THE DYNAMICS OF CONSUMPTION PATTERNS AND SOCIO-CULTURAL TRANSFORMATION IN COLONIAL MAHARASHTRA (1880s-1930s)

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Declaration

I hereby declare that the thesis entitled **'The Dynamics of Consumption Patterns and Socio-Cultural Transformation in Colonial Maharashtra (1880s-1930s)'** submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University for the award of the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy** is the result of original research and has not been previously submitted for any degree to this or any other university.

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Lists of Abbreviations

AARBIT	*Annual Administration Report of the Bombay Improvement Trust*
AFRP	*Annual Factory Report for the Bombay Presidency*
ARMCB	*Administration Report of the Municipal Commissioner of Bombay*
BG	*The Bombay Gazette*
CEHI	*Cambridge Economic History of India*
EPW	*Economic and Political Weekly*
GD	General Department
GOB	Government of Bombay
GOI	Government of India
HMSO	His Majesty's Stationary Office
IESHR	*Indian Economic and Social History Review*
JAS	*Journal of Asian Studies*
JD	Judicial Department
MAS	*Modern Asian Studies*
MSA	Maharashtra State Archive (Mumbai)
NAI	National Archive of India (New Delhi)
NMML	Nehru Memorial Museum and Library (New Delhi)
PP	*Parliamentary Papers*
RD	Revenue Department
RNNBP	*Report on Native Newspapers in the Bombay Presidency*
TOI	*The Times of India*

Glossary

Ahmadabadi saree	A saree which made in Ahmadabad
Angarkha	A kind of coat of men
Anna	16 annas equal to one rupee
Athwadi bazaar	Weekly Market
Attar	A perfume or essential oil obtained from flowers, from mainly, the petals.
Bajra	Millet food grain.
Bania	Merchant, trader, money-lender, grain dealer; also, a caste name.
Baniyan	Waistcloth for men
Barabandi	Twelve knotted coat of man
Bazaar	Market
Bhakari	A bread, made from the unleavened flour of a variety of grains, chiefly millet or jowar
Bhikbali	A golden earrings
Bindli	A golden bracelet for woman
Bunder	A landing place or harbor
Burhanpuri saree	A saree made in Burhanpur
Chamla, Pheta	Turban
Chapatti	A bread of wheat
Chawl	Literally, line of houses; used for building with one room tenements in Bombay.
Choli	Bodice for women or girl
Daftar	Office of the records
Dagla	A broadcloth or a one kind of coat for men
Dharmashala	A building constructed for the accommodation of travelers, generally to obtain religious merit
Dhoti	A garment worn by males around the waist, usually about six feet long; could be made from either cotton or silk.
Dupata	Sash
Fattemar	A fast sailing vessel with mast used in south of Bombay for coastal movement and delivering messages.
Gaon, ganv	A village

Ghanas	Jaggery making factory in rural Deccan
Tup	Clarified butter or *ghee*, used for cooking and ritual purification.
Hasli	A golden necklace
Jatha	A family
Jatra	A religious fair, typically held during a festival
Jode	A pair of leather shoe
Jowar	Millet food grain
Kichadi	A cooked rice and pulses
Kunbi	A cultivator, peasant
Kunchi	A hood, a cloth that can pull up to cover the back and top of head
Lota	A small container for water, usually brass or bronze
Man	Measure of Weight; varies widely with region and product, generally equivalent to forty *sher*. Also spelt *maund* in many English works. A traditional unit of mass used in British period, 1 mound equal to 40 sheers or 37.32 kg.
Mauza	A village
Mofussil	An interior of country or small town
Moholla	A ward, locality or city district
Pagdi	A turban; especially one which has been shaped and sewn into place and generally worn by children
Paildeshi:	people from other region.
Paithani	A saree which made in Paithan
Peth	A market in town
Phule	An ear ornaments
Pitambari	A saree with the edge of gold or copper
Pothi	An armlet for man
Rivaj	Custom
Sadare	A jacket
Sadi-choli	A saree and bodice
Sadra	Parsi initiation rite for boys known as *Navjot* when he is given the *sadra* or vest which he must always wear for protection from evil.
Sakhli	A chain of gold or silver
Salu	A robe of women, one kind of saree
Sheta	A scarf, woman’s cloth

Tait	Golden or silver necklace
Tode	Golden or silver bracelets, anklets
Toor daal	A split of pigeon peas pulse in Deccan
Uparna	A shoulder cloth
Vahan	A cheap verity of shoe
Valle	An anklet
Vani	A shopkeeper in the village
Vilayat	Chiefly employed to designate Europe, and particularly England; derived from the Arabic word for a kingdom or province and used especially in the European countries to describe their native lands.
Yatra	Religious Pilgrimage

Introduction

Discovery of a maritime route to India in the last decades of the fifteenth century opened a new land of wealth for European countries. It began an era of extensive trade and commerce between the nations of Europe and those of Far East. Later, the Industrial Revolution in Western Europe and the systematic application of scientific knowledge to invention and production, fundamentally, transformed the character of trade and commerce. European expansion in India and other countries between the mid-eighteenth and mid-nineteenth century, provided the power to consolidate and integrate world and global political economy increasingly centred on Western Europe.[1] The colonial expansion in India and other parts of the world was part of the wider process of capitalism and industrialisation of Western Europe. Colonialism remade a world which led to the rise of a new integrated economy centred around Western Europe, market formation, political structure and material culture, which played a central role in transforming India in the nineteenth century. The late nineteenth and early twentieth century witnessed momentous and extraordinarily rapid economic, social, cultural and technological changes in India. Since the mid-nineteenth century, new employment opportunities demanded new literary skills, integration of Indian economy with the larger world, and the breakthrough in technological order in urban as well as rural areas transformed the people during this period. These changes were particularly significant for emerging urban centres like Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras where a gradual expansion of public spaces, like markets, educational institutions, public offices, and places of amusement and entertainment were linked to rapid expansion of public transportation. This provided materialistic infrastructure for the emergence of a modern culture of consumption in colonial India in general and colonial Maharashtra in particular.

[1] Paul Gillen and Devleena Ghosh, *Colonialism and Modernity,* University of New South Wales Press, Sydney, 2007, p. 114.

Colonial Maharashtra of the nineteenth-century is characterised in history by widespread changes and transformation in the socio-political, economic, and cultural life of the region. The spread of modern education, introduction of English and vernacular press, beginning of postal service, opening of railway lines, establishment of Bombay University, establishment of cotton mills and other industries, these all started to transform lives of the people. The people of colonial Maharashtra, therefore, began to look at themselves with a changing perspective, which was mostly influenced by the interaction between the western ideas and the people of Maharashtra.

The term 'colonial Maharashtra', in the thesis, has been used to suggest the region of Western India, which was broadly Marathi speaking area. It is not intended to indicate the wider areas covered by present-day Maharashtra. In actuality, Maharashtra did not constitute a single administrative unit during the late nineteenth century to first half of the twentieth century. It was divided into Bombay Presidency, Hyderabad, Central Province and Berar.[2] The present study of colonial Maharashtra focuses particularly on Bombay (now called Mumbai) and Poona (now called Pune) of Bombay Presidency because Bombay and Poona city, even more specifically, were considered particularly susceptible to Western influences and identified as the western gateway to India. At the same time, the vibrancy of modern education, Marathi literary traditions and social reforms and anti-colonial movements in late nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century generated a wealth of literature addressing changes and transformation underway in society.

