of 75 to 95%, the majority of the districts of Maharashtra are relatively well served by road communications.\* Besides, out of the capital expenditure of about Rs. 12 crores incurred by Bombay Government upto the year 1946-47, nearly Rs. 10.75 crores were spent on the major irrigation works

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\* From a statement prepared by Government of Bombay on road mileages.

in Maharashtra. Even thereafter through the post-war reconstruction schemes in the State Five-Year Plan, the regions of Maharashtra have not been neglected in any manner. Instances of this nature can be multiplied but the main point is to emphasize that the regions of the State have been able to appreciate the needs and requirements of the different units and the surplus of the State has been directed to needy regions with a view to evolving a balanced development of the State as a whole. This, in our opinion, is an overwhelming argument in favour of continuing the present composite State of Bombay.

From the point of view of administration, economic strength and cultural advance, there is no justification for reorganising the present State of Bombay into different linguistic units. Such a process, in our opinion, will have adverse economic and financial repercussions not only on the different units, but also on the Indian Union as a whole, in which the State of Bombay has come to occupy a pre-eminent and commanding position by virtue of its cultural, industrial, financial, political and strategic importance.

### **BOMBAY CITY AS A SEPARATE UNIT**

However, if despite the important and weighty considerations that we have advanced for the continuance of the present composite State, the Commission unfortunately comes to a decision that the present composite State of Bombay should be reorganised on a linguistic basis, we emphatically maintain that the City of Bombay should be constituted into a separate political unit. It is a matter of satisfaction that, though Gujarat constitutes an important region of the existing State of Bombay and the Gujarati-speaking population has played an important and significant role as pioneers in the building up of Bombay culturally, financially and industrially and have even today a large share in the cosmopolitan life of the city, they have desisted from putting forth any claim over the City of Bombay in view of its all-India importance. It is, however, strange that Maharashtra has chosen to advance its claims over Bombay City on grounds of history, geography and culture, even though the Marathi-speaking population only forms a minority in the total population of the City. It is a matter of common knowledge that all communities have contributed to the growth and development of Bombay, and particularly the three regions, with which it has been vitally and intimately connected for over a century, can all claim their due share in the greatness of Bombay. It will, therefore, be an act of grave injustice to other regions to make Bombay a part of any uni-lingual area. All the regions and all communities must have a free access to the City and must be able to share fully in its economic, social and cultural life, free from the incubus of any

single linguistic administration imposed by any dominant language group.

The Dar Commission which examined the special position of the City of Bombay with reference to all relevant factors affirmed that:

“The best fortune that we can see for the City of Bombay is that it should continue as it is today, the meeting-place of all communities, their source of pride and affection and a convenient centre for their joint labour and enterprise. It will be incongruous to make this multi-lingual, cosmopolitan city the capital of a uni-lingual province.”<sup>1</sup>

The demand for including Bombay in the proposed State of Samyukta Maharashtra is a characteristic expression of the annexationist ambitions of linguism. In the case of Bombay, the real issue is that Maharashtra by its untenable irredentist claims seeks to impose its linguistic administration on the vast majority of the multi-lingual population, nearly 56.5 per cent, consisting of Gujaratis (including Memons, Cutchis and Parsis), Christians, Mussalmans, Malayalees, Tamilians, Telugus, Kannadigas, Uttar Bharatiyas, Sindhis and others, who have neither any cultural nor linguistic affinity with Maharashtra. The protagonists of Samyukta Maharashtra have claimed for ‘the speakers of Marathi’ an autonomy and inviolability of territory, and their State has to include all territory inhabited by Marathi-speaking people, even though they may be in a minority.

It was after a careful examination of all the implications of the dangers inherent in the idea of a State, based mainly on the consideration of language as the sole unifying factor, that the J. V. P. Committee observed that:

“It is quite impossible for us to entertain any idea or any proposal which might injure the many-sided life and activity of this great city, which has been built up by the labour of all kinds of people and communities. We cannot consider it as belonging to any one linguistic group and attach it to a purely linguistic province. That would undoubtedly mean its rapid deterioration from its present commanding position.”

Referring to the mixed and cosmopolitan character of the population, they emphatically stated that :

“Even if they (Maharashtrians) were in a slight majority, that would not take away in the least from the cosmopolitan character of the city.”<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Report, p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Report, p. 12.

Any attempt to attach the City of Bombay to any uni-lingual State will result in placing the vast bulk of the population under a uni-lingual administration involving a distinct disadvantage and definite discrimination. For example, if Bombay is annexed to the proposed uni-lingual State of Maharashtra, Marathi as claimed by its protagonists must more and more predominate and become the language of administration and of the courts. It would mean that the present non-Maharashtrian population, which has played such a significant part in the building up of the trade, commerce and industry of the City and has evolved a cosmopolitan outlook and way of living, will be either compelled to adopt, in addition to their own regional language, a provincial language with which they have no particular affinity or be relegated to the status of inferiority and inequality. Inasmuch as the vast majority of the population of Bombay cannot and will not be an integral part of the State based on linguistic principle, their children will naturally have to experience a great deal of difficulty on account of their exclusion from the facilities for their education and cultural development.

Besides, the trade, commerce and industry will be seriously dislocated as a result of inclusion of Bombay and its suburbs in a linguistic administration, involving a great deal of hardship and harassment to a major portion of the population of the City. The apprehensions stated above are not merely an expression of a fear complex. As a result of the agitation for linguistic States and the expression given to the same by sponsors of the movement of United Maharashtra, several persons are reported to be making plans for moving to centres outside Bombay, if the City is to become a part of any uni-lingual State. Industrialists have been known to have kept some projects actually away from Bombay by reason of the apprehension regarding the future of the City of Bombay. There is not the slightest doubt that the entire economic and financial structure of the City of Bombay, which is of all-India importance, would be seriously affected, if these apprehensions came true.

Assurances have been held out by the protagonists of Samyukta Maharashtra that, once they get power, the interests of the minorities will be duly safeguarded and that the industrial future of the City will not be affected in any manner. But, as pointed out above, once a State based on linguistic homogeneity begins to express itself in terms of its very principle, it will try to acquire economic power by all forms of direct and indirect political means. The feelings against outsiders are bound to be accentuated and a persistent propaganda for excluding the non-Maharashtrians from participating in the benefits which must solely accrue to the speakers of Marathi, the only rightful citizens of

the linguistic State, is bound to assert itself. Expressions of such feelings have already been manifest in several States of India and cases have been known where companies promoted by persons other than those belonging to the dominant linguistic group have been discouraged or handicaps imposed on the starting of industrial projects on one ground or another.

The protagonists of the United Maharashtra State have left the public in no doubt that their intention is to utilise the resources of Bombay City for the development of Maharashtra, even to the extent of diverting industries from the City of Bombay to Maharashtra under the specious plea of de-centralisation.<sup>1</sup>

A typical expression of the above sentiments was given by Dr. G. V. Deshmukh in his speech at the Maharashtra Unification Conference in the following words:

“Are Maharashtrians content to play a secondary role in our own city, in trade, commerce, industry, power, economics, finance, art, education, science and politics, and remain content with playing the part of secondary brokers to brokers, secondary agents to agents, assistant professors to professors, clerks to managers, hired labourers to shop-keepers, arranging election for non-Maharashtrian members to Assembly, Councils and Corporations. . . . ?”

In fact, it is being openly stated that Bombay is to be acquired for Maharashtra, because that would enable it to ‘capture’ commercial power. Intimidations and threats are also held out that, if Maharashtra was not constituted into a separate province including Bombay City as its capital, it “would strike out at the very root of the peaceful formation and functioning of a federal union”.<sup>2</sup> A distinguished Maharashtrian academician, Prof. D. R. Gadgil, states in a threatening manner, “If such a step is forced on the people of Maharashtra, conflicts will arise—conflicts which may give rise to most serious problems both for Bombay City and for Maharashtra”. In fact, on obtaining Bombay for Maharashtra the first step contemplated is in terms of disintegrating the economic and industrial pre-eminence of Bombay and the act is sought to be justified in terms of the Preamble to the Constitution! Shri N. V. Gadgil, who once occupied a responsible ministerial position in the Government of India, according to the *Hindustan Times*, is reported to have stated that—

“If Bombay is made the capital of Maharashtra, we shall see that the rich as a class are wiped out. To back them up is to be

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<sup>1</sup> The Future of Bombay City, p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 24.

disloyal to what is being said in the Preamble to the Constitution.”

The sponsors of Samyukta Maharashtra have gone to the length of confounding the economic issues in the public mind with the question of reorganisation of States, and created the bogey of vested interests, equating the same with all those who are opposed to Bombay's inclusion in Maharashtra. This deliberate attempt to give a communal and regional twist to a purely economic phenomenon is extremely regrettable. The remedies against the admitted evils of *laissez faire* and unplanned capitalism are to be sought in the major economic policies, to be formulated by the Union Government, as is being already done in the concept of 'mixed economy' which is the central feature of our National Plan. Surely, the economic ills do not spread on a linguistic pattern, as was claimed by the communalists during the Pakistan controversy, where every economic phenomenon assumed a communal aspect! Instances of this nature can be multiplied, but the above are sufficient to indicate the technique of domination which is inevitably associated with the claims of linguistic nationalism.

Having regard to the inherent dangers of making the City of Bombay a part of any uni-lingual State and the consequences that are likely to follow in terms of disruption of the trade, industry and commerce of the City and the deterioration of its present commanding position, we emphatically maintain that a vast majority of the non-Maharashtrian citizens cannot be reduced to what Lord Acton has aptly described "a subject condition". It will not only involve a great injustice, but will result in great national calamity. While we strongly plead for the continuance of the present composite State of Bombay which is necessary in the larger interests of the country as a whole and the component units of the present State in particular, we submit that, in event of splitting up of the existing State as a result of the persistent demand on the part of any linguistic group, the City of Bombay along with its suburbs should be constituted into a separate unit and should not be made a part of any uni-lingual State.

Our view regarding the future of Bombay has been supported and fully corroborated by the findings of the Dar Commission appointed in 1948 and the J. V. P. Committee appointed at the Jaipur Session of the Congress. If at all the States are to be reorganised in terms of the acceptance of the principle by the Congress as early as 1920 as embodied in its Constitution, the City of Bombay was recognised as a separate distinct unit and was put in the category of a separate Provincial Congress Committee. It is further significant to note that a representative of Maharashtra, who attended a meeting of the Provincial Congress

Committees convened in February 1948 at the residence of the Congress President has agreed with the implementation of the scheme of linguistic provinces as laid down by the Congress in 1920. It is thus clear that the claim of Bombay to be constituted into a separate unit, in event of the reorganisation of the composite State of Bombay, has been accepted by all important Committees and even the representatives of different P.C.Cs. This conclusion has been strengthened by the increased all-India importance of Bombay since 1948 and its multi-lingual character being more decisively emphasized by the Census of 1951, which revealed that 56 per cent of its residents are non-Marathi-speaking. If therefore the same question is referred to the Commission, it is only because of the clamorous insistence of Maharashtra to include Bombay in the proposed State of Maharashtra. The Commission, which will be re-examining the question as a part of the larger question of Reorganisation of States, we submit, will have to ask the protagonists of Samyukta Maharashtra to provide fresh grounds, if any, as would on an objective and dispassionate examination by them, make out a case for revising the conclusions already arrived at.

We, having stated our position in regard to the problem of States reorganisation in general and the future of the present composite State of Bombay in particular, now proceed to examine in Part II of our Memorandum, the various grounds on which the claim to include Bombay in the proposed State of Samyukta Maharashtra is advanced. In doing so, we have also presented a positive case for constituting the City of Bombay and its suburbs into a separate unit of the Indian Union. The main heads under which the case is examined and presented are as under :

Section I : Bombay : Its Growth and Development.

Section II : Bombay : Its All-India Economic and Strategic Importance.

Section III : Bombay : Its National and Cultural Aspects.

Section IV : Bombay : Its Multi-lingual Character.

Section V : Bombay : Not a Part of Maharashtrian Territory.

Section VI : Bombay : As a Separate State.

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## PART II

# Case for Bombay City and Suburbs

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### SECTION I

#### BOMBAY : ITS GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT

An appeal to history would not be relevant to the main question at issue, viz. reorganisation of States, which will have to be decided on sound and rational lines involving consideration of several factors. In view, however, of certain untenable grounds advanced by the leaders of Samyukta Maharashtra in establishing their claim over the City of Bombay, a reference to history becomes inevitable. It has been maintained by them that Maharashtrians, who were the original inhabitants of Bombay, allowed the settlement of speakers of other languages within their territory and now they are running the danger of losing parts of territories in course of time.<sup>1</sup> The obvious implication is that the cosmopolitan population of Bombay, consisting of Parsis, Gujaratis, Tamilians, Telugus, Christians, Sindhis, Kannadigas, etc. were allowed by Maharashtrians at some historical stage to settle down in Bombay.

#### Early Immigrants upto 13th Century :

The history of the growth of the population of Bombay is a history of the settlement of and immigration into the Island of Bombay by different communities, including Maharashtrians, and the said settlement or immigration was deliberately promoted by the East India Company in the early stage of its rule. According to historians, Bombay, originally a cluster of seven palm-clad islands, for the most part barely above sea-level, "Heptanesia" of Ptolemy, derives its name from the patron deity of the original Koli settlers 'Mumbadevi'.<sup>2</sup> The Kolis who were pushed into this pocket, by the advancing Aryan tribes, continued to be the original inhabitants till Aungier founded the City of Bombay ; they, it appears, hailed from Kathiawad and Central Gujarat, which was their home in pre-historic times. "The distribution of the various sections of the tribe points to Gujarat rather than to the southern country as their original home, and in all likelihood they are descended from the pre-Aryan population of Gujarat, which

gradually spread itself over the western littoral and absorbed the hunting and fishing clans of the Stone Age. Certain, however, it is that they formed rude hut settlements in each of the seven islets of Bombay and brought with them from Gujarat "Mumbadevi", patron goddess of Bombay, who under the title of Mammai is still worshipped as a village Goddess in Kathiawad.<sup>3</sup> A section of Kolis, who became seafaring, came to be known throughout Gujarat and Konkan as Kharva or Kharvi. They mostly carried on coastal communication between Cambay, the ports of Kathiawad, Broach, Navsari, Daman, Shurparaka, Thana, Bombay Island and Cheul. The Agris came long after the Kolis and other non-Aryans and settled in the Thana district. The Maurya, Chalukya, Silahara and Yadhava dynasties, which ruled North Konkan, including Bombay, brought in their train people who settled in the Island. The Arabs in the 7th, 8th and 9th centuries were already reported to be in contact with these places, and some of them even settled there. The Gujaratis followed the Chalukyan conquerors in the 10th and 11th centuries and immigrants from Kathiawad and Gujarat sought refuge, escaping from Arab and Turkish persecution.<sup>4</sup> The Prabhus, original Kayastha, came to Salsette and Bombay with Bhimadeva. They formed the retinue of Bhimadeva, who came via Anihalwad, the capital of Gujarat from Patan.<sup>5</sup> He brought with him 9 families of Yajurvedi Brahmins of the White Branch and other families from Champaner, a town in Gujarat, and other places. This comprised 27 families of Somavanshis, 12 families of Suryavanshis, 9 of Sesavanshis, 5 of Panchals, 7 of Agris, 1 family of Dasa Lad, 1 of Visa Lad and 3 of Modh.<sup>6</sup>\*

### Muslim and the Portuguese Rule :

Prior to the establishment of the Muslim rule as is stated above, the Arab and Persian settlers had already spread along the coast-line, intermarrying with Hindu population and giving rise to a new community 'Nawatis', ancestors of the Konkan Mussalmans.<sup>7</sup> The Muslim rule made its appearance in the beginning of the 14th century, but it was not till the establishment of an independent Muslim kingdom in Gujarat that Bombay came under the firm grip of the Mohammedan rule. It was Sultan Ahmed (1411-31) of Ahmedabad, who instituted a proper survey of the land and did much to improve the existing revenue system.<sup>8</sup> The Island remained under the control of the Gujarat Sultans till the Portuguese wrested the same from them in the beginning of the 16th century. On the advent of the Portuguese, the Konkani Mussalmans came over to Bombay proper and settled there.

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\* For details of the views of historians as to from where Bhima Deva came, see appropriate reference.

They were known as good sea-faring people and followed the profession of Shipping Masters. The 7 islands of Bombay remained in the hands of the Portuguese for nearly 130 years. Till the period of Portuguese domination there was no significant immigration of outside population. As a result of large-scale conversion effected in Bassein, Thana and other places of Bombay, there was a great increase in the population of the Christians, who lived in large numbers in Salsette and Bassein.

### Rise of Bombay :

The English who had already settled at Surat due to repeated Mahratta invasions turned their eyes longingly to the south and it was in 1661 that by the marriage treaty between the King of Portugal and Charles II, Bombay came to be ceded to the English Crown as part of the dowry of Infanta Catherine of Braganza. As stated by Antonio Bocarro in 1634,<sup>9</sup> Bombay contained only 11 Portuguese families and some natives which must have consisted largely of the Koli settlements and other earlier immigrants. The position of the Island can be judged from the value placed by King Charles when he exchanged it with the East India Company for a small amount of £10 as yearly rent. It is from this point in the history of Bombay that 'Mumbai' "gradually emerged from barrenness and poverty and passing through a series of geographical, political and social transformations finally appears before us as the splendid and populous capital of Western India". The earliest recorded estimate of the population belongs to the year 1661,<sup>10</sup> when it numbered 10,000 souls, and it was only after 1668 when the Port and Island of Bombay were transferred by a Charter to the East India Company that there began a period of immigration and settlement into the island from different parts of India, which ultimately resulted in transforming Bombay into the magnificent city that she is today.

According to Dr. John Fryer, in 1675 the population of Bombay numbered 60,000, recording a rise of 50,000 over the Portuguese period.<sup>11</sup> This was largely due to the policy adopted by the East India Company, which was inspired by the major consideration of attracting to the Island merchants and others who would help the community to be independent of the neighbouring Portuguese territory. The keynote of their policy was to make Bombay the most flourishing port in India and that could only be achieved by the settlement of peoples who were likely to make the island their home.<sup>12</sup> The main architect of this policy was 'chivalric intrepid man' Gerald Aungier, who believed in giving complete religious toleration and providing security of life and property to the immigrants desirous of settling on the island.<sup>13</sup>

### Early Code of Laws in Portuguese and Kanarese :

Another event which attracted the population was the establishment of Courts and Justices. A code of laws was published in 1670, and it was noteworthy that the same was ordered to be translated into Portuguese and Kanarese only. This clearly indicates that the early population of Bombay did not include any appreciable number of Marathi-speaking people and that the bulk of them immigrated into the island along with other people.<sup>14</sup> Even the labourers required for the early development of Bombay were mainly recruited from Surat and from districts nearer the island. The establishment of a Mint in 1676 and the building of the fortifications round the town necessitated the presence of labourers and brick-layers, who were brought from Surat and nearer districts with their wives and families.<sup>15</sup>

It is a matter of history that during the rule of Aungier many of the energetic merchants journeyed to Bombay, consequent upon the assurances given by the President of the Company to the Mahajan of the Bania community from Surat. Mention must also be made of Nima Parakh, who voyaged from the city of Diu in 1677, for which documentary evidence still exists. Fortified by the written assurances that they would enjoy free exercise of their religion, should be secure from all molestation and should under no circumstances be compelled to embrace Christianity, Nima Parakh and his kinsmen sailed from their old home, forming the vanguard of the huge company of early immigrants who settled in this island in the course of the last two centuries.<sup>16</sup> As further testified by the *Bombay Gazetteer*, in the wake of the Bania community came the Armenians, Khoja Minaz, Khoja Karakuz and Khoja Delaunc. The community rapidly increased and formed a settlement, leaving the legacy of its name to the Armenian Lane.<sup>17</sup>

### Early Parsi Immigrants :

That the Parsis were amongst the early settlers in Bombay is unquestionable. By 1675, not only had they built a Tower of Silence, but Mody Hirji Vacha had founded an Agiary in the Fort about the year 1671. As recorded, one Cursetjee Pochajee, a resident of Broach, had already acted as a contractor in 1664 for the supply of common labourers and baskets for the construction of the town wall.<sup>18</sup> At this very time we find many of the Brahmin families seeking refuge in the Island from the proselytising activities of the Portuguese. After nearly 50 years of lull, a further wave of settlement is noticed. According to Niebuhr, the population of Bombay in 1744 was about 70,000.<sup>19</sup> During

the period the Sidis disappeared as a sea-power and the Portuguese lost the land rule, which they had built up more than a century before. It was during this period that Lowji Nasserwanji, the master ship-builder, was brought down from Surat to superintend the construction of new vessels.<sup>20</sup>

There were several petitions from intending immigrants, particularly some new Bhandaries, who were encouraged to settle in Bombay.<sup>21</sup> In 1735 the Company's Officers at Surat were asked to persuade 'sundry weavers who have deserted from Ahmedabad, Dholka and other parts, to come to Bombay and to promise them in the event of their agreement all fitting encouragement and employment'. It is significant to note that the weaver community was assisted with loans and the families of weavers, which immigrated to the island, were provided with 'small habitations, rent-free for 2 years'.<sup>22</sup> The records further indicate that one Laldas Vithaldas was allowed to build a commodious house on Bombay island, so that following the example of his family other merchants of substance may be encouraged to settle in Bombay. It is also a recorded fact of history that 10 goldsmiths were sent to Bombay from Surat in 1719 and 25 smiths in 1741.<sup>23</sup> Amongst the noteworthy inhabitants, who resided on the island, mention is made of Rustom Dorabji and Lowji Nasserwanji Wadia, the former who assisted with a body of Police to repel the Sidi invasion and the latter whose name has become a synonym with the history of the development of the Bombay Dockyard. Reference is also made during this period to other Parsis of note—Homji Behramji of Dady Sett family, Banaji Limji from Bhagwa Dandi, Jessaji Jivanji, Mancharji Jiwanji, ancestor of Sir Cowasji Jehangir, who came from Navsari in 1728 to engage in the China trade. To the Parsi enterprise, we owe the development of our trade with China. Hirji Jivanji Readymoney was the first Parsi to visit China in 1756 and was followed by his brother, Mancherji and later by Jamshedji Jeejeebhoy, who undertook four voyages before 1807.<sup>24</sup>

### No Large-scale Immigration from Maharashtra :

The early settlement of Bombay appears to have been mainly by immigrants from Gujarat and Kathiawad due to the natural facilities which were available to them. Absence of any large-scale immigration from Maharashtra into Bombay during this period has to be explained by the prevalence of disturbed conditions in the south. It is only during the latter part of the 18th century that the Company emerging successful from struggles with the Portuguese and the princes of piracy and the maintenance of peaceful relations with the Peshwas that immigration from Maharashtra starts on any substantial scale into Bombay.

Mention is made during this period of 'Shenvi Babu', the shroff, Madhavji Tankoji Sonar, the money-lender, Sahanoba Vithoji, Putlaji Parbhu, and Babul Shet Ganba Shet, the ancestor of Jagannath Shanker Sett, who were attracted to the island in these years by the liberal policy of the Company's Government.<sup>25</sup> The other community which is found to have been settled in Bombay was that of Bene Israel community, which consisted for the most part of artisans, masons and carpenters.

By the third quarter of the 18th century, the population of Bombay had increased to 1,30,000. The influx of settlers continued and the number of temples built during the period affords a striking testimony to the increase of inhabitants in the island. Between 1740 and 1780, Dady Sett had built an Agiary in the fort, Dossabhoj had founded a Fire Temple near Fanaswadi, and the Parsi Panchayat had erected Towers of Silence. The Hindu community had shown similar zeal in erecting temples of Gamdevi and Venkatesh in the fort. The new temple of Walkeshwar, the Shrine of Prabhadevi at Mahim and Shrines of Babulnath and finally the great temple of Mahalakshmi were all built during this period.

#### **Maharashtrians seek Permission to settle in Bombay :**

Reference may be made to individuals of distinction, who had already made Bombay their home during the period ; Aminchand Sakerchand Shah from Cambay, Megji Abhichand Shah from Radhanpore, and a host of Parsis from Surat, Navsari, Hansot and Umra. One important fact which deserves notice is that it was during this time that the principal traders from Poona, as was done by their earlier predecessors from Surat, asked for permission from the East India Company to immigrate to Bombay with their families. In conformity with the policy followed by the Company during the period, suitable encouragement was given to people of substance with an assurance that all such persons would enjoy the same privileges as other inhabitants and be permitted to purchase lands or houses. Though the Mahratta power is reported to have prevented rich merchants from leaving Poona, it appears that some of them managed to repair to Bombay.<sup>26</sup> It is further significant to note that the main domestic labour during the period was non-Maharashtrian. As recorded in the Memoirs of Forbes, 'European ladies were well served by young female Malabars, trained by themselves, and men by Negro or Malabar boys'. 'The upper servants were usually Mohammedans and Parsis. Times have changed since then ; the Parsi has yielded place to the Goanese and the Mohammedan to the Surti, who is of Dhed or Mahar extraction.'

