

ECHOES OF EMPIRE: UNVEILING 17th - CENTURY ENGLISH AND PORTUGUESE CULTURAL LEGACIES IN MUMBAI

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Abstract

The History of Mumbai are thick with colonial footprints. The British era is well known; however, the impacts of the Portuguese phase (1534-1661) remain more obscure even while lasting influences were to be found. This study aims to probe into the Portuguese legacy of Mumbai through concepts of language, society, and identity, foregrounding how Portuguese occupation constituted cultural conversion with an agenda of proselytization and education, beyond a mere territorial claim. Indo-Portuguese, a Creole tongue, was the chief linguistic by-product planted by the Portuguese with Catholic groups like the East Indians, who not only retained Portuguese surnames but also preserved numerous traditions and linguistic traits. The Portuguese also brought along a particular interpretation of caste within which this very word has been used to shape Indian social hierarchies. Through an analysis of archival documents, missionary reports, and historical texts, this study dissects the narratives that minimize the Portuguese legacy of the city, like early demographic quotes in British times. By delving deeply into primary sources, this study reveals how these Portuguese legacies kept on shaping the identity of Mumbai well into and during the British set-up, thereby giving it a stature of cosmopolitanism.

Keywords: portuguese colonialism, indo-portuguese creole, mumbai history, british rule, cultural legacies.

Research Importance

This study contests the long-held belief that the Mumbai population was only 10,000 in 1665; rather, by new archival evidence, the research suggests a population closer to 20,000. The research becomes an attempt to investigate, within this setting, the socio-linguistic ramifications of the Portuguese on Mumbai, especially on a disintegrating prospect of Indo-Portuguese Creole under the British. The research also investigates the Portuguese contribution through the concepts of religious and social settings, rejecting how forced conversion influenced the Catholic communities through the reinforcement of rigid caste-oriented social divisions. Furthermore, comparisons are made between the Portuguese and British colonial strategies, specifically trade-oriented approaches of Portugal versus infrastructure-oriented policies in the case of British India. By critically evaluating primary sources such as letters and governmental reports, the research thus invalidates the existing historiography and reassesses aspects of early population dynamics, migration patterns, and colonial legacies in Mumbai.

Research Aim/Objectives

This research assesses Portuguese influence on Mumbai's language, culture, and society in comparison with British legacies. It also studies the historiographical bias existing against recognizing the Portuguese contribution while examining how proselytization played a role in shaping the East Indian Catholic identity. The study also emphasizes Portuguese influence interlaces with Marathi and Konkani, the role of caste classification in social structuring, and some conspicuous demographic trends indisputably overlooked during the early British rule.

Research Hypotheses

1. Linguistic Influence – Indo-Portuguese Creole and loanwords in Marathi and Konkani resulted from Portuguese rule.
2. Cultural Assimilation – The education, surname, and food provided by Portuguese missionary influence contributed to the formation of an East Indian Catholic identity.

3. Demographic Misrepresentation – Population figures estimate that Mumbai was more likely to have been 20,000 circa 1665 rather than 10,000.
4. Religious and Social Structures- Portuguese missionaries

(Mumbai is a fascinating city located on the west coast of India and has a very diverse and eventful history, which was formed by both cultural and colonial impacts. The Portuguese phase, which lasted for a century, remains in the background of the well-known but less familiar British heritage. This research study is investigating the many ways the Portuguese rule affected Mumbai, in particular, its linguistic and social impact. Besides popular tales about the seven islands and the Koli fishing communities, the aim of this study is to demystify the interactions initiated by the Portuguese colonialists together with several local groups.)

The Portuguese governance in Bombay was a combination of trade, territorial vanquishing and proselytization. Their system of proselytization frequently largely placed persons financing certain depressed individualities; as a result, the patronized party would also borrow the surname of his/ her Portuguese guarantor. This was one of the top styles of influence via language. Also, converts from upper estate Hindu families were frequently given Portuguese patronymics. Some of them also espoused certain food habits and medications which helped to develop them into their own separate community of East Indians. This converted casteless Christian community shouldered Portuguese education, spoke Portuguese and educated violent assimilation into the general Portuguese culture.¹⁹ Their significance in the Portuguese heritage of Mumbai will be anatomized along the course of this discussion. Portuguese preachers also laid the foundation for an sanctioned education system at a time when there was hardly anyone who was suitable to read Roman characters this handed a regulatory element which prepared for the after rise of Bombay as a megacity. Of all the languages that have been told by Portuguese in Bombay, this discussion will substantially concentrate on Marathi and Hindi, although other languages in the region

similar as Konkani and Gujarati were also told. Portuguese roots are also apparent in the mix of Marathi and Konkani used by the East Indian Catholic community in the former Northern Konkani quarter, Thane. First and foremost, its significant to note that verbal factors contribute to the structure of conglomerates in terms of stable governance over linguistically different, multilateral populations. The legitimation of verbal superiority frequently occurs in language pedagogy.²⁰ Being unstable power dynamics may impel communities to reject mama - lingo training and conclude rather for the colonial's language since this language promises access to a important wider knowledge base and socio- profitable relations. As mentioned before, this is what took place in Brazil as well as Bombay.