The changes in consumption pattern have a long historical process; it is difficult to study those changes in an exact or precise year or period. In this circumstance, therefore, the present study has chosen period of 1880s to 1930s to explore the dynamics of consumption patterns and socio-cultural transformation in colonial Maharashtra. There are two reasons for choosing this period. First, the decade of 1880s is significant in colonial Maharashtra because, social reform

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[2] Hulas Singh, *Rise of Reason: Intellectual History of 19th –Century Maharashtra,* Routledge, Oxon, 2016, p. 1.

movements, rise of middle class and emergence of public sphere, rise of national consciousness, the spread of modern education among women, and women started writing their concerns in day to day life during this decade. This period also witnessed increased imports of foreign manufactured commodities in colonial Maharashtra. Secondly, the research period of this study ends with decade ending 1930s and the beginning of World War II. This period was a turning point in society, culture, economy, politics as well as in consumption pattern in late colonial India. The decade of 1930s witnessed significant changes as aggressive capitalism, news market strategy, entry of brand name products, rise and growth of *Swadeshi* and anti-colonial movement in colonial Maharashtra.

In social sciences, the task of defining a concept usually ends up with major difficulties because words in their everyday meanings are not only many but often confusing. In this context, conceptualising consumption is a challenging task as it too has a variety of meanings. Meaning of consumption changes by different theoretical frameworks of which it is a part. However, there is a common agreement among all, that consumption is a social process. Consumption is a social act that usually refers to meaningful social activity by individuals. Consumption in the human world is not carried out by the given 'biological needs' rather, it is seen as socially constructed and socially created as these needs are conditioned by social conventions, norms along with other factors and occur in a particular cultural setting. Those needs are satisfied through culturally meaningful activities in a way to result in the reproduction of social bonds and social relationships. In this context, Emile Durkheim and Bronisław Malinowski's analysis shows the social dimensions of consumption activities.[3] Modern practice of consumption is the dominant mode of cultural reproduction developed in the west with the rise of modernity, capitalism and colonialism. In other words, consumption patterns and consumer are bound up with the idea of modernity, of modern experiences and

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[3] See, Bronislaw Malinowski, *A Scientific Theory of Culture and Other Essays,* Oxford University Press, New York, [first Edition, 1944], 1960; Emile Durkheim, *The Rules of Sociological Method,* trans., W.D. Halls, The Free Press, New York, 1982

modem social subjects who exercise free choices in their everyday life in a capitalist society.[4] Modern consumption practices were inconsistent, volatile, polymorphous, and contradictory. These practices carry some components of modernity and rejected others. The rise and growth of modern consumption patterns in India was an outcome of the integration of the Indian economy and markets with the western world, with the advent of colonial rule. Consumption patterns, in India, underwent a significant transformation starting from the late eighteenth century primarily due to technological breakthroughs in navigation that began to connect the world and increased trade and commerce with European countries.

The present study concentrates on the historical role of consumption in the process of socio-cultural transformation in colonial Maharashtra between 1880s and 1930s, and also focuses on how consumption-centric approach is essential for the study of socio-cultural change in colonial India in general and colonial Maharashtra in particular. While exploring the socio-cultural transformation, present study concentrates on consumption of material and cultural goods such as clothes, foods, household articles and furnishing in colonial Maharashtra. The present study also focuses on the rise and growth of new consumption patterns and its relationship with colonial society. One of the significant objectives of the present study is to look at the emergence of consuming subjects and its impacts on socio-cultural transformation, in terms of both the possibilities of and constraints on that process.

Historiography:

Consumption is an essential human activity, and it is difficult to imagine any sphere that is not directly influenced by it. Even though consumption history has not become an exclusive area of study in any specific historical discipline. Since a long time, a large section of social and economic historians has predominantly shown interest in quantitative analysis of consumption. Since the

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[4] Don Slater, *Consumer Culture and Modernity,* Polity Press, Cambridge, 1997, pp. 8-9.

early 1980s, however, discourse on post-modernism changed the way historians and sociologists think about consumption.[5] Since then, consumption became an important arena of study which not only focused on classical sociological factors like class, caste, status, gender, and age but also focused on more complex cultural categories like emotions, personalities, individual lifestyles and mentalities. This cultural turn in the late twentieth century enhanced the consumption study. The consumption study became an interesting subject among sociologists and historians of class, caste, gender, body, and material culture, and historians started to approach the study of consumption with their respective perception.[6]

The aim of this review of existing literature on consumption history is to examine the historical, theoretical and methodological approaches that help to understand consumption history as well as to fill the gap in the existing knowledge system. By focusing the Western World and India, this historiography brings together various approaches on consumption studies by economic, social, political and cultural historians. This historiography is divided into two sections: the first section discusses the history and historiography of consumption in the Western World, and the second section explores the consumption history in colonial India. While analysing literature on consumption history, this discussion on the historiography of consumption tries to find out the gaps in existing historiography and set further agenda for the study of consumption patterns and socio-cultural transformation in colonial Maharashtra in late nineteenth and second half of the twentieth century.

(I)

In Britain, modern consumption study starts with *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth Century England* (1982) by three

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[5] Mike Featherstone, "Lifestyle and Consumer Culture," *Theory, Culture & Society,* Vol. 4, No. 1, 1987, pp. 55-70

[6] Anandi Ramamurthy, *Imperial Persuaders: Images of Africa and Asian in British Advertising,* Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2003; Daniel Miller, *Material Culture and Mass Consumption,* Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1987.

eminent historians N. McKendrick, J. Brewer and J. Plumb.[7] This book was pioneering in the study of consumption history in Europe. In this book, McKendrick complains that historians of production and technology were guilty by focusing more on production and supply; they neglected the fact that demand and consumption were an essential part of long-term historical perspectives. The main argument of this study is that the industrial revolution presupposed the consumer revolution. Its narrower purpose was to demonstrate that a consumer revolution occurred in the eighteenth-century England. It also discusses the changes that happened in the mode of lifestyle and fashion and argued that these changes deserve serious attention as an indicator and cause of social transformation. This book also highlighted the active roles of entrepreneurs and middle classes' social emulation of the aristocracy in the spread of consumer products beyond the aristocratic class in Britain during the eighteenth century. Two critical factors primarily influenced this study: first was the cold war debate which insisted on the rise of mass consumption and the affluence society in rapid economic growth and second was a post-modern discourse on the consumers' identity and choices. However, the authors tried to pin down a particular moment for the birth of a consumer society, which adversely affected and distracted many scholars from the evolution of consumption across time and space. 'Birth' of consumer society was a wrong analogy because consumption was not set on a natural and universal path of growth and development.

