



**CONTRIBUTION OF THE JAINS TO
THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIO-CULTURAL
DEVELOPMENT OF THE CITY OF
BOMBAY (1860-1960)**

Dr. Hemali Sanghavi



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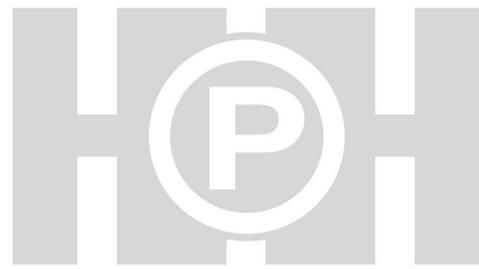
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**THIS WORK IS
DEDICATED TO
MY FATHER
LATE SURESH S. SANGHAVI**



FOREWORD

Contribution of The Jains to the Economic and Socio-Cultural Development of the City of Bombay (1860-1960) is a very well researched work by Dr. Hemali Sanghavi. It has brought out the significant contribution of the Jains in the economic, social and cultural life of Bombay. The Jains are an important body of religionists, known more for their wealth and influence than their numbers. Half the mercantile transactions of our nation pass through their hands as merchants and bankers. Their presence, therefore, is to be taken into account. Dr. Hemali has documented the contribution of the Jains by using primary and secondary sources, has consulted religious preachers to know the influence of Jainism on the economic as well as social life of the Jains and the development of Jain culture, which is very important as well as interesting.

As the study has explored, the Jains made their inroad to prosperity with the boom period (1861-1865) in Bombay city. Their journey throughout hundred years remained impressive and interesting. The history of the activities of the Jains which have resulted in the establishment of a prosperous business as well as in the acquisition of wealth reads like a romance.

If Bombay owes its claim to greatness due to its trade and commerce, there can be little doubt that the Jain community holds lion's share in this claim. The present study clearly testifies this fact.

The Jains through their trade and industry provided employment and income to thousands of people. They were pioneers in many fields like aircraft, automobile, shipping, etc. As industrialists, they fought against the mighty force of the imperialist British Government.

Jains in continuation with their ancient and medieval literary heritage made contributions to the creation of literature ranging from religious to secular. They were involved with the publication and propagation of literature. They made huge charities for the cause of literature. Through their literary works and printing presses, the Jains played an important role in the propagation of renaissance ideas in the island of Bombay in the nineteenth century and thereafter.

Influenced by the larger Indian renaissance, they undertook reforms in the social, religious and cultural spheres. They did not lag behind in the field of journalism. They took lead in starting newspapers, periodicals and newsletters for variety of objectives which ranged from creating awareness to attainment of unity in the community. A number of Jains made their mark in the field of cinema. They were found to be involved with almost all of the aspects of film making. It is interesting to know that the famous film personality V. Shantaram was a Jain. Many such interesting facts are found in this work.

Jains earned name for their charities. They always extended the hand of charity to needy and the underprivileged. For Jains, charity had socio-religious significance and implications; their philanthropic activities in turn brought economic, cultural and egalitarian benefits for the city.

The Jains are India's ambassadors abroad, along with trade, they take Indian culture with them. The 'Jain' identity has become conspicuous in the present context. The community at present in the wake of globalisation has begun to consolidate and strengthen itself at international level. Organisations like Jain International Trade Organisation (JITO) are indicative of this process. Jains of Mumbai (Bombay) are again in leadership roles in such endeavours.

This work is very important to know the contribution of the Jains in the economic and socio-cultural life of Bombay. It brings out the role of the Jains in the urbanisation of Bombay.

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PREFACE

It gives great pleasure to present my doctoral study titled '*Contribution of the Jains to the Economic and Socio-cultural Development of the City of Bombay (1860-1960)*'. It is a humble attempt to document the Jain community in the historical perspective. This research has become possible due to the support of a number of people.

This study would not have materialise but for the positive, inspiring guidance and patience support of my mentor, Dr. Mangala Purandare. Her suggestions and input made this research process an enriching experience. I am grateful to Dr. E.J. D'Souza for guiding me in the initial stage of my research.

I would like to acknowledge that the present research was undertaken at M.M.P.V. Kane Institute for Post Graduate Studies at Asiatic Society of Mumbai.

I have referred primary and secondary source material available at Maharashtra State Archives, University of Mumbai Library, Asiatic Society of Mumbai, F.E. Dinshaw library, K.J. Somaiya College of Arts & Commerce Library, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan Library, K.R. Cama Library, Jain Sahitya Vikas Mandal Library, Forbes Library, Heras Institute of Indian History and Culture and S.N.D.T. University Library. I am thankful to all these institutes for their assistance in my journey.