The social languages were assessed by force on native populations as part of an array of other Homeric measures for maintaining and reproducing control, or at least artistic and verbal ascendance. For illustration, the Portuguese established several seminaries and orphanages in Bombay and provisioned to populations they considered' depressed in the being society. By lessoning them in Portuguese or a Marathi creole of the same, they also assured that these depressed peoples converted to Christianity and viewed Christianity as a positive factor This allows for greater agency in society. This notion was fostered by the term casta (estate). Caste is one of the most important Portuguese derived loan words because of its sociological counteraccusations. It's pivotal to note that there's no original word for estate in any Indian or Asian language. When the Portuguese came to Asia, they instantly began classifying people by descent. Therefore, casta before 1500 had tended to relate to a type or strain of factory or beast- but it now came to mean a distinct mortal group marked by descent. Still, sources show that the Indian jati (endogamous groups) weren't firstly marked by' chastity of blood. In this manner, hasty, ethnocentric categorization and title of casta rather of jati by the Portuguese, led to the duty of a foreign structure on a social institution the impacts of which can still be seen

¹⁹ Anglo-Indian Codes (1887-88) by Whitley Stocks-1 Volume.

²⁰ Reshpande, A., 'The politics and culture of early modern warfare on the Konkani Coast of India during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries', in Sharma, Y. (ed.), Coastal Histories: Society and Ecology in Pre-Modern India (Delhi, 2010).

moment.²¹In the 1600s, due to Salsette islet being dominated by the estate system, Christianity was believed to bring a sense of equivalency and act as a levelling field. This is because it handed supposed deliverance for lower gentries. Utmost upper estate individualities still, moved down or avoided conversion and occupational differences remained. As a result, originally, the converts were from lower classes similar as the Kolis. Their shoptalk of Marathi, which contained a blend of Gujarati and Urdu words, was espoused and mixed with Portuguese words by preachers and was officially tutored in seminaries until lately. This language was also used in churches for runes, chants, mass, etc. This Indo- Portuguese creole of Bombay is an defunct language that was a result of the relations between Portuguese and original languages. It was spoken in colorful different regions similar as Bombay, Mahim, Vasai, Dadar, Versova, Bandra and Mazagaon. In 1906, it is estimated that there were about 5,000 native speakers of fluent Portuguese Creole. In Bombay and Mahim he is 2,000, in Bandra he is 1,000, 500 in Thana, 100 in Kurla, 50 in Vasai and 1,000 in other municipalities.²² There were also seminaries that tutored this creole to the richest classes but it was latterly replaced by the English language.

Attestation of this now-defunct Asia- Lusitanian vocabulary and Indo- Portuguese creoles has been done in the history, albeit to a limited extent. One of the most important references to language change in Bombay is found in a letter written in Portuguese from the linguist and missionary Weather in September 1726; the difference between the high language (as it's spoken in Portugal and is used in books) and the low language (as it has been corrupted also in India) is like the Italian used in Turkey, only important lower. Walther was making a comparison predicated on a postcreole continuum. This continuum comprises acrolectal speech (a variation of speech that is closest to the standardized or utmost prestige form of a language) and basilectal speech (the variety of speech that is utmost remote from the standardized interpretation)

singly. Walter's views on terminal and proximal rectal languages may explain why the history of the Portuguese language was given less importance in Bombay. The missionaries' primary focus was to convert the people of Bombay and any visionary trouble made to study the original languages or educate the locals Portuguese, was simply part of a larger trouble to meliorate communication i.e. reach out to and ultimately, convert a larger number of original people. Any books published on language in Bombay were presumably not published for the purpose of accurate nonfictional documentation.

Likewise, as made apparent by Walther's commentary, the original Indo- Portuguese creoles of Bombay were lowered upon S.R. Dalgado, an Indo-Portuguese clerk who compiled the first Portuguese-Konkani dictionary.²³ Also analysed Bombay in the 1800s and noticed the presence of differing Portuguese sub dialects My intelligencer observes that the dialect spoken by the three hundred inhabitants of his church (Thane) differs extensively from those of the other areas and comes truly close to that of Daman. Through the examination of the samples of the subdialects, we notice that the one of Bombay and its metropolises retains some nominal and verbal wind, has lower phonetic changes and suffers lower influence from English. The one of Tecelaria (Thane) and other remote places, left free to evolve without important external pressure, developed spontaneously into a creole proper, with some minor individual tricks which did not come generalized.