Since the publication of *Birth of Consumer Society*, several studies on consumption focus on individual consumers and structure of consumer society. These studies have not only focused on a range of materials goods but also looked into government regulations and how consumers organised and defended their interests.[8] Another important study, Victoria de Grazia's *Irresistible Empire* (2005), significantly contributed to the discourse on imperialism by emphasising

[7] Neil McKendrick, John Brewer and J.H. Plumb, *The Birth of Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth Century England*, Europa publications, London, 1982.
[8] Martin Daunton and Mathew Hilton, eds., *The Politics of Consumption: Material Cultural and Citizenship in Europe and America,* Berg, Oxford, 2001; Mathew Hilton, *Consumerism in 20th-Century Britain,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2003.

not on its military and political aspects, but also its cultural aspects along with the consumption and consumer society. Her study explores how American 'new material civilization' transformed 'European bourgeois civilization' and how American consumer lifestyles succeed over its communist, fascist, and social-democratic countries. She claims that long before the USA achieved its hegemonic influence over Europe, the American consumer society and its 'new material civilization' had infiltrated the hierarchical and orderly Europe's bourgeois society of early twentieth century. American Consumer society prevailed over Europe through the introduction of chain stores and supermarkets, Hollywood films and celebrities, association of big brand marketing and general inculcation of consumerism among the masses of Europe. This scholarly and provocative work unfolds the significance of culture and its diffusion. Victoria de Grazia's brilliant account demonstrated how the American standard of living overcame on the European way of life and obtained global cultural hegemony which turned into both its strength and key weakness in present time.[9]

Frank Trentmann's comprehensive account, *Empire of Things* (2016), explores the rise of consumer societies while engaging with various perspectives to consumerism.[10] This authoritative work criticised the predominant model developed by the Cold War debate, which considered consumerism as an American innovation. To explain this, Trentmann in his book uses a *longue duree* approach[11] to explore the emergence of consumer from fifteenth century to present day and tries to show how institutions and ideas shaped consumption over time and how consumption, in turn, transformed the value systems, social relations and power hierarchies around the world.[12] It is this *longue dure*e approach, which treats rise of the consumer as a political and economic actor over the last three hundred years

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[9] Victoria de Grazia, *Irresistible Empire: America's Advance through 20th –Century Europe,* Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 2005.
[10] Frank Trentmann, *Empire of Things: How We Became World of Consumers, from the Fifteenth Century to the Twenty-First,* Allen Lane, London, 2016.
[11] The *Longue Duree* is a perspective to history writing introduced by the Annales school historians, specially Fernand Braudel. This approach focusses on events that occur gradually over long period of time, on slowly changing relationships between people and the world around them. This approach to studying history is contradictory to the event-based history writing.
[12] Frank Trentmann, *Empire of Thing,* p. 6.

as a gradual and complicated phenomenon that deserves the most attention and praise. This study is divided into two parts: the first traces the rise of consumerism in chronological fashion from Renaissance Italy, Ming China, Dutch Republic and England, which saw the burgeoning material life. The second part of this book, organised thematically, critiques and problematizes various common assumptions and topics associated with mass consumption and consumerism in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries in the world. Trentmann refers to Adam Smith's assertion of consumption that "consumption is the sole end and purpose of all production,"[13] to analyse the changes in people's behaviour of having or desiring more. Throughout the book, Trentmann focuses on consumerisms rather than single, monolithic material culture, and at the end of the twentieth century, even he sees consumerist dynamics as an interaction between the global and the local. The primary argument of this book is that the rise of consumerism is a global phenomenon, not a product of post-cold war American World hegemony.

Jean Baudrillard's major theoretical works, *The System of Objects* (1968), *The Consumer Society: Myth and Structures* (1972), and *For a Critique of Political Economy of Sign* (1981)*,* emphasis on consumption and consumerism, and argues that consumption is a structured technique of manipulation of signs.[14] These signs influence how different commodities are consumed in different ways. Baudrillard's ideological and political understanding was generally based on the Marxism; however, his major works contradict with Marxism. For Karl Marx, the production of commodities was the major driving force behind the capitalist society, and for Baudrillard, it was the consumption of commodities. Baudrillard criticised Marx's concept of 'use value' because Marx's economic thought recognised "the idea of genuine needs relating to genuine uses too easily and too simply." Baudrillard says that needs are not natural but socially constructed. He emphasises every practice of

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[13] Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations,* 1776, Book IV, Chapter VIII, n. p., p. 877,

[14] Jean Baudrillard, *The Consumer Society: Myths and Structures,* Sage, London, 1998 & Originally Published as *La société de consummation: Ses myths, ses structures,* 1970; Jean Baudrillard, *For a Critique of the Political Economy of the Sign,* trans. Charles Levin, Telospress, 1981; Jean Baudrillard, *The Systems of Objects,* trans. James Benedict, Verso, London, 1997 & Originally published, *La System des objects,* Denoel, Paris, 1968.

consumption of objects always signify something socio-culturally to the consumer; objects always have a fetishist position, and the consumption of objects always 'say something' about their consumers. As a result, the concept of consumption remains significant than the idea of production, to understand capitalistic society. He also argues that "ideological genesis of needs" led the production of objects to fulfil those needs. He emphases on the value-making process of the objects in the consumption process, functional value, exchange value, symbolic value and sign value of object.[15]

Michel de Certeau's *The Practice of Everyday Life* (1984), a theoretical work concentrates on the practices of consumers and how consumers individualised or personalised objects and commodities to make their own. He argues that the practices of consumers create their own meaning for objects, even in a capitalist context.[16] Here, Pierre Bourdieu contradicts from this perspective; rather, he associates practices of consumers to social class. He criticised the category of a one-class consumer society and emphasised distinctions in different sorts of consumption pattern that social classes exercised systematically in their endeavour over cultural hegemony.[17] In his significant study, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (1984), Bourdieu argues that judgements of taste are always associated with social position and judgements of taste act in a social positioning. In everyday life, people always consume between what they find aesthetically pleasing and what they consider cheap, merely trendy.

Bourdieu's survey-based study focuses on the number of social constituents that played a crucial part in French people's choice of food, clothing, leisure activities and furniture and many other matters of taste. It appears from his study that the idea of 'social snobbery', behaviour or attitude of people who think they are better than others, was guiding them to identify the taste. He argues that the

[15] Jean Baudrillard, *For a Critique of the Political Economy of the Sign*.
[16] Michel de Certeau, *Practice of Everyday Life,* Trans., Steven Rendall, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1984.
[17] Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1984.

social system worked concurrently as a system of symbolic and as a system of power relations in which tiny distinctions of taste become the basis for social judgement. People made the aesthetic choices in everyday life based on a class fraction, a social group, and tries to distinguish one social class to the other. Therefore, people's preference for specific kind of food, clothes, arts, and music were taught and inculcated to them since their childhood, that specific tastes guide them to their appropriate social class. 'Taste' is an important example of cultural hegemony, of how class fractions are determined, not only by the possession of economic capital and social capital but by the possession of cultural capital, which is an insidious social mechanism that ensures the social and cultural reproduction of social class.[18]