At this moment, I would like to remember my teachers Dr. M.D. David and Dr. Mariam Dossal whose teaching inspired in me the fascination for the history of Bombay. My association with Jain Academy and Educational Research Centre and K.J. Somaiya Centre for Studies in Jainism made me to take up the research on the theme of Jainology. The lectures, dedication and personality of Dr. Antarkar and Dr. Bipin Doshi have been greatly instrumental in impressing upon me to study the Jain community. Dr. Kamini Gogari, Ms. Shilpa Chheda, Dr. Ela Dedhia and Dr. Renuka Porwal were the ones with whom I shared this beautiful journey.

I thank Dr. Sudha Vyas, Principal, K.J. Somaiya College of Arts & Commerce and Dr. Neeta Khandpekar for their support. Special thanks to Dr. Mrunal Bhatt for her guidance in transliteration. A big thanks to

my students, whose love and respect boosted me to go ahead in my research endeavour.

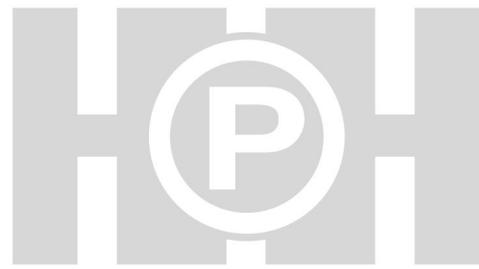
I am thankful to members of my family. I would like to pay tribute to my father, Late Suresh Saubhagchand Sanghavi, whose memory has remained endless source of inspiration for me. This research would not have been possible without the blessing, love, support and trust of my mother, Smt. Daya S. Sanghavi and my brother Samir Sanghavi. My sincere thanks to Himalaya Publishing House for their keen interest and care in the publication of this book.

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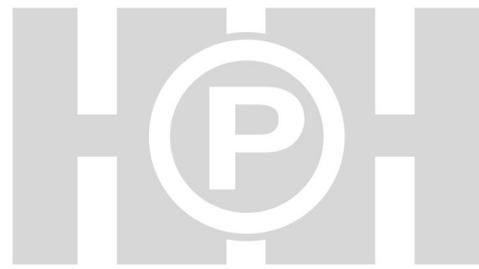
ABBREVIATIONS

BGDA	The Bombay Grain Dealers' Association
BPBEC	Bombay Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee
DDRS	<i>Sheth Dhanji Devshi Rashtriyashala Suvarna Mahotsva 1923-1973</i> , Bombay, 1973
GBCI	Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island
GD	General Department
HD	Home Department
JIMC	Journal of the Indian Merchants Chamber
MJYS	Shri Mumbai Jain Yuvak Sangh 1929-2009 Celebrating 80 Years Prabuddha Bhakti Yatra, Mumbai, 2009
RD	Revenue Department
SJIMC	Supplement to Anglo-Gujarati Quarterly Journal of the Indian Merchants' Chamber
SPRJ	Shri Pandit Ratnachandraji Jain Kanyashala Trust, 1998-1999, Souvenir, Bombay, 1999
sup.	Supplementary
TOI Dir	The Times of India Directory of Bombay (City and Presidency)



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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Jainism¹ has been an integral part of Indian civilisation. Right from the Vedic period, two different currents of thought and ways of life known as *Brahmaṇa* Culture and *Śramaṇa*² culture have been prevalent in India. Jainism along with Buddhism³ has been major representative of the *Śramaṇa* culture in the country.

In Philosophy, the Jains occupy a distinct position between the Brahmanic and Buddhist philosophical systems.⁴ *Ahiṅsā*, i.e., the principle of non-violence forms the basis of Jain philosophy. It is a value that is embedded in many aspects of Jain life. Jain texts in general put emphasis on the principle of *Ahiṅsā*. Jain view of life is based on equality of life, which is all souls are equal.⁵ Compassion for all living beings, self-control, simple living, honesty and integrity have been characteristic of Jain culture. The history of any religion is any case the history of the people following it. While the philosophy has been an important aspect of the religion, the practical conduct and activities of the followers nonetheless occupy important place in the study of the religions. It would be therefore appropriate to look into the historical evolution of the community in the country.

1. The word Jainism comes from 'Jina', meaning victor of the self.
2. Self-effort, self-control, equality of all beings and equanimity of mind were the basis of *Śramaṇa* tradition.
3. Both of them did not accept the scriptural authority of the Vedas and efficacy of the sacrifices.
4. Vilas Sangave, *Jaina Community — A Social Survey*, Popular Prakashan, Bombay, 1980, p. 374.
5. Rekha Chaturvedi, "Jain Ethics and its Reflections on Society" in *Currents in Indian History, Art and Archaeology* edited by U.P. Arora, A.K. Sinha and A.K. Singh, Anamika Publishers & Distributors, New Delhi, 1999, p. 57.