Dialect and linguistic influences in the Bombay region were examined and geographical terms were explained. This leads to the question of whether there could have been a single Creole community in the area. In fact, Dargado also states that the language of women in Bombay is more Creole than that of men. This is a clear reference to gender differences. This story conveys the view that women's language is more fundamental than men. This may be a result of the socioeconomic situation of women in nineteenth-century Bombay. Low levels of

²¹ Anglo-Portuguese Negotiations Relating to Bombay, 1660-1677, Oxford, 1923.

²² Danvers, F. C. The Portuguese in India, 2 Vols., London, 1966.

²³ Dialecto Indo-Portugues do Norte (the Indo-Portuguese dialect of Bombay and its suburbs). Lisbon, 1906, pg. 62-69.

formal education and employment have resulted in less formal (and different) exposure to European languages such as English and Portuguese. Sociolinguists have since suggested that there are two broad types of her in colonial language politics. Some research suggests that Portugal pursued the latter mainly in its colonies such as Mozambique, where the Portuguese-African proto-Creole languages developed by African slaves. When it comes to Bombay administration, the names of certain regions also refer mainly to the British period. This is largely why the layman is presented with a very specific and narrow narrative of Mumbai's history. This cryptic story often states that there were seven islands of Bombay, including the various fishing villages of Kolis, before the Portuguese arrived and spread Christianity. Married Charles II of England and Britain took over (i.e., marriage contract of 1661).²⁴ Thus, in her more than a century of limited Anglicized accounts, the stories of the natives are utterly lost, as is the record of their reactions and mingling with the Portuguese rulers. Thus, the blending of local and colonial traditions and lifestyles during this period remains undocumented. However, since certain regions such as Vasay were under Portuguese rule, the historical timeline cannot be broken down into before and after the marriage contract for the entire region – until 1739. Furthermore, University of Delhi professor Farooqi argues that extradition to the UK does not mean the end of Bombay's ties to Portugal, but maintains the Portuguese settlement's ties to the larger world. Vasai, for example, continued to serve as an important link for the integration of the Portuguese into the established Asian trade network. Concepts such as the simple explanation are valuable to anthropologists. As for the Portuguese period, the books published on Bombay only served to explain practices and language rather than actively contextualizing them, an essential feature of thick accounts. Is. Such context is probably not provided in detail, as most of the historical documents available today were written by Portuguese missionaries, not by anthropologists or historians. Bombay The British era made access to information more difficult,

as Indian Catholics in India eventually turned away from their Portuguese heritage and began to reaffirm their loyalty to the British government.

Several hypotheses have been put forward to understand why Portuguese influence in Bombay was limited, especially compared to Britain, and why its history is poorly documented. Portugal's main motive was to gain significant control over the spice trade. This has forced resources to focus on maritime defense strategies to maintain existing shipping lanes rather than expanding inland. There are certain similarities between the Portuguese colonization of Bombay and other former colonies such as Mozambique. Macau and Sri Lanka, considering similar development paths of Creole and trade relations. However, it is much easier to find documents related to the larger Portuguese colonies such as Salvador and Rio de Janeiro in Brazil and Goa in India. The reason why Portuguese influence on Goa is more and better documented compared to its influence on Bombay is also the difference in time and priorities that Portugal continued to dominate these areas, elaborated by Professor Mendiratta of Coimbra University, Portugal, comparing two ports.²⁵ Old Goa was a bustling city and port with tens of thousands of inhabitants when it was conquered by the Portuguese in 1510. It was an important port already with thriving shipbuilding activities, palaces, mosques and so on. Thus, in the 1530s, it became the capital of the Estado da India, temporarily prospering and he of India becoming one. The most cosmopolitan and prosperous city of the early modern era. Now, in 1534, Bombay was probably a little-known village of about 1,000 people, but in the 1650s, the whole island could have had nearly 10,000 people.²⁶ Bombay Village was not the main village on Bombay Island that is often misunderstood. Why did the Portuguese develop small or average villages into cities? Basically, there was nothing to justify or demand.

As is generally portrayed, the history of Bombay during the first decade of British rule is heavily stretched with tradition. According to an enduring myth, Bombay had

²⁴ The Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island, Gazetteers of the Bombay Presidency, vol. 2, Gazetteer Department (Government of Maharashtra), 1978

²⁵ ROSSA, Walter, 'Bombay before the british: the indo-portuguese layer' in Mumbai Reader, Mumbai, Urban Design Research Institute, (2006), pp. 262–269.