Thorstein Veblen's *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899) is a detailed study on a social assessment of conspicuous consumption and imitative spending and a critical analysis of manipulation of advertising, as a function of social-class consumerism. His research proposes that the social stratification and the division of labour of the feudal period continued into the modern period. The feudal lords of medieval period engaged themselves in economically futile activities of conspicuous consumption and conspicuous leisure, while the middle and lower classes were engaged in industrial productions that support the whole of society. According to him, economically futile activities do not contribute to the economy or material productivity which is required for the fruitful functioning of society.[19] In this book, Veblen presented the concepts of "conspicuous consumption"[20] and "conspicuous leisure".[21] The status of the exhibit of wealth in social life, that is, Veblen's notion of 'conspicuous consumption', increased authority over those further down in the social and economic hierarchy. Veblen's 'social emulation

[18] Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, p. 56.
[19] Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class,* Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2007.
[20] Conspicuous consumption is the application of money, and other resources, to display a higher social-status; e.g. the use of silver flatware at meals, although flatware made of other materials might equally serve the function of eating.
[21] Conspicuous leisure is the extended length of time that a person devotes to pleasurable pursuits that grant him or her higher social-status. For example, a gentleman of Veblen's day must study philosophy and fine arts, which do not directly earn a living.

model' suggests that conspicuous consumption did not only preserve status and legitimate position within an authority; but it also offered the display of material wealth as a model for others to aspire to achieve.

As Appadurai has suggested, in *The Social Life of Things* (1986), that things have no intrinsic meaning of their own but acquire their significance in specific social context often shaped to significant change.[22] The ability to choose from a range of products is predicted on the distinction between products, and what is unique within product. By choosing certain products over others, consumers are exercising their own judgment of taste, through which consumers articulate their sense of class, caste, background, and cultural identity, hence the connection between taste, identity, and become everyday acts of consumption.

Several studies reflected on the consumer society and consumption patterns; one perspective focuses on the development of needs, including the emergence of new needs and desires through consumption. Another aspect is associated with the German tradition of *Gesellschaftsgeschichte,* (history of society), analyses social distinctions of class, milieu, and lifestyle and sees consumption as a factor for social differentiation addresses the paradigm of communication with objects. On the one hand, scholars like Sidney Mintz and Henry Rutz are clearly on the side of discussing the emergence of new needs.[23] On the other hand, Jean Baudrillard, Pierre Bourdieu, Mary Douglas, and others provide widely acknowledged arguments for explaining the social meaning of consumption.[24] Scholars like C. A. Bayly, and Maxine Berge and others see consumption as an essential aspect to understand long-term historical approach to the study of rise of Western World, economic dominance of European nations and colonialism since the late eighteenth

[22] Arjun Appadurai, "Introduction: Commodities and Politics of Value", in Arjun Appadurai ed., *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1986, pp. 3-63.
[23] Sidney W. Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History*, Penguin, New York, 1985; Henry J. Rutz and Benjamin S. Orlove, eds. *The Social Economy of Consumption*, University Press of America, Lanham and London, 1989.
[24] Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood, *The World of Goods: Towards an Anthropology of Consumption,* Routledge London, [First Edition 1979], 1996.

century.[25] Some scholars, like Leora Auslander, see consumption practice of certain commodities as a medium of political and cultural expression.[26] These multiple perspectives on consumption patterns and consumer society created a rich body of literature worldwide.

(II)

Since the 1980s, historians have tried to focus on the history of consumption in many parts of the world, from Europe and the United States to Asia and Africa.[27] Even though the scholars of Indian history have been rather silent on the question of consumption, sometimes hinting its role in historical processes, but rarely engaging in full-fledged studies of its importance. The study on the relation of consumption patterns with the socio-cultural transformations in Colonial India is unnoticed by historians. However, there have been several scattered articles and

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[25] C.A. Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World: Global Connections and Comparisons*, Blackwell Publishing, Oxford, 2004; Maxine Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2005; Alon Confino and Rudy Koshar, "Regimes of Consumer Culture: New Narratives in Twentieth Century German History," *German History,* Vol. 19, No. 2, 2002, pp. 135-61; Paul Lerner, "An All Consuming History? Recent Works on Consumer Culture in Modern Germany," *Central European History,* Vol. 42, 2009, pp. 509-543.

[26] Leora Auslander, *Taste and Power: Furnishing Modern France,* California University Press, Berkeley, 1998.

[27] See, for instance: Neil McKendrick, John Brewer and J.H. Plumb, *The Birth of Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth Century England,* Europa Publications, London, 1982; Daniel Miller, *Material Culture and Mass Consumption,* Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1987; Mike Featherstone, "Lifestyle and Consumer Culture," *Theory, Culture & Society,* Vol. 4, No. 1, 1987, pp. 55-70; Lorna Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain, 1660-1760,* Routledge, London, 1988; Lizabeth Cohen, *A Consumers' Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America,* Vintage Books, New York, 2003 and "Reflections and Reviews; A Consumers' Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America," *Journal of Consumer Research,* Vol. 31, No. 1, 2004, pp. 236-239; Victoria de Grazia, *Irresistible Empire: America's Advance through 20th –Century Europe,* Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 2005; Maxine Berg, "In Pursuit of Luxury: Global History and British Consumer Goods in the Eighteenth Century," *Past and Present,* Vol. 182, 2004, pp. 85-113 and *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth Century Britain,* Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2005; Timothy Burke, *Lifebuoy Men, Lux Women: Commodification, Consumption and Cleanliness in Modern Zimbabwe,* Duke University Press, Durham, 1996; Victoria de Grazia and Ellan Furlough, eds., *The Sex of Things: Gender and Consumption in Historical Perspective,* University of California Press, Berkeley, 1996; Karl Gerth, *China Made: Consumer Culture and the Creation of Nation,* Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 2003; Patricia L. Maclachlan, *Consumer Politics in Postwar Japan: Institutional Boundaries of Citizen Activism,* Columbia University Press, New York, 2002.

chapters dealing with specific aspects of historical consumption in India,[28] these efforts have been primarily isolated from each other and have not encouraged a more general integration of consumption-based approaches into the literature.