### Development of Multi-lingual pattern :

During the period 1780-1814, the population of Bombay appears to have risen to 1,80,000. The hostilities with the Mahrattas came to a close by the treaty of Salbye in 1782 and the Company got permanent possession of Salset, Elephanta, Karanja and Hog islands. The treaty of Bassein signed in 1802 dealt a final blow to the Mahratta power and further strengthened the British position in the South. By this time, we already find the Dassa Oswal Jain community of Cutch having made its settlements in Bombay. The Memons and Khojas are also mentioned in the records. By 1813, the Company's monopoly of trade was abolished and this gave a great impetus to the trade and commerce of the Island. By the beginning of the 19th century, Bombay had already developed its multi-lingual pattern, which particularly impressed the foreign travellers :

“We can see nothing in China or Java or Philippine Islands or along the Malayan Peninsula or even in the interior parts of India, no single caste or dress or custom or form of superstition nor anything else belonging peculiarly to Eastern manners which we may not witness at Bombay in as genuine and apparently unsophisticated a condition as on the spot to which it properly belongs. In twenty minutes' walk through the bazar of Bombay, my ear has been struck by the sounds of every language that I have heard in any part of the world—uttered not in corners and by chance as it were, but in a tone and manner which implied that the speakers felt quite at home.”<sup>27</sup>

The estimate of population during the period 1814-1838 indicates a rise from 1,80,000 to 2,36,000. As observed by the same writer, “Each year brought fresh and more wealthy settlers and every sea breeze wafted into the crowded harbour of Bombay ships of every port from China to Peru”.<sup>28</sup> The annexation of the Deccan was the major political event, facilitating the free and uninterrupted trade between the port and the mainland. The opening of the Bhor Ghat in 1830 broke down the wall between Konkan and the Deccan and it is from this point that the intercourse of the inhabitants of the Deccan with Bombay, which was hitherto blocked, began to increase. Bombay began to develop as a thriving centre of international trade. As observed by Edwardes, “Added to Jews, Armenians, Arabs, Africans and Parsis, there were Marathis, Rajputs, Moguls, Baniyas and Hindus of many denominations, Portuguese, Persians, and British forming together perhaps the most motley assemblage in any quarter of this orb.” Referring to the Chinese population, he observed, “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 here to dispose of silks of THOW-WING, an artist.”<sup>29</sup> This remarkable increase in population of a cosmopolitan character was engendered for the most part by trade expansion, amelioration of communications and general internal progress following the defeat of the Mahratta power in the south.

### Opening of Railways :

The period 1838-1872 is characterised by the phenomenal growth of commerce, development of the cotton textile industry, opening of the G.I.P. Railway linking Bombay with Nagpur and Raichur, and the B.B. & C.I. Railway linking Bombay with Ahmedabad and Gujarat. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 was an important landmark in the development of trade route to India. In short, the changes following in the wake of the Industrial Revolution were slowly but steadily drawing Indian economy inexorably in the vortex of world economy. From a mere factory site in the 17th century, Bombay had already become a great metropolitan city and a beehive of industry. The population, which was 2,36,000 in 1838, had already risen to 6,44,405 in 1872. It is particularly significant to note that the Maharashtrian population which increased only after 1860, constituted in 1872 only 22.86 per cent of the total population.<sup>30</sup> The commencement of the cotton spinning and weaving industry dates from the beginning of the latter half of the 19th century. In 1861, there were 1,95,673 spindles and 2,700 looms at work. In 1875, the number of spindles was computed at 8,06,705 and of looms at 7,754. The foundation of each new mill or new factory, the opening of each new spinning or weaving department, augmented the numbers of the operative population, so much so that by 1882, 8.4 per cent of the total industrial community were returned as mill workers.

### Large-scale Maharashtrian Immigration only after 1860 :

It is significant to observe that the large-scale immigration of the Marathi-speaking population took place only in the wake of industrial development in the city ; about 13 per cent of the immigrants of the industrial classes were from Poona and Satara and about 16 per cent were represented by the Konkani-speaking population. The ranks of the labour population have been further augmented by the Tamils and Telugus drawn from Madras, the Uttar Bharatiyas from the U.P. and the Punjab, the Pathans from the N.-W.F.P. and the Baluchis from Baluchistan, etc.



The pattern of development of Bombay has remained the same in the succeeding years, emphasizing its cosmopolitan and multi-lingual character. To quote the author of the *Rise of Bombay*, "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 Hindus, the Banias of Gujarat differing as widely in appearance as in manners from the Mahrattas of the Deccan, as the Englishman differs from the Italian ; not only do the Mohammedans include, besides Indian Mussalmans, many Afghans, Persians, Arabs, Turks, Malayans, and Abyssinians ; not only are colonies of Jews and Armenians to be found among this motley population, but the city is the headquarters of the thriving and prolific race of Parsis and contains many thousands of Indo-Portuguese inhabitants ; to crown all there are European inhabitants".<sup>81</sup>

### Conclusions :

It has been made sufficiently clear that the history of the growth and development of Bombay is the history of the settlement and immigration into the Island of Bombay by different communities, including the Maharashtrians. The population of Bombay increased with the successive waves of immigrants and as revealed by the Census a large percentage of the population was mostly made up by the process of settlement and immigration outlined above. Only 20 per cent of the increase in the population represented those born in the Island itself, whereas 80 per cent represented people born outside and subsequently settled on the Island.

We may briefly sum up the conclusions as under :

- (i) that the Bombay City and Island were at no stage a part of the Mahratta territory ;
- (ii) that the original inhabitants of Bombay, viz. the Kolis, hailed from Kathiawad and Central Gujarat, which was their home in pre-historic times ;
- (iii) that the early development of Bombay was mainly promoted by the Parsis and inhabitants of Surat, who were specially invited here by the East India Company ;
- (iv) that the early labour in the 17th and 18th centuries was largely non-Maharashtrian in character ;

- (v) that the Maharashtrians had also to seek permission and ask for assurances from the East India Company for their settlement in Bombay ;
- (vii) that Marathi immigration started only after the decline of the Peshwas in the beginning of the 19th century ; and
- (vii) that further large-scale immigration of the Maharashtrian population was facilitated into Bombay after the opening of the Bhor Ghat and the starting of the textile industry in the latter half of the 19th century.

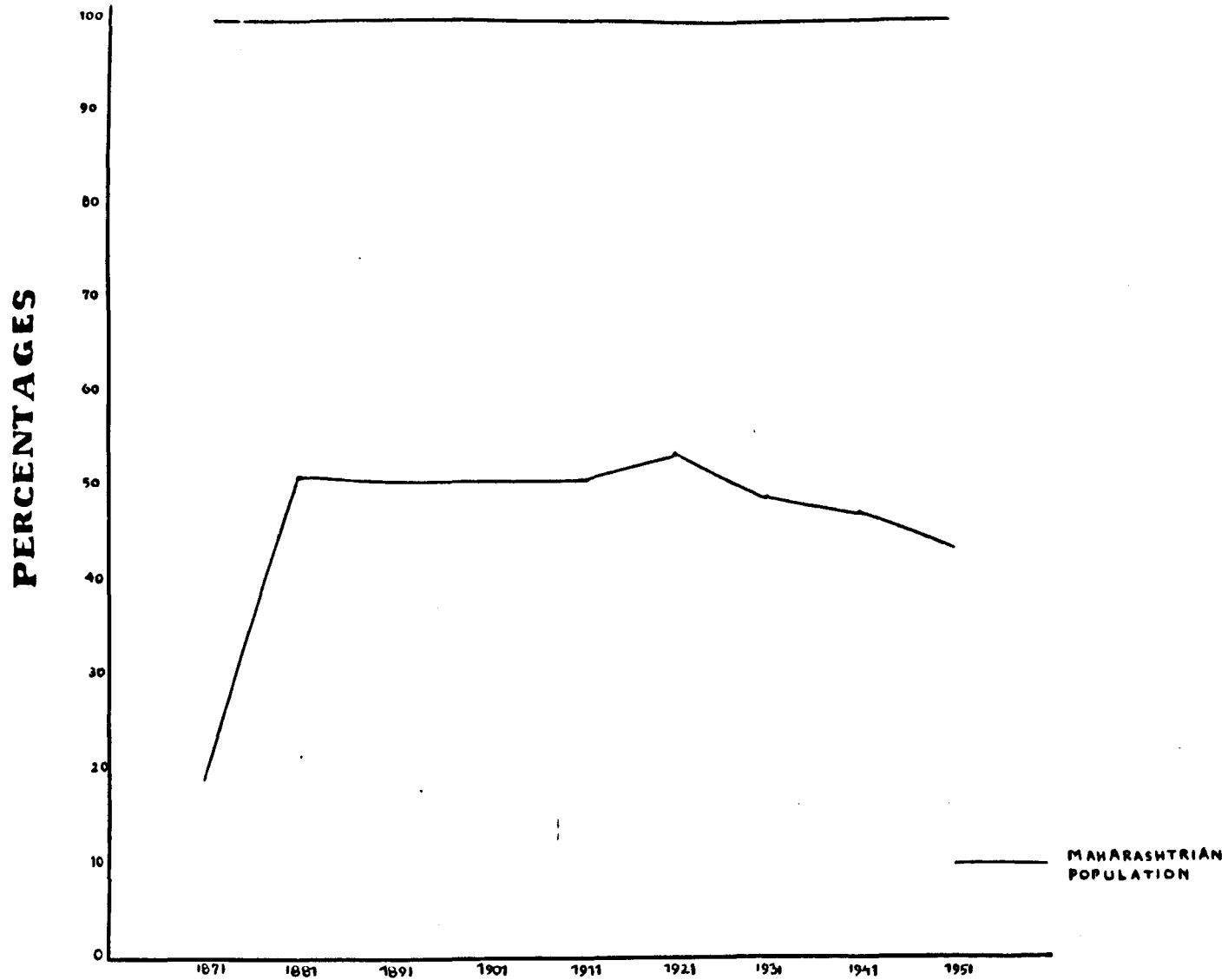
## APPENDIX TO SECTION I

## TOTAL POPULATION OF BOMBAY SINCE 1634

Year	Population of Bombay City	Population of Bombay Suburban Dist.	Total	Authority
1	2	3	4	5
1634	Only 11 Portuguese & some souls	..	..	Antonio Bocarro.
1661	10,000	..	10,000	Fryer.
1673	60,000	..	60,000	Cobbe.
1715	16,000	..	16,000	Neibuhr.
1744	70,000	..	70,000	Sir James Mackintosh.
1806	2,00,000	..	2,00,000	Major T. B. Jervis.
1826	1,62,000	..	1,62,000	Larange.
1830	2,29,000	..	2,29,000	Murray.
1836	5,56,119	..	5,56,119	Dr. Leith.
1863	8,16,562	..	8,16,562	Census of India, 1941—B'bay. Presidency.
1872	6,44,005	..	6,44,005	do.
*1881	7,73,196	..	7,73,196	do.
1891	8,21,764	94,187	9,15,951	do.
1901	7,76,006	93,223	8,69,229	do.
1911	9,79,445	1,01,330	10,80,775	do.
1921	11,75,914	1,52,840	13,28,754	do.
1931	11,61,383	1,74,013	13,35,396	do.
1941	14,89,883	2,51,147	17,41,030	do.
1951	23,29,020	5,10,250	28,39,270	Greater Bombay Dist. Census Hand-book, 1951.

\* Figures from 1881 to 1941 are according to the boundaries as existed in 1941.

# MAHARASHTRIAN POPULATION IN BOMBAY



## SECTION II

### BOMBAY : ITS ALL-INDIA ECONOMIC AND STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE

Bombay occupies a key position in the life of the country as its most important Port and Naval base and as its nerve-centre of finance, industry, trade and communications. Its hinterland is confined to no linguistic area, but spreads over a very large part of the country. It is the largest single tax-payer to the Central Government both in respect of income-tax and customs ; in short, it has become the economic capital of the country and as such it is essential that its all-India character should be maintained and that it should be open to all regions on a footing of equality as it is today. As stated by the J.V.P. Report, if attached to any purely linguistic State 'that would undoubtedly mean its rapid deterioration from its present commanding position'.

#### Port of Bombay :

Bombay has been described as one of the most fortunate of the world's sea-ports in the matter of natural facilities for shipping. The only natural deep-water harbour on the west coast of India, it is one of the safest and the most spacious port in the world. It has thus come to occupy a central position in the economic life of the country. Being easily accessible by land, sea and air, Bombay has become the chief entrepot centre for our overseas trade. It also serves as the supplying and clearing centre of the trade requirements of Persian Gulf ports, Red Sea ports and small ports on our own coast. The importance of Bombay can be understood from the fact that the Port is handling over 6 million tons of cargo every year for the overseas traffic and about 1,250,000 tons of cargo for the coastal traffic. About 100,000 passengers are embarking or disembarking annually here. The Port is equipped to handle 7 million tons of cargo, and it is understood that, in view of the future expansion and with a view to meeting the future requirements, the Bombay Port Trust has prepared development schemes and plans to modernise the equipment and increase the handling capacity of the Port by about 40 per cent.\*

#### Bombay's Share in External Trade :

With the partition of the country and the consequent loss of Karachi as a port, a considerable part of the trade of North India has been

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\* See Appendix I for a brief note on the Development of the Dockyards in Bombay.

diverted to Bombay. At present, Bombay handles about 40 per cent of our external trade. Calcutta is a close second with  $38\frac{1}{2}$  per cent, and Madras the next important major Port, handling only 15 per cent of our total external trade. Out of the total average annual external trade of about Rs. 1,350 crores, Bombay alone accounts for a trade worth Rs. 550 crores. It may be pointed out that Bombay's share in our total imports is as much as 55 per cent. Out of our total annual imports of over Rs. 700 crores, Bombay alone accounts for nearly Rs. 400 crores. In respect of exports, Bombay accounts for about 25 per cent, her share being Rs. 150 crores out of the total exports of over Rs. 600 crores. This is due to the fact that Jute manufactures and Tea, our principal exports, conveniently move out of Calcutta. But it must be mentioned that the exports of Cotton textiles which is an important item in our Export Drive are likely to grow and Bombay is the principal port of export for the same.

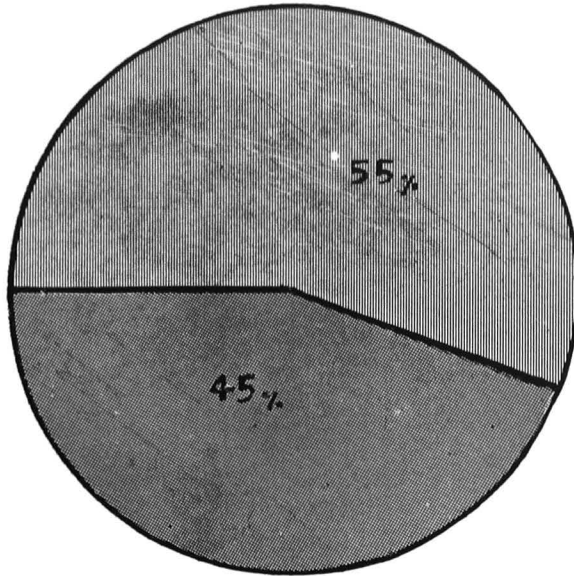
### **Bombay's Key Position in Industry :**

As has already been shown, Bombay's growth and development have been primarily facilitated by its natural harbour. But its present key position in the industrial and financial life of the Indian Union is due to several other factors. India today is one of the leading countries of the world in the Cotton Industry, and the chief development of cotton manufacture has been in Bombay State, especially in Bombay city. Out of 212 cotton spinning and weaving mills in the State of Bombay, Bombay city and suburbs account for 65 mills, that is over 30 per cent. Out of the total installed capacity in looms and spindles in the Bombay State, the share of Bombay comes to 48 and 46 per cent respectively. The number of workers employed in the Textile Mills exceed 2 lakhs. Thus, Bombay is the principal centre of the Cotton industry, and as such the satisfaction of one of the basic requirements of the common man in India depends upon this major industry of the city. Taking Textiles as including Silk, Wool and Hosiery, the total number of establishments in Bombay city comes to about 275.

Mention must also be made of the other industrial establishments in Bombay : there are 586 Engineering undertakings, 100 establishments manufacturing articles of food, drink and tobacco, 260 undertakings engaged in work relating to paper and printing, 169 works in processing wood, stone and glass, 217 establishments producing chemicals and dyes, and 167 factories of a miscellaneous character. All this clearly brings out the pre-eminent position that Bombay occupies in the industrial life of the Indian Union.

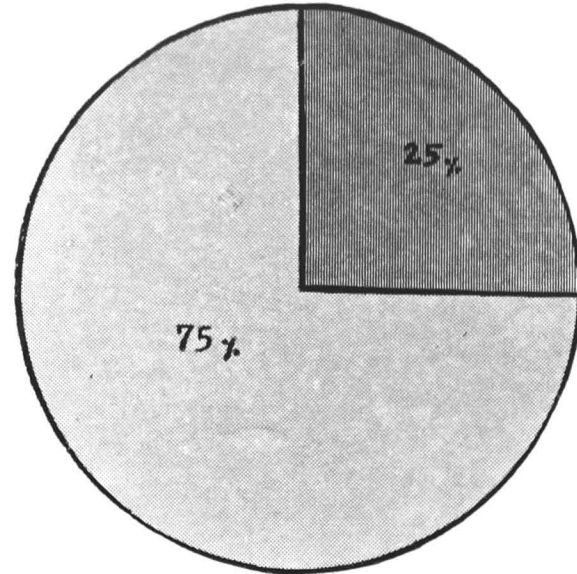
# EXTERNAL TRADE

(SEA-AIR)



IMPORTS

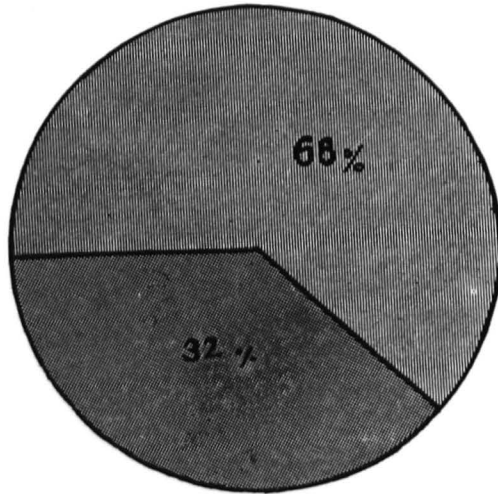
▨ BOMBAY  
▨ INDIAN UNION



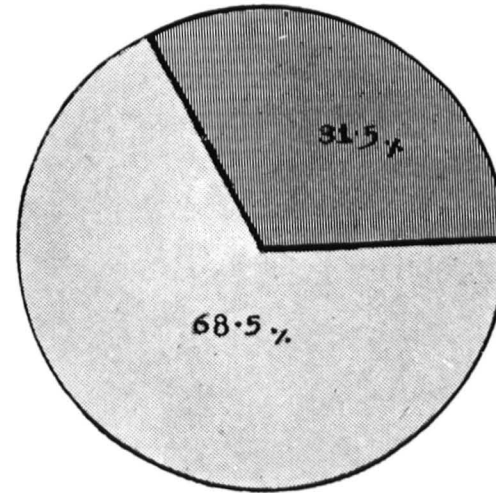
EXPORTS

▨ BOMBAY  
▨ INDIAN UNION.

# INCOME TAX



▨ BOMBAY CITY & SUBURBS  
▨ REST OF BOMBAY STATE



▨ BOMBAY CITY & SUBURBS  
▨ INDIAN UNION

## Bombay, The Financial Nerve-Centre :

In addition, Bombay with its network of banks, insurance companies, large financial houses of stock-brokers, underwriters, financiers, and with the headquarters of the Reserve Bank of India, can safely be described as the financial nerve-centre of the country. The Stock Exchange in Bombay occupies a premier position in the country and plays a very important part in maintaining the liquidity and stability of our capital market. It is a matter of common knowledge that the Government of India, the State Governments, important Public Bodies like the Bombay Port Trust, Improvement Trusts and Municipal Corporations, float their loans in the Bombay market. About 50 outstanding Banks have their offices in Bombay city and, in addition, some 15 foreign Exchange Banks have their establishments here. Besides, out of 342 Insurance Companies, both Indian and foreign, more than 100 have got their head-offices in Bombay city.

The capital market is an extremely sensitive mechanism. If rapid industrial development has to be promoted, the capital market has to be carefully nursed. It cannot be trifled with, except at the risk of facing serious consequences. It may be safely asserted that the vast bulk of the capital invested in the different industrial establishments has mainly come from the Parsis, Gujaratis, Bhatias, Marwaris and several other communities. The same is the case with our financial institutions, banking companies, insurance companies, and other trades and professions. All these sufficiently indicate as to how different sections of the population in Bombay have contributed towards its growth and development.

Again, the large volume of internal and external trade of Bombay has brought into existence highly developed Commodity and other Exchanges for some of the staple products of the country, such as cotton, oilseeds, etc. The ready and forward cotton market in Bombay is the largest in the country ; the daily volume of business in the Bombay market can safely be compared with the operations in Liverpool and New York. Bombay also possesses the largest Bullion market in the country. It has large floating stocks of gold and silver and acts as the clearing house for both the metals. The City has also first-class facilities for refining and assaying both gold and silver. The commercial importance of Bombay is further testified by the fact that there are 18 foreign Trade Legations in Bombay as against 5 in Calcutta and 2 in Madras.



### **Bombay's Contribution to Central Exchequer :**

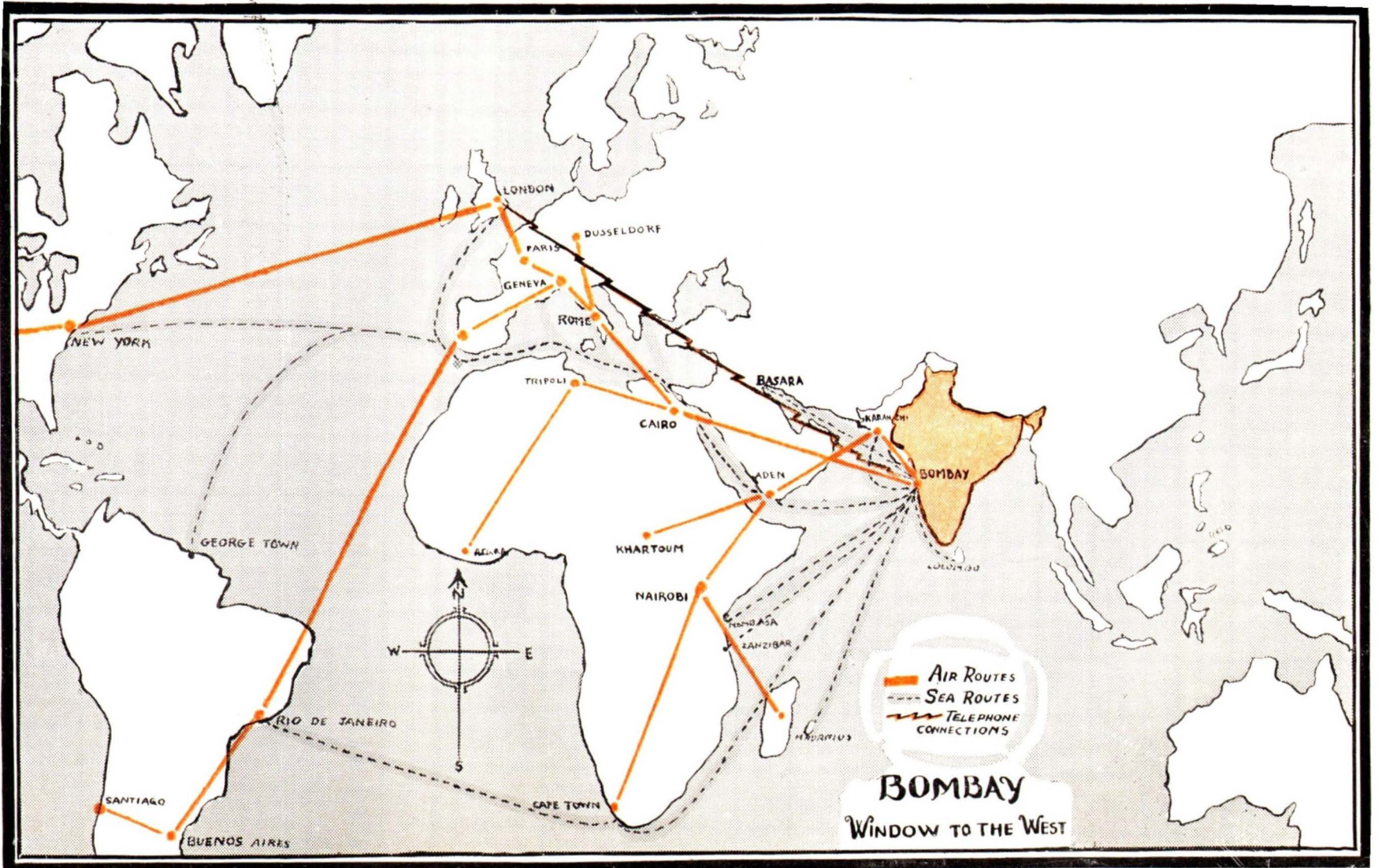
The main and principal sources of revenue of the Union Government are Customs and Taxes on income. Bombay being virtually the industrial capital of the Union and the premier Port, a great part of the total revenue obtained from Customs and Taxes on income is gathered from Bombay. While exact official figures are not available regarding Bombay's contribution to the total revenue obtained from Customs, it may be safely estimated at about 40 per cent. This will be supported by the fact that Bombay Port alone can now claim to handle about 40 per cent of the total trade of the Union. Besides, it is estimated that more than 31 per cent of the total revenue from Taxes on income is contributed by Bombay to the Central Exchequer.