²⁶ Dialecto Indo-Portugues do Norte (the Indo-Portuguese dialect of Bombay and its suburbs). Lisbon, 1906, pg.78.

a population of about 10,000 when British rule began. This number was accepted as a largely established fact by both the Bombay annalist from the 18th century onwards and his sanctioned report of the 19th century Census. Beforehand chroniclers should know. The supposition of 10,000 makes sense, as they supposedly didn't have access to the applicable functionary attestation. But it's strange that the more recent pens of the history of Bombay should have eternalized the myth when the authentic contemporary documents were published in the Twenties of the present Century. Where this lapse is due to genuine ignorance of the published sources it may be forgiven, but where, after having the occasion to know the data, no attempt is made to correct the error, still much it may be sanctified by time, is the topmost injustice one could render to literal verity. Sir Charles Fawcett, who should have known better, is shamefaced of the binary literal crimes of suppression and suggestion when he seeks to produce the print that the population of Bombay at the end of Portuguese Rule was indeed 10,000. What's the source of the myth which has been propagated by the chroniclers of Bombay for over two and a half centuries? Believe it or not, a single judgment, not in any sanctioned document, but in a letter written by an English rubberneck, ²⁷Dr. John Fryer, Surgeon to the East India Company, Says the Croaker in his Alternate Letter entitled An literal Account of Bombaim and the Anchorages conterminous, dated 15 January 1675 at Surat Of these (the people that live in Bombay), one among another, may be reckoned 60,000 Souls; more by 50,000 than the Portugals ever could. The difference of 10,000 has so far been reckoned by the general chroniclers of Bombay to be its population when British Rule began. Still, some of these chroniclers inaptly believe that this figure is representative of Bombay's population in 1661, as if Portuguese rule over the islet ended that time. Despite the fact that the marriage contract between Charles II of England and Catherine of Portugal was concluded under Composition 11, the capitulation of the harborage and islets of Bombay to the British crown by the King of Portugal is frequently not uncommon. It's a known

literal fact. Britain, inked in 23 June 16615, didn't gain factual possession of Bombay until 8 February 1661. Gerson da Cunha not only states as fact that the population of Bombay was 10,000 in his 1661, but also substantiation that the population of Bombay was 15,000 in his 1664. Ernest, whom Father Hull also follows.²⁸

A difference of 10,000 has so far been counted by common historians of Bombay as the population in the early days of British rule. However, some of these historians mistakenly think that this figure is representative of Bombay's population in his 1661, as if Portuguese rule over the island ended in that year. I'm here. Despite the fact that the marriage contract between Charles II of England and Catherine of Portugal was concluded under Article 11, the cession of the port and islands of Bombay to the British crown by the King of Portugal is often not uncommon. It's a known historical fact. Britain, signed in 23 June 1615, did not gain actual possession of Bombay until 8 February 1661.²⁹ Gerson da Cunha not only reported as fact that the population of Bombay was 10,000 in his 1661, but also presented evidence that in 1664 the population of Bombay was 15,000. Ernest and his father Hull followed suit. ³⁰Dr. Fryer is the first estimate of Bombay's population and is alluded to in most of Bombay's popular history books. This too is a myth, but if it is based on genuine ignorance of the official documents published, the error does not constitute a crime against historical truth. As an authority on the history of Bombay under early British rule James Douglas, a well-known and often cited author, deliberately and maliciously distorts the narrative by giving a completely false impression of the quality of the population of Bombay under Portuguese rule. Dr. Fryer Douglas wrote of Bombay's population when the British took it from the Portuguese: The population is estimated at 10,000. Fryer calls them fugitives and vagabonds. Reinforcing the Portuguese prejudices, Firoz Malavalli blindly followed Douglas and alluded to Dr. Fryer's

²⁷ Fryer, A New account of East India and Persia, vol.1, W. Crooke (ed.), London, 1909, p.82.

²⁸ ROSSA, Walter, 'Bombay before the british: the indo-portuguese layer' in Mumbai Reader, Mumbai, Urban Design Research Institute, (2006), pp. 272-279.

²⁹ Anglo-Portuguese Negotiations Relating to Bombay, 1660-1677, Oxford, 1923.