Besides these, there are few important studies on consumption patterns in India which made major contribution to the historiography. Bernard Cohn, in his article "Cloth, Clothes, and Colonialism" (1996), sees clothes as part of a larger issue concerning the nature of the relation between the colonial ruler and Indian people during the colonial period.[29] Cohn's study tries to show the classification which was created between a British and an Indian on the basis of dress. He demonstrates how the British maintained distinctiveness from Indian by strictly following the British standard of dress and encourage Indian to wear Indian styles of clothing.[30] C.A. Bayly, in his article "The Origin of Swadeshi (Home Industry): Cloth and Indian Society, 1700-1930" writes collective biography of cloth in India in a long historical period. He argues that in India, cloth is not just fabric; it does "transmit spirit and substance" for Indian people. He focuses on how meaning and function of transaction in cloths changed in response to political and economic

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[28] See, for instance, C. A. Bayly, *Rulers, Townsmen and Bazaars: North Indian Society in the Age of British Expansion, 1770-1870,* Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1983 and "The Origin of *Swadeshi* (Home Industry): Cloth and Indian Society, 1700-1930," in Arjun Appadurai, ed., *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1986, pp. 90-130; Frank Colon, "Dining Out in Bombay," in Carol Breckenridge, ed., *Consuming Modernity: Public Culture in a South Asian World,* Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1995, pp. 285-321; Michelle Maskiell, "Consuming Kashmir: Empires and shawls, 1500-2000," *Journal of World History,* Vol. 13, No. 1, 2000, pp. 27-65; Rachel Dwyer and Christopher Pinney, eds., *Pleasure and The Nation: The History, Politics and Consumption of Public Culture in India,* Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2001; Abigail McGowan, "An All-Consuming Subject? Women and Consumption in Late-Nineteenth and Early-Twentieth Century Western India," *Journal of Women's History,* Vol. 18, No. 4, 2006, pp. 31-54; "'All that is Rare, Characteristic Or Beautiful': Design and the Defense of Tradition in Colonial India, 1851–1903," *Journal of Material Culture,* Vol. 10, No. 3, 2005, pp. 263–287 and "*Khadi* Curtains and *Swadeshi* Bed Covers: Textiles and the Changing Possibilities of Home in Western India, 1900–1960," *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 50, No. 2, 2016, pp. 518-563; Emma Tarlo, *Clothing Matters: Dress and Identity in India*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1996, pp. 23-128; Shobna Nijhawan "Nationalizing the Consumption of Tea for the Hindi Reader: The Indian Tea Market Expansion Board's Advertisement Campaign," *Modern Asian Studies,* Vol. 51, No. 5, 2017, pp. 1229-1252.

[29] Bernard S. Cohn*, Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: British India,* Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1996, pp. 106 -162.

[30] *Ibid.*

trends over time. He also focuses on the commoditization of cloth in colonial India.[31] Emma Tarlo, *Clothing Matters: Dress and Identity in India* (1996), succeeds in illuminating and integrating over a century of change in Indian dress. *Clothing Matters* is an anthropological examination of an everyday dilemma over "the problem of what to wear" in each of the main castes in a rural Indian village. Combining ethnographic and primary historical data, she produces a compelling comparative analysis of choices and constraints upon people's styles of dress in highly differentiated yet culturally cohesive social and historical context. Her central theme of the study is to understand the significance of clothes in the making of an individual as well as group identity. In doing so, she also explores the relationship between clothes and the wearer and how clothes helped in making the identity of the wearer. Moreover, if that is so, they also help manifest plethora of identities, 'multiple and conflicting,' by the kind, design and fabric of clothes that one wears. These four scholars, Bernard Cohn, C. A. Bayly, Susan Bean[32], and Emma Tarlo, focussed on political importance of cloths and dress, and symbolic aspects of dress in historical context, but they failed to focus on how various social and economic classes had consumed cloths differently, and how caste, class, colonialism and other socio-cultural factors influenced the consumers of cloths in late nineteenth century.

Another important study on consumption of clothes is Michelle Maskiell's article which traces the history of Kashmiri shawl and its consumption in the last five centuries in all over the world.[33] She explores the Asian trade of shawls with Western Europe in eighteenth century and enquires into imitation of Kashmiri

[31] C. A. Bayly, "The Origin of *Swadeshi* (Home Industry): Cloth and Indian Society, 1700-1930," in Arjun Appadurai ed., *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1986, pp. 90-130
[32] See Susan Bean, "Gandhi and Khadi; Fabric of Independence" in A. Weiner and J. Scheider, eds., *Cloth and Human Experience,* Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, 1989.
[33] Michelle Maskiell, "Consuming Kashmir: Shawls and Empires, 1500-2000" *Journal of World History,* Vol. 13, No. 1, 2002, pp. 27-65.

shawls by western manufacturers in later period. She also focuses on changes in the production and consumption of Kashmiri of shawls in the colonial period.

Douglas E. Haynes's study (2012) on small-town capitalism in western India focuses on actual livelihoods and living standards of workers and artisans in the textile industry and offers a thorough discussion on changing consumption habits of clothes in western India.[34] His study emphasises involvement of several actors such as artisans, labourers, weavers and merchants based mainly in small cities and towns like Surat, Sholapur, Bhiwandi, Malegaon, Yeola, Ilkal, and Ichalkaranji and draws the attention of Indian consumers. He argues that people of rural and urban background did not merely buy cloth because it was available at the lowest price or cheap, although the cost was undoubtedly an important consideration. Even though people's choices were always interfered by preferences; these preferences, in turn, were powerfully influenced by region, gender, caste, and class. Changes in taste among certain rural populations, such as the *Adivasis* of western Indian hill tracts, heightened demand for women's clothing in Maharashtrian styles woven by small-town weavers. This extremely variegated character of the demand made mass production of some kinds of cloth impractical and generally left considerable scope for the artisans. His study also examined how preferences in cloth may have changed over time, closing some opportunities for small producers but opening for others.

Many scholars of modern Indian history concentrated, to a large extent, on the consumption of clothing textiles. Abigail McGowan's article "Khadi Curtains and Swadeshi Bed Covers" (2016) explores the consumption of non-clothing textiles in Bombay and Ahmedabad in colonial Western India. She explores the use of tablecloths, curtains, bed covers and furnishing fabrics in urban spaces. She argues that the use of curtains and furnishing fabrics, in all section of society, "permitted privacy, or facilitated comfort, negotiate to change roles for men and

[34] Douglas E. Haynes, *Small Town Capitalism in Western India. Artisans, Merchants and the Making of the Informal Economy, 1870–1960,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2012.

women, and express individuality" in domestic space.[35] In her another article, "Domestic Modern" (2016), Abigail McGowan explores how the modern styles were created and interpreted, keeping in mind the local interests and needs, in the decade of 1930s Bombay. She argues that "the domestication-in-the-home and modern-as-Indian went hand in hand: modernism took root in Bombay within the home, offering broader and more intimate opportunities for change than were available through architectural innovation alone."[36] She argues that home furnishings were central to emerging modernism and modern styles in the 1930s. Here, she moved away from current understandings of both modernism and home in Bombay, whereas the history of modern styles in Bombay's home is generally narrated through public spaces and streetscapes, by focusing on interior decoration, consumption of soft goods and household furnishing. In her study, she not only explores various site for modernism but also bring women into the process of household modernisation and furnishing. She argues that emergence of new styles of furnishing, new designs and types of furniture, curtains, and carpets in home enabled people, across all section, to domesticate modernity and modernism in 1930s Bombay. Therefore, the home furnishings played a significant role in "the arrival of modern styles in India, illuminating local engagement with global processes modernity."[37]

Indian food patterns have not been much studied or analysed by scholars. It has been only recently that historians and anthropologists have started studying the food culture and history of restaurant. One of the important studies on the cultural of restaurant and dining out is Frank Conlon's "Dining Out in Bombay" (1995) which explores the history of hotels, restaurant and public dining in Bombay city. He traced the city's restaurant culture in relation with emerging cosmopolitan culture. His study argues that restaurant reflect, permit, and promote the