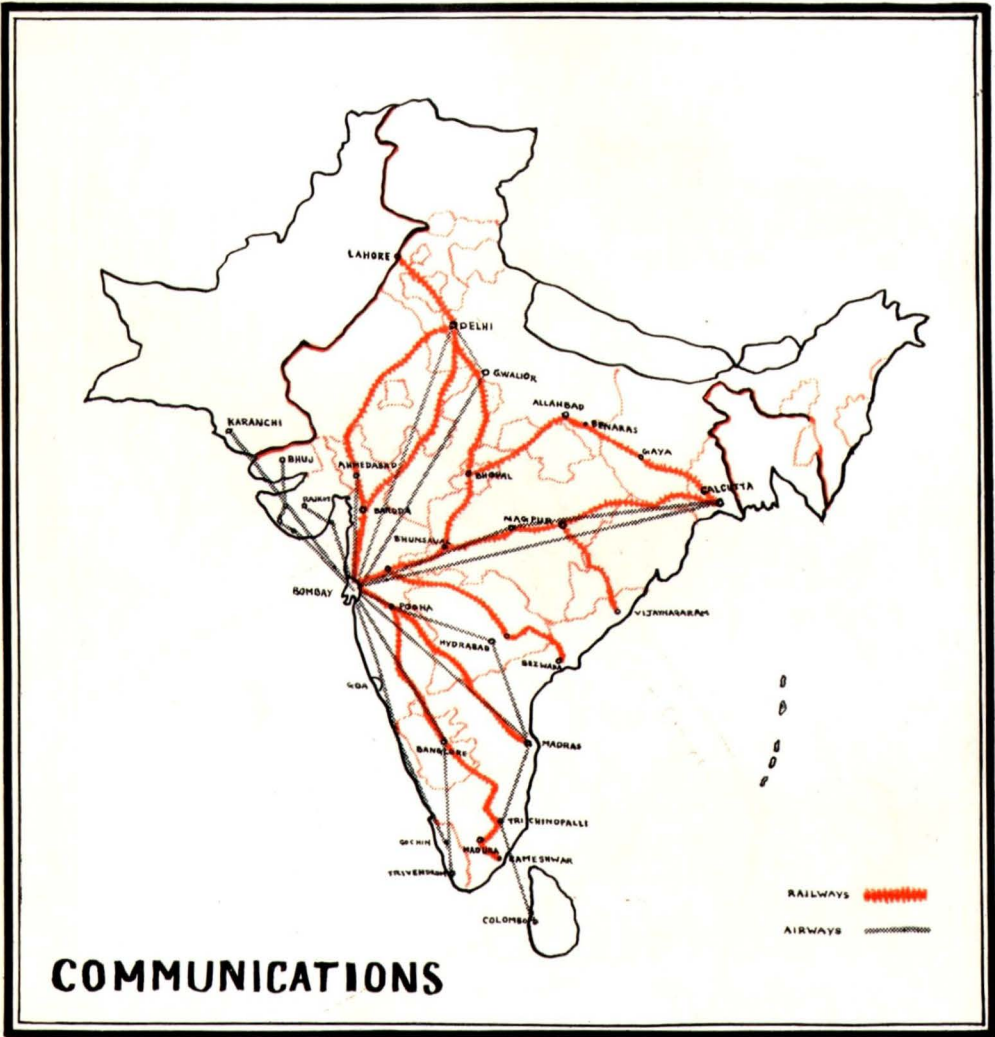
### **Bombay, Our Window to the West :**

For the development and smooth functioning of industry and commerce, an efficient system of transport and communications is indispensable. From the point of view of all communications—air, land and sea—Bombay holds a unique position of all-India importance. Bombay offers postal, telegraphic, telephonic and wireless facilities ; and is telegraphically connected with England via Aden and Gibraltar, with Africa via Seychelles, and with the Far East and Australia through Madras. There is a high-speed wireless circuit to London and via London to Europe. Similarly, there is another circuit to Japan. Being a highly industrialised centre and an important world centre of trade, there is direct radio telephone service to London, with a view to facilitating communications with all leading commercial centres of the world. Additional facility has been provided by what is known as 'conference call' and inter-Continental conferences have been successfully arranged with Bombay. Bombay thus occupies a key position from the point of view of telegraphic and telephonic communications with the outside world.

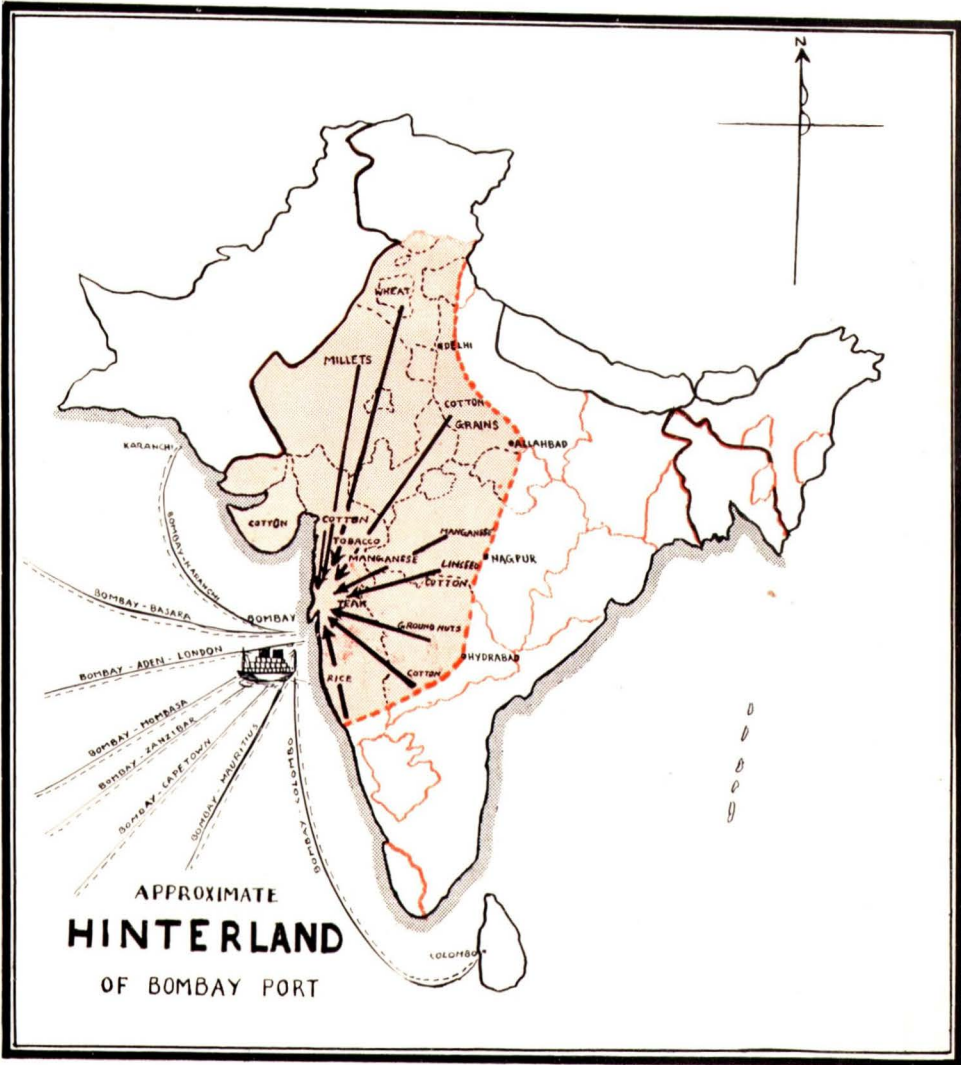
### **Bombay's Vast Hinterland :**

Air services also have rapidly developed in recent times. Several air-routes connect Bombay with various parts of India, and Bombay alone is responsible for nearly 40 per cent of the total passenger traffic availing of the Air-services. In addition, over half a dozen foreign Airlines touch Bombay and connect it with various parts of the world. The extraordinary network of internal transport by Railways has given a peculiarly central position to Bombay and thus has made Bombay the connecting link between sea and land communications. The head-









offices of the Central and the Western Railways are in Bombay, connecting it with its hinterland which expands over a vast territory. The Western Railway links up Gujarat, West Central India, Rajputana, Upper India and Punjab with Bombay and through the port with the markets of the world. Similarly, the Central Railway links up large parts of Maharashtra, Hyderabad, Madras State, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and West Bengal. Bombay is thus a big centre of rail transport, which links up the city with Calcutta, Delhi, Nagpur and Madras.

### **Transport Communications and Industrial Expansion :**

The efficient and quick system of transport and communications has played an important part in the rapid industrial development of Bombay. Along the 33 miles of quadruple track serving the industrial area between Bombay and Kalyan, there are eminently suitable sites and the Railways have shown the necessary willingness to construct special sidings for factories built on these sites. The new station at Kalwa has been opened between Thana and Mumbra to serve factories of the National Machinery Co. Ltd. and the Jivanlal Aluminium Co. Ltd. The National Rayon Company is located near Kalyan. Two refineries are being erected at Trombay and the Atomic Plant is also to be erected at the same place. Some important industries are already located at Ambarnath, and in fact industrial development is rapidly spreading out from the city towards the suburbs.

### **Linguistic Agitation, Its Retarding Effects :**

In this connection, it is pertinent to point out that both the Dar Commission and the J.V.P. Committee realised the possible dangers that might affect the City of Bombay in event it became a part of any unilingual State. The Dar Commission specially refers to some expert evidence laid before them, which showed how the commercial and financial interests of Bombay City, and of India in consequence, would be affected by a sudden change in the form of Government in Bombay. The J.V.P. Report says, "There have been proposals for Greater Bombay, but they have apparently been held up because of the arguments about the future of Bombay. . . ." They further observe, "We understand that, owing to arguments about linguistic provinces and the splitting up of Bombay province, there has been considerable apprehension in the minds of many people in Bombay and business has suffered in consequence." While the future of the City of Bombay still continues to be fiercely debated, the assurances given in the J.V.P. Report that the proposals for Greater Bombay should be given effect to in any event cannot be sufficiently assuring. Since the J.V.P. Committee reported, Greater Bombay is formed, but its limits have been confined

to a much smaller area than that originally envisaged in the Master Plan. According to the Master Plan, the Kalyan-Ambarnath area is specially selected for Heavy Industries, and several important plants have already been located there in recent years. Bombay's power supply, as is well known, is also near this area. In view of the above weighty considerations, all efforts should be made to remove the retarding factors which have held up the industrial growth and expansion of the city, and the same re-inforces the plea of the J.V.P. Committee that "in event of the present Bombay province splitting up into several provinces, it becomes all the more incumbent for this Greater Bombay taking shape as a separate unit".

### **Bombay, Its Strategic Importance :**

As Bombay happens to be such a nerve-centre of all communications—air, land and sea—it is of paramount importance to the Indian Union from the strategic point of view. Bombay has a harbour, the natural formation of and facilities offered by which make it eminently suited for the concentration of all strategic activities in times of emergency. In fact, Government have already a plan under consideration for establishing a Naval Base on the west coast of India and have tentatively selected Bombay as the most suitable venue for the project. Plans and schemes are already under consideration for undertaking the expansion of the Indian Naval Dockyard. It is undeniable that, in view of India's geographical position, her vast coastline and her considerable sea-borne trade, it is of the utmost importance that the Indian Navy should be so expanded as to meet the growing needs of Naval Defence. The decision to expand the Dockyard as a Naval Base further enhances the strategic importance of Bombay to the Indian Union. As we have seen, Bombay is the principal Airport and is also a big centre of rail transport. Considered from all these points of view, Bombay inevitably becomes the most important base for the defence of the Indian Union. Defence and communications are the two important functions of the Central Government. Thus, in the interest of India as a whole, the administration of Bombay cannot and should not be entrusted to any uni-lingual State.

## **APPENDIX I TO SECTION II**

### **DEVELOPMENT OF BOMBAY DOCK YARDS**

Bombay provides the best natural facilities for shipping, and as such it is rightly considered to be one of the most fortunate of the world's great sea-ports. Situated almost mid-way down the western coast and possessing the only natural deep water harbour on this side of India,

and one of the safest and the most spacious in the world, Bombay's central position and accessibility by sea and land have made her the main gateway and distributing entrepot for the overseas trade of western and central India.'

However, the full development of the Port took place only in the latter half of the 18th and the 19th century. Till the East India Company took over the control, as stated by Gerald Aungier, "the English trade was only in coconuts and cairo (coir). Now the country merchants derive a great trade with Surat, Broach, Cambay and Gogo and also Dabull, Kelsey, Rajapore and Goa to Mocha, Persia, Scindia, Basrah, in salt, coconuts, cairo, betelnuts, rice, elephant teeth (from Mozambique), broad cloth, lead, sword blades and some other Europe goods. Last year, we disposed in Bombay of 600 pieces of broad cloth, 3,000 maunds of lead, all the pettuannies and serges and all the sword blades".

The developments initiated by Aungier were energetically pursued by Boone (1715) and same was made in the sphere of accommodation for goods and shipping. The Port of Bombay as depicted during the period represented the warehouses of the Company and a small jetty projecting into the Harbour. As the value of the export trade rose from £493,000 in 1708 to an average of £758,000 in 1728, the directors felt that all efforts should be made to make Bombay the first Port of India.

Bombay due to the genius of the celebrated Wadia family became famous as a shipbuilding centre. Lowji Nasserwanji Wadia emigrated from Surat in 1735, and he brought with him several workmen, who could build ships which could compare with the vessels the shipbuilding yards of Europe could produce. His first ship was "Drake" launched in 1736, followed by the "Success". Mention must also be made of "Wellesley" later known as "Cornwal" in 1815 and "Foudroyant" built in 1817. The connection of the Wadia family with the Dockyard continued without interruption until 1884, a record of one and a half centuries of unsurpassed service.

Bombay's first dry dock, projected as early as 1686, was only taken in hand in 1748. With the success which attended the first construction in 1750, two more dry docks were laid down and completed. In short, five dry docks were constructed at intervals between 1748 and 1811.

The need for wet docks was emphasized in the early part of the century, but it was not till 1875 that Bombay's first wet dock, the Sassoon Dock at Colaba, was opened to traffic. Prior to the construction of the wet dock, bulk of the shipping used to load and discharge in the stream, though there were a few open wharfages or bunders alongside which light draught vessels could lie.

The abolition of the East India Company's monopoly of trade in 1813 threw open the commerce of India to merchants of other great seaports, such as Liverpool, Bristol, Glasgow, etc. and a remarkable expansion of trade set in. Between 1815 and 1823, efforts were made simultaneously in England and in India to open up a regular steam service. The first steamship to operate in Bombay waters was "Hugh Lindsay" built in Bombay. The opening of the Suez Canal to the traffic in 1869 revolutionised maritime trade of Bombay, and meanwhile the want of wharfage and proper dock accommodation was being acutely felt. The Elphinstone Land and Press Co. was one of the chief private companies which acquired the

monopoly of the land and shipping facilities of the Port, but the interests of the trade were becoming seriously endangered by the existence of such private monopolies. The Company's rights were purchased in 1869 and the Bombay Port Trust Act of 1873 provided for the creation of a corporation under the name and style of the Trustees of the Port of Bombay. Since then, the Port Trust actively occupied itself in the construction of works designed to meet the constant expansion in the trade of the Port and provided the most up-to-date facilities for the trade and shipping of the port. The need for a wet dock accommodation was felt as early as 1810, but it was not till 1875 that Bombay's first wet dock—the Sassoon Dock at Colaba—was opened to traffic. In the course of time three capacious wet docks have been constructed, the largest 1,000 ft. in length and 100 ft. in width. A Port Railway with 100 miles sidings has been laid down and organised. A huge area of harbour shallows has been reclaimed and laid out for storage and industrial purposes and a host of collateral works executed.

## APPENDIX II—TABLES

TABLE I

### TEXTILE INDUSTRY

#### MILLS:

Total number of Spinning & Weaving Mills in the pre-partitioned India	423
Total number of Spinning & Weaving Mills in Pakistan at the year of Partition	15
Total number of Spinning & Weaving Mills in Indian Union at the time of Partition	408
Total number of Spinning & Weaving Mills in Indian Union in 1952	453
Total number of Spinning & Weaving Mills in Bombay State in 1952	212
Total number of Spinning & Weaving Mills in Bombay City & Suburbs in 1952	65
Percentage of Bombay's Mills to the total of Indian Union	14.3% (approx.)
Percentage of Bombay's Mills to the total of Bombay State	30.6% (approx.)
Percentage of Bombay State's Mills to the total of Indian Union	46.8% (approx.)

#### LOOMS:

Total number of Looms installed in pre-partitioned India	202,814
Total number of Looms installed in Indian Union in 1952	203,786
Total number of Looms installed in Bombay State in 1952	135,251



Total number of Looms installed in Bombay City and Suburbs in 1952	65,379
Percentage of Looms installed in Bombay to the total of Indian Union	32.0%
Percentage of Looms installed in Bombay to the total of Bombay State	48.3%
Percentage of Looms installed in Bombay State to the total of Indian Union	55.6%

## SPINDLES:

Total number of Spindles installed in pre-partitioned India in 1946	103,05,169
Total number of Spindles installed in Indian Union in 1952	114,27,034
Total number of Spindles installed in Bombay State in 1952	63,62,451
Total number of Spindles installed in Bombay City and Suburbs in 1952	29,20,509
Percentage of Spindles in Bombay to the total of Indian Union	25.5%
Percentage of Spindles in Bombay to the total of Bombay State	45.8%
Percentage of Spindles in Bombay State to the total of Indian Union	66.3%

Source: Bombay Millowners' Association Report, 1952.

TABLE II  
TEXTILE INDUSTRY

—	Bombay City and Suburbs	Bombay State	% of 2 to 3	Indian Union	% of 2 to 5	% of 3 to 5
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Mills ..	65	212	30.6	453	14.3	46.8
Spindles ..	29,20,509	63,62,451	45.8	114,27,034	25.5	55.6
Looms ..	65,379	1,35,251	48.3	2,03,786	32.0	66.3

Source: Bombay Millowners' Association Report, 1952.

TABLE III  
EXTERNAL TRADE

*Summary of the External Trade (Sea—Air—Land)*

IMPORTS (Merchandise + Treasure):	Rs.
Total imports into Bombay in 1952-53 ... ..	316,71,49,522
Average imports into Bombay since 1950-51 to 1952-53	394,86,46,725
Total imports into Indian Union in 1952-53 ... ..	653,37,41,534
Average imports into Indian Union since 1950-51 to 1952-53 ... ..	721,82,71,841
Percentage of Bombay's imports to Indian Union's import in 1952-53 ... ..	51.5%
Percentage of Bombay's average imports of last 3 years to that of Indian Union ... ..	54.7%
EXPORTS (Indian Merchandise + Foreign Merchandise + Treasure):	
Total exports from Bombay in 1952-53 ... ..	150,02,61,874
Total exports from Indian Union in 1952-53 ... ..	558,57,73,945
Average exports from Bombay since 1950-51 to 1952-53	154,60,71,059
Average exports from Indian Union since 1950-51 to 1952-53 ... ..	627,87,08,204
Percentage of Bombay's Exports to that of Indian Union in 1952-53 ... ..	24.6%
Percentage of average exports from Bombay since 1950-51 to 1952-53 to that of Indian Union ... ..	24.6%

*Source:* Accounts relating to External Trade (Sea—Air—Land) and Navigation of Indian Union (1953).

TABLE IV

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF EXTERNAL TRADE

Average of external trade (Sea—Air) of <i>Bombay</i> since 1950-51 to 1952-53 ... ..	40.0%
Average of external trade (Sea—Air) of <i>West Bengal</i> since 1950-51 to 1952-53 ... ..	38.5%
Average of external trade (Sea—Air) of <i>Madras</i> since 1950-51 to 1952-53 ... ..	15.3%

*Source:* Accounts relating to External Trade (Sea—Air—Land) and Navigation of Indian Union, March 1953.

TABLE V  
PRINCIPAL ITEMS OF TRADE

<i>Imports</i>	<i>Exports</i>
1. Bricks, Cement, Sand, etc.	1. Coal.
2. China Clay.	2. Cotton.
3. Coal.	3. Flour.
4. Cotton.	4. Groundnuts.
5. Glassware.	5. Hemp.
6. Grain.	6. Hides and skins.
7. Hardware.	7. Kerosene Oil.
8. Iron & Steel.	8. Fuel Oil.
9. Kerosene Oil.	9. Manganese Ore.
10. Fuel Oil.	10. Myrobalans.
11. Motorcars and Lorries.	11. Oil cakes.
12. Machinery, Boilers and Rail- way Materials.	12. Piecegoods.
13. Oilman Stores.	13. Seeds.
14. Oils, vegetable, etc.	14. Spices.
15. Paper.	15. Sugar.
16. Piecegoods.	16. Twist and Yarn.
17. Petrol.	17. Wool packages.
18. Sugar.	18. Government Stores.
19. Timber.	19. Naval & Military Stores.
20. Twist and Yarn.	
21. Government Stores.	
22. Naval & Military Stores.	

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Source: Bombay Port Trust Administration Report, 1946-47.

TABLE VI  
INDUSTRIAL ESTABLISHMENTS IN BOMBAY CITY AND  
SUBURBS

Year 1949

No.	Name of Industry	Bombay City & Suburbs	Bombay State	% (approx.)
1.	Govt. & Local Fund Factories ...	50	165	30.3
2.	Textiles (including Silk, Wool & Hosiery).	273	884	30.9
3.	Engineering ...	586	985	59.5
4.	Minerals & Metals ...	80	107	74.8
5.	Food, Drink & Tobacco ...	100	251	39.8
6.	Chemicals & Dyes ...	217	536	40.4
7.	Paper & Printing ...	260	456	57.0
8.	Process relating to wood, stone and glass.	169	366	46.2
9.	Process—Skins and Hides ...	13	29	44.8
10.	Miscellaneous ...	154	236	65.2
	Total ...	1902	4015	47.3

Source: Annual Report of the Factories Act in the Province of Bombay, 1949.

TABLE VII  
INCOME-TAX (1949-50)

	(In lakhs of Rs.)
Total Returns obtained from taxes on income other than Corporation Tax by the <i>Central Government</i> in 1949-50	Rs. 11,104
Total Returns obtained from taxes on income other than Corporation Tax from <i>Bombay Province</i> in 1949-50 ...	Rs. 5,287
Total Returns obtained from taxes on income other than Corporation Tax from <i>Bombay City &amp; Suburbs</i> in 1949-50	Rs. 3,500
Percentage of <i>Bombay State's share to Indian Union</i> ...	47.6%
Percentage of <i>Bombay City &amp; Suburbs' share to Indian Union</i> ...	31.5%
Percentage of <i>Bombay City &amp; Suburbs' share to Bombay State</i> ...	68.0%

## SECTION III

### BOMBAY : ITS NATIONAL AND CULTURAL ASPECTS

It is significant to note that from the beginning of the days of Bhimadeva, of the House of Solankis, who is known as the first benefactor of the island, Bombay, as we have already shown, has developed its cosmopolitan and multi-lingual pattern of living. As observed by the author of the "Origin of Bombay"—

"First there were the four or five classes of settlers, who came with Bhima or soon after and then the repeated waves of immigrants from all parts of Western India and even from other parts of the world, bringing with them their own dialects along with their creeds and habits which have rendered Bombay an anthropological museum and a true centre of the diverse varieties and types of mankind, far surpassing the mixed nationalities of Cairo and Constantinople." <sup>32</sup>

#### Bombay—All-India in Miniature :

The proud privilege of being known as the "*Urbs Prima-in-Indis*", which Bombay enjoys, is not due merely to the size of its population, but to its unique feature, which R. Sheppard describes as a marked readiness on the part of its more respectable members to dwell together in unison as compared to any other city. Reference may also be made here to the eloquent tribute paid by Lord Curzon in his Farewell Address, "I have seen it (Bombay) in prosperity and I have seen it in suffering and I have always been greatly struck by the spirit and patriotism of its citizens. There seems to me to be here an excellent feeling between the very different races and creeds." <sup>33</sup>

Bombay is essentially a cosmopolitan city and its peoples without distinction of caste, colour, creed, nationality, speaking different languages have contributed towards the growth and development of Bombay and have evolved a pattern of living, based on mutual understanding and toleration. In fact, due to the multi-lingual character of the population of the City of Bombay, the existing population has developed a technique for the functioning of its civic and economic life and that technique has been not only effective but highly conducive to the general interest of all concerned. No fundamental hardship is experienced by any community by reason of the existence of many languages in the city and their normal life is carried on without any friction or conflict. The atmosphere of the city breathes freedom and it gets

enriched by the existence of different groups. Due to the various communities drawn from different parts of India, living together in a peaceful and harmonious manner, Mr. G. W. Stevens has aptly described Bombay as 'All-India in miniature'. There is something distinct and unique in the mode, manner and behaviour pattern of a Bombayite, which cannot be claimed as its own by any single linguistic group. It is a happy mingling, a fusion of numerous patterns of living, with all their richness and variety. Bombay has thus served as a confluence, a meeting ground, for commingling of peoples from all parts of India, nay from different parts of the world, and in the process of its evolution there has emerged a pattern of living, an outlook which is essentially cosmopolitan in character, free from bigotry, narrow prejudice or sectarianism arising from race, caste, colour or creed. In view of this, no single linguistic group, which has been an integral part of the City of Bombay, can establish any special claim over this city. Even the Maharashtra element of the population is inextricably inter-woven in the texture of the pattern of living that distinctly bears the stamp of Bombay.

The City of Bombay, as the capital of the Composite State as existing today, has represented the most progressive force in the political life of the country. It is a matter of common knowledge that Bombay has always remained in the vanguard during the period of our struggle for political freedom and has a record of service, both in men and in money, of which she can legitimately be proud. Bombay has always been free from the narrow sectarian and parochial point of view and has stood for a broad national outlook, so essential in formulating policies affecting the country as a whole. At a time when the forces of linguism are asserting themselves, emphasizing regional culture and regional outlook, it is all the more essential that a multi-lingual unit like Bombay must be constituted into a separate entity as a bastion of national unity and solidarity.