Jain Community in Historical Perspective

The Jain community has been one of the ancient communities of India. The Jains flourished in different parts of India during ancient and medieval period. Various royal families championed the cause of Jainism throughout the history. For example, Mauryan emperor Chandragupta, and later, Samprati, the grandson of Asoka propagated Jainism in the country.⁶

Various schisms took place in Jainism from time to time. Consequently, Jainism has been divided into sects and sub-sects. What constitutes total renunciation, along with disagreement over the ability of women to attain liberation, were questions that divided the Jain community in the first century A.D. into two major divisions, viz., the *Digambara* and *Śvetāmbara*.⁷ *Digambara* is a Jain sect whose ascetics practise nudity, while *Śvetāmbara* counterparts, as the name suggests wear white clothes. These sects were further divided into small sub-sects and groups like *Gaṇa* and *Gachchha*.⁸ *Śthānakvāsi*, *Murtipujaka* and *Terapantha* have been important sub-sects of *Śvetāmbara* division.⁹ The *Murtipujakas* put emphasis on the worship of idols. The *Śthānakvāsis* do not follow the worship of idols, while *Terapantha* believe in thirteen religious principles, viz., five *Mahavratas*,¹⁰ five *samitis*¹¹ and three *Guptis*.¹² *Bisapantha*, *Terapantha* and *Taranpantha* are important sub-sects of *Digambara* division. The *Bisapantha* (twenty-fold path) function under the guidance of *Bhatraka*.¹³ The *Terapantha* (your path)

6. Radha Kumud Mookherji, "Asoka, the Great", in *History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. II*, edited by R.C. Majumdar, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1968, p. 90.
7. Padamanabh S. Jaini, *The Jaina Path of Purification*, Motilal Banarasiidass Publishers, Delhi, 2001, pp. 4-5.
8. Max Weber, *The Religion of India — The Sociology of Hinduism and Buddhism*, The Free Press, Illinois, 1958, p. 198.
9. Vilas Sangave, *op. cit.*, p. 53.
10. The five *Mahavratas* stand for five major vows laid down for the ascetics. These are non-violence (*ahiṅsā*), truthfulness (*satya*), non-stealing (*asteya*), celibacy (*brahmacarya*) and principle of non-possessiveness (*aparigraha*).
11. The five *samitis* implied for the monks include care in walking (*īryā samiti*), care in speaking (*bhāṣa samiti*), care in accepting alms (*eṣaṇā samiti*), care in picking up things and putting them down (*ādāna-nikṣepaṇa samiti*), and care in performing the excretory functions (*utsarga samiti*).
12. The three *Guptis* refer to progressive curbing of the activities of mind, body and speech by the monks.
13. *Bhatraka* is semi-ascetic head of a *Digambara* temple.

follow the worship of images with dried things such as rice, sandal, almonds, etc. *Taranpantha* value the sacred books such as *Samayasāra*¹⁴ and spiritual practices. In spite of these and many other sectarian divisions, the adaptability of the Jains to the diverse circumstances and challenges has remained the strength of Jainism and made the survival of Jainism throughout the century-long history possible. The community made its mark by adopting itself to the changed circumstances; the basics, however, never got compromised. It is not just about adoptability and survival, the journey of Jainism across the centuries is marked by important landmarks.

Achievements of Jains

The Jains contributed significant share to the culture and civilisation of India.¹⁵ It is largely due to the efforts of the Jains that *AhiṢsā* still forms the substratum of Indian character as a whole. To the Jains perhaps goes the credit of popularising Vegetarianism on a large scale. Karnataka¹⁶ and Gujarat, the strongholds of Jains from ancient times due to the royal patronage, continue to be largely vegetarian.

The Jains had rich and varied literary traditions from ancient times. There is not a single branch of knowledge in Indian tradition to which the Jains have not made any contribution. In almost all the important Indian languages, viz., Sanskrit, Prakrit, Tamil, Kannada, Gujarati and Hindi, early contributions were from the pen of Jain scholars. The Jain contributions to literature extend beyond religion, in the areas of philosophy, grammar, lexicography, poetics, rhetoric, logic, mathematics, astronomy, astrology and in science of politics.¹⁷

The Jains produced a very extensive treasure of manuscript paintings. They created numerous and finest specimens of architecture in different parts of the country.¹⁸ The grouping together of their temples

14. It is the ancient work written by Jain ascetic-scholar Kundakunda.

15. The Jaina Gazette, Vol. XXI, No. 11, November 1925, p. 329.

16. S.R. Sharma, *Jainism and Karnataka Culture*, Karnatak Historical Research Society, Dharwar, 1940, p. 150. Jainism flourished in Karnataka due to the patronage of Ganga and Hoysala dynasties from the third until the fourteenth centuries.

17. Maurice Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature Vol. II*, Oriental Books, Calcutta, 1977, pp. 594-595.

18. Vilas Sangave, *op. cit.*, p. 370.

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into what may be called 'city of temples' is a peculiarity, the Jains practiced to a greater extent than the followers of any other religion in India.