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[35] Abigail McGowan, "*Khadi* Curtains and *Swadeshi* Bed Covers: Textiles and the Changing Possibilities of Home in Western India, 1900–1960," *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 50, No. 2, 2016, pp. 518-563.
[36] Abigail McGowan, "Domestic Modern: Redecorating Homes in Bombay in the 1930s", *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians,* Vol. 75, No. 4, 2016, pp. 424-446.
[37] *Ibid.*

introduction of a wide variety of changes in modern Indian life. While studying restaurant cultures in Bombay, he has focused on urban life styles, women's entry in the workplaces, new patterns of sociability and a new way of showing wealth through the conspicuous consumption.[38] This essay describes the emergence of restaurant culture in Bombay that has become one of the mediators of what Breckenridge and Arjun Appadurai have called India's cosmopolitan public culture.[39]

Another important study on Western India is *Towards a History of Consumption in South Asia* (2010), edited by Douglas E. Haynes, Abigail McGowan, Tirthankar Roy, and Haruka Yanagisawa,[40] is an analysis of new ways of conceptualising consumption in colonial India through a series of micro studies on several commodities and products and consumer groups. This volume explores both the demand for commodities and the articulation of identities while consumption of goods.[41] Prashant Kidambi's essay in this volume explores the relationship between material life of Saraswat Brahmin of Karnataka who lived in Bombay, the everyday domestic economy and middle-class identity in late colonial Bombay.[42] The main aim of his study is to suggest that the material context of everyday life became integral to the discursive construction of the 'middle class' in Bombay city. However, his essay mostly focuses on discourses on consumption, but does not seek empirical reality of the claim on it and nor does his article explore the impact of this discourse on the everyday life of middle class in Bombay. His primary focus is on Saraswat Brahmin, not other middle classes and intermediate castes in Bombay in early twentieth century.[43] Kaushik Bhaumik, in his essay, tries

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[38] Frank F. Conlon "Dining Out in Bombay" ed., Carol Breckenridge, *Consuming Modernity: Public Culture in a South Asian World,* University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis/London, 1995, pp. 90-127.
[39] Arjun Appadurai and Carol Breckenridge, "Why Public Culture?," *Public Culture,* vol. 1, No. 1 1988, pp. 5-9.
[40] Douglas E. Haynes, Abigail McGowan, Tirthankar Roy, and Haruka Yanagisawa, eds., *Towards a History of Consumption in South Asia,* Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2010.
[41] *Ibid*, pp. 1-25.
[42] Prashant Kidambi, "Consumption, Domestic Economy, the Idea of the 'Middle' in Late Colonial Bombay" *Ibid.*, pp. 108-135.
[43] *Ibid.*

to explore the centrality of the culture of the young to the growth of the Indian film Industry in Bombay and the culture of young of modern India in the 1920s.[44] His essay is restricted only to cinema and culture of young in Bombay in 1920s, which does not give a holistic approach to consumption patterns among people in Bombay.

Abigail McGowan outlines the new anxieties which were generated by changing patterns and styles of consumption in early twentieth century, and she also explores shopping as a critical feature of new roles for women that developed within the middle-class family.[45] She used Gujarati newspapers as a source and has argued that shopping became an increasingly gendered experience that led to another anxiety about how to spend on consumer goods.[46] Douglas Haynes tries to explore role of advertisements and capitalism for creating a consumer for medicine and tonics in colonial Bombay city in the interwar period and locates advertising of medicine and tonics as connected both to defining of the middle class as to the shaping of the conception of family and gender within it.[47] The other contributors of this volume, Michelle Maskiell traces the roles of *Phulkaris* as a commodity, in different stages of its existence from production to exchange, sometimes as gift items and she tries to argue that value of *phulkari* was never singular or static in the process of consumption.[48] Harmidar Kaur traces the history of soap and soap as a symbol of modernity in India, in the context of contemporary advertising.[49] Miskiell traces Indian textiles, *Phulkaris* as commodities in European markets and Harminder Kaur discusses a European commodity in an Indian home.

These four authors, Douglas Haynes, Abigail McGowan, Kaushik Bhaumik and Prashant Kidamb, only focus on the development of middle class in early

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[44] Kaushik Bhaumik, "At Home in the World: Cinema and Cultures of the Young in the 1920s", *Ibid*., pp. 136-154.
[45] Abigail McGowan, "Consuming families", *Ibid*., pp. 155-184.
[46] *Ibid.*
[47] Douglas E Haynes *et al*., *Towards a History of Consumption in South Asia,* pp. 1-25.
[48] Michelle Maskiell, "Honour, Desire, Fashion: Textiles Consumption in Northwest India and Pakistan", *Ibid.,* pp. 224-245.
[49] Harminder Kaur, "Of Soaps and Scents: Corporeal Cleanliness in Urban Colonial India", *Ibid.,* pp. 246-267.

twentieth-century Bombay and make an argument that the consumption patterns and consumer's behaviours played a crucial role in the process of creating middle classes in India. These four authors explore how discourse about consumption helped to shape the middle class identities and notions about modernity in colonial India. However, how exactly such discourse affected the numbers of commodities consumed in the middle-class home was unclear from this study. There has been little research on these areas, and none of the authors try to focus on these areas. This historiographical gap unequivocally creates an encouraging space for research.

It has been seen that the Indian consumption practices in nineteenth century took shape in response to new global influence, but they did so in multiple ways, reflecting no uniform conception of homogeneous modernity and homogenous consumption patterns. Consumption practices and attitude about consumption have been significant factors in the constitution and transformation of society, culture and economy since the late nineteenth century in India. The present research intervenes in the study of consumption patterns and socio-cultural transformation in colonial India in general and colonial Maharashtra in particular and how the emergence of new consumption patterns and new consuming subjects played a significant role in the process of change in late nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century.

Research Questions

1. How did the newly available products and commodities in colonial Maharashtra, in particular, and colonial India, in general, create consumers and what were the crucial factors responsible for creating consumers and transforming consumption pattern in colonial Maharashtra?

2. What was the consumption pattern in colonial Maharashtra in late nineteenth and early twentieth century before the emergence of new consumption patterns? How did upper, middle and lower classes/income groups consume commodities like clothes, food and

household articles and furnishing? How did these classes spend their earning on consumption of these commodities and articles during 1880 to 1919?

3. How did the emergence of new consumption patterns/practices play a crucial role in the socio-cultural transformation of colonial Maharashtra during 1919 to 1939? What were the factors that forced people of colonial Maharashtra to modify their lifestyles and to develop new relationships with material goods?
4. How did gender, especially women, articulate these new consumer practices, spaces, and products?
5. Did the colonial attempts create unique, ideologically defined styles and patterns of consumption in colonial Maharashtra?

The present study extensively investigates and explores these questions in the four chapters of the thesis. While exploring these questions, the present study uses a historical method of consulting primary and secondary literature on consumption patterns as well as other social sciences studies on consumption, especially to understand different conceptual and theoretical frameworks regarding consumption studies.