What Pericles said of Athens can justifiably be said about the citizens of Bombay—whether they be Parsis, Gujaratis, Maharashtrians, Tamils, Telugus, Malayalees, Uttar Bharatiyas, Bengalis, Christians, Kannadigas or Konkans—"falling in love with her as we see her, and remembering that all this greatness she owes to men with fighters' daring, wise men's understanding of his duty and good man's self-discipline in his performance."<sup>34</sup>

#### **Development and Private Benefactions :**

The latter part of the 19th century was not only remarkable for rapid development of trade, commerce and industry of the City of

Bombay, but was also significant for benefactions by private citizens, who almost vied with each other in establishing educational and other public institutions. Of course, the Municipal Government was doing its utmost to build up the city and had to face numerous difficult problems consequent upon the growing congestion of population in the city. The short time within which the swampy islands developed into "Bombay the beautiful" 'a precious stone set in the silver sea' can be seen from the fact that Paris from 'Charlamagne to Napoleon took nearly ten centuries to become a populous city, whereas Bombay from Humphry Cooke to Jonathan Duncan took about a hundred and fifty years to develop from a mere hamlet into a fair town'.<sup>35</sup>

While the Municipality and the Improvement Trust looked after reclamation, construction of roads and establishment of communications, there was another movement afoot, viz. construction of great buildings and adornment of the city, which as the historian remarks, was 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. The permanent monuments erected during this period have left an indelible mark on the city of the cosmopolitan nature of these activities. It was Mr. Premchand Raichand, who donated Rs. 4 lakhs for a University Library Building, and the tower to be named after his mother, now famously known as the Rajabai Tower. The Parsis who are known for their philanthropy and benevolence, have a very proud record of generous munificence, which has contributed a great deal to the building up of this city. The J. J. School of Arts was established; this was followed by the liberal donation of Cowasji Jehangir, who was also again to provide Bombay with not less than 40 drinking fountains to be placed in various parts of the island. Reference must also be made to other benevolent institutions, such as the Ophthalmic Hospital (1886), Hospital for Incurables at Byculla, donations to the Victoria Museum and the Sassoon Mechanics Institute.

A beginning was made during this period for giving Bombay a series of structures worthy of her wealth, her populousness and her geographical situation. The Government Secretariat, the University Library, the Convocation Hall, the High Court, the Telegraphs, the Post Office and other buildings such as the Elphinstone College, the Victoria Museum, the School of Arts, the Goculdas Hospital, the Sailors' Home and others in similar imposing architectural style were built in the city. To quote the historian "few cities in the world can show a finer series of structures".

Similar benefactions by private citizens are also noticed at the end of the 19th century. Sir Dinshaw Petit donated a large sum for the construction of the institution known as Hospital for Women &

Children as an extension of the J. J. Hospital. He also presented his property known as the Hydraulic Press. There was again the Patho-Bacteriological Laboratory attached to the Veterinary College at Parel. It is a matter of singular good fortune that these glorious traditions are continued even now and reference may be made in this connection to the already famous Jehangir Art Gallery, the Tata Memorial Hospital and the Taraporewala Aquarium, which constitute significant additions enriching the civic life of the great city. Besides, there are at present in the city about 185 cosmopolitan benevolent institutions, towards which all communities have contributed, such as Parsis, Gujaratis, Anglo-Indians, Maharashtrians and Muslims. These institutions include destitute homes, hospitals, charity trusts, scholarship funds, relief associations and children aid societies. The cosmopolitan citizens of Bombay may as well say "we are lovers of beauty without extravagance and lovers of wisdom without unmanliness; wealth to us is not mere material for vainglory, but an opportunity for achieving and poverty we think it no disgrace to acknowledge but a real degradation to make no effort to overcome."<sup>36</sup>

#### **Mayors and Sheriffs of Bombay :**

The Corporation of Bombay represents the most important civic body playing a very significant part in the life of the city, and if we scan the list of former Chairmen, Presidents and Mayors (the first citizens of the city) of this great body, we find the same cosmopolitan pattern during the course of the last 82 years. It was natural that Europeans should have dominated in the earlier period and that explains the fact that Europeans had presided over the affairs of this august body for 23 times, Parsis 21 times, Muslims 14, Gujaratis 11, Maharashtrians 11, and Christians & Jews 7 times. Likewise, if we take the institution of the Sheriff of Bombay and the appointments made in this connection for the last 100 years, we notice that overwhelming appointments have been of non-Maharashtrians, i.e. about 90 per cent. Besides Europeans who were appointed 43 times, Parsis enjoyed the distinction for 22 times, Muslims 17 times, Gujaratis 12 times, Maharashtrians 10 times and Christians & Jews 2 times only.

#### **Bombay : Meeting-ground of Regional & Foreign Cultures :**

It is a matter of common knowledge that the City of Bombay has been from its very beginning a happy meeting ground of both regional and foreign cultures. It can be legitimately claimed that no city has promoted as Bombay a closer understanding of the different regional culture-patterns, which ultimately stem from the same Indian culture. All schools of art, music, dance and painting have found a ready appre-



ciation from the citizens of this city—whether in dance it be Manipuri, Kathak, Kathakali or Bharatnatyam ; in music it be Hindustani or Karnataki ; in painting it be the Rajput, Moghul or the modern Bengalee School. Similarly, Bombay is known for organizing cultural festivals of an all-India nature bringing home the fundamental cultural unity of the country. It will thus be seen that Bombay not only provides ample latitude for the promotion and development of regional culture-patterns, but also provides a platform for common understanding on an all-India basis. Numerous centres of all-India activities—cultural and others—have their centres at Bombay and the city is known for extending its ready and liberal assistance to all such activities, irrespective of the distinctions of caste, colour, creed or religion. In addition, it must also be noted that the city provides a very convenient meeting-ground between the Indian and foreign cultural influences. The desire to understand the cultures of other countries has given rise to a number of associations, such as Indo-Japanese Association, Indo-China Friendship Association, Indo-German Cultural Society, India-America Association, Alliance Francaise, and Indo-Soviet Cultural House. It will thus be noted that Bombay is not only “all-India in miniature” but represents the focal point of all important cultural activities through which India maintains her contacts with the outside world. Thus, from the point of view of cultural affinities, Bombay is neither Maharashtrian, nor Gujarati, but provides to all communities the freedom to develop their own pattern of cultural life through their art and literature.

#### No Justification for Maharashtrian Claim :

The above is sufficient to indicate that there is no justification whatsoever for the claim advanced by the spokesmen of Samyukta Maharashtra that Bombay is its capital and centre of Maharashtrian culture. Till recently it was repeatedly asserted by the Maharashtrians that Poona was the capital of Maharashtra and as such the Government of Bombay should continue the practice of residing there during the monsoon season. It has been already pointed out that no such claim can be advanced by Maharashtra on the City of Bombay on any grounds, geographical or cultural. Again it is pertinent to point out that the claim for a University of Maharashtra was made on the precise ground that the University of Bombay did not satisfy the cultural needs and aspirations of the Marathi-speaking people. It was on this ground that Poona, which is the centre of Maharashtrian culture, was approved as the seat of the University. It is only in the wake of agitation for a linguistic State of Maharashtra that the protagonists of Samyukta Maharashtra have made a sudden *volte face* and advanced their new-fangled claim on Bombay City being their capital as also the centre of their culture.

### **Bombay University—Its Nature :**

The Bombay University stands out as an outstanding example of the expression of the cosmopolitan nature of the city. Gujaratis, Maharashtrians, Kanarese, Christians and other Indians and Europeans have worked together for nearly a century and they have contributed to the development of that broad outlook and to some extent an international approach. This is largely due to the fact that education has proved to be a great solvent in breaking barriers of prejudice and bringing the different communities together. The varied contacts which the University life in Bombay provides to the student help to develop in him a secular and catholic outlook on matters, social, political and religious, and thus it is this factor which has been responsible for Bombay being always in the vanguard of progress. It would be highly irrelevant to point out to a few Marathi-speaking organizations in Bombay and on that basis to advance the claim that Bombay is the centre of Maharashtrian culture. On that ground, the Gujarati-speaking population or, for the matter of that, the Tamils, Telugus, Malayees, Bengalis, and even Christians and Muslims, can point out to a number of literary, cultural and scientific associations established by them years ago. For example, more than a century back the Buddhi Vardhak Sabha, a Gujarati literary association, was founded in Bombay. Again, the Forbes Sabha, a society devoted to historical studies, was founded in Bombay and is perhaps the oldest society of its kind still functioning. It must be remembered that the most active intellectual life of Maharashtra is concentrated in Poona, which has provided great educational leaders and reformers not only to their own province, but even to other parts of the country. Likewise, the Marathi Sahitya Parishad has its headquarters in Poona and the Itihas Samshodan Mandir, which has played an important part in reviving the greatness of the Maratha history, is also located there. A reference to the papers published in Bombay City will again reveal the multi-lingual character of the city. Maharashtrian publications, including dailies, weeklies and fortnightlies represent 28.6% only, whereas the non-Maharashtrian publications—in English, Gujarati, Hindi, Sindhi, Urdu and Konkani—account for the remaining 71.4 per cent. In view of all this, the claim of Maharashtra that Bombay is their capital and their seat of culture is wholly untenable and preposterous.

### **Bombay : A Separate Unit in Congress Constitution :**

Bombay has all along been accepted as a separate unit, because of its cosmopolitan and multi-lingual character. In this context, it is relevant to point out that even the Indian National Congress—which

represents the national political aspirations of the people of India—have, while dividing up the existing provinces into linguistic areas, recognized as early as 1920, Bombay with its suburbs as a separate province in their constitution. The present composite State of Bombay has been divided into four separate units, viz. Gujarat Pradesh Congress Committee, Maharashtra Pradesh Congress Committee, Karnatak Pradesh Congress Committee and Bombay Pradesh Congress Committee. Similar position has been recognized by the present Government in respect of the determination of the regional languages. If, therefore, any attempt is to be made in reorganizing States on the consideration of language and culture, it logically follows that Bombay's claim for being treated as a separate unit cannot be ignored. The Maharashtrian claim to annex the City of Bombay to United Maharashtra mainly formed on linguistic basis would result in not only destroying the cosmopolitan character of Bombay but in palpable injustice to the majority of non-Maharashtrian multi-lingual population who represent more than 56 per cent. Such an act would relegate the majority population of the city to a status of inferiority and inequality and would amount to unjust coercion to force a large section of the population to be included in a State, to which they are aliens and with which they have no linguistic or cultural affinity.

### APPENDIX TO SECTION III

#### LIST OF CHAIRMEN, PRESIDENTS AND MAYORS OF THE BOMBAY MUNICIPAL CORPORATION

<i>Year</i>	<i>Chairmen</i>	<i>Classification</i>
1873	Captain George F. Henry.	European.
1874	{ Captain George F. Henry. Mr. J. A. Forbes.	European. European.
1875	{ Mr. J. A. Forbes. Mr. Dossabhai Framji	European. Parsee.
1876	Mr. Dossabhai Framji.	Parsee.
1877	Col. H. F. Hancock.	European.
1878	Col. H. F. Hancock.	European.
1879	Rao Saheb Vishwanath Narayan Mandalik.	Maharashtrian.
1880	Rao Saheb Vishwanath Narayan Mandalik.	Maharashtrian.
1881	Mr. Thomas Blaney.	European.
1882-83	Sir Frank H. Souter.	European.
1883-84	Mr. Raghunath Narayan Khote.	Maharashtrian.
1884-85	Mr. Pherozshah M. Mehta.	Parsee.
1885-86	Mr. Pherozshah M. Mehta.	Parsee.
1886-87	{ Depy. Surgeon-General H. Cook. Captain H. Morland.	European. European.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Presidents</i>	<i>Classification</i>
1887-88	Captain H. Morland.	European.
1888-89	Rahimtulla Mohamed Sayani.	Muslim.
1889-90	Mr. Grattan Geary.	European.
1890-91	Muncherji Cowasjee Murzban.	Parsee.
1891-92	Mr. George Cotton.	European.
1892-93	Javerilal Umiashanker Yagnik.	Gujarati.
1893-94	Thomas Blaney.	European.
1894-95	Abdulla Maherali Dharmasi.	Muslim.
1895-96	C. W. Roughton.	European.
1896-97	Mr. Cowasjee Hormusji.	Parsee.
1897-98	George Cotton.	European.
1898-99	Mr. Bhalchandra Krishna Bhatwadekar.	Maharashtrian.
1899-1900	Mr. Ebrahim Rahimtoola.	Muslim.
1900-01	Mr. C. T. Burke.	European.
	Mr. S. Rebsch.	European.
1901-02	Dinsha Edulji Wachha.	Parsee.
1902-03	Mulji Bhawanidas Barbhaya.	Gujarati.
1903-04	Fazalbhaji Vishram.	Muslim.
1904-05	Mr. James Macdonald.	European.
1905-06	Sir Pherozshah M. Mehta.	Parsee.
1906-07	Dr. Accacio G. Viegas.	Christian.
1907-08	Vithaldas Damodar Thakersey.	Gujarati.
1908-09	Mr. G. O. W. Dunn.	European.
1909-10	Mr. Jaffer Rahimtoola.	Muslim.
1910-11	Mr. Cowasjee Edulji Dadachanji.	Parsee.
1911-12	Sir Pherozshah Mehta.	Parsee.
1912-13	Mr. Manmohandas Ramji.	Gujarati.
1913-14	A. M. Tod.	European.
1914-15	Fazalbhoy Currimbhoy.	Muslim.
1915-16	Phiroz Cursetji Sethna.	Parsee.
1916-17	Chunilal V. Mehta.	Gujarati.
1917-18	J. A. D. McBain.	European.
1918-19	Rahimtoola Currimbhoy.	Muslim.
1919-20	Cowasji Jehangir.	Parsee.
1920-21	Vasantrao Anandrao Dabholkar.	Maharashtrian.
1921-22	Sassoon David.	European.
1922-23	Mirza Ali Mahomed Khan.	Muslim.
1923-24	Homi Mody.	Parsee.
1924-25	Vithalbhaji Patel.	Gujarati.
1925-26	Joseph Baptista.	Anglo-Indian.
1926-27	Rahimtoola Chinoy.	Muslim.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Presidents</i>	<i>Classification</i>
1927-28	Shavax Sorabji Batliwala.	Parsee.
1928-29	G. V. Deshmukh.	Maharashtrian.
1929-30	Meyer Nissim.	Jew.
1930-31	Hooseinbhoj Lalljee.	Muslim.
1931-32	J. B. Bowman Behram.	Parsee.
1932-33	Vithal N. Chandavarkar.	Maharashtrian.
1933-34	Moreshwar Chintaman Javle.	Maharashtrian.
1934-35	Hoosenbhoj Rahimtoola.	Muslim.
1935-36	Khurshed F. Nariman.	Parsee.
1936-37	Jamnadas Mehta.	Gujarati.
1937-38	Elijah Moses.	Christian.
1938-39	Sultan M. Chinoy.	Muslim.
1939-40	Behram Karanjia.	Parsee.
1940-41	Mathoordas Trikamjee.	Gujarati.
1941-42	J. A. Collaco.	Christian.
1942-43	Yusuf Meherally.	Muslim.
1943-44	Dr. Manchershah Gilder. Mr. M. R. Masani.	Parsee. Parsee.
1944-45	Nagindas T. Master.	Gujarati.
1945-46	Jos Alban D'Souza.	Christian.
1946-47	Mohamedbhoj Rowjee.	Muslim.
1947-48	A. P. Sabavala.	Parsee.
1948-49	M. U. Mascarenhas.	Christian.
1949-50	S. K. Patil.	Maharashtrian.
1950-51	S. K. Patil.	Maharashtrian.
1951-52	S. K. Patil.	Maharashtrian.
1952-53	Ganpatishanker Desai.	Gujarati.
1953-54	Dr. P. A. Dias.	Christian.
1954-55	Dahyabhai Patel.	Gujarati.

Source: Bombay Municipal Corporation Year-Book, 1952-53.

### SHERIFFS OF BOMBAY

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>
1855	H. E. Leeke.
1856	Maneckjee Cursetjee.
1856	Major H. J. Parkinson.
1857	Edwin Heycock.
1858	Bomonjee Hormusjee Wadia.
1859	Lieut. H. R. Parker.
1860	William Forsyth Hunter.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>
1861	W. London.
1862	Manockjee Cursetjee.
1863	George C. M. Birdwood, M.D.
1863	Major T. Candy.
1866	A. R. Scoble.
1867	Vinayek Wassodew.
1868	Andrew Hay.
1869	Dr. Bhau Dajee.
1870	W. F. Hunter.
1871	Dr. Bhau Dajee.
1872	Dosabhoy Framjee Karaka.
1873	Surg. T. G. Hewlett.
1874	James Taylor.
1874	George Taylor.
1875	Dr. Narayen Dajee.
1875	Nana Morojee.
1876	Dr. Thomas Blaney.
1877	Cursetjee Furdoonjee Paruk.
1878	Hamilton Maxwell.
1879	Dr. Atmaram Pandoorung.
1880	William Maitland.
1881	Sorabjee Shapoorjee Bengalee.
1882	Major-General W. S. Hewett.
1883	Raghunath Narayen Khote.
1884	D. Watson.
1885	Rahimtulla Mohammad Sayani.
1886	William Wordsworth.
1887	Sir Dinshaw Manockjee Petit, Kt.
1888	Dr. Thomas Blaney.
1889	Javerilal Umaishanker Yajnik.
1890	John Marshall.
1891	Pryce Weedon.
1892	Aga Akbar Shah.
1893	James Douglas.
1894	Cowasjee Hormusjee.
1895	G. W. Roughton.
1896	Ghelabhai Haridas.
1897	Sir George Cotton, Kt.
1897	A. K. Leslie.
1898	Adamjee Peerbhoy.
1899	G. A. Barnett.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>
1900	Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy.
1901	James Macdonald.
1902	Hurkisondas Narottumdas.
1903	Leslie Crawford.
1904	Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla.
1905	Sir Sassoon J. David.
1905	Khan Bahadur Muncherji Cawasji Murzban.
1906	T. W. Cuffe.
1907	E. F. Nicholson.
1907	Dwarkadas Dharamsey.
1908	Sir H. E. E. Procter.
1909	N. S. Glazebrook.
1910	Haji Suleman Abdul Wahed.
1911	Sir Shapurjee B. Broacha.
1912	Narotam Morarji Goculdas.
1913	H. R. Greaves.
1914	Hon'ble Mr. Fazulbhoy M. Chinoy.
1915	Hon'ble Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy.
1916	Vasandrao Anandrao Dabholkar.
1917	Sir Thomas Birkett.
1918	Mahomed Hajibhoy.
1919	Sir Cowasji Jehangir.
1920	Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas.
1921	S. J. Gillum.
1922	Mahomedbhai Currimbhoy Ebrahim.
1923	Sir Temulji B. Nariman.
1924	Sir Ishwardas Lakhmidas.
1925	Sir Henry P. W. Macnaghten.
1926	Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy.
1926	Salebhoy K. Barodawala.
1927	Sir Byramji Jeejeebhoy.
1928	Narayan Vishwanath Mandlik.
1929	Sir Reginald Spence.
1930	Bandeally Hajibhai Lalji.
1931	Perozeshah J. Marzban.
1932	Sir Kikabhai Premchand.
1933	Sir Hugh G. Cocke.
1934	Sir Suleman Cassum Mitha.
1935	Sir Shapoorjee Billimoria.
1936	Chunilal B. Mehta.
1937	Sir A. G. Gray.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Name</i>
1938	Mahomedbhoy Ibrahim Rowji.
1939	Dr. Phiroze C. Bharucha.
1940	Mathuradas Vissanji Khimji.
1941	T. Sinclair Kennedy, J.P.
1942	M. R. A. Baig.
1943	Sir Jamshedji Nusserwanji Duggan.
1944	Sir Shantidas Askuran Shah.
1945	J. B. Greaves.
1946	J. A. Jasdenwalla.
1947	Mrs. Mithan J. Lam.
1948	M. L. Dahanukar.
1949	Joachim Alva.
1950	Sir Fazal Ibrahim Rahimtoola.
1951	Pestonji Phirozshah Kapadia.
1952	Ramdeo Anandilal Podar.
1953	Dr. K. A. Hamied.
1954	M. N. Dalal.

*Source:* "Times of India Directory."

### CHAIRMEN, PRESIDENTS AND MAYORS OF BOMBAY MUNICIPAL CORPORATION

*From 1873 to 1954*

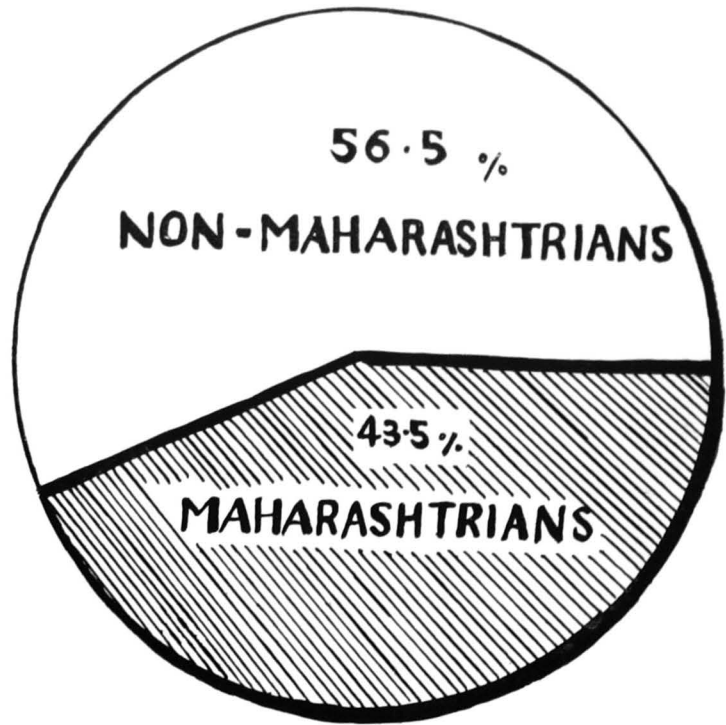
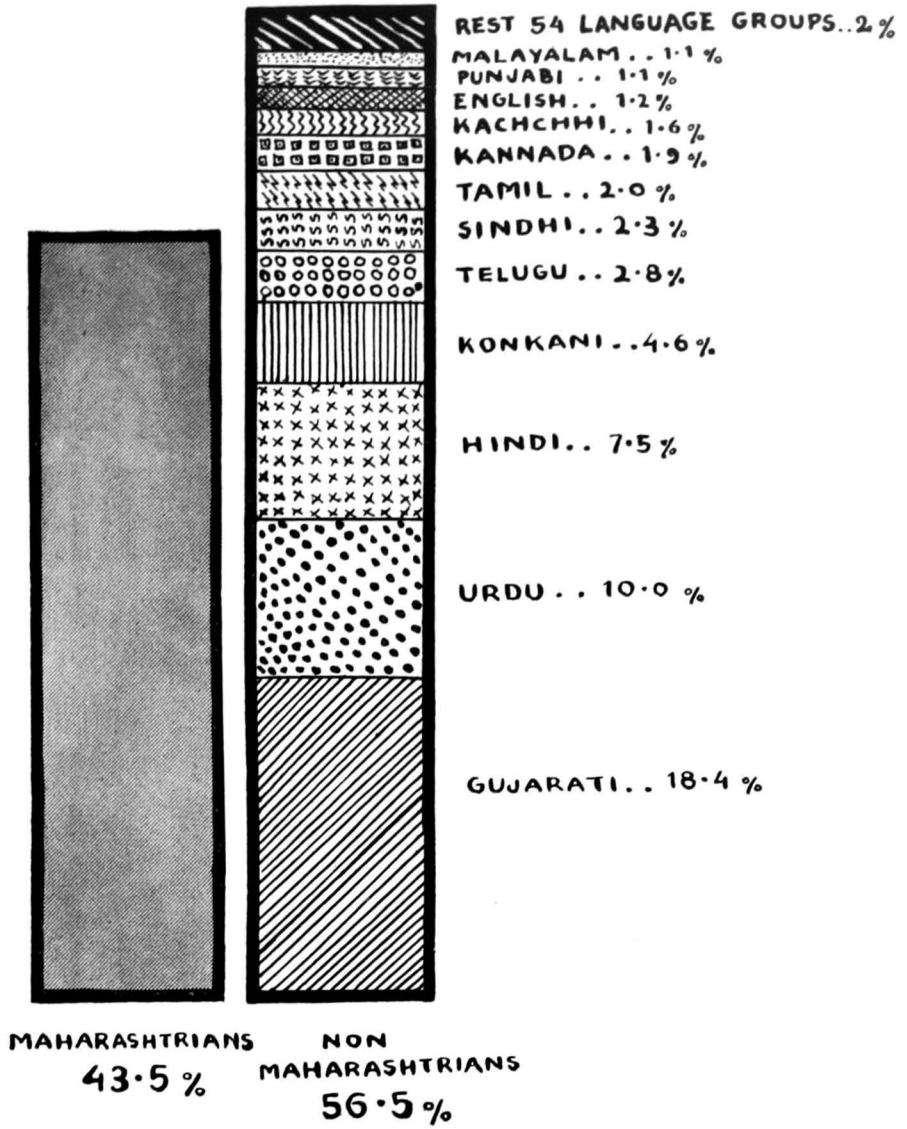
Europeans	...	...	25
Parsees	...	...	20
Gujaratis	...	...	11
Muslims	...	...	14
Maharashtrians	...	...	11
Rest	...	...	7
Total			88