Apart from the development of language and literature, art and architecture, the Jains distinguished themselves in giving their unstinted support for the improvement of political and economic life in the country. They inherit a list of proud achievements in the economic history of the country. So prominent was the part played by the Jains in the trade of the country that the history of Indian business can hardly be written without mention of the contribution of the Jains. Their wealth grew on account of their efficiency in business.¹⁹ In particular, the Marwari Jains have legitimate share in the industrial development of the country.²⁰ Thereby in point of wealth, the Jains in general enjoy a very enviable position. The financial strength of Jains gave their religion a place of honour which is acknowledged even to this day.

The peaceful disposition of the Jains made them the protectors of the state. From ancient times, they have been the kingmakers.²¹ Through their wealth and financial support, they played crucial role in the sustenance of the political rule. Jains never lost sight of the fact that the welfare of the community in the final run will be entirely dependent on the national well-being.

They also never lag behind in liberally contributing to any philanthropic cause. The charities of the Jains have been extensive and no deserving cause remained unattended by the community. Wherever the Jains were concentrated in good numbers, they established rest-houses, dispensaries and schools. They extended charities towards the cause of the poor, needy and underprivileged. The philanthropy of the Jains has been so legendary that it has not been restricted to human beings but has been extended to the birds and animals in the form of *panjrapoles* (animal sanctuary) and *parabadies* (bird feeding places).²²

19. Helmuth Von Glasenapp, *Der Jainismus Eine Indische Erlösungsreligion Tr. Jainism An Indian Religion of Salvation*, Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi, 1999, p. 359.

20. Home Department (now onwards H.D.) (Political), File 58 of 1937, p. 3.

21. Chandrakant Bakshi, *Mahajati Gujarati* [Gujarati], Navbharat Sahitya Mandir, Ahmedabad, 1994, p. 79.

22. Natubhai Shah, *Jainism the World of Conquers*, Vol. I, New Delhi, Motilal Banarasidass, 1998, p. 230.

As a community, the Jains have been sharing friendly and harmonious relations with most of the communities. Jainism has been reconciliatory in its attitude. Hardly one comes across the mention of the community in neither riot nor disturbance situation nor it displayed communal disposition. There is hardly any walk of life to which the Jains have not contributed, be it economic, social, industrial, cultural, literary, educational or medical.

Review of Studies on Jainism

Jainism, being an important Indian religion, has received attention of several scholars. While there have been researches about the Jain religion and philosophy in different languages,²³ the contribution of the community at large in historical perspective has been hardly studied.

Again, studies so far undertaken have been in relation to ancient and medieval periods and mostly confined to regions such as Gujarat, Rajasthan and Karnataka.²⁴ The history of the Jains in the nineteenth century has hardly been written. Vilas Sangave's *Jain Community — A Social Survey* (1980) can be considered as the pioneering full-fledged study centering on the Jain community from multi-disciplinary perspectives. Sangave presents for the first time, a critical and brilliant account of the history and achievements of the Jains. Hardly one comes across any post-Sangave work on Jain community without reference to the work of Sangave.

Max Weber's work *The Religion of India – The Sociology of Hinduism and Buddhism* brought about the interrelation of religion and economic behaviour. He talked about how religion influences the economic behaviour. He particularly cited the example of the Jain community in his study.²⁵ Like many other studies – those of Nevaskar,²⁶

23. Nathmal Tatia, *Studies in Jaina Philosophy*, Jain Cultural Research Society, Banaras, 1915, gives a detailed account of Jain philosophical principles; Sinclair Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism*, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1984, examines the history and development of Jainism from the perspective of religious principles and practices.

24. S.R. Sharma's *Jainism and Karnataka Culture* discusses the growth and spread of Jainism during the ancient period.

25. Max Weber, *op. cit.*, pp. 199-202.

26. Balwant Nevaskar, *Capitalist without Capitalism: The Jains of India Compared with Quakers of West*, Greenwood Publishing Corporation, Connecticut, 1971.

6 Contribution of the Jains to the Economic and Socio-cultural Development...

Dinesh Agarwal,²⁷ Weber's theory has been one of the important influences on the present study.

Balwant Nevaskar, in his *Capitalist without Capitalism: The Jains of India Compared with Quakers of West*,²⁸ examined the religious ethics and practical economic conduct of the Jains of India and the Quakers in America.²⁹ He observed that the religious beliefs of the Jains and the Quakers have parallels in their economic practices. Nevaskar pointed out that members of both the groups did not engage in politics, military and certain type of industrial or agricultural pursuits. Instead, they involved themselves in the commercial activities in conformity with their religious values. The religious ethics of the Jains and the Quakers, according to him, added to their financial and commercial success.³⁰

Dinesh Agarwal's study entitled '*Economic Behaviour of the Jain Merchants (With Special Reference to Bombay City)*', as the title indicates, focuses on the economic behaviour of the Jains and studies the Jain merchants in different trades in Bombay. However, the Jains other than the merchants and the aspects other than economic were not included in the study. The present study endeavours to fill this lacuna and takes up the historical overview of the community during 1860-1960 in the context of Bombay encompassing not only the economic but also socio-cultural developments. While some of the observations of the present study have been derived and matching with those of Dinesh Agarwal's field study,³¹ the present study intends to study the Jain community in wider and historical perspective.