³⁰ Fryer, A New account of East India and Persia, vol.1, W. Crooke (ed.), London, 1909.

comments were distorted. In fact, Dr. Fryer's remarks in 1675 concerning the nature of the people living in Bombay under British rule. Dr. The people who live here (Bombay) are a mixture of most of their neighbors, mostly refugees and vagrants... Bombay's population grew to 60,000 within a decade of British rule. That was quite remarkable, but it was a temporary phenomenon due to the large number of 'refugees and wanderers'. Indeed, the presence of a large active population of undesirable elements is a prominent feature of Bombay's demographic during the early period of British rule. This was a direct result of British policy to attract people to Bombay, especially merchants and craftsmen. However, although it initially attracted only a small number of merchants and artisans, refugees and vagabonds flocked to Bombay from neighboring areas. According to authentic primary sources, Bombay's population was not 10,000, he was more than double what he was in 1665 when British rule of the island began, and Dr. It was not estimated to In fact, the first estimate of Bombay's population was made in the very early days of British rule and is contained in a document sent by Humphrey Cooke, the first governor of Bombay, to Lord Arlington on 3 March 1665. Her Majesty's Secretary of State, less than a month after being exiled from Bombay by the Portuguese Commissioner Don Luis Mendes de Vasconcelos (Vedor de Fazenda) and Dr. Sebastiao Alvares. Migos (Prime Minister of the Court) was specially sent with Cook from Goa by Antonio de Mello de Castro, Viceroy of Portuguese India. This important document is kept in the London Archives and was first published in full by Shafast Ahmad Khan in 1922 and by Sir William Foster in 1925 in his *The English Factory in India, 1665-1667*. An excerpt was published in the statistics on Bombay that Cook gave to Lord Arlington in the cable mentioned have the following interesting description: On the island (Bombay), as the Padres gave me a description, there are five churches, nine towns and villages, and more than 20,000 souls.³¹

This figure of 20,000 is contained in an official report from Bombay's then highest government agency and is far

more reliable than Dr. It seems to be close to the flyer letter and reality. Additionally, Cook provides the sources for the best possible estimates in the absence of an official census. The island's Roman Catholic clergy, composed mainly of Franciscan missionaries, knew with some certainty not only the number of Christian residents, but also the number of non-Christian residents. Not taken as man of God, Cook's informant could not have lied without a strong motive to mislead the Governor of Bombay... but no such motive can be found. On the other hand, Dr. 1675's population of Bombay is overestimated, so Fryer's population of Bombay at the end of Portuguese rule is underestimated, as is his figure of 60,000. Cook's figure of 20,000 roughly represents the actual population of Bombay at the beginning of British rule, according to a document sent by Cook's successor, Lord Arlington, on March 2, 1667.³² Seems to be supported by his second official estimate of Bombay's population included in the I sent Sir Jervas Lucas. Sir Jervas Lucas estimated the total population of the island at over 12,000. In the same letter, Lord Jervas said: I have sent the lord a brief outline of the number of houses and people allowed to enter the island since my arrival. So, it seems that the number of 12,000 people has been decided in the census. Unfortunately, I do not have a copy of the document mentioned by Lord Jervas in his letter of 2 March 1667. However, the figure of 12,000 appears to be based on some sort of census, and is also included in an official report from Bombay's highest authority to His Majesty the King's Chief Foreign Secretary, so it is roughly the same as Bombay's actual population. Can be assumed to be the same. Represented in his third year of British rule.

If both Cooke's and Lucas' estimates are taken to be essentially correct, this suggests that Bombay's population, far from increasing under British rule as is commonly believed, Her 8,000 means decreased. This decline, seemingly impressive, is not only likely but virtually certain, given the powerful factors that greatly reduced Bombay's population between 1665 and his 1667. Some of these forces were generated by the establishment of British rule over Bombay. Even before the British took actual

³¹ Fryer, *A New account of East India and Persia*, vol.1, W. Crooke (ed.), London, 1909, p.62.

³² *Anglo-Portuguese Negotiations Relating to Bombay, 1660-1677*, Oxford, 1923.

possession of Bombay the knowledge that a Protestant Power was going to rule over the Island was expected to create an apprehension in the minds of the local Catholics, Portuguese and Indian alike, regarding the future of the very wide religious freedom which they enjoyed under Portuguese Rule, whose religious policy was grossly discriminatory against the local non-Christians. To reassure local Catholics, Article 11 of the marriage contract under which Bombay was ceded to the British Crown included the following clause: In pursuance of this cession, the people of the aforementioned island (who are also subjects of the King of Great Britain and are thus subject to his orders, crown, jurisdiction, and government) shall continue to reside there and enjoy the freedom to the Roman Catholic religion in the same manner as they now do, The proviso that Catholics should be allowed the free exercise of their religion as heretofore was naturally interpreted Catholics in the area, both clergy and laity, continue to view Catholicism as the most popular religion in Bombay during Portuguese Rule. Prior to the British occupation, that religion, as Father J. H. Gens points out that it was practically the state religion on Bombay Island. Hindus and Muslims were not free to pray in public, and there was no question of condoning Protestant worship. All this changed with the establishment of British control over Bombay. The goal of the British government's policy of religious tolerance was to promote the settlement of Bombay by both Christians and non-Christians. So Catholics and Catholics lost their old privileges in Bombay. Paradoxically as it may seem, the British government's liberal religious policies were calculated to attract more. People coming to Bombay tended to drive local Catholics, Portuguese and Indians off the island. Antonio de Melo Castro, specially sent by the King of Portugal with the British Expeditionary Force to hand over the islands to England, expressed his reluctance to hand over Bombay to England in a letter dated December 28, 1662.³³ Said it was a target, we can see that: Bombay is home to many Christian souls who will one day be forced to change their religion. When they surrendered the Catholics on Anjouan Johann Rose Island