### SHERIFFS OF BOMBAY

*From 1855 to 1954*

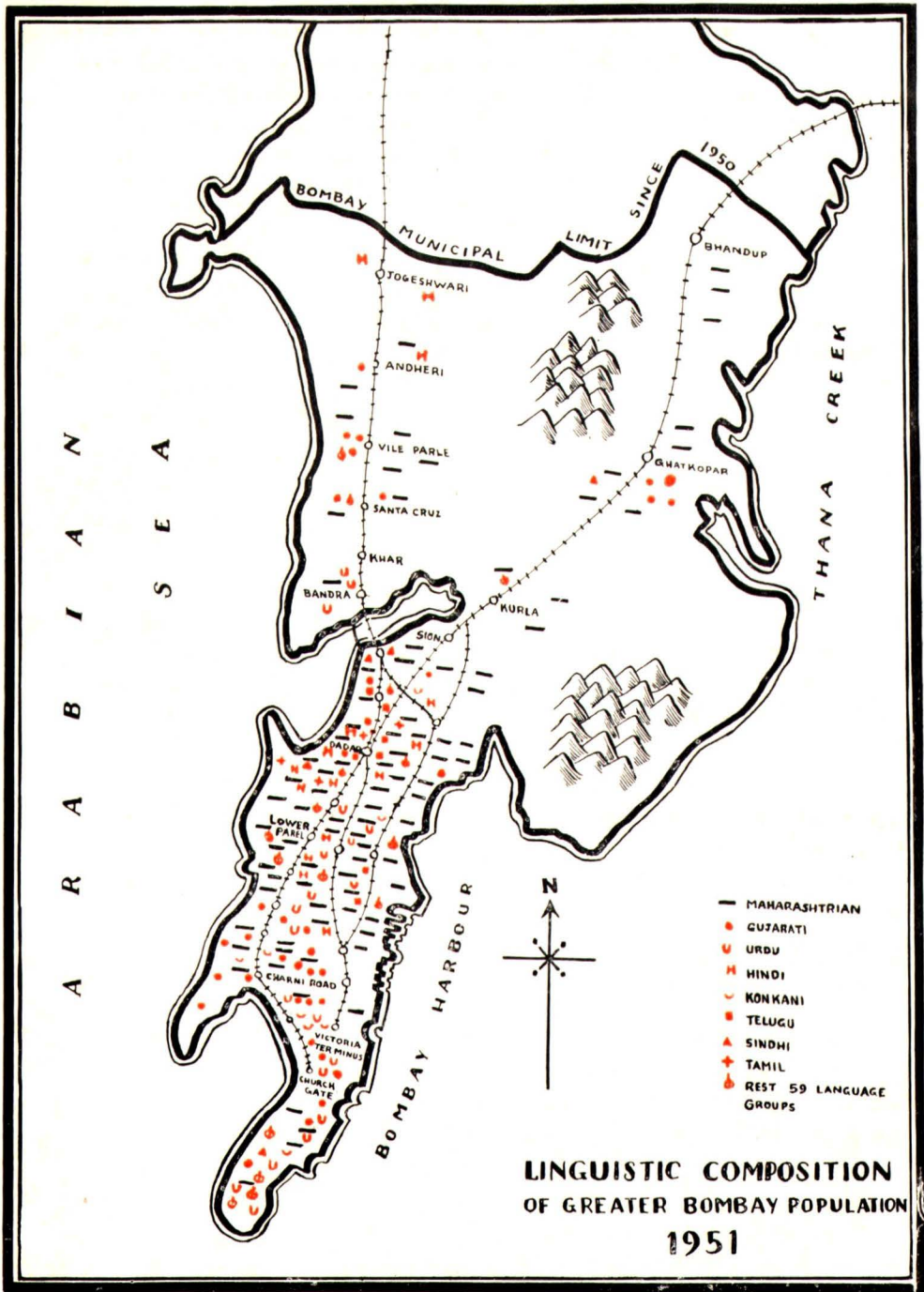
Europeans	...	...	43
Parsees	...	...	22
Gujaratis	...	...	12
Muslims	...	...	17
Maharashtrians	...	...	10
Rest	...	...	2
Total			106





**POPULATION OF BOMBAY  
1951**

MAHARASHTRIANS 43.5%  
NON MAHARASHTRIANS 56.5%



## SECTION IV

### BOMBAY : ITS MULTI-LINGUAL CHARACTER

In regard to the question of linguistic affinity, the claim of the protagonists of Samyukta Maharashtra that the City of Bombay is a part of Maharashtra cannot stand the test of facts. According to the Census Report of 1931, the population of the City of Bombay and Suburbs was 13,35,396. The same rose to 17,41,030 in 1941, and according to the latest Census Report of 1951 the population of the City has risen to the level of 28,39,270. Out of this, the Marathi-speaking population represents 43.5 per cent, whereas the non-Maharashtrian population, representing as many as 15 major language groups, together with other smaller linguistic groups, represents 56.5 per cent of the total population. It is also significant to note that during the last decade, particularly after 1946, there has been a steep rise in the population of Greater Bombay. As revealed by an analysis of the statistics provided by the Census Report, it becomes apparent that, whereas the Marathi-speaking population has recorded a gradual decline of about 6 per cent between 1931 and 1951, the non-Maharashtrian population, especially the Hindi, Telugu, Malayalee, Tamil, Konkani, Punjabi, Sindhi, Kannad and the rest have registered a rise of more than 14 per cent. While a natural increase in the population and the immigration of people into Bombay, which takes place in a normal manner, may account for a certain percentage, which must of course be very low, in the steep rise in the population of Greater Bombay, the major percentage can be accounted for by the refugees who were specially drawn towards Bombay during the War from places like Burma, Singapore, etc. Besides, a substantial part of the increase must also be accounted for by the large influx of refugees in Greater Bombay consequent upon the Partition of the country and the vast and unparalleled mass movement following the same.

If we assume for the sake of argument that the language spoken by the inhabitants of a definite area is to be a guiding principle in the reorganisation of a State and determination of the boundaries of the same, then at least a overwhelming majority of 80 per cent to 90 per cent of speakers of one language should be essential for establishing such a claim. But in the case of Bombay City and suburbs only a minority of 43.5% consist of speakers of Marathi language. As against this, there is a large overwhelming section of the population which represents 56.5 per cent as speaking non-Marathi languages. Thus on

the very basis which is canvassed for claiming Bombay for the proposed State of Maharashtra, Bombay cannot and should not be made a part thereof. The absurdity implicit in the claim of Maharashtra over Bombay, on the basis of linguistic affinity is very well brought out by a reference to the classic example of Macedonians, who were claimed by six Nations as their Nationals. As pointed out by Mr. Brailsford "The question as to which nationality the Macedonians belonged to was the despair of the ethnologists and the nightmare of European cabinets. Though the Macedonians did not speak the Greek language, they were claimed by the protagonists on the basis of a common Greek civilisation. Bulgarians argued that majority of them were Bulgarians both in speech and sympathy. Siberians challenging the Bulgarians, asserted that they had much in common with Macedonian dialect and folk-lore. The Albanians claimed on the basis of race, while the Rumanians discovered their affinity in language and civilisation with a certain section of the population." Similarly, will it not be possible for Gujaratis, Kanarese, Tamilians, Malayalecs, Telugus, Christians, Uttar Bharatiyas, Sindhis and others to extend their claims over Bombay City on one basis or the other?

In Bombay City and suburbs, as recorded by the 1951 Census, as many as 67 languages are spoken, and even if we do not take into consideration the large number of foreign languages,—which are recorded in the Census—at least 15 language groups, such as Gujarati, Urdu, Hindi, Konkani, Tamil, Telugu, Kannad, Malayalam, Sindhi, Kutchi, Punjabi, Rajasthani, Bengali, Tulu, English, etc. constitute important sections of the population, besides the population speaking Marathi. This clearly establishes the multi-lingual character of the City and as such my Committee feel that the linguistic basis cannot justifiably be applied to this multi-lingual City.

### Composition of Labour Population :

While tracing the growth and development of the population in Bombay at various successive stages, it has been pointed out that the labourers required for the early development of Bombay were mainly recruited from Surat and from districts nearer the island. Labourers and brick-layers were brought from nearer districts with their wives and families for building the fortification round the town and the Mint in 1676. Similarly, in the 18th century, the artisan class of labour were brought from Ahmedabad, Dholka and other parts and were given facilities in terms of small habitations rent-free for two years. It is also relevant to note that till the third quarter of the 18th century, the main domestic labour was also non-Maharashtrian. *Bombay Times of*

1848, as quoted by Edwardes, records that "our shop-keepers 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 shoe-makers are Chinamen ; our stone-cutters are all from the interior. Our armourers, our 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 the days of yore. . . ." <sup>37</sup>

The immigration of Maharashtrian labour was only possible after the opening of the Bhor Ghat in 1830 and the Konkan labour followed in the wake of the phenomenal growth of commerce and the cotton textile industry in the beginning of the latter half of the 19th century. It is, therefore, true to say that the early development of Bombay was mainly promoted with the help of non-Maharashtrian labour and it is only after the starting of the textile industry and the establishment of other enterprises that labour from Maharashtra and South Konkan began to play an important role.

### Composite Nature of Textile Labour :

Taking the textile industry, which is the major industry in the city, it is commonly accepted that the Deccan and the Konkan between them supply a substantial percentage of labour. However, it must not be forgotten that there were only 17,250 workers in the mills in the city at the beginning of the century and that the major portion of the increase was during the years of World War II. In 1934, the average number of workers employed in the textile industry, inclusive of all communities, was placed at 95,637 and the same reached, with war-time fluctuations, to 2.10 lakhs in 1949. While Konkan and Deccan continued to supply a large part of this labour force, workers also have been drawn from other parts near and distant like Gujarat, Uttar Pradesh, Andhra, Karnatak and Madras. As observed by Shri R. M. Birjay in his brochure on textile labour in Bombay City, "there are workers drawn from the districts of Ratnagiri and Satara in Maharashtra, from Surat and Broach in Gujarat, from districts of distant Uttar Pradesh, as well as from Hyderabad and parts of South India. There are Parsis, Hindus, Muslims, Christians and Anglo-Indians. Thus the textile labour force in the city is a mixture and conglomeration of various sections of the Indian population. It can be truly termed a composite labour force." <sup>38</sup> The results of the various enquiries, viz. the Working Class Family Budget Enquiry conducted by the Bombay Government in 1935, as also the personal records maintained by the mills at the

instance of the Millowners' Association, Bombay, in 1939, more or less tally with each other. According to the data available a large majority of the labour is represented by the Konkani-speaking people, i.e. 51.1 per cent and Maharashtra proper comes second with 27.7 per cent. One significant change to be noted is the large increase in the labour from Uttar Pradesh which occupies the third place with 13.5 per cent of total labour. The Konkani-speaking labour can be divided into Konkani Christians whose dialect is loaded with Portuguese words and Konkani Muslims whose dialect is loaded with Urdu. It is of course a matter of common knowledge that the labour from Konkan is not permanent, but shifting. A part of it comes to Bombay fitfully and a very large percentage does not even bring their families to Bombay.

### **Dock Labour in Bombay :**

No definite data is available as to the place of origin and composition of early labour in the Docks. It appears that Lowji Nasserwanji Wadia, who emigrated from Surat in 1735, brought specialised skilled labour with him from Surat for the purpose of ship-building. A survey of dock labourers published in 1941 mentions among the principal labourers, stevedore labourers, shore labourers and coal labourers, besides others working on water, shore and land. The composition and the place of origin of the dock labourers throw interesting light on the nature of the composite labour working in the Port area.

For example, among the stevedore labourers nearly 70 per cent are Muslims. Out of these, as much as 46 per cent hail from Uttar Pradesh. Likewise, Maharashtra proper supplies a very large percentage of the shore labourers, out of which 78 per cent belong to the Marathi caste. The coal labourers mainly belong to the Mahar community. Amongst the labourers on water, there is a large percentage of Muslims whose language is loaded with Konkani and a small percentage come from places like Chittagong and Laccadive and Maladive islands. The analysis of the labourers on shore reveals the distribution between Hindus, Muslims and Christians and besides the Konkani-speaking labour 11 per cent is represented by Uttar Bharatiyas and 17 per cent by labourers from Kathiawad and Delhi.

The above is sufficient to indicate the nature and composition of the dock labour of Bombay. While there is a fairly large percentage of Marathi labour in certain sections, Konkani-speaking labour also has a very high percentage mainly of the Muslims. The next in importance is the Uttar Bharatiya group, which makes a significant contribution to the stevedore labour and the labour on shore. Mention may also be made of the fact that the Uttar Bharatiyas from U.P. popularly known

as Bhayyas have 34 per cent of the total labourers on the Port Trust Railway.

While no exact figures are available of the other labour force in the city, the same has been roughly estimated at about 2 lakhs. In this sector of the labour population, Maharashtra and Konkan have a very small share ; for instance, the Port Trust has a large percentage of U.P., Punjab and N.-W.F.P. labour and the B.E.S.T. a very large percentage of U.P. labour. Amongst the domestic labour a large percentage consist of people drawn from Gujarat, Mangalore, C.P., Madras, U.P. and the Konkani Christians. Thus if we try to work out the proportion of Marathi-speaking labour including labour drawn from South Konkan in the aggregate labour of Bombay the percentage cannot be more than 55.

In the above estimate, we have not taken into account the classes of sweepers and scavengers, who mostly hail from Gujarat and Kathiawar, as also the large number of gumasthas or clerks, cooks and other classes of quasi-manual labourers who are drawn from different parts of the country. Two conclusions can be drawn from the brief survey ; that the early development of Bombay was largely due to non-Maharashtrian labour and that it will not be correct to state that Bombay has been built solely by Maratha labour. While Maharashtrian labour has a fairly large share in the textile sphere, in the overall picture of the total labour force in the city, the percentage will represent a bare majority. It must also be realised that in the total population of Bombay City and its suburbs which is 28,39,270, the labour population is about 4.5 lakhs, out of which Marathi-speaking population can be estimated only at a little over 2 lakhs, i.e. 8 per cent of the total population.

The above analysis of the composition of the population of Bombay City and suburbs in terms of languages clearly emphasizes the multi-lingual character of the City. A large percentage of the people of Bombay has no linguistic affinity with the people of Maharashtra and any merger of the two will be anything but homogeneous. It will be nothing short of a tyranny, as pointed out by Macartney, to coerce a substantial majority of 56.5 per cent of non-Maharashtrian population to become a part of a State, established, to give, as stated by their protagonists, expression to socio-cultural homogeneity based on linguistic affinity. Such an act would amount to inflicting both insult and indignity to a majority of the population who would be aliens in such a State and who have neither linguistic nor any specific cultural affinity with the speakers of Marathi. We therefore submit that Bombay City and suburbs cannot justifiably be incorporated in the proposed State of Maharashtra on the ground of linguistic affinity.

## APPENDIX TO SECTION IV

TABLE I  
AREA AND POPULATION OF GREATER BOMBAY

	Area (Sq. Miles)			Population		
	1931	1941	1951	1931	1941	1951
Greater Bombay	78.2	80.2	90.8	13,40,907	17,41,030	28,39,270

TABLE II  
POPULATION (1951)

*Present Composition:*

The following data is furnished about the population of Greater Bombay on the basis of language, by the District Census Hand-book of Bombay—1951.

No.	Language	Total Population	Percentage
1.	Marathi	12,36,874	43.5
2.	Gujarati	5,23,127	18.4
3.	Urdu	2,81,975	10.0
4.	Hindi	2,11,323	7.5
5.	Konkani	1,29,943	4.6
6.	Telugu	78,000	2.8
7.	Sindhi	66,714	2.3
8.	Tamil	59,295	2.0
9.	Kannada	52,011	1.9
10.	Kachchhi	42,852	1.6
11.	English	35,439	1.2
12.	Punjabi	31,539	1.1
13.	Malayalam	31,513	1.1
	Rest 54 language groups	58,665	2.0

## SUMMARY

Language Group	Total Population	Percentage
Maharashtrians	12,36,874	43.5
Non-Maharashtrians	16,02,396	56.5
	<u>28,39,270</u>	<u>100</u>



TABLE III

CHANGES REGARDING THE PERCENTAGE OF VARIOUS  
LINGUISTIC GROUPS BETWEEN 1931 AND 1951

<i>Decrease</i>			<i>Increase</i>		
Maharashtrian	...	-6.0	Hindi	...	+6.9
Urdu or Western Hindi	...	-6.0	Telugu	...	+1.4
Gujarati	...	-1.4	Konkani	...	+1.3
English	...	-0.7	Tamil	...	+1.2
			Punjabis	...	+0.8
			Kannada	...	+1.2
			Sindhis	...	+0.4
			Rest ...	...	+0.9
Total	...	<u>-14.1</u>	Total	...	<u>+14.1</u>

TABLE IV

## THE RISE IN TEXTILE LABOUR FORCE IN BOMBAY CITY

<i>Year</i>	<i>Average No. of workers employed</i>		
1900	...	...	17,250
1934	...	...	95,637
1935	...	...	1,35,577
1936	...	...	1,26,328
1937	...	...	1,47,756
1938	...	...	1,63,932
1939	...	...	1,41,080
1940	...	...	1,39,349
1941	...	...	1,83,220
1942	...	...	2,10,000
1943	...	...	2,16,821
1944	...	...	2,18,386
1945	...	...	2,18,886
1946	...	...	2,17,114
1947	...	...	2,16,710
1948	...	...	2,10,494
1949	...	...	2,09,670

Source: R. M. Birjay, "Textile Labour in Bombay City".

TABLE V

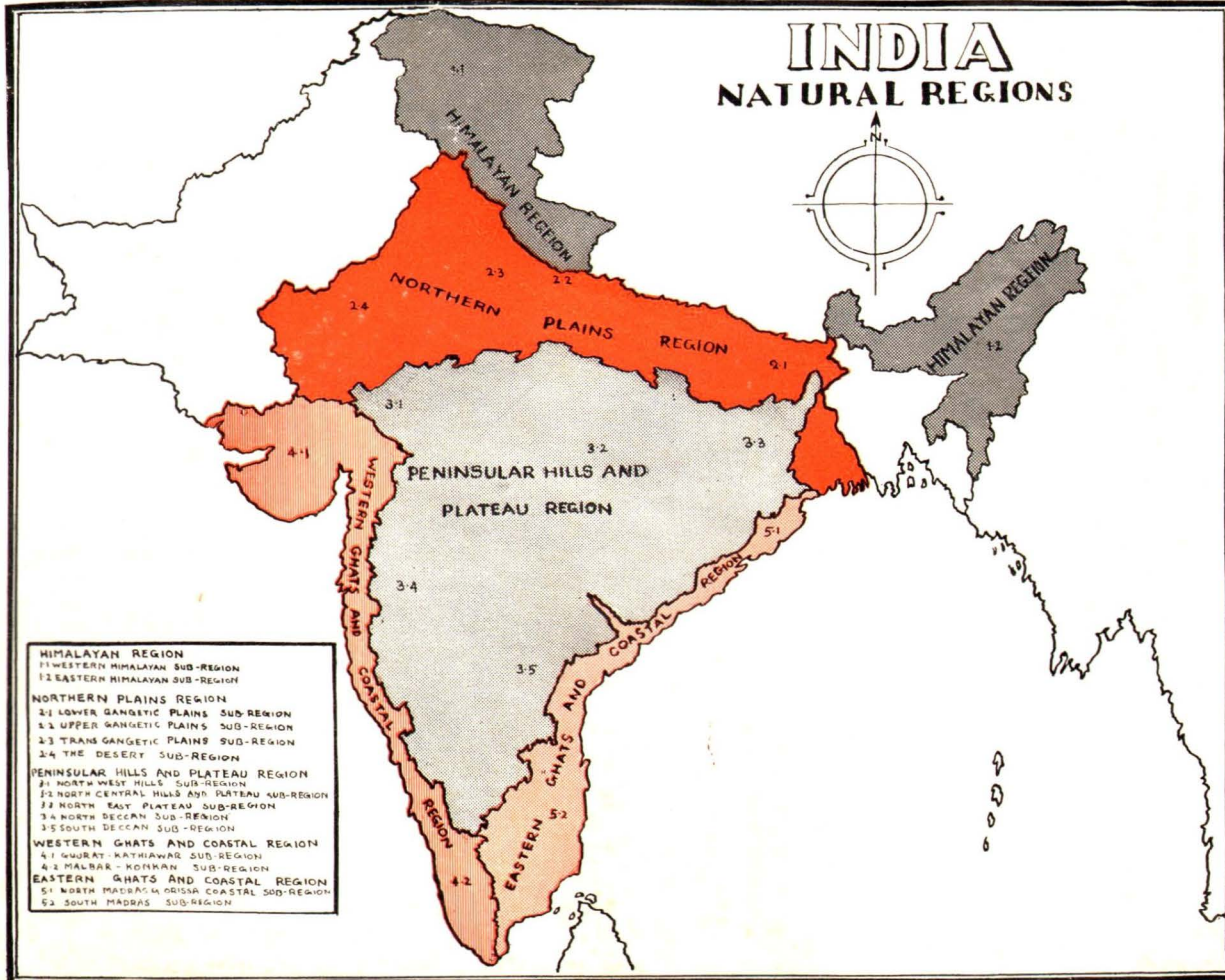
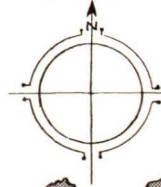
DOCK LABOURERS

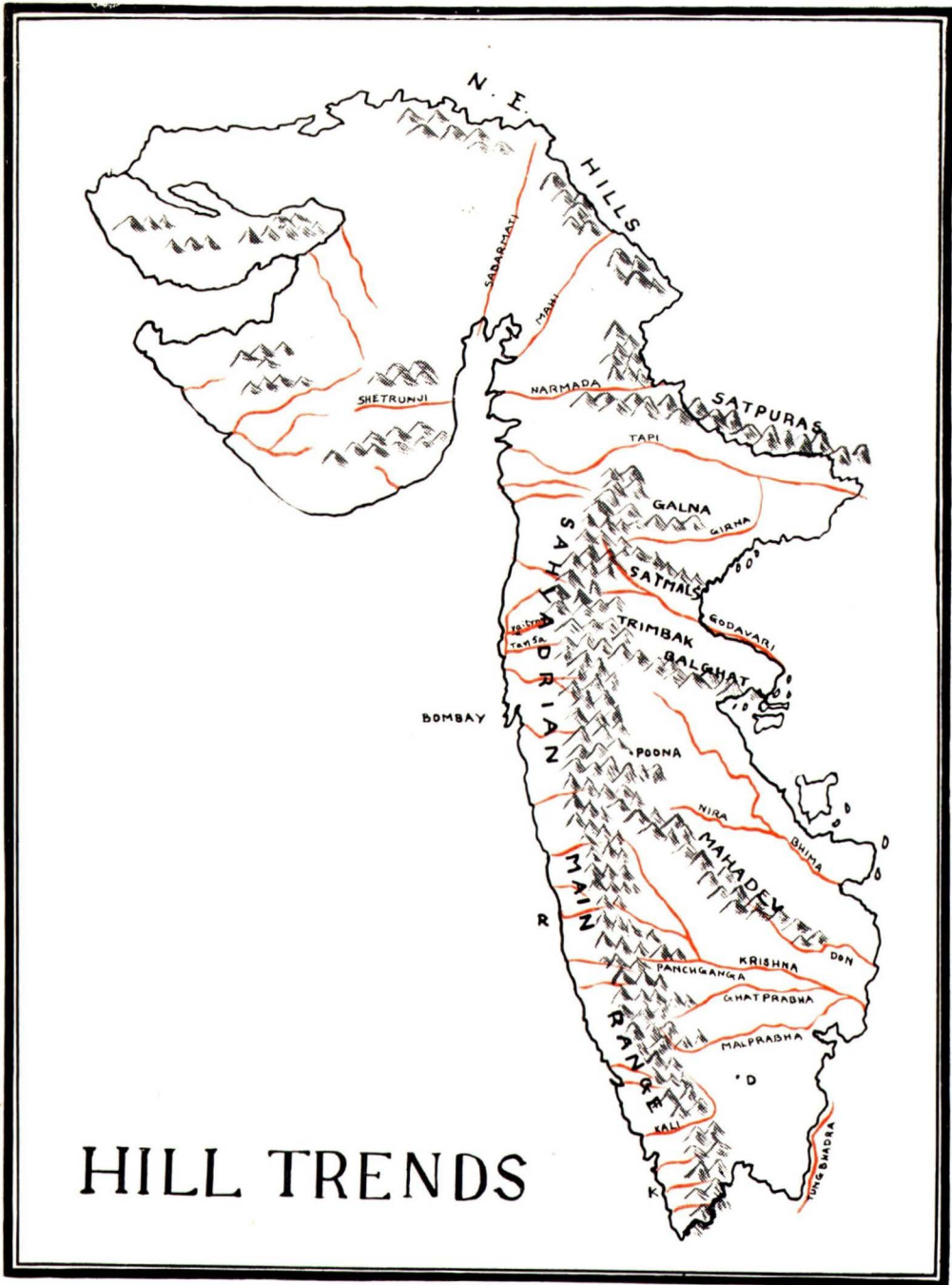
		Principal labourers		Other labourers			
		Stevedore labourers	Shore labourers	Coal labourers	Labourers working on water	Labourers working on shore	Labourers working on land
Type of labour	Total No.	Caste		Birth-place			
1. Stevedore labourers	110	70% Muslims 30% Hindus		46% Uttar Pradesh 28% Bombay Presidency 26% Rest			
2. Shore labourers	2,300	96% Hindus 4% Muslims  (Amongst Hindus 78% belong to Maratha caste)		92% Poona, Satara, Ahmednagar & Sholapur.  8% Rest parts.			
3. Coal labourers	2,000	98% Mahars 2% Muslims		76% Satara 21% Poona 3% Sholapur			
4. Labourers on water	700	84% Muslims 16% Hindus		68% Ratnagiri 23% Janjira 3% Chittagong 3% Laccadive & Maldiv Islands. 3% Rest parts.			
5. Other labourers on shore	575	59% Hindus 30% Muslims 11% Christians		52% Ratnagiri 10% Bombay city and suburbs 10% Satara & Goa 11% Uttar Pradesh 17% Kathiawar & Delhi.			
6. Labourers in Mechanical Workshop	800	63% Hindus 18% Muslims 14% Christians 5% Jews & Chinamen, etc.		29% Ratnagiri 21% Satara 15% Bombay city and suburbs. 8% Goa 8% Gujarat 8% Colaba 4% Poona 3% Diu & Daman.			
7. Labourers on Port Trust Railway	1,000	84% Hindus 11% Muslims 5% Christians		49% Nasik & Ratnagiri 5% Bombay city & suburbs 34% Bhayyas of U.P.			