In recent times, many works on Jainism have come up in and outside India. During the twentieth century, there has been greater interest in the field of Jainology which undertakes the study of Jain

27. Dinesh Agarwal, *Economic Behaviour of the Jain Merchants (With Special Reference to Bombay)*, Unpublished Thesis, University of Bombay, 1983.

28. Quakers are a small Christian sect founded by George Fox (1624-1691). They emphasised on love and spirituality than services. They believe in non-violence.

29. Weber's work contained passing reference to this comparison; Max Weber, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

30. Even similar kind of observation and study is done in case of other communities in the context of the community values and economic development. William Kapp, in his '*Hindu Culture, Economic Development and Economic Planning in India*' considered Hindu culture reason for business backwardness.

31. These are referred at relevant places in the study.

religion and community from variety of standpoints — sociological, economic, historical, philosophical, ecological, iconographic, ethnic, ethical and demographical. Padmanabh Jaini's *Jain Path of Purification* while referring to original ancient Jain texts also takes into account the trends like reform movements.³² It is a fine balanced work combining literary-philosophical-scriptural-practical standpoints and at the same time relating and understanding ancient and modern versions. Paul Dundas' *The Jains* is another genius and masterpiece research work.³³ It is a comprehensive and analytical work in the field of Jain studies.

The gamut of these works has largely set the tone of this study. The present study, while understanding and analysing earlier studies, tries to give, as far as possible, a complete, clear and objective picture of the growth and nature of the Jain community in terms of its contribution to Bombay. The focus of this ethno-historical study is on the two aspects – the Jains and the Jain institutions or institutions conceived, created and developed by the Jains within the geographical context of Bombay. It forms useful study to understand how the Jains adjusted in the urban cosmopolitan set-up. It talks about the Jains and various Jain institutions that have triumphed over issues of comparable magnitude during the period of the study. It is an attempt to understand the complex interplay of religion and other factors and forces in the context of urbanisation process. That is to say, the study is in the spatial context of Bombay. The conclusions of the present study will matter a lot for the fact that the concentration of the Jains is found in urban areas. Here, it would be interesting and appropriate to look at the historical evolution of Bombay.

Historical Evolution of Bombay

In ancient times, the seven islands of Bombay were referred as 'Heptensia'. The island became home of the Kolis by the beginning of the Christian era.³⁴ During the middle of the fourteenth century, Muslim rule was firmly established in the island and remained unchanged till the advent of the Portuguese.³⁵ The Portuguese proprietorship of the island commenced with the cessation of the island in 1534 by Sultan Bahadur

32. The work was first published in 1979.

33. Paul Dundas, *The Jains*, Routledge, London, 2002.

34. *Census of India*, 1901, Vol. X, Part IV, Times of India Press, Bombay, 1901, p. 3.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 14.

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of Gujarat. It came to an end with the Marriage Treaty between Charles II of England and the Infanta of Portugal signed on 23 June, 1661. Bombay under the treaty was handed over to the British king. From this date, Bombay gradually emerged from barrenness and poverty, and became populous and rich city and a metropolis of national and international importance by the end of the nineteenth century.

Bombay under the British

The development of Bombay took place in remarkable manner during the British rule.³⁶ In 1668, Bombay was handed over by the British Government to the East India Company for the annual rent of £ 10. The East India Company made an attempt to attract substantial traders, so as to develop Bombay as a trade centre.³⁷ The merchants were encouraged to make their home in the islands through the establishment of complete religious toleration and assurance of security of life and property.³⁸ The facilities granted by the British to the traders made way for the development of Bombay into the chief centre of English commerce.³⁹

The progress of Bombay, during the nineteenth century in particular, was one of the most rapid and impressive. The nineteenth century was characterised by brilliant progress and notable reforms.⁴⁰ The railway was established in 1853 and the means of communication between Bombay and the other parts of India were improved. As the colonial power centre, it also became the natural channel for the introduction of new ideas and innovations, ranging from industrial technology to Western-style education.⁴¹ The development of Bombay as a cosmopolitan trade centre took place in the second half of the nineteenth century.

36. R.L. Singh (ed.), *India – A Regional Geography*, National Geographical Society of India, Varanasi, 1971, p. 918.

37. Somerset Playne, *The Bombay Presidency, The United Provinces the Punjab, etc., Their History, People, Commerce and Natural Resources*, The Foreign and Colonial Compiling and Publishing Co., London, 1920, p. 33.

38. *Census of India*, 1901, Vol. X, Part IV, p. 47.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 71; Somerset Playne, *op.cit.*, p. 907.