in the Comora Islands, how do they allow Catholics to live in their territory.

Thus, when British rule began in Bombay, local Catholics tended to migrate to the nearby Portuguese territories of Salset and Vassein. This tendency was greatly strengthened by the expropriation policy of Cook's successor, Sir Jerbas Lucas, against the local landowners, most of whom were Catholics and most prominently Portuguese. The proof of the elderly were mentioned on March 2, 267, and was detained by the reference to the corruption of Portuguese lists. Among them, I brought him a lot from them and I rushed to Bandra, Senchor Barnight de Taway, Duna proportions and Miranda (Hearan and Miranda, the first three have passed throughout the island. You know that there are three or Several titles. They are the most important landowners and the most important landowners and people who rely on people and people. I escaped a lot, I went to Dongin and I returned to the island. We know this from the testimony of Sir George Oxen, the president of the British factory at Surat and the first governor of the Bombay company.³⁴ In January 1669 Sir George paid a short visit to Bombay, and on 15 January 1669 a despatch from Bombay to the Company reported: continual weeping and tears, The trader of the Constant ologist sent what your president received. lasuits' Padress was sent to the photographs, others, art and other residents of the Aral Sea, fate, fate and other residents, and his successor, Kapp. Gary agreed between the two kings of Portugal and now agreed with the island and now came to the island interacting with the islands, such as objects such as coconut gardens and other rental prices. The income they belong; Unlimited number of people, but leads to a legitimate conclusion, but the number of people in front of Vervaz Luci Lucy was reported on 2 March 1667 and returned on September 23, 1968, Lord Arlington taken to the company.

There was an even stronger external force that panicked Bombay residents and worked to temporarily depopulate them. Understanding how this factor works requires some knowledge of the historical background and characteristics of Bombay's population. At that time, the

³³ Anglo-Portuguese Negotiations Relating to Bombay, 1660-1677, Oxford, 1923.

³⁴ Gokhale, B.G., Surat in the Seventeenth Century: A Study in Urban History of Pre-Modern India (London, 1979).

population of the island was very unstable due to a sense of insecurity. Whenever some of the islands that together with the neighboring mainland formed Bombay's port were threatened with attack, for example by the Arabs or the Dutch, people sought refuge in the neighboring islands or sought the security of Bombay. There was a strong tendency to seek Close to mainland. When Bombay was under Portuguese rule, population migration from Bombay to neighboring areas and vice versa was primarily within Portuguese territory, and the total population of the territory from Pathein to Bombay There was little difference in However, once Bombay came under British rule, population migration to and from Bombay would lead to fluctuations in the population of Bombay as a separate political entity. These vibrations were frequent and violent. In the early years of British rule, Bombay was poorly positioned or organized for defence. The weakness of Bombay's geography is well documented in contemporary documents. Gerald Sungier, Governor of Bombay, wrote to the company on 5 December 1673: The low Bombay Islands and the waters which form its many bays and bays are open and safe from the overthrow and attacks of foreign enemies. . A person who can become the master of the sea with his own power. The King of Portugal has (as they say) neither houses, nor forts, nor ammunition, nor land John Fryer describes the lack of fortifications in more picturesque language. Unless you have multiple cameras. Located in a small tower in a convenient place to monitor the Nalabars... The delicate garden, said to be most pleasant on the pavement of the house, is to Dalian more for the love of artillery than to withstand an invading enemy. Seeking safety in flight from alien invasion or even the slightest threat of invasion. For example, from Surat's letter to the company dated March 26, 1667, we learn that the people of Bombay did not have the courage to resist.³⁵ Small artifacts sent by the Arabs... They looted and fled from the burnt place. Anno 1662. The tendency to flee at the slightest sign of danger, which had become second nature to the timid inhabitants of Bombay, persisted even

after the British authorities had taken care of the fortifications of the island. Sir John Guyer wrote in 1700: All this is so shocking to the poor inhabitants, that they think of nothing but flying from the island to save their little children. Just like when Sidi lands, they are afraid of losing everything.