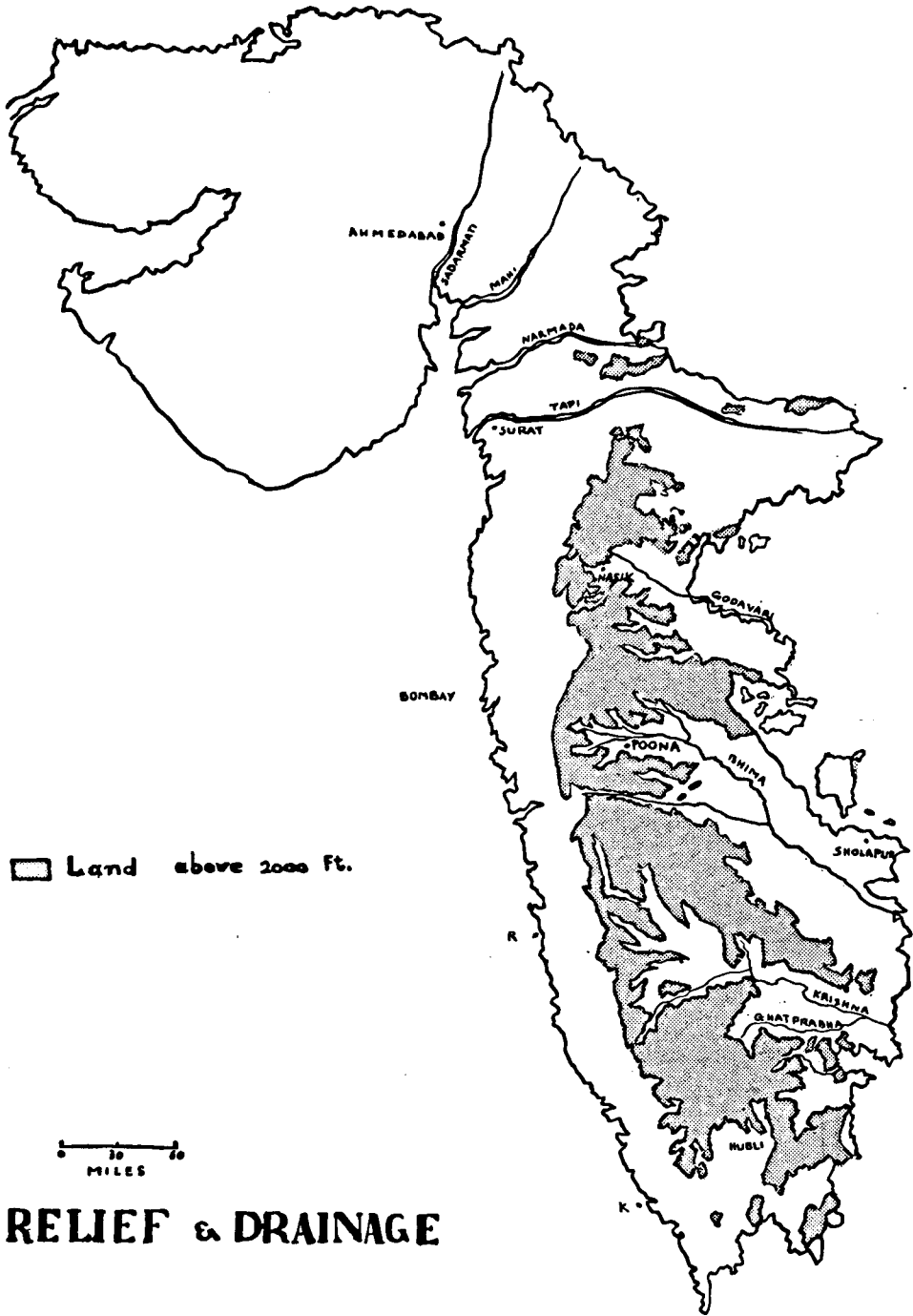
Source: R. P. Cholia, "Dock Labourers in Bombay".

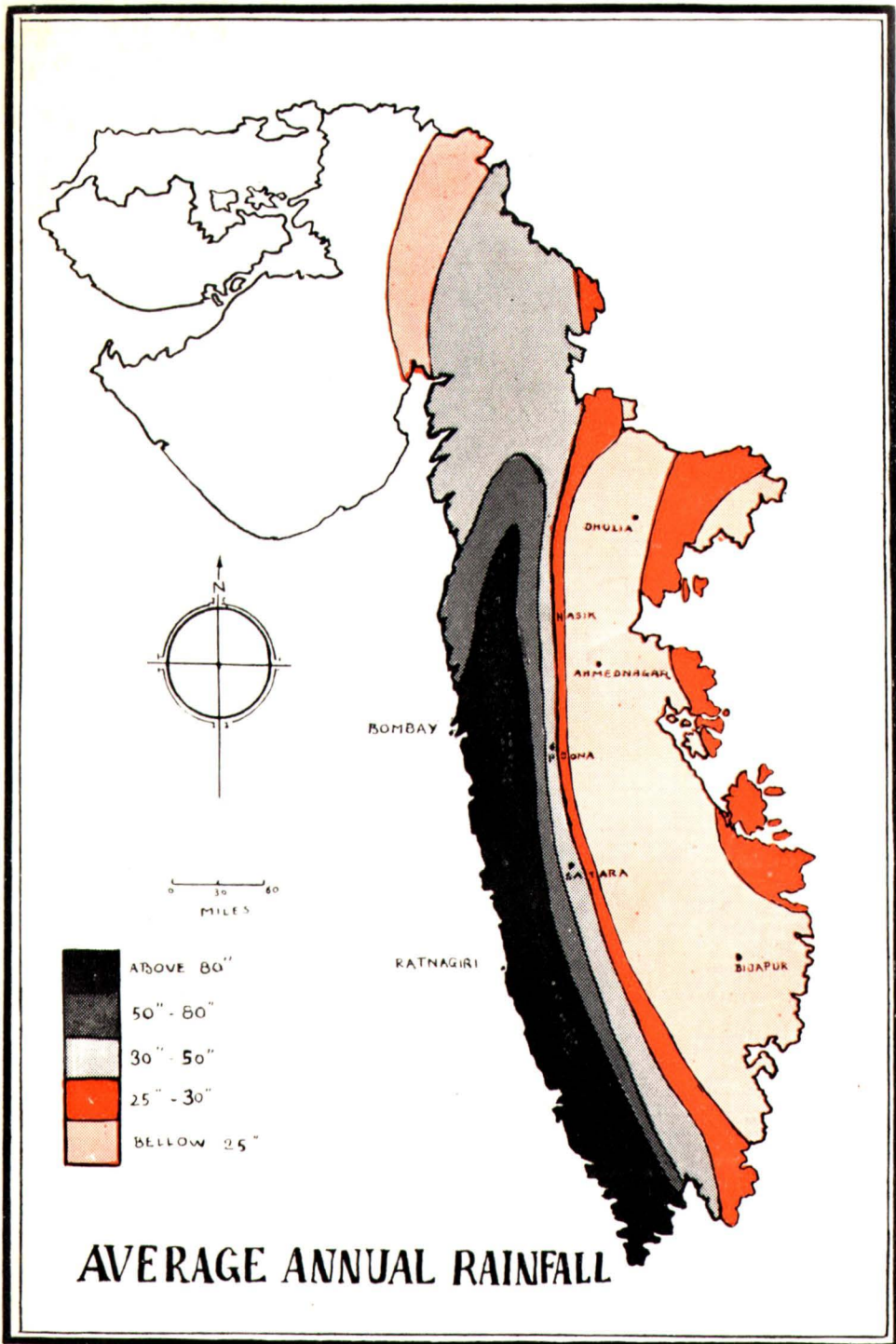
# INDIA

## NATURAL REGIONS









## SECTION V

### BOMBAY : NOT A PART OF MAHARASHTRA TERRITORY

It has been argued that the City of Bombay forms part of the Mahratta region and as such it is a part of the linguistic unit and potential State of Maharashtra. It is difficult to make out what is exactly implied by the claim when it is said that Bombay City is a part of the Mahratta region. If the claim is based on historical grounds as we have already pointed out, the City of Bombay was at no stage a part of the Mahratta territory. It has remained untouched by the vicissitudes in the fortunes of the Mahratta power in India and has developed along independent lines as an all-India port and a multi-lingual city. The claim for Bombay is also advanced on the ground that it is contiguous to Mahratta territory. This is a very fallacious argument. In a vast country like India each area or region is contiguous to some other, and it, therefore, cannot mean that one is the part of the other. It must be emphasized that contiguity is something very different from being an integral part of any area. Again, contiguity should not be confused with continuity in terms of linguistic, cultural and geographical features such as climate, soil, hill-range, etc. We examine below the various grounds with a view to establishing that Maharashtra cannot claim Bombay as a part of Mahratta territory on either physiographic, geographical, population or cultural basis.

#### Natural Regions and Physiographic Features:

One of the recognised principle of determining natural areas or regions is known as that of physiographic conditions, referring to soil, climatic zones, vegetation areas, crop patterns, hill trends, rainfall, etc. Taking the five broad natural or physical regions of India, it becomes evident that Gujarat-Kathiawar and Malabar-Konkan, constitutes a separate region by itself under "Western Ghats and Coastal region" as distinguished from the North Deccan and South Deccan, which constitute a part of the natural region known as "Peninsular hills and Plateau region". Now Bombay City, which is a part of the sub-region of Konkan falls within the region of Western Ghats and Coastal region. (See MAP: INDIA—Natural regions.) The physiographic features which distinguish Bombay together with Konkan from Maharashtra proper relate to fundamental differences in topography and relief, rainfall variation, distinct vegetational belts, diverse soils, land utilisation and crop patterns.

The main chain of the Sahyadris which forms the physical backbone of this region is the principal feature of relief in Western India.



(See MAP: Hill Trends.) Separated from the Satpuras by the Tapi Valley, it extends southwards in the Mysore State as a sharp dividing line between Maharashtra and Konkan. The crest-line varies in height between 2,000 to 3,000 ft. above sea-level. (See MAP: Relief & Drainage.) The coastal plain lying between the Damanganga River and the Bhatkal Creek has many common geographical features, which distinguish this region, from its neighbours. Its orientation to the Arabian Sea, the projecting hill features of the Sahyadrian Range, the restricted alluvial area, preponderance of laterite and the heavy population, partly depending on local resources and partly on migration, form the main features of this region.

The Sahyadris also govern the regional distribution of rainfall. All along the Konkan coast, the rainfall is above 100 inches. (See MAP: Rainfall.) Beyond the dividing range of the Sahyadris there is a very rapid decline, so much so, that some places record less than 20 inches of rainfall, the maximum being 50 inches. The annual and seasonal features of rainfall have also influenced the cultivation of the major crops in terms of variability. Failure of rain is practically unknown in Bombay and Konkan, whereas it is a frequent experience in Maharashtra Plateau. In point of temperature, equable conditions prevail along the Konkan Coast, whereas eastwards over the Plateau higher temperature and a greater seasonal range are recorded.

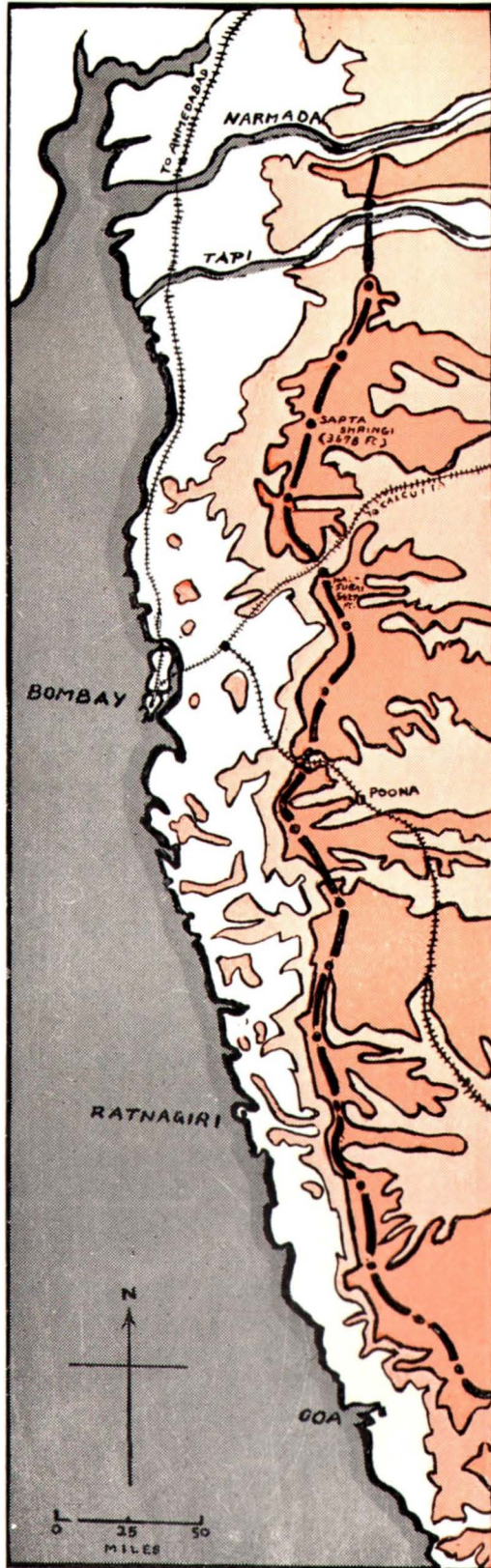
The above sharp distinctions also extend to the sphere of soil, vegetation and crop patterns. The whole Western Coast has developed coastal alluvial soil, whereas Nasik, Satara and Eastern Plateau is covered by medium black soil in trap, having stretches of deep black soil from trap in the south-east. (See MAP: Soil.) From Bombay to Kanara extend the tropical wet evergreen forests, lofty and dense, whereas Central and Eastern parts of Maharashtra plateau are almost Savannah type of grasslands interspersed with thorny hardwood trees like the Babul. (See MAP: Vegetation.) Due to variation of geographical features the crop pattern in both regions is also quite distinct. Bajri, barley, tobacco and cotton are suited to Maharashtra soil and climate, while in Konkan they are practically non-existent. Maharashtra is the chief centre for jowar, wheat, pulses, sugarcane and groundnut, whereas Konkan is mainly suitable for rice and kodra. (See MAP: Crop Pattern.)\* It is clear from the above that physiographically Bombay and Konkan have nothing in common with Maharashtra, the Sahyadris forming a natural dividing line between the two. A scrutiny of the physiographic conditions makes it clear that Bombay does not fall within the natural geographical region of Maharashtra and as such there is no

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\* For a detailed description of the physiographic features refer to 'Statistical Atlas of Bombay State', 1950.



LIMITS OF THE NATURAL REGION DIVIDING MAHARASHTRA  
AND KONKAN, ACCORDING TO L. DUDLEY STAMP



validity in the claim that Bombay forms a natural part of the Mahratta region.

### Geographical Links and Communications:

As has been pointed out, the growth of Bombay in the earlier stages was entirely independent of Maharashtra. Bombay and North Konkan were more intimately associated with Gujarat and Kathiawar, since the transport links with Gujarat were facilitated by the coastal route and they were found to be more easy and remarkably cheap. It was therefore natural that the early immigration to North Konkan and Bombay should take place along this route and that the inhabitants of Gujarat and Kathiawar should have played an important role in the early development of Bombay. The transport over the Ghats which presented an impenetrable barrier between the Deccan and the coastline was very perilous. As observed by Mr. Mackay:

“The great obstacle to traffic upon it is the Bhor Ghat about 30 miles from Panvel. Here the ascent is made from the low to the high land, an elevation of 2,000 ft. being gained by a winding and zig-zag and frequently precipitous course of about 4 miles in length. This is one of the two points at which only, as already stated, the Ghats can be ascended or descended by wheeled vehicles, with anything like safety along a course of about 500 miles.”<sup>30</sup>

### No Direct Transport Link with Deccan till 1865:

It was therefore natural that till 1865, there were no direct transport links between the Island of Bombay and the Deccan. Communication, if any, was possible only through the circuitous route of South Konkan. The formidable range of the Sahyadris, stretching with scarcely a break from the South Bank of the Tapti to Cape Comorin, presented a stupendous natural rampart behind which Maharashtra is situated. As pointed out by Chapman even after the Bhor Ghat was opened, the ports of Gujarat and Kathiawar sent to Bombay, the bulk of cotton, which was the principal export and import commodity in which trade was carried on in Bombay. It is significant to note that Khandesh cotton was sent to Bombay via Surat. It is only after the opening of the railways that Deccan was able to establish a direct link with Bombay. Till then, Bombay was better linked with Gujarat and Kathiawar in respect of trade and transport and the development of Bombay as an international port was largely due to the fact that the hinterland of Bombay as a Port, stretched over vast areas of the country beyond Gujarat and Maharashtra. This is sufficient to establish that in respect of geographical

links and communications Bombay and North Konkan were more intimately related with Gujarat and Kathiawar than with Maharashtra and as such it cannot be contended that Bombay has been geographically an integral part of Maharashtra or that Maharashtra forms the hinterland of Bombay.

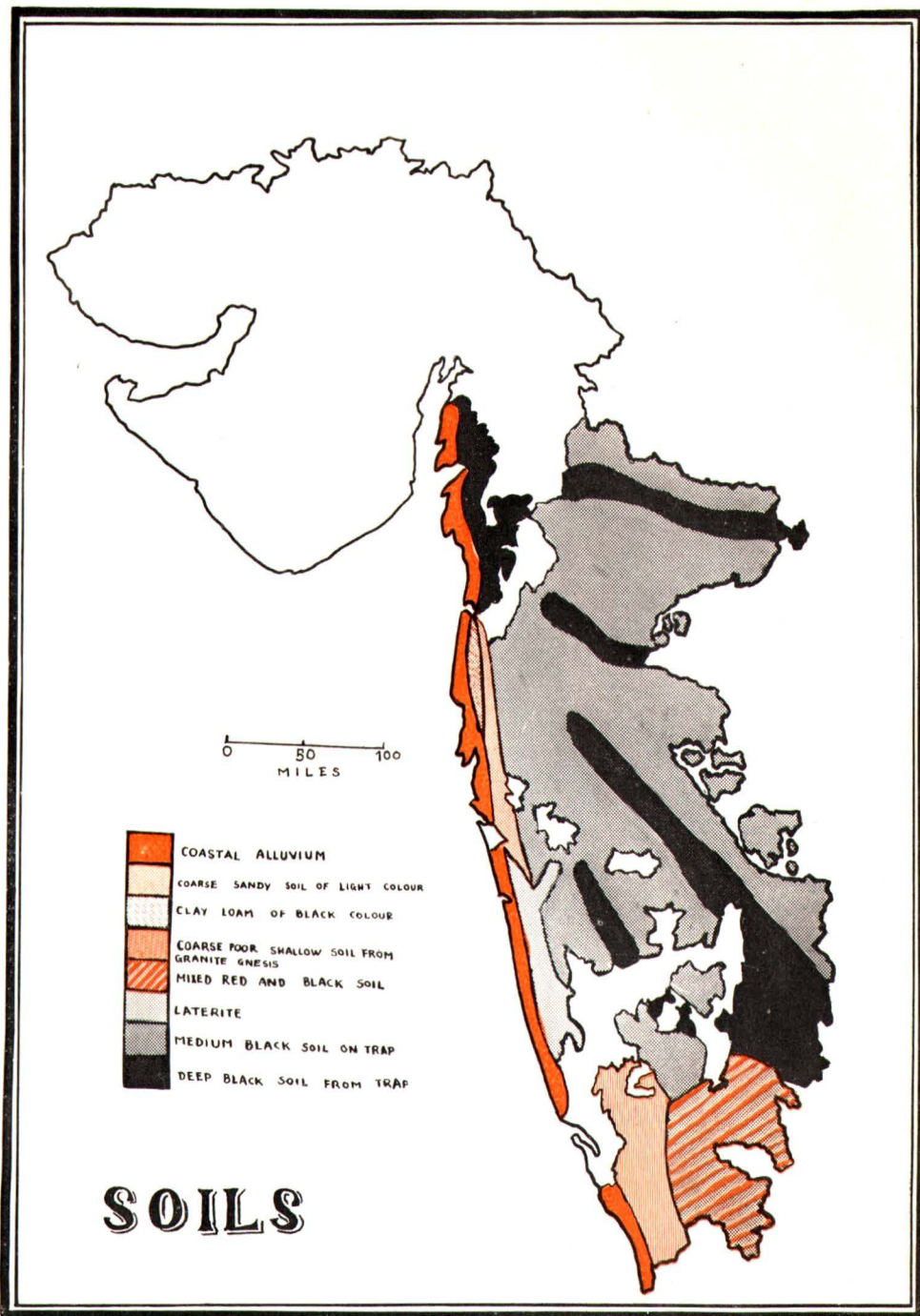
### Cultural and Population Links:

We have already traced at length the evolution of the population through successive stages of immigration into the Island of Bombay and North Konkan and pointed out that till the middle of the nineteenth century there was no large-scale immigration from Maharashtra into North Konkan or Bombay. Whatever immigration of the Marathi-speaking people that took place into these areas, was after the opening of the Bhor Ghat and the G.I.P. Railway. The position as to immigration of population from different quarters has been described in the *Bombay Gazetteer* (1885) as follows:—

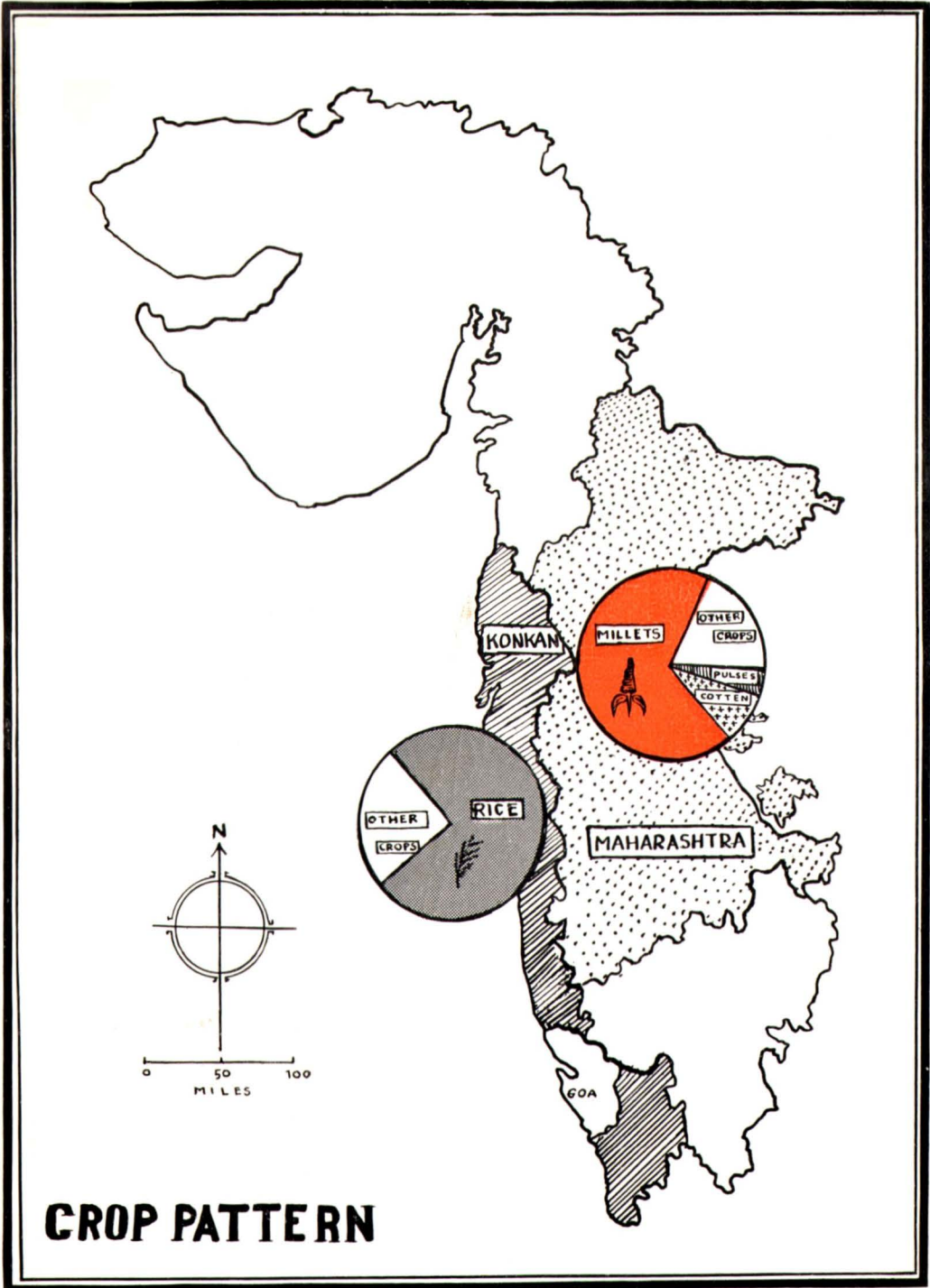
“Under the English there have been additions to almost all classes and from almost every quarter. Brahmans have come from Ratnagiri and the Deccan as priests and Government servants, from Gujarat and Marwar as priests to Gujarat and Marwar traders, and from Upper and Central India as priests, messengers, labourers and servants. Of traders there are Marwar Vanis, a rich and powerful class found in almost every village as shopkeepers and moneylenders, Lohanas and Bhatias from Cutch and North Gujarat, grain and cloth merchants in most of the leading towns, and Lingayat Vanis from the South Deccan, who in many parts hold a strong place as village shopkeepers and moneylenders. Of craftsmen and servants, weavers, goldsmiths, blacksmiths, barbers, washermen and others have come both from Gujarat and the Deccan. The number of husbandmen seems to have been little increased by outside settlers. But more than one set of labourers have come from Gujarat, Upper India and the Deccan.”<sup>40</sup>