40. *Census of India*, 1901, Vol. X, Part IV, p. 97.

41. Meera Kosambi, *Bombay in Transition: The Growth and Social Ecology of a Colonial City, 1880-1980*, Almqvist & Wilksell International, 1986, p. 14.

Development of Bombay during 1860-1960

The period starting from 1860 has been momentous in the history of Bombay. That is why 1860 has been taken as the starting point of this work. The years 1861-1865 were some of the most prosperous ones in the history of Bombay. With the onset of the American Civil War, supplies of raw cotton to Lancashire textile mills dried up overnight. The mill owners found Bombay as a rich source for raw material. The enormous increase of the cotton trade, and subsequent share mania of the years 1861-1865 resulted in the growth of the city and the rise of the population.⁴² The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 consolidated the position of Bombay as a great imperial port.

After 1870s, the development of Bombay was rapid; by the end of the nineteenth century, Bombay more than justified the appellation 'the Manchester of India.' Commercial prosperity consistently attracted more migrants to the city. The huge waves of migration in case of Bombay mostly turned out to be permanent one.⁴³ The general prosperity of the island remained unabated even in the twentieth century. The suburbs like Malad and Borivali expanded and developed.⁴⁴ Bombay, in an impressive manner, played prominent role in the country's expanding trade, national movement and cultural life. For a colonial power centre like Bombay, the end of the British rule and the advent of independence in 1947 became turning point. Even in the post-independence period, Bombay retains the status of commercial, industrial and financial centre of national importance. It maintained its cosmopolitan character.⁴⁵

The efforts of the enterprising inhabitants of Bombay city converted it into one of the richest and most beautiful places. The beautification and development of Bombay can be traced as much to the British rule as well as to the labours of different communities.⁴⁶ It would not be wrong to say that the unique charm of Bombay springs from the diversity of its people, the mark of the city which it has retained till date. Each of the community has contributed in its own way to the political,

42. *Census of India*, 1901, Vol. X, Part IV, p. 125.

43. *Census of India*, 1931, Vol. VIII, Part I, Government Central Press, Bombay, 1933, p. 62.

44. General Department (henceforth GD), File 66/33A of 1933, p. 11.

45. Hemali Sanghavi, (1) *Contribution of the Jains to the Cultural Life of Bombay (1900-2000)*, Research Project in History, University of Mumbai, 2015, p. 10.

46. *Census of India*, 1901, Vol. X, Part IV, p. 133.

economic, social, educational and cultural development of the city of Bombay. Each of them has their share to the progress of the city.

Review of Literature

The story of Bombay has been a fascinating one. Many important and useful works giving an account of Bombay exist. In particular, the history of nineteenth century Bombay has been carefully documented and well written by men such as James Maclean, James Douglas, Samuel Sheppard, Da Cunha, S.M. Edwardes and Dinshaw Wachha.⁴⁷ They have left most interesting accounts of the rise and growth of this beautiful city. A number of scholars have contributed to the history of Bombay of the nineteenth and twentieth century. Prominent among them are M.D. David, Mariam Dossal, Christian Dobbin, Jim Masselos, Teresa Albuquerque and Meera Kosambi.⁴⁸

Many of the earlier works have been narrative in nature with main focus on Bombay's physical growth. Imperialist, nationalist and subaltern approaches can be discerned in these histories. It is mainly during the twentieth century that the ethnographical perspective in the context of Bombay has begun to emerge and gaining popularity. Ethnography draws on the assumption that knowledge of all cultures is valuable. It encompasses exploration of context, native's perspective and acknowledgement of different cultural realities and patterns. This can add interesting dimensions to the understanding of Bombay. While chronological and descriptive studies of the spectacular growth of Bombay particularly during the last two centuries are important, the

47. S.M. Edwardes, *Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island, 3 Volumes*, The Times Press, Bombay, 1909-10; D.E. Wachha, *A Financial Chapter in the History of Bombay City*, Commercial Press, Bombay, 1910; D.E. Wachha, *Shells from the Sands of Bombay: Being My Recollections and Reminiscences, 1860-1875*, Indian Newspaper Co. Ltd., Bombay, 1920.

48. M.D. David, *Mumbai – The City of Dreams (A History of the First City in India)*, Himalaya Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., Mumbai, 2011; Mariam Dossal, *Imperial Designs and Indian Realities – The Planning of Bombay City 1845-1875*, Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1991; Christian Dobbin, *Urban Leadership in Western India, Politics and Communities in Bombay City 1840-1885*, London, 1972; Jim Masselos, *Towards Nationalism: Group Affiliations and the Politics of Public Associations in Nineteenth Century Western India*, Bombay, 1974; Teresa Albuquerque, *Urbs Prima in India Bombay – A History*, Rasha Book, New Delhi 1992; Meera Kosambi, *Bombay in Transition: The Growth and Social Ecology of a Colonial City, 1880-1980*.

study from the perspective of each of the community of Bombay can certainly bring flesh and blood to history. The process of urbanisation, suburbanisation of Bombay needs to be explored from the perspective of different communities. Studies of different communities can help to see, though with certain limitations the regional history with fresh insight and greater depth. These offer one of the best ways to understand the complexities of urban life and can be important tool in the context of multicultural societies. Such accounts can certainly help to understand deeper connections, patterns and paradoxes.