Outline of Chapters:

Chapter One:

The first chapter explores how the consumers of newly emerged consumption patterns were created in colonial India in general and colonial Maharashtra in particular in the period between the 1880s and 1930s. While exploring this theme, this chapter, divided into five sections, deals with the crucial factors responsible for creating consumers and transforming consumption pattern in colonial Maharashtra. The first section discusses how the transformative pressure of colonial ideology that believed in cultural technology of rule created a new

culture of consumption through their investigative modalities which explored society and culture and how these modalities enabled British manufactures to capture the Indian markets and create consumers for their products. The second section discusses how opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, a maritime highway to East, resulting in a considerably reduced voyage in maritime transportation, opened Indian market for European nations, influencing the import and export of material goods between India and Europe, created more consumers. The third section of this chapter discusses rise of the middle class and emergence of public sphere in nineteenth century in colonial Maharashtra. This new middle class believed in a new value system, which was a result of colonialism and modernity and helped to create a new culture of consumption. The fourth point discussed how capitalism and capitalistic actors such as manufactures, merchants, advertisements and advertising agencies, and other like print culture created consumers and markets for their products by advertising, and how these advertisements influenced consumers. The fifth point in this chapter discusses the rise and growth of the Indian national movement and the Gandhian idea of Swadeshi, encouraging Indian people to wear and consume indigenously manufactured products.

Chapter Two:

This chapter discusses the consumption patterns of colonial Maharashtra in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. While discussing consumption patterns, the present chapter is divided into two themes; first theme explains how the upper, middle and lower class or income groups consumed cloths, food, household articles and furnishing, and how these classes were spending their earning on consumptions of these commodities and articles in second half of the nineteenth century in colonial Maharashtra. The second theme discusses different consumption practices/patterns followed in various communities and castes in the late nineteenth century in colonial Maharashtra and how these consumption patterns were influenced by religious ideas, caste and communities' rules and customs. The chapter highlights how each community had their vivid and vibrant lifestyles different from other communities, and how these differences were reflected in their

consumptions of clothes, food and household articles and furnishings in colonial Maharashtra. While discussing these two themes, this chapter also focuses on how the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was a transformative period in the consumption patterns in colonial Maharashtra.

Chapter Three:

This chapter explores how the emergence of new consumption patterns and practices played a crucial role in the socio-cultural transformation of colonial Maharashtra from 1920s to 1930s. While discussing consumption patterns and socio-cultural change, this chapter gets divided into four themes: the first theme explores the standard of living of the middle class and working class in 1920s and also discusses how middle and working, and lower classes spent their income on consumption of food, clothes, and household article and furnishing. The second theme explains how the shifts in the attitude of people, with the emergence of the public sphere and Indian nationalism, brought changes in consumption of clothing and how these shifts in attitude created a culture of consumption. The third theme discusses how the expansion in the range of goods, services, communication and mass entertainments enabled the rise of processed food culture and restaurant culture and how these emerging cultures brought changes in consumption of food patterns. The last theme of the chapter discusses how the emergence of hyper-interactive culture and emerging culture of consumption rose simultaneously in the period between the two World Wars and how both cultures created the institution of hygiene, appearance, and transformed domestic space in colonial Maharashtra.

Chapter Four:

This chapter focuses on two most important themes, i.e., how gender played a crucial role in the shaping of consumption, and how the new culture of consumption practices, spaces, and products had got involved in the articulation of gender identities in colonial Maharashtra. This chapter discusses how the rise of consumption in colonial Maharashtra enabled women to enter the public sphere. This chapter also investigates how consumption was an opportunity and threat to

women in the colonial period, and what were the gendered anxieties of consumption in colonial Maharashtra and explores the new anxieties which were generated by changing patterns and styles of consumption. Lastly, this chapter also discusses how women changed themselves to adopt a new lifestyle in colonial Maharashtra.

Nature of Sources and Their Locations

A number of documents from the colonial archives, such as the general department records, revenue department records, government reports, district gazetteers, census reports, several newspapers, magazines, periodicals (both in English and vernacular language), advertisements, cartoons, drawing and photographs etc. have been used to write this thesis. All primary and secondary sources have been collected from different libraries and archives of Mumbai, Pune and New Delhi. The references of library and archive are: Maharashtra State Archive, Mumbai; Marathi Grantha Sangrahalaya, Mumbai; The Marathi Granthalaya, Pune; Shasakiya Granthalaya, Pune; the Library of the Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Pune; National Archive of India, New Delhi; Nehru Memorial Museum & Library, New Delhi; Central Secretariat Library, New Delhi; B. R. Ambedkar Central Library and DSA Library of Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. Besides, I have also used few online libraries and web portals: Dspace library of Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics (https://dspace.gipe.ac.in); South Asia Archive (http://www.southasiaarchive.com); the Internet Archive (https://archive.org); and Tasveer Ghar: A Digital Archive of South Asian Popular Visual Culture (http://www.tasveergharindia.net).

For the present study, non-conventional sources like autobiographies, are also used as an essential source for narration in concerned context. These autobiographies are: *Amachya Ayushyatil Athavani* (*Ranade: His Wife's Reminiscence,*1910) written by Ramabai Ranade (1863-1924); *Atmavritta (My Life Story,* 1915*)* written by Dhondo Keshav Karve (1858-1962); *Maze Purana* (*My Story,* 1944) written by Anandibai Karve (1865-1950); *Amchi Akara Varshe* (*Our*

Eleven Years, 1945) written by Lilabai Patwardhan; *Smruti Chitre* (*I Follow After: An Autobiography,* 1950) written by Lakshmibai Tilak (1869-1936); *My Story: the Autobiography of a Hindu Widow*, 1930 by Parvati Athavale, and *Bahurupi* (*A Man of Many Disguises*, 1957) written by Chintaman Ganesh Kolhatkar (1891-1959). These autobiographies are a significant source of studying socio-cultural transformation in colonial Maharashtra.

Chapter 1

Creating Consumers: Colonialism, Capitalism and Print Culture in Colonial Maharashtra

This chapter explores how the consumers were created for newly emerged products and commodities in colonial India in general and colonial Maharashtra in particular in the period between 1880s and 1930s. While exploring this significant theme, this chapter, divided in five section, deals with the crucial factors responsible for creating consumers and transforming consumption patterns in colonial Maharashtra. The first section discusses how the transformative pressure of colonial ideology that believed in cultural technology of rule created a new culture of consumption through their investigative modalities which explored society and culture and how these modalities enabled British manufactures to capture the Indian markets and create consumers for their products. The second section discusses how the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, a maritime highway to East, resulting in considerably reduced voyage in maritime transportation, opened Indian market for European nations, influencing the import and export of material goods between India and Europe, creating more consumers. The third section of this chapter discusses is the rise of middle class and emergence of public sphere in the nineteenth century. This newly emerged middle class believed in a new value system which was a result of colonialism and modernity, and helped create a new culture of consumption. The fourth discussed here is how capitalism and capitalistic actors such as manufactures, merchants, advertisements and advertising agencies, and other like print culture created consumers and markets for their products by advertising, and how these advertisements influenced consumers and also tries to establish connections between modern culture of consumption and capitalistic development, and how capitalism and colonialism spread its wings through consumer culture in colonial India. The fifth point discussed in this chapter is the rise and growth of Indian national movement and the Gandhian idea of Swadeshi, encouraging Indian people to wear and consume indigenously manufactured products.