It is further added:—

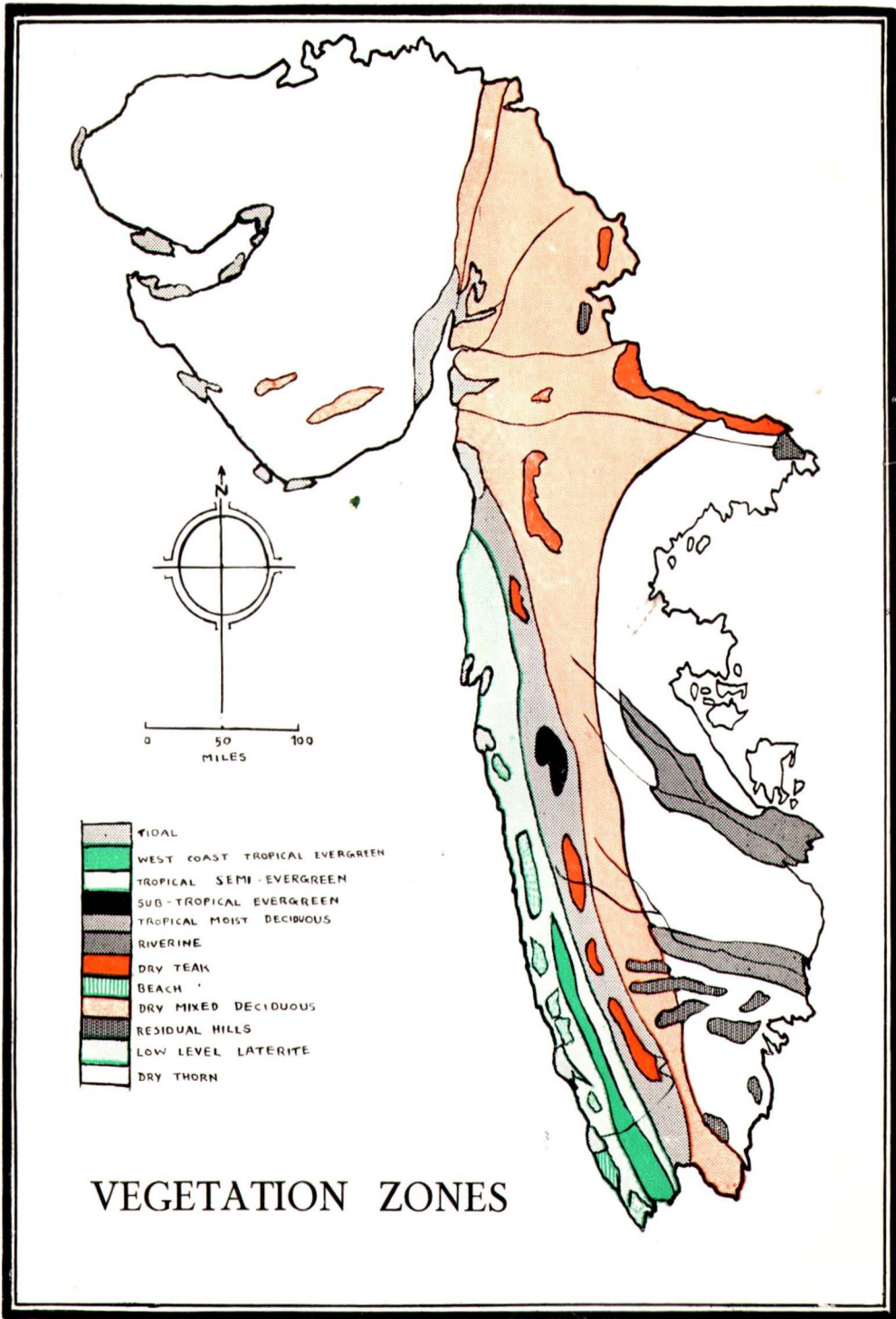
“These additions to the Thana population may roughly be said to have divided the district into four sections: the rugged north-east where the early tribes remain almost unmixed; the coast whose people have a strong element from beyond the sea, chiefly from Gujarat and Kathiawar; the great central Vaitarna valley, the headquarters of the Telheri tribe whose surnames show an early Rajput or foreign element; and in the south, along the valley of the Ulhas where the leading tribes are or at least call themselves Marathas.”<sup>41</sup>







**CROP PATTERN**



## VEGETATION ZONES

The area has naturally developed on a mixed bi-lingual pattern and the position in regard to the same in 1885 is also summarised as under:—

“North of Umbergaon Gujarati is spoken by all classes. The people understand Marathi and use a good many Marathi words, but the bulk of the vocabulary and the grammar is Gujarati. From Umbergaon South as far as the Vaitarna between the coast and the railway line the language of almost all classes except Maratha Brahmins and other late immigrants, is also Gujarati rather than Marathi and along the Dahanu coast where Gujarati is taught in the Government schools, the Gujarati element is so strong as to make the ordinary speech unintelligible to anyone who knows Marathi only.”<sup>42</sup>

#### Judicial Decisions on Cultural Affinity:

Having seen the population aspect which has been described above and almost similar pattern that Bombay and North Konkan reveal in the process of their development, we may now refer to the cultural aspect which relate to affinity in terms of Social institutions. During the course of a very important judgment which Chief Justice Westropp of the Bombay High Court delivered in 1879 on the applicability of Vyavahar Mayukh and Mitakshara laws, he was required to go at length into the cultural history relating to Bombay, North Konkan and Gujarat. Referring extensively to various authorities, he came to the conclusion that even in pre-historic times, the Konkan so far south as Revadanda, was in tradition connected with Gujarat. He further came to the conclusion that North Konkan and the Island of Karanja in which the property in dispute lay were a part of Gujarat for a long time and as such,

“We should scarcely expect to find a Hindu law of Succession prevailing at one side of Bombay harbour different from that existing in the Island of Bombay and in Gujarat.”<sup>43</sup>

In another case *Narhar Damodar Vaidya vs. Bhau Moreshwar Joshi*,<sup>44</sup> Justice Batchelor confirmed the same view that Mayukh was the prevailing authority in the North Konkan, Bombay and the Province of Gujarat and that the same was not applicable to an area called Mahad, which was declared to be a town in South Konkan. It is thus seen that North Konkan and Bombay were for a long period historically and culturally associated with Gujarat and as such the system of Hindu law which governs succession was common to the Island of Bombay, North Konkan and Gujarat and that the portion of South Konkan was under the authority of Mitakshara law which was held authoritative for

Maharashtra. This was further confirmed in an Appeal No. 136 of 1936 between Parmanand Haribhai Vani of Chinchani, District Thana *vs.* Kashinath Hari Raut and others when the learned Judge observed in the course of his judgment that "according to Hindu law there is a presumption that a Hindu family migrating from one place to another carries its personal law with it. If the family wants that the law of the place of its domicile should apply, then it should give up its law and adopt the law of the place of domicile and if the descendants of the family at any future time claim to be governed by the law of the place of domicile, then these descendants have to prove that the law of the place of the migration of the family was given up and the law of the place of domicile was adopted".<sup>45</sup>

It has been shown clearly from the judgment delivered by Justice Westropp that the Bombay Island is the dividing line for the operation of Mayukh as against Mitakshara. To include therefore the Bombay Island and North Konkan in the proposed State of Samyukta Maharashtra will be tantamount to bringing them under a system of personal law with which they have no affinity. Besides, the citizens will be required to declare as to whether they want to be governed by the law of the place of domicile or by the law of the place of migration. This would involve a great deal of harassment and suffering to the large masses of people who are governed under the system of Mayukh law for centuries.

It is thus clear that on the grounds of geography, history, language and population or the system of law, Bombay and North Konkan cannot be considered to be a part of the Mahratta region as claimed by the protagonists of Samyukta Maharashtra. The territory, viz. Bombay and North Konkan, particularly the Coastal Talukas cannot by any test be accepted as part of the Mahratta region. We have already shown Bombay to be a multi-lingual and cosmopolitan unit and North Konkan which has been the meeting ground of several peoples with diverse languages has maintained a mixed and bi-lingual character. The coastal talukas, considered whether on grounds of linguistic and cultural affinity or on grounds of economic interest, have more in common with Bombay, than with Maharashtra. It has been already pointed out on the authority of the *Bombay Gazetteer* that till 1885 Umbergaon, Dahanu and Palghar Talukas were predominantly Gujarati-speaking and that a large number of people came from different parts and settled in this area. It must be noted that till a few years ago, Thana district was placed with Gujarat districts in the Northern Division of the Presidency of Bombay and even for educational purposes it was under the Educational Inspector of Gujarat.



### Maharashtra's Claim—Irredentist and Annexationist:

The claim of Samyukta Maharashtra for Bombay and parts of North Konkan typically illustrates the territorial ambitions, which the demand for linguistic States is likely to engender. As aptly stated by Prof. Schuman:

“Irredentist nationalists invariably strive to incorporate into the Nation State (here the linguistic State) such territories as are inhabited by kinsmen of common speech and culture across the frontier. The claims of nationality and the cry of self-determination supersede the claims of legal right and are assumed to justify annexationist ambitions in such situation.”<sup>46</sup>

The same author has further analysed the psychology of such demands in a very illuminating manner:

“Each State exerts its power to get all the territory possible as a means to greater power, wealth and security. Power considerations are rationalised in terms of self-determination or irredentism or when these are inapplicable, in terms of other catch-words and symbols. ‘Historic’ frontiers are insisted upon; ‘national’ boundaries are demanded. ‘Manifest destiny’ is called upon to justify annexation. When the line of linguistic cleavage is gained, the next river or mountain range becomes the goal and when this is attained, some line beyond becomes the natural and necessary frontier.”<sup>47</sup>

The demand for incorporating certain territories like Bombay, North Konkan and certain areas from Gujarat in the proposed linguistic State of Samyukta Maharashtra betrays tendencies described above. The new boundaries claimed for Samyukta Maharashtra are at variance with the accepted boundaries of Maharashtra proper as determined by distinguished Maharashtrian scholars like Shri R. G. Bhandarkar and Mahamahopadhyaya P. V. Kane. In his attempt to define the boundaries of Maharashtra Shri R. G. Bhandarkar observes in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, as follows:—

“It (i.e. Dakshinapatha) is thus almost identical with the country called Maharashtra or region in which the Marathi language is spoken, the narrow strip of land between the Western Ghats and the sea being excluded.”<sup>48</sup>

In a more strict definition, the valleys of the Narmada and the Tapti are excluded from this tract and for that he refers to the authority of Vayu Purana. Accordingly the word ‘Deccan’ expresses the country watered by the Upper Godavari and that lying between that river and

the Krishna. As pointed out by this scholar the word 'Maharashtra' in the Puranas and other works has been distinguished on the one hand from Aparanta or North Konkan and South Gujarat and from the regions on either side of the Narmada and the Tapti inhabited by the Pulindas and Sabaras as well as from Vaidharbha on the other. He accepts the boundaries of Maharashtra as determined in the comparatively modern work entitled 'Ratnakosha', which speaks of Maharashtra, Vaidharbha, Tapi-tata-desa, and Narmada-tata-desa (i.e. countries on either side of those rivers) and the Konkan as distinct from each other. It is thus clear that according to this distinguished savant of Maharashtra neither Bombay nor North Konkan formed a part of Maharashtra.\*

Another outstanding Maharashtrian scholar, Mahamahopadhyaya P. V. Kane in an important article contributed by him to the Journal of B.B.R.A.S. subscribes to the view of Sir Bhandarkar. Referring to the ancient geography, he points out that the Puranas—Vayu, Matsya and Brahma—understood the word Dakshinapatha in the same sense, designating a more limited territory. Maharashtra as understood thus excluded Konkan, i.e. the country a little below the Narmada and above the Krishna. Defining the extent of boundaries of Maharashtra he observes:—

“So we shall not be wrong if we assume that Mahratta was the country between the Narmada on the North, Konkan on the West and the kingdom of Banawasi (modern North Konkan) on the South.”<sup>49</sup>

He further observes:—

“the foregoing discussion gives a pretty clear idea as to the extent of Maharashtra. The Konkan was generally not included therein.”<sup>50</sup>

And in conclusion states:

“that from the most ancient times the Konkan was looked upon as a unit by itself and is distinguished from Maharashtra by physical and topographical peculiarities.”<sup>51</sup>

The opinions of these two distinguished Marathi scholars should be sufficient to show that the claims advanced on behalf of Samyukta Maharashtra to incorporate Bombay City and North Konkan in Maharashtra as a part of their territory are unwarranted and unjustifiable. As

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\* We are not concerned here with establishing the veracity of various other names and historical references. What we mainly emphasize is the fact that according to this Scholar North Konkan and Bombay are not included in Maharashtra.

we have shown till 1885 the predominant language from Umbergaon south as far as the Vaitarna and between the coast and the railway, the language of almost all classes except Marathi Brahmins and other late immigrants, was Gujarati rather than Marathi. There were thus a large majority of non-Maharashtrians upto 1885 in North Konkan, particularly in the coastal talukas and the large-scale immigration from Maharashtra started only after this period, due to recruitment in services under the British administration. The logic of such a demand would imply that, to whichever region the Maharashtrians might have migrated that region becomes incontestably an inviolate Mahratta region because a certain percentage of the population speak the Marathi language !

In the light of what has been stated above, it becomes clear that the claims: (1) that Bombay and North Konkan are part of the Mahratta region, and (2) that Bombay City and Island are surrounded on three sides by the Marathi-speaking people cannot be sustained and are therefore untenable. We have already shown that North Konkan cannot be considered historically, geographically and culturally a part of Mahratta territory. The Marathi-speaking people migrated to North Konkan only at a very late stage and on the basis of not more than 5 lakhs of pure Marathi-speaking population, excluding the large aboriginal (adivasi) population, which is found to be existing at the periphery of Maharashtra, it cannot be established that Bombay, with 28 lakhs of the multi-lingual population is surrounded by Marathi-speaking people on all the three sides. Geographically speaking Bombay has on its North a mixed bi-lingual area, having many features in common, and on the West and South the open sea. It is connected with the mainland by three connecting bridges. Its hinterland is the whole country whose collective labour has contributed in building up of this great City.

## APPENDIX TO SECTION V

### EXTRACT FROM THE JUDGMENT OF WESTROPP, C.J.

*In Sakharam vs. Sitabai, (1879) 3 Bom. p. 365*

The island of Bombay and the Northern Konkan, including in the latter the island of Karanja, formed part of the kingdom of Gujarat. Karanja, the locality in which the property in dispute in this cause lies, constitutes a portion of the southern side of the harbour of Bombay. Still further south lie the ruins of the city of Chaul (*alias* Chivel, Chevul, Chawul, Cheuwal, Chaupavati, Saimur),<sup>1</sup> and the Revdanda in which Chaul is situate. Colonel Yule, in his second edition of Marco Polo, p. 353, note, says: 'Lar Desa, "the country of Lar" properly *Lat Desa* was an early name for the territory of Gujarat and the Northern Konkan,

<sup>1</sup> "Gerson Da Cunha's *History of Chaul and Bassein*", pp. 5, 6, 8, 10, 18, 19.

embracing *Saimur* (the modern Chaul as I believe), Thana and Broach. It appears in Ptolemy in the form *Larike*. The sea to the west of that coast was in the early Mahomedan times called the sea of Lar, and the language spoken on its shores is called by Masudi Lari. Abulfeda's authority, Ibn Saud, speaks of Lar and Gujarat as identical; and in the note to page 383 he says: 'Gujarat is mentioned as if it were a province adjoining Malabar, and before arriving at Thana, Cambay and Somnath; though, in fact, it includes those three cities, and Cambay was then its great mart. Wassaf, Polo's contemporary, perhaps acquaintance, speaks of "Gujarat which is commonly called Kambayat" (Elliot, III, 31).' Colonel Yule, in his note on Polo's chapter on the kingdom of Thana at p. 386, says: 'The Konkan is, no doubt, what was intended by the Kingdom of Thana. Albiruni speaks of that city as the capital of the Konkan; Raschid-ud-din calls it *Konkan-Thana*; Ibn Batuta *Kukin-Thana*, the last a form which appears in the Carta Catalana as *Cucin-Thana*.' Subsequently he adds: 'Barbosa gives it the compound name of Thana-Maiambu, the latter part being the first indication I know of the name of Bombay (Mambai).' Even in pre-historic times the Konkan so far south as Revdanda is by tradition connected with Gujarat. In speaking of the etymology of the word "Revdanda" Mr. Gerson Da Cunha, in his *History of Chaul and Bassein*, mentions "a tradition current among the Brahmans of the coast to the effect that when Krishna was reigning in Gujarat he had assigned the southern part of his kingdom, which embraced a considerable portion of the Northern Konkan, for the support of Revati, the wife of his brother Balarama; and that the Revatikshatra, or country of Revati, which is often mentioned in the Puranas, correspond to the modern Revdanda." Coming down to historical times we find that Mr. Nairne, in his learned work on the Konkan, p. 10, says: "In the travels of the merchant Sulliman, written in A.D. 851, the country of Konkan is given as part of the kingdom of Balhara. The name is identified as being that of the dynasty reigning at Walabhi (Balabhipma) in Gujarat; but the kingdom of the Konkan is believed to have been originally an independent one. Raschid-ud-din about A.D. 1300 mentions "Konkan of which the capital is Thana on the sea-shore." But further on, he mentions Gujarat as a large country within which are Cambay, Somnath, Konkan, 'Thana and several other cities and towns' and again "Beyond Gujarat are Konkan and Thana, beyond them the country of Malabar." Though it is not clear from this whether the Konkan was tributary to Gujarat or not, yet that it was a separate province, with a capital called Thana, is plain." As to the expulsion of the Bahmini dynasty from the Konkan by the sovereigns of Gujarat, see the same work, pp. 24 to 26. Mr. Nairne, in speaking of the 15th (Christian) century, says: "About this time also the Gujarat kingdom was divided into five governments, one of which, including, no doubt, the whole of the North Konkan, had Thana as its capital." Mr. Mountstuart Elphinstone says<sup>2</sup> of the Konkan: "I suppose the inhabitants were always Marathas." Referring to this remark Mr. Nairne observes:<sup>3</sup> "But there is a great difference between the inhabitants of the northern and those of the southern half. The latter may properly be called purely Maratha, and the castes are few and very exactly defined; but in the north there are several somewhat mixed castes, and, except for comparatively recent settlers, a total absence of pure Marathas and Brahmins." Formerly, the boundary

<sup>2</sup> *History*, p. 218, 4th ed.

<sup>3</sup> "*The Konkan*"; p. 3, Introd.

between the Northern and Southern Konkan was deemed to be the Savitri River, which divides the Habshi's territory from the Ratnagiri Collectorate<sup>4</sup> and enters the sea at Bankot. Mr. Erskine in his history of the Emperors Baber and Humayun, says<sup>5</sup> "After the death of Muzaffar Shah, several of his descendants increased the territory of Gujarat. His grandson, Ahmed Shah, a very distinguished prince and the founder of Ahmedabad, reduced under his power nearly the whole country that forms the present Gujarat, including the low lands to the south below the ghats, the Northern Konkan (Konkan) and the island of Bombay." Mr. Kinloch Forbes, in addition to Bombay and the Konkan, specifies the island of Salsette (which, no doubt, ordinarily is deemed part of the Northern Konkan) as belonging to the kings of Gujarat.<sup>6</sup> And when Sultan Bahadur, one of the successors of Ahmed on the throne of Gujarat, ceded in A.D. 1534, to the King of Portugal "the city of Bacaim (Bassein) with all its territories, continental as well as islands and seas"<sup>7</sup> Salsette, Bombay, Karanja, Elephanta &c., and a portion of the adjacent main land of the Northern Konkan passed, under that treaty, to the Portuguese as part of the dependencies of Bassein; and subsequently, when (A.D. 1661) the King of Portugal ceded the island of Bombay to Charles the Second, it was a matter of dispute between the English and the Portuguese whether or not Salsette and Karanja passed to the English Monarch as part of the appurtenances of the island of Bombay.<sup>8</sup> Connected, then as Karanja and the rest of the Northern Konkan so frequently were with Gujarat and Bombay down to that period, we should scarcely expect to find a Hindu Law of Succession prevailing at one side of Bombay harbour different from that existing in the island of Bombay and in Gujarat.

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<sup>4</sup> *The Konkan*, p. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Vol. II, p. 20, and see *Elph. Hist.*, p. 674, 4th ed.

<sup>6</sup> "*Ras-Mala*", 2nd ed., p. 269; 1st ed., Vol. I, p. 350.

<sup>7</sup> *Secretary of State v. Bombay Landing Co.*, 5 Bom. H.C. Rep., O.C.J. 32, 33, *De Couto*, 4th Decada, Pt. II, Liv. IV, cxxvii, pp. 527, 530, *et seq.*, Lisbon, ed. of 1777. *De Couto*, General Index, p. 319 and Vol. II, Pt. II, p. 234.

<sup>8</sup> *Warden's Essay on the Landed Tenures of Bombay*, p. 3, para. 8. Eventually after the fall of Bassein in A.D. 1739, the Portuguese ceded it, Salsette, Karanja, Revdanda &c., &c. to the Peishwa (Gerson Da Cunha's *Hist. of Chaul and Bassein*, pp. 72, 73); and finally in A.D. 1774 Salsette and Karanja were ceded by the Peishwa to the Government of Bombay.

## SECTION VI

### BOMBAY : AS A SEPARATE STATE

We now proceed to state briefly the future of Bombay in the light of the various aspects examined by us.

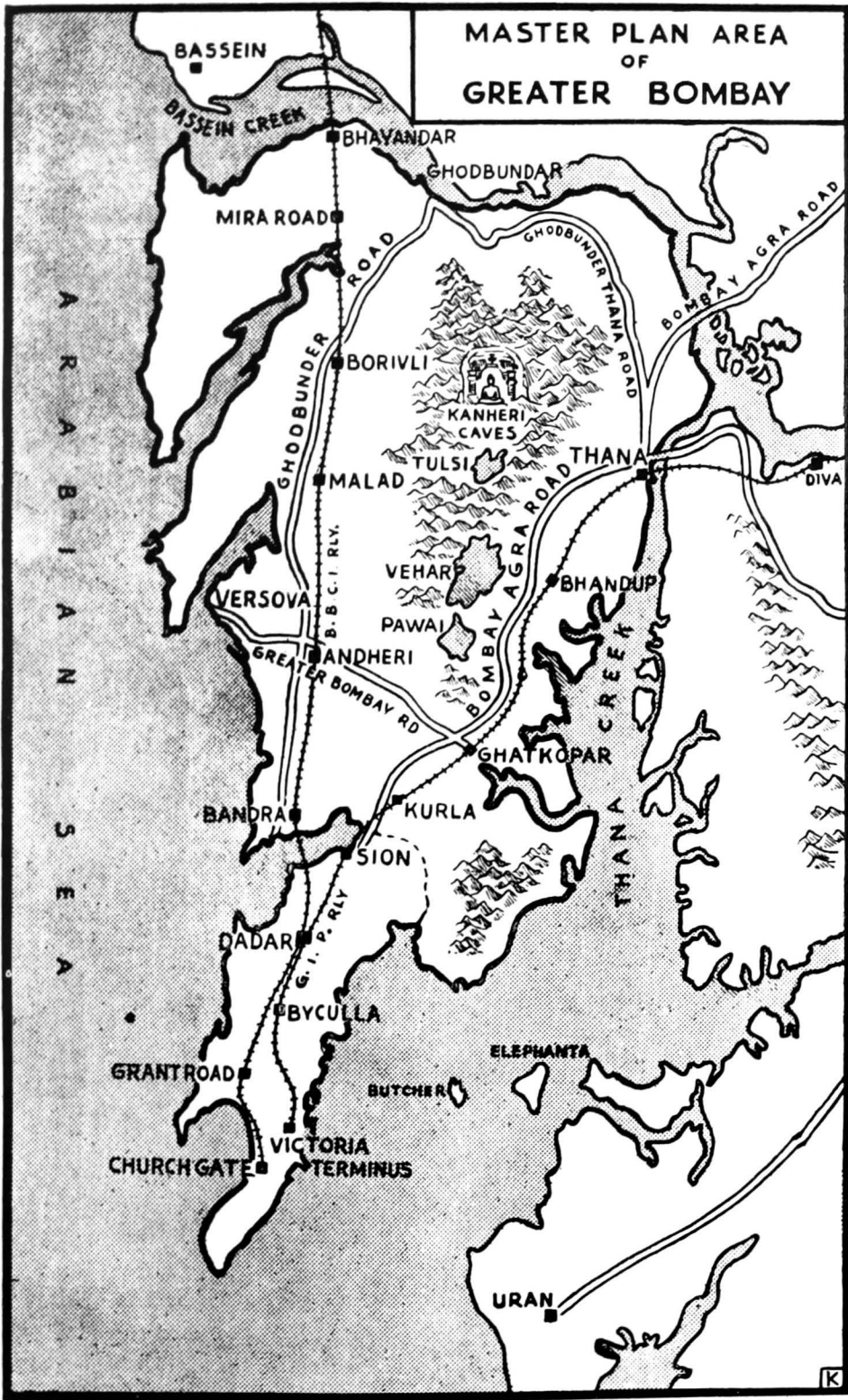
#### Dar Commission and J. V. P. Committee Reports:

It has been clearly shown that, in event the present composite Bombay State is re-distributed in terms of separate linguistic States of Maharashtra, Karnatak and Gujarat, the City of Bombay cannot form a part of any uni-lingual State. In view of its multi-lingual cosmopolitan character and owing to the fact that it is a city of all-India importance, being the nerve-centre of our trade, commerce and industry, the biggest port with a vast hinterland, and a centre of strategic importance as an air and naval base, the City must be constituted into a separate unit. It was on these considerations that the Dar Report stated that it would be incongruous to make this multi-lingual cosmopolitan city the capital of a uni-lingual province, and the J. V. P. Committee, which subsequently reviewed the entire problem, expressed the view that the city could not be conceived as 'belonging to any one linguistic group, since that would undoubtedly mean its rapid deterioration from its present commanding position'. They were emphatically of the opinion that 'in case the present province of Bombay is split up and a separate Maharashtra province is formed, the City of Bombay should be constituted into a separate political unit'. It has all along been considered a separate political entity since the Congress reorganised the country in 1920 in terms of separate Provincial Congress Committees.