Studies have been undertaken on economic and political aspects of Bombay as well as the role of certain communities such as the Parsis, the Marwaris and the Bhatias in the urbanisation and modernisation of Bombay.⁴⁹ It will be equally fruitful venture to study the contribution of the Jain community to the economic and socio-cultural development of Bombay city. Hardly, any full-fledged study on this topic has been done. The Jains, in spite of being minority in the city and the country, are one of the richest communities of the city. Their contributions to the city need to be researched on. Many of the earlier research works barely refer or give passing reference to the Jain community. This work intends to fill this gap.

This work will discuss the role of the Jains in different fields. The study is about those Jains who contributed a great deal to the city to which they belonged. The success stories and vision of some of Jains have been so powerful, effective and inspiring that without them the city would not have been as charming as it is.

Jains in Bombay: Some Observations

Jains have been minority in the city.⁵⁰ They migrated to Bombay from variety of origins. By the turn of the nineteenth century, *Dasa Oswal* and *Kutchi* Jain families were some of the important Jain groups

49. Zenobia Shroff, *The Contribution of Parsis to Education in Bombay City* (1820-1920), Himalaya Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., Bombay, 2001; Mangala Purandare, *History of the Bhatia Community*, Vol. I, Global Bhatia Foundation, Mumbai, 2012; Archana Calangutcar, *A Historical Study of the Marwari Community and its Contribution to the Growth of Mumbai from 1850-1950*, Unpublished Thesis, University of Mumbai, 2011.

50. The statistical details are provided in Chapter 2.

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in Bombay.⁵¹ By the second half of the nineteenth century, there was increasing migration of the Jains from Kutch, Gujarat, Rajasthan and Maharashtra. Eventually, Jains-Kutchi, Gujarati and Marwari⁵² emerged as important Jain groups in the city. As a community, Jains have influential position in the public life of the city.

There were number of businesses in which Jains enjoyed monopoly or prominent position. These ranged from cotton, jewellery, diamond, pearl, grain and many more Jains made their mark in the trade and commerce. They were involved with many of the pioneering business and industrial ventures.⁵³ They played major role in the expansion of the city; simultaneously, they were prompt to pick up the opportunities offered by the growing metropolis.

While Jains modified themselves in the context of the cosmopolitan set-up, they also maintained their links with their origins mainly through the associations based on local origins. Their particularity about religious practices produced interesting dimensions in the context of the cultural and philanthropic ventures. A number of philanthropic structures and institutions in the city speak for Jain benevolence. These need to be discussed and studied in the larger context of Bombay. The study of association of Jains with various political, economic, social and religious bodies will give useful insight of the community in the context of Bombay. A number of Jain institutions flourished in Bombay, whether expression of nationalism or culture Jains have been at the forefront. These are some of the issues taken up by the study.

Methodology and Limitations of the Study

The present study will attempt to reconstruct the contribution of the Jains to the history of Bombay city during 1860-1960. The period of about 100 years, though short can be sufficient to comment on a particular community. The focus is on the Jains' contribution to the economic, cultural and social development of the city. The book will

51. *Census of India*, 1901, Vol. X, Part IV, p. 108.

52. Marwaris are referred so, as they belong to a place called Marwar in Rajasthan, an erstwhile Princely state, that is now the district of Jodhpur.

53. *Bombay Chronicle*, 28th August, 1948, p. 7; *Bombay Chronicle*, 7th August, 1948, p. 5.

highlight how the Jains have contributed to the prosperity of the city. The research proposes to survey different aspects such as charity, journalism, literature, performing arts, etc.

Every geographical landscape generates the need of different behaviour patterns. Religion, culture and geographical region share highly interactive relation. The influence of Bombay on the Jain community, and in turn, the latter's contribution to the development of Bombay are important aspects of this research. This has required looking into the response of the Jains to the opportunities offered by the British rule. What was the impact of Jainism on the city of Bombay and which were the aspects on which the Jain culture produced its imprint? – these are important aspects of this study.

The turning points and crises which challenged the abilities and resources of the Jains have been highlighted. The major issues which affected the community have been explored and discussed. Though by and large the study gives historical overview, it displays and incorporates multidisciplinary perspectives ranging from sociological, economic, ethnographical, demographical, statistical, cultural, etc. The timeframe encompasses colonial as well as post-colonial period.