This literal environment helps us to realise how the people of Bombay must have replied when news reached them towards the end of 1665 that England was at war with Holland. The Anglo- Dutch War of 1665- 67 began when England declared war on Holland on 4 March 1665 and it ended with the signing of the Treaty of Breda on 21 July 1667. It took some months for the news of the outbreak of conflict to reach the Governor of Bombay, and when it did reach him, it came through the Portuguese authorities in Western India. I've received correspondence from the Vizorey Antonio de Mello de Castro and Ignacio Sarmenhto de Carvalho, said Humphrey Cooke in a letter to Lord Arlington dated December 23, 1665. Captain General of the North, and severall others, that the warrs between us and Holland is broks out, and publicly placarded, and that the Dutch for certaine intends to beate us off this islet, the which hath putt mee at my head end; the want of plutocrat boath to fortify, Victuall for a Seige and other necessarys for Warr, I've made my announcement- dresse unto the President of Surat. The Portuguese Viceroy, allowing that the doom of the English in Bombay was as good as sealed, gleefully wrote to the King of Portugal on 5 January 1666. Ibelieve. The Dutch will expel these people from there(Bombay) as I've heard they're preparing a large line to besiege Bombay. Pertaining to the occupants, how they replied to the trouble of Dutch irruption, knowing from dependable sources about their geste In the face of analogous pitfalls during the Anglo- Dutch War of 1772- 1774.³⁶ You can infer that it must be The islet was more set than ever for a foreign attack, thanks to the vigorous conduct of the Governor of Angers. Rumors snappily turned to certainty.

It was believed that an attack on Bombay was intended and strenuous efforts were made to place the Island in the best defensive condition possible in the short

³⁵ Conlon, F.F. (1985) 'Ethnicity in a Colonial Port City, Bombay 1665-1830'. In Basu, D. (Ed.) *The Rise and Growth of the Colonial Port Cities in Asia*. Lanham: University Press of America.

³⁶ B.B. Misra, *The Central Administration of the East India Company 1773-1834* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1959).

time available. But all these efforts apparently failed to reassure the timid inhabitants of Bombay. Governor Aungier wrote to the Company in March 1672 after the danger of a Dutch invasion of Bombay had passed; The common people upon the noise of the Dutch fleet generally fled away into the neighbouring partes; insomuch that the Island was left quite naked, and of neer 4,000 Christians which were numbered on this Island there remayned few more than 200, and those miserable fellows kept against their will.²⁰ When on 2 March 1667 Sir Gervass Lucas gave the estimate of the population of Bombay as 12,000, the Anglo-Dutch War of 1665-67 was still on. There was, therefore, still the possibility of a Dutch attack on Bombay, and the thousands of people who must have fled from the Island to the neighbouring territory, as they did in 1673, could not have returned to Bombay. This is the principal reason for the precipitate fall in the population of Bombay between March 1665 and March 1667. On the other hand if the figure of 10,000 derived from Dr Pryer's estimate be taken to be the population of Bombay at the beginning of 1665, then it would mean that the population of Bombay actually rose by the beginning of 1667; But this is absurd, in view of the circumstances indicated above.

The figure of 10,000 could perhaps be accepted as a very rough estimate of Bombay's population in 1665. The US delegation was the East India Company. But in particular, the statements referred to cannot be believed unless they are corroborated by credible independent sources. For one thing, Lord Clarendon's initial knowledge of Bombay was very vague. Before the Portuguese actually surrendered Bombay to England under Article 11 of the Marriage Contract, Lord Clarendon recorded that the British government held: The permanent annexation of the island of Bombay, including its towns and castles at a very short distance from Brazil, into the crown of England. 's estimate of Bombay's population was also his own wild guess. In any event, it is improbable that the population of Bombay was 8,000 in March 1667, and at the same time a local man, Governor Lucas, told Lord Arlington that Bombay's population was more than 12,000. The conclusion is inevitable that Bombay's population at the start of British rule was closer to Humphrey Cook's estimate of 20,000 than to Dr. Cook. John Fryer's estimate