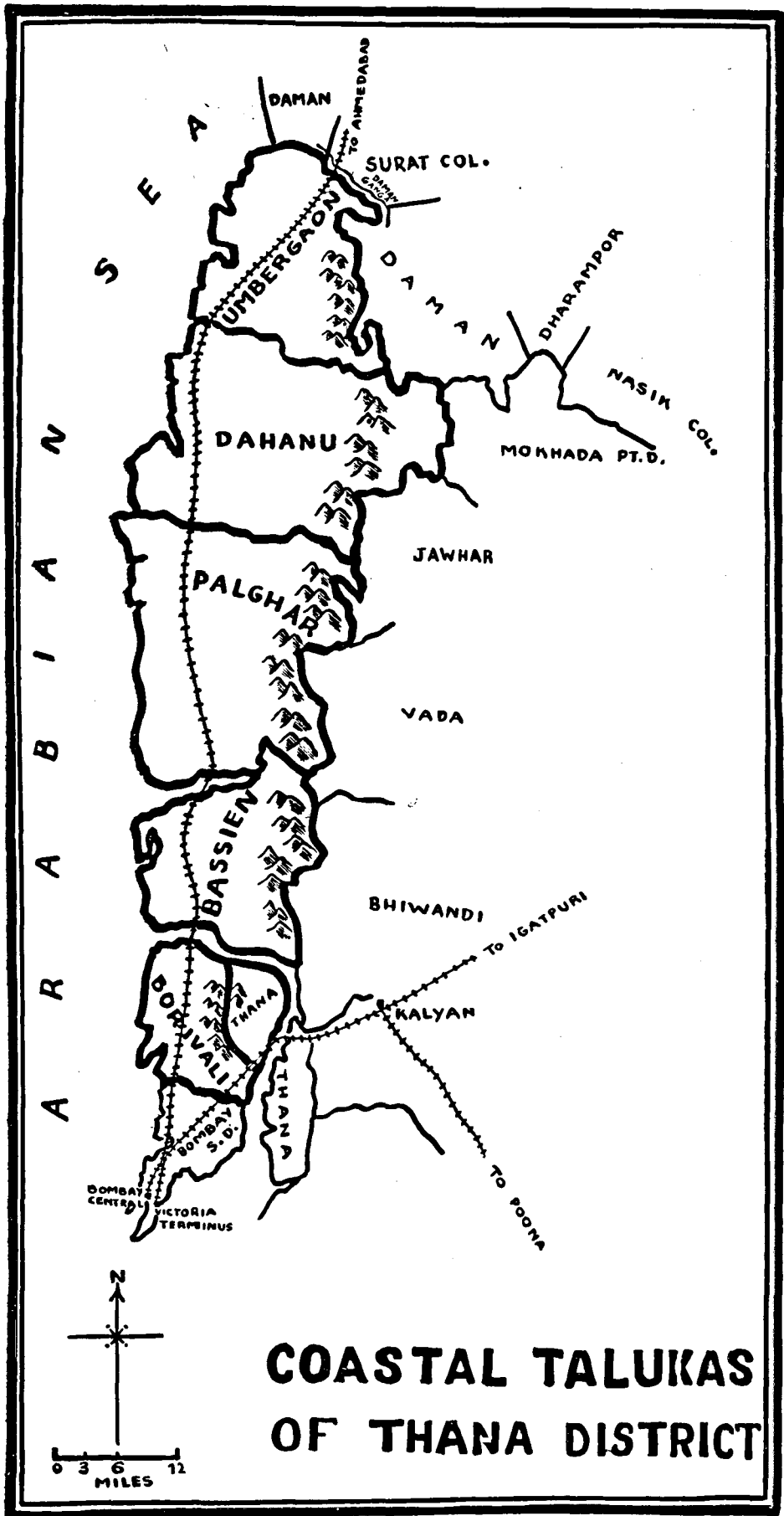
#### Analogy with other States:

Attempts have been made to draw analogies with other cities, such as Calcutta and Madras, and to argue on that basis that, if Bombay is to be constituted into a separate State, why should there be no City States for these cities as well. It must be pointed out that the city of Calcutta is situated within the linguistically homogeneous State of Bengal and its life has largely been moulded by the Bengali-speaking people. Similarly, the formation of Andhra State was decided upon the condition that the Andhra people would give up their claim over the city of Madras. It may be noted that both the cities, Calcutta and Madras, which are integral parts of their homogeneous States namely West Bengal and Madras have not less than two-thirds of the population speaking

# MASTER PLAN AREA OF GREATER BOMBAY



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# COASTAL TALUKAS OF THANA DISTRICT



Bengali and Tamil respectively. As compared to these Cities, Bombay has sprung up and developed as an important all-India port by the combined labour of all communities, Gujaratis, Parsis, Christians, Maharashtrians, Tamilians, Telugus, Kannadigas, Uttar Bharatiyas and several others, who migrated to the city at various stages in the history of its development. Bombay as a multi-lingual cosmopolitan city of all-India importance stands entirely on a different footing.

No responsible section of opinion in the city has claimed that Bombay should be treated as a Free City or that it should be under an international regime, such as Danzig and Trieste. Such analogies have been advanced by interested parties with a view to deliberately confounding the issues. Nor is the problem one of reviving the concept of City State either of ancient times or of medieval Europe. It must be mentioned that the analogy is unsound, inasmuch as a City or a Free State in ancient days of Greece and Rome and medieval Europe was a sovereign unit, whereas we are here primarily concerned with the formation of a constituent unit of a federal Union, which is to function within the ambit of a Constitution with clearly defined powers both for the Centre and the units. It is further significant to note that the Constitution of India is not based on the principle of autonomy for the units or the concept of divided sovereignty.

Comparisons have also been made with some of the Cities in U.S. and on the strength of such analogies attempts have been made to determine the status of the City of Bombay. It is, however, forgotten that the problem of the City of Bombay is entirely different from these Cities. It is not a question of granting civic autonomy as in the case of U.S. Cities, but a question of fundamental political importance, regarding the future of a unit of all-India importance. Again, in the U.S. there was no anomalous problem of uni-lingual States *vis-a-vis* multi-lingual units. We are of the view that any schemes based on the position of Cities in U.S. either in respect of Municipal Status with enhanced powers or the city being made a part of a larger State will be wholly irrelevant in the case of Bombay. If the present State of Bombay is to be reorganised on the basis of linguistic units of Samyukta Maharashtra, Gujarat and Karnatak, it is clear that Bombay, which is multi-lingual, cannot become a part of any uni-lingual State. The three component units of the composite State, being vitally connected with the City, if constituted into separate States, must have the same constitutional and political relationship with the State of Bombay City which they have built up and in which they have a vital stake. It would, therefore, be only just and fair that all the components should be placed on a footing of equality *vis-a-vis* Bombay City. If the city is made a part of any uni-lingual area, unfortunate frictions, tensions and conflicts will develop and will jeopardise its economic and strategic stability. All the

major linguistic groups can lay an equal claim that Bombay is the centre of their intellectual and cultural activities and as such Bombay must continue to remain as the focal point of the cultural activities of the major linguistic and cultural groups.

The contention that such a unit as of Bombay will be too small to form a constituent unit of the federal Union also does not bear scrutiny. In point of population, every unit in the Swiss Federation is smaller than the proposed Bombay unit. The largest State of Graubeden has an area of about 2,735 square miles, but a population of only 1.37 lakhs; the smallest State of Basel Stadt has an area of 14 square miles and a population of 1.96 lakhs only. In the United States of America, the district of Columbia has an area of 69.2 square miles and a population of 8.35 lakhs only. In fact, in point of population, there are about 24 States in the U.S.A. which have populations ranging from 1.80 lakhs to 25.26 lakhs. From this point of view, the city of Bombay compares quite favourably and can justifiably be formed as a separate constituent unit of the federal Union. The area of Greater Bombay is 90.8 square miles with a population of 28.39 lakhs. The area of the Master Plan, Bombay, is 223.5 square miles with a population estimated at about 37 lakhs.

### Bombay as a Viable Unit:

It is not possible to make any dogmatic statement regarding the financial position of the City of Bombay, since the same is subject to a number of uncertain postulates. The Government of Bombay have recently published district-wise details of revenue receipts and revenue & capital expenditure of Bombay State during the years 1950-51, 1951-52 and 1952-53. These appear to be returns of transactions recorded at each treasury than the exact returns of revenue and expenditure incurred in each region. While the publication does not make any separate returns for the City of Bombay as such, the same are presumed to have been shown under the head "Presidency Audit and Reserve Bank". On the calculations made regarding the financial position of the proposed States, it appears that all the three linguistic units will be more or less deficit units whereas the City of Bombay will have a surplus of a little over Rs. 12 crores.

A closer scrutiny reveals that the Bombay City contributes nearly  $\frac{2}{3}$  rds of the Excise revenue, more than half of the Stamp Duties, a little over  $\frac{1}{3}$  rd of the receipts from Motor Vehicles Taxes, and more than  $\frac{2}{3}$  rds of the receipts from sales tax. It is, however, doubtful if the trend of revenue will remain the same. For example, the future course of sales tax revenue will depend upon the nature of re-arrangement of

boundaries of the linguistic units. In that event, because of the provisions in Article 286 of the Constitution, many of the sales transactions would be converted into inter-State transactions and consequently the sales tax revenue in Bombay City will decline by at least 50 per cent, and the revenue of the 3 units will increase correspondingly. Besides, increased grants will have to be made to the Municipal Corporation, which has always been in financial difficulties for meeting the local needs and requirements of the city. What is more, funds will be needed for slum clearance, industrial housing, education, rehabilitation, encouragement to small and medium scale industries in order to meet the growing needs of the city. In view of this, while the City of Bombay may not be in a position to enjoy the same affluent position, it would be able to have sufficient surplus after meeting all its normal revenue expenditure for not only becoming a viable unit itself, but for meeting the increasing requirements of a great city.

#### Administrative Aspect:

In view of the high literacy percentage of the population of Bombay and its progressive outlook on problems—social, economic and political—it would be relatively easy to work it as a democratic unit on the most efficient lines. Even at present, the administration of Bombay is in many respects distinct from the rest of the State. Its revenue resources differ from those of Gujarat or Maharashtra. Its Small Causes Court, City Court, Criminal Courts presided over by Presidency Magistrates and the High Court in its original jurisdiction, form a judicial system distinct from the judicial system prevalent in the districts. The Municipal Corporation of Bombay has been constituted by an Act specially adapted to the civic needs of the City and has large and independent powers with an income of over Rs. 9 crores. Bombay City, free from the vortex of linguistic politics, will be in a position to function as a model unit with a broad progressive national outlook.

The City of Bombay can function as a separate State, both viable and efficient, with an administrative set-up which can be comparatively modest. A Governor with a small Ministry and a correspondingly small legislature can very well look after the affairs of the State. Reference has already been made about the Judiciary. Bombay has already got a University, which reflects its character and enjoys a pre-eminent position in the academic world.

#### Boundaries of Bombay City:

As far as the boundaries of the State of Bombay City are concerned, the present case is argued on the basis of Greater Bombay. However, in the larger interests of the future expansion and growth of the City, a Master Plan has already been conceived with a view to meeting industrial, housing and transport requirements of the growing City. It is only unfortunate that partly on account of the linguistic agitation, imple-

mentation of the Plan and various other schemes of expansion were held over. We have already indicated the mixed bi-lingual nature of the coastal talukas of Borivli, Bassein, Palghar and Dahanu and their close affinity—linguistic, social and cultural—with the City of Bombay, and above all their close and intimate economic relations with the City. Besides, from the transport and administration points of view also, they are better connected with Bombay than with any other linguistic centre. We believe that on grounds of geographical proximity, administrative convenience and economic inter-dependence, it will serve the interests of these areas better if they are linked up with Bombay. In deciding the position of such areas, reference may be made to the view expressed by the Dar Commission Report that bi-lingual or multi-lingual areas should be disposed of having regard to the economic and administrative interest and the principle on which linguistic provinces are to be formed has no application to them. We hope that the Commission will give their careful consideration to the above aspects of the coastal talukas, in any scheme of reorganisation, which they may recommend *vis-a-vis* the State of Bombay.

## APPENDIX TO SECTION VI

TABLE I  
U.S.A. STATES

No.	Name	Land Area (in sq. miles)	Population (in '000)	States General Revenue (in Lakhs of Dollars)
1.	Arizona ..	1,13,909	8,59	7,46,43
2.	Arkansas ..	53,102	18,76	10,12
3.	Delaware ..	2,057	3,38	3,40
4.	Dist. of Columbia ..	69.2	8,35	14,93
5.	Idaho ..	83,557	6,08	2,19,28
6.	Kansas ..	82,276	20,02	17,14
7.	Kentucky ..	40,395	29,16	18,40
8.	Louisiana ..	48,523	28,16	39,72,69
9.	Maryland ..	10,577	25,26	24,82,80
10.	Mississippi ..	47,716	21,73	13,25,73
11.	Montana ..	1,47,136	5,91	10,98,01
12.	Nebraska ..	77,237	13,71	8,70
13.	Nevada ..	1,10,540	1,80	1,86
14.	New Hampshire ..	9,304	5,38	3,73
15.	New Mexico ..	1,21,666	7,25	7,95
16.	North Dakota ..	70,665	6,00	7,78
17.	Oklahoma ..	69,919	22,65	24,68
18.	Oregon ..	96,981	15,94	18,04
19.	Rhode Island ..	1,214	8,17	6,28,36
20.	South Carolina ..	31,055	21,30	15,81
21.	South Dakota ..	77,047	6,64	7,35,04
22.	Utah ..	84,916	7,37	8,96,80
23.	Vermont ..	9,609	3,72	4,33
24.	Washington ..	68,192	24,67	30,06
25.	West Virginia ..	24,181	19,51	8,81,32
26.	Wyoming ..	97,914	3,08	4,22

Population according to Census, 1952.

Source: 'Information Please Almanack' 1954.

TABLE II

STATEMENT SHOWING THE POPULATION FIGURES ACCORDING TO THE DIFFERENT LANGUAGES IN BORIVLI, DAHANU AND UMBERGAON TALUKAS OF THANA DISTRICT—SUPPLIED BY GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY

Language.	Borivli Taluka.	Dahanu Taluka.	Umbergaon Taluka.
Arabic .. .. .	Nil.	2	Nil.
Bengali .. .. .	440	Nil.	Nil.
Burmese .. .. .	1	Nil.	Nil.
English .. .. .	498	6	6
German .. .. .	8	Nil.	Nil.
Gujarati .. .. .	40,850	18,274	55,923
Hindi .. .. .	8,931	579	340
Kachchi .. .. .	1,581	46	70
Kannada .. .. .	1,553	63	19
Konkani .. .. .	885	36	Nil.
Malayalam .. .. .	856	27	1
Marathi .. .. .	69,547	1,10,276	56,684
Naipali .. .. .	98	Nil.	Nil.
Pashto .. .. .	3	1	1
Persian .. .. .	5	5	Nil.
Portuguese .. .. .	68	Nil.	3
Punjabi .. .. .	1,131	25	13
Rajasthani .. .. .	1,671	676	61
Sindhi .. .. .	9,305	27	Nil.
Spanish .. .. .	3	Nil.	2
Tamil .. .. .	1,893	20	2
Telugu .. .. .	2,544	42	Nil.
Tulu .. .. .	5	6	Nil.
Urdu .. .. .	3,337	1,176	337
Total Population ..	1,45,213	1,31,287	1,13,462

## LIST OF REFERENCES

## SECTION I

1. "The Future of Bombay City" by Prof. D. R. Gadgil, p. 9.
2. "The Rise of Bombay" by S. M. Edwardes, I.C.S., p. 27.
3. *The Imperial Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island*, Vol. II, p. 2.  
c.f. This is further supported by the fact that we find in the earliest reference of the Greeks that the North Konkan "including Damaun (Daman), Callian (Kalyan), the island of Salset, Bombay, etc. belong to the Rajah of Larekah or Lar (i.e. Lat or Apranta—South Gujarat) according to Arrian and Eba Said al Magrebi".

Lieut. Francis Wilford: "Asiatic Researches", London, Vol. I (1806), pp. 372-73.

J. Gerson Da Cunha: "Origin of Bombay", p. 40.

4. "Bombay" by A. D. Pusalker and V. G. Dighe, p. 35.
5. c.f. "Of immigrants by sea, besides the early Brahman settlers on the Vaitarna and at Supara, who probably came from Gujarat and Sind, there were very ancient settlements of Arabs; in the seventh and eighth centuries more than one band of Parsi refugees from Musalman rule in Persia; from the earliest spread of Islam to the Musalman conquest of the Konkan (640-1350) coast settlements of Arab and Persian traders and refugees; Solanki conquerors from Gujarat probably in the tenth and eleventh centuries; and Hindu immigrants from Kathiawar to escape Arab and other Musalman invaders."

*The Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency*, Vol. XIII, Part I, pp. 60-61.

6. *The Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency*, Vol. XIII, Part I, p. 62.  
c.f. There is some difference of opinion amongst historians as to whether Bimba came from Paithan of Maharashtra or Patan of North Gujarat. As is well known, Bimbakhyan is very unreliable as most of the dates are inaccurate and some statements are so conflicting that it becomes difficult to accept their testimony. In absence of conclusive data on the subject, there is room for conflicting opinions. As we have said, argument based on history, cannot have much significance on the larger question of reorganisation of States. However, we give below the opinions of historians representing the general consensus of opinion, that Bhima came from Gujarat.

If Bimba were to come from Paithan there appears no need for him to arrive *via* Anhilvad in North Gujarat which is indeed a very circuitous and round-about way. Besides, there appears Lads and Modhs who formed part of the retinue, both of whom were residents of Gujarat, the former of Lat (South Gujarat) and the latter of North Gujarat.

In support of the view that Bhima Deva came from Gujarat, the author of the *Bombay Gazetteer* observes as follows:—

"Again the Prabhu records and traditions agree that their first settlements were on the coast in Kelva-Mahim, Bassein and Salsette and this favours the view that they came into Konkan from the Gujarat and not from the East."

He further observes:

"this view of the origin of the Prabhus is supported by the fact that the Palshe, their original priests follow the White or Gujarat Yajur-Ved and as is the rule in Gujarat forbids marriage between those whose mothers' fathers belong to the same family stock."

The foot-note to the same mentions:

"the Gujarat origin of Bimba and of the Palshes is also borne out by the Bimbakhyan and this is supported by the mention in a grant to a Palshe, under which privileges are still enjoyed, that the priest was from Pattan and that Bimba was of the Anhilvada family."

*The Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island*, Vol. I, p. 144.

The view expressed above on the authority of *The Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency* is further supported by J. Gerson da Cunha, in his book, "The Origin of Bombay".

supports the view that Bhima or Bhimadeva was a Chalukya Prince of the race of the Solankis and further adds that the Prabhus derived their origin in the Gujarat Patan and not from the Dekkan Paithan:

The reason the Prabhus call themselves Pathare or Pathane is that they derive their origin from the Gujarat Patan, and not from the Dekkan Paithan."—p. 39.

is also emphatic in his view that the Palshis and the Panchkalshis, like Prabhus came along with Bhima from Gujarat.

The Palshis are the priests of the Prabhus, said to have come with Bhima, the founder of the Mahim dynasty, who, like the priests of the temple of Esculapius, practised medicine and astrology, besides performing the religious ceremonies and rites of their sect."

The other class of the early settlers of Bombay are the Panchkalshis, who also came along with Bhima from Gujarat. They are carpenters, gardeners and husbandmen, in general."—p. 42.

He further bears testimony to the nature and composition of the population of Bombay at the time of Bhimadeva:

"With the exception of the primitive tribe of the Kolis, all the other classes are said to have been settled in Bombay and its neighbourhood by the famous Bhima, who is evidently, as above said, the Solanki Ruler of Anahilavada in Gujarat, and not the Yadav Bhima of Devagiri."—p. 39.

"First, there were the four or five classes of settlers who came with Bhima or soon after, and then the repeated waves of immigrants from all parts of Western India, and even from other parts of the world, bringing with them their own dialects, along with their creeds and habits, which have rendered Bombay an anthropological museum, and a true centre of the diverse varieties and types of mankind, far surpassing the mixed nationalities of Cairo and Constantinople."—p. 38.

7. *The Gazetteer of Bombay City & Island*, p. 148.
  8. "Bombay" by A. D. Pusalker & V. G. Dighe, p. 40.
  9. "The Rise of Bombay" by S. M. Edwardes, I.C.S., p. 73.
  10. *The Gazetteer of Bombay City & Island*, Vol. I, p. 151.
  11. *The Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVI, Part III, p. 525.
  12. Edwardes: "Rise of Bombay", p. 104.
  13. c.f. "It being the Hon'ble Company's desire that we should find the best way for making Bombay Port for the exportation and importation of goods and persons to and from Persia, Mokha and other parts; . . ."
- (Note dated 7th September 1668 recorded by the Council at Surat.)
- Ibid., p. 107.
14. c.f. "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 Dravidian origin, that the Parsi was hardly known in Bombay and that the bulk of the Marathi-speaking inhabitants migrated only after the tolerant character of British rule had been more fully noised abroad. . . ."
- Edwardes: "Rise of Bombay", pp. 111-112.
15. Ibid., p. 114.
  16. *The Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XXVI, Part I, pp. 74-76.
  17. Ibid., p. 58.
  18. Edwardes: "Rise of Bombay", p. 118.
  19. Quoted by Da Cunha—"Origin of Bombay", p. 348.
  20. *The Gazetteer of Bombay City*, p. 154.
  21. Edwardes: "Rise of Bombay", p. 160.

22. *Ibid.*, pp. 159-160.
23. *Ibid.*, pp. 160-161.
24. *Ibid.*, pp. 160-163.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 163.
26. c.f. At a consultation, the 31st May 1763, Government remark:  
 "As the Moghul, i.e. the Nizam's army has entirely destroyed I of the principal traders have asked and received permission to r with their families. . . . This measure was approved by the writes (22nd March 1765):  
 'we approve the measure you took in inviting the inhabitants to settle at Bombay.'  
 Though upon this occasion the Marathas are said to have prev rich merchant leaving Poona, Bombay seems to have gained important addition as it is noticed that by 1764 the population had increased to 60,000."
- Materials towards a "Statistical Account of the Town and Island of Bombay 1896", Vol. I, p. 351.
27. *The Gazetteer of Bombay City & Island*, Vol. I, pp. 160-161.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 159.
29. Edwardes: "Rise of Bombay", pp. 254-255.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 305.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 299.
32. Da Cunha: "Origin of Bombay", pp. 38-39.
33. Quoted in R. Sheppard—"Bombay", p. 124.
34. Zimmern: "Greek Commonwealth", p. 202.
35. Da Cunha: "Origin of Bombay", p. 4.
36. Zimmern: "The Greek Commonwealth", p. 199.
37. Edwardes: "Rise of Bombay", p. 269.
38. R. M. Birjay: "Textile Labour in Bombay City", p. 2.
39. Mackay: "Western India", pp. 380-381.
40. *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. XIII, Part I, p. 64.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 65.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 68.
43. In *Sakharam vs. Sitabai* (1879) 3 Bom., p. 365.
44. *40 Bombay Law Reporter*, 1916, p. 621.
45. From a Judgment in *Paramanand Vani of Chinchani (Thana) vs. Kashunath Hari Raut and others* (1936).
46. Prof. Schuman: "International Politics", p. 444.
47. *Ibid.*, p. 446.
48. *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 2 & 3.
49. P. V. Kane, "Journal of the B.B.R.A.S.", Vol. 24—1914-15, p. 620.
50. *Ibid.*, p. 629.
51. *Ibid.*, pp. 631-632.