The data are derived from vast amount of primary sources – published as well as unpublished. The unpublished sources mainly include numerous archival sources in the form of administrative volumes and files of various departments, General, Home, Revenue, and Secret and Political Diaries. The primary and unpublished source material in the Maharashtra State Archives has been explored to the best of its possibilities from the standpoint of the history of the Jain community. A number of published administrative reports and institutional publications in the context of Bombay are available. These have been explored from the perspective of the Jain community. Abundant decennial census statistics available for Bombay are used both descriptively and analytically. Contemporary newspapers, periodicals, institutional journals and souvenirs have been useful sources for the study. Again, it needs to be pointed out here that vast amount of data about Bombay is available in Gujarati, in the form of books, institutional publications, etc.⁵⁴ An attempt has been made to access and use these

54. Some of the noteworthy are R.F. Wachha, *Mumbaino Bahar* [Gujarati], Union Press, Bombay, 1874, Encyclopedic work with biographical perspective, hardly any contemporary personality, event or monument left out. So far not fully utilised

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contemporary sources which have not been used to the extent they are expected to be, for lack of mastery of Gujarati and at times closed and controlled structure of some of the organisations to the outsiders resulted into less accessibility and utilisation of these sources into various researches. The citations and use of ancient Jain texts and translations have enabled to illustrate the perspective of the community on various aspects and brought about the connections between the past and present.

Biographical works on many of the Jains like Premchand Roychand, Manikchand Zaveri, Walchand Hirachand, Santbala and Motishah have been explored and of great help in throwing light on the history of Jains in Bombay.⁵⁵ While unfolding the perspectives of the protagonists, they also bring out the perspective of community in the context of Bombay city. Again, the Jains being largely the business community, the field of business history has been explored through financial, institutional publications.⁵⁶ For better and proper understanding of history of Bombay or for that matter any urban history in its complexities, the business history need to be studied. The field of business history has gained popularity in the twentieth century, particularly from 1960s.

Some of the Jains who have been the descendents of the prominent Jain families of the city have been interviewed for the better understanding of the individual and collective perspectives and experiences of the community.⁵⁷ Informal conversation and observation methods have been used wherever required. Getting first-hand account

due to the use of old Gujarati; Kantilal H. Parikh (ed.), *Aapanu Mumbai* [Gujarati], Pratima Publications, Bombay, 1952, the work gives historical account of Bombay from ancient to post-independence period. Almost the period of present study is covered. The work, as claimed, is based on the questionnaire filled by about 100,000 respondents; Institutional publications include Souvenirs of schools, boardings and organisations established by the Jains, e.g., Mahavir Jain Vidyalaya.

55. Sharada Dwivedi, *Premchand Roychand (1831-1906) His Life and Times*, Eminence Designs Pvt. Ltd., Bombay 2006; B.S. Moodbidrikar, *Jain Kulbhushan Danvir Sheth Manikchand Hirachand Zaveri Jeevancharitra*, Dakshin Bharat Jain Sabha, Sangli, 1998; G.D. Khanolkar, *Walchand Hirachand Man, His Times and Achievements*, Walchand & Co., Bombay, 1969; Guntant Barvalia, *Santbalji Jivan Kavan Ane Prerak Prasango*, Pujya Munishri Santbalji Janmashatabdi Mahotsva Samiti, Ahmedabad, 2003; Motichand Kapadia, *Mumbaina Namankit Nagarik Motishah* [Gujarati], Godiji Jain Derasar, Mumbai, 1981.

56. For example, Journal of Indian Merchant Chamber, etc.

57. The details are available in bibliography.

directly from the eye-witnesses has been difficult in light of the timeframe of the study. Further, not all of them showed openness for discussion. Many of the Jain institutions relevant to the period of study or otherwise have been visited.⁵⁸ However, like most Indian communities, Jains have not been particular about writing and preparing history.

The present study uses surveys, case studies and statistics to arrive at statements. The conclusions are presented in the form of tables and charts. The maps have been used to present geographical data. The present study like any other is not free from limitations. It is important to make it clear that this is neither a complete study of the Jain community in Bombay city nor a complete study of the city, but attempts to understand and analyse the bearing of the former upon the latter, and in the process, exploring the *vice versa* too. Another equally valid point is that many of the activities, achievements and practices cannot be considered exclusive to 'Jains' but are applicable to other communities as well. Again, the contributions of the Jains of Bombay which expand beyond the city have not been included. The activities of those Jains who may not have inhabited in Bombay but contributed to the development of the city have been included.

The information thus carefully collected and presented will help to place the community in a clearer and proper light, and in truer perspective than ever before. The present study will enrich the general history of the Jains and the history of the city of Bombay as well. It is a part of a larger effort to open up a new interpretative space. It will be certainly an aid to the researchers to visualise the progress and development of the Jain community in future, particularly in economic and cultural arena. The study will not only serve as a case study of the Jain community but also facilitate the better and the larger understanding of urban processes and development.



58. This is mainly applicable in case of schools, religious organisations, etc.