is he's 10,000. On 3 March 1665, the day Humphrey Cooke was dispatched to Lord Arlington, British He must finally determine the territorial limits of Bombay. Like many islands, traditionally he had seven islands, and Bombay Island, stretching from Colaba in the south to Sion and Mahim in the north, was united by sealing the chasm created by subsequent seas and reclamation. Was indeed delivered to Cook by the Portuguese on February 8, 1665. According to a document titled Title Deed. Possession was incontinently granted and the islet of Bombay and its harbor were delivered, and the situation included the towns of Mazagon, Parel and Worli. Therefore, at the time of the Portuguese, British occupation of the islets, Mahim, which belonged to the two southern islets, Videlicet Old Lady Island and Colaba, to the north, Sion, Dharavi and Wadala, wasn't part of the British islet. Bombay January 1665 This reduction in ceded homes appears to have been due to pressure from the original Portuguese as they didn't misbehave with the capitulation deed inked by Viceroy Antonio de Mello de Castro at Panjim on the 14th. The occupants of the said islets of Salsette, Karanja, and Baragan, and of other places within our governance, shall grope freely in the said kudos and gutters, the arm of the ocean which enters Bombay, and is separated from Salsatt by the bay of Bandora; From this composition it's clear that the Portuguese governor had considered the rendition of Mahim and his vassals. But on 8 February Cook accepted without murmur whatever the Portuguese officers handed him. His intentions were communicated to Lord Arlington in 1665. Indeed, lower than a month after the Portuguese had surrendered Bombay to Cooke, an fortified mob captured Mahim and took him with his family to Bombay. Locked in Antonio de Melade Casto lamented plaintively in a letter to the King of Portugal dated January 5, 1666. Earth. Mahim was part of British Bombay when Cook estimated Bombay's population to be over 20,000. From your statement you can see that Then I'm on this islet giving all the general configuration I serve to Your Majesty. Your Majesty the King. Mahim made 20 men stay there and rule over them. On March 3, 1665 we learn that Colaba wasn't heading for British home. Cook, who gave the confines of Bombay in the description quoted, countries. The islet is about eight long hauls long. There should be more. In this regard, Gerald Aunger stated in his

letter to the company dated 15 December 1673 that (Bombay Island) is about ten long hauls long. Until also, Colaba was part of British Bombay under Article 10 of the notorious Treaty of Aungmye of 30/1672. It was concluded that by the time British rule began, Bombay's population, including Mahim and his retainers, exceeded 20,000, Colaba alone.

Conclusion

The paper interrogates the dual and paradoxical history of Portuguese influences in Bombay, enters conventional constructions as well as its alternative, complex versions deliberately. Portuguese impact cannot be simply defined in someone's terms by trade and conquest because it created a considerable part of the sociolinguistic and demographic structure of the region. It repudiates the story of a small initial population: The paper argues so convincingly against what has for long been held to be true—a population of only 10,000 for Bombay as the British took it. Using contemporary documents, it establishes that the number could well have been around 20,000, throwing light on the lack of validity in historical accounts based on limited information; thus this correction changes the very grounds of understanding concerning Bombay under British rule during the earliest periods. The impact of Portuguese proselytisation: The research highlights how Portuguese missionaries contributed to the establishment of a formal system of education and the production of the unique Indo-Portuguese Creole language. Although the language was eventually lost, it attests to the extent and depth of mixing and exchange during the Portuguese days. The paper also emphasizes some of the unintended ramifications of the Portuguese "casta": that it concretized divisions in a way that still resonates today. The complexity of power relations and language: The imposition of Portuguese language and culture eventually produced a community that came to be called East Indian although initially meant perhaps only for control and conversion purposes. This community adopted Portuguese names, food habits, and so on, thus creating a distinctive identity. This study also notes that language can act as an instrument of power through compelling conditioning and yet marks cultural identity. The limited scope of Portuguese influence compared to other colonial powers: The article

mentions that, although the Portuguese presence was heavy in Bombay, it could naturally not stand the test of depth as did the British. Indeed, this is because Portugal's emphasis was on the spice trade and coastal defensive lines, thus little latitude was left for it to continue forward expansion into the continent, as well as its engagement in developing Bombay. It contrasts Bombay's experience with that which Goa has had, where influence is more entrenched because of a longer period of colonial stay and a more developed pre-existing urban center. Importance of primary sources and critical historiography: The research thus stresses the necessity for a careful examination of historical documents and raising certain questions around accepted narratives. In fact, the primary sources—as in letters and official reports—are used by the paper to point out some of the inaccuracies in so-called accepted versions of history and represent Bombay's past in a truer picture. It warns against secondary sources, particularly those written with an agenda like the missionaries'. The fluctuating nature of Bombay's population: The peaks and troughs in the population of Bombay can be seen in light of war, political disarray, and migration. It highlights how, on average, little demographic change occurs under early British rule in Bombay, except where the Anglo-Dutch wars created havoc. Thus, this paper contribution is well worth considering in the historiography of Bombay, mainly because it provides oppositional narratives to those erstwhile accepted, as well as drawn from more intricate analyses in the Portuguese period, on how cultural, linguistic, and demographic forces interact in large measure to construct the early development of the city. Its suggestions offer impetus to further scholarly attention towards and discussion over historical sources for a fuller understanding of the rich and scholarly complex past that is Bombay.

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