1.1 Transformative Pressure of Colonialism and Cultural Technology of Rule

Two important phenomena, European colonialism, and western idea of modernity, have significantly transformed the world in last few centuries. Colonialism controlled and transformed the colonised societies through mechanism of military, political and cultural forces. The long period of colonialism officially ended in mid-twentieth century. The colonial legacy, however, is still very powerful and dominant force in colonised societies: the colonial system of education, language, patronage, trade, capital, immigration and other cultural influence are still quite intact and, in some contexts, stronger.

The Industrial Revolution in Western Europe systematically replaced labour-intensive manufacture with capital-intensive production that depended on machinery and proper organisation to manufacture more products in less expense, effort and time. These developments facilitated renewal and expansion of colonialism in nineteenth century, which transformed social relations in colonised societies, identified as modernity. Colonialism redefined and shaped discourse about modernity; both as the process of colonisation and modernisation of colonised societies generated the notion of the private and public, spiritual and material, tradition and modernity. In the *Dialectic of Enlightenment,* Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno argued the rationality and ideals of the enlightenment contained and embodied seeds of destruction and irrationality. These enlightenment ideals and rationality gave birth to notion of modernity in the West. The notion of modernity created a 'culture of industry' which led to make consistent products that manipulated its consumers into 'political passivity'.[1] It is fact that some of the most destructive, oppressive and exploitative colonial system of governments have been justified and vindicated in the name of enlightenment principle, civilising mission, modernising society, rule of law, new political system, and many are convinced that constant consumerist culture discourages political engagement.[2]

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[1] See, Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno, *Dialectic of Enlightenment: Philosophical Fragments,* ed., Gunzelin Schmid Noerr and trans., Edmund Jephcott, Stanford University Press, Sanford, [1944 in German & 1972 in English], 2002.
[2] Paul Gillen and Devleena Ghosh, *Colonialism and Modernity*, p. 36.

In colonial period, culture played a significant role in the broader process of social, political and economic transformation of the colonised societies that emphasised the large-scale influence of both culture on colonialism and colonialism on culture. Ania Loomba, in *Colonialism/Postcolonialism,* argues that this cultural influence and aspects of colonialism were so deeply intertwined with its economic systems that to understand the entirety of colonialism, one need to understand the cultural processes of colonialism because culture was the significant site of colonial oppression and anti-colonial resistance.[3] One cannot established, therefore, the relationship between ideology/ culture and material reality/economics structure of colonialism without study of culture. Edward Said writes in *Culture and Imperialism*:

> Neither imperialism nor colonialism is simple act of accumulation and acquisition. Both are supported and perhaps even impelled by impressive ideological formations which include notions that certain territories and people required and beseech domination, as well as forms of knowledge affiliated with that dominations.[4]

This impressive ideological formation was the main reason in the expansion of the British Empire in India and other parts of the world.

The British established their rule in India and ruled for many years with a comparatively small number of administrators, civil servants and soldiers, and much of their employees were people whom Lord Macaulay in his famous ‘minute’ called “a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals and in intellect”.[5] In Macaulay’s perspective, control and govern over Indian people was achieved more efficiently by spreading English language and colonial ruler’s discourse through a modern education system, creating a class of substitute British-Indians. Thus, according to Bernard Cohn, the command of language and the introduction of modern

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[3] Ania Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism,* Routledge, London, [1998], Third Edition, 2015, p. 25.

[4] Edward W. Said. *Culture and Imperialism,* Vintage Books, New York, 1993, p. 9.

[5] T. B. Macaulay, “Minute on Indian Education, 2 February 1835”, *Bureau of Education Selections from Educational Records, Part I (1781-1839)*, NAI, New Delhi, p. 107-117.

education enabled the colonial project of the rule.[6] The colonial project of rule, for Nicolas Dirks, was "cultural technology of rule" and colonialism in India was not only a political and economic system but also a cultural formation.[7] Nicolas Dirks describes,

> Colonialism conquest not just the result of the power of superior arms, military organisation, political power, or economic wealth –as important as these things were. Colonialism was made possible, and then sustained and strengthened, as much by cultural technologies of rule as it was by the more obvious and brutal modes of conquest that first established power on foreign shores. The cultural effects of colonialism have too often been ignored or displaced into the inevitable logic of modernisation and world capitalism; but more than this, it has been sufficiently recognised that colonialism was itself a cultural project of control.[8]

Bernard Cohn emphasised that the meticulous and rigorous attempts of British officers and Orientalists scholars to study Indian religion, languages, society, culture and philosophy were not driven by wonder, admiration and high regards for Indian civilisation and culture, but rather were an important part of the colonial project of control and command.[9] "The very Orientalist imagination that led to brilliant antiquarian collections, archaeological finds, and photographic forays were in fact forms of constructing an India that could be better packaged, subsumed and ruled."[10] Thus, the colonial state in India became a laboratory in which the colonial state did experiment with several methods of control and regulation by acquiring Indian knowledge and transforming that knowledge into an imperial power for the rule. The British administrators used various methods such as recording, counting, producing census, reports and commissions to acquire knowledge. These methods were part of the wider totalising and individualising documentation project of colonialism.[11] Thus, for British officers and orientalists, the conquest of India was a conquest of knowledge of Indian arts, religion, society, customs, material

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[6] Bernard Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Form of Knowledge,* Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1997.
[7] Nicholas Dirks, "Introduction: Colonialism and Culture", in Nicolas Dirks, ed., *Colonialism and Culture*, University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 1992, p. 3.
[8] Nicholas Dirks, "Forward" in Bernard Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Form of Knowledge,*p. ix.
[9] Bernard S. Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Form of Knowledge,* p. 16.
[10] Nicholas Dirks, "Forward" in *Colonialism and Its Form of Knowledge*, p. x.
[11] Paul Gillen and Devleena, *Colonialism and Modernity,* p. 141.

culture, and textual tradition. To control and command the Indian knowledge, British officers used, according to Bernard Cohn,

> an investigative modality [which] includes the definition of a body of information that is needed, the procedures by which appropriate knowledge is gathered, its ordering and classification, then how it is transformed into usable forms such as published reports, statistical returns, histories, gazetteers, legal codes, and encyclopaedias.[12]

In the investigative modalities and these official sources, one can trace the transformation in forms of knowledge which the British colonial rule recognised as useful for their own ends. The records of British officers and others reflected the colonial state's central concerns with trade and commerce, and control over the large Indian people. In these records, one can also find extensive lists of commodities, their prices, detailed descriptions and maps about trade routes, information of interior and coastal markets, especially local officials and their actions in relations to the colonial state.[13]

In 1774, an act of British Parliament made it lawful for the British citizens to wear newly manufactured cloths made out of cotton. This act of Parliament coincided with the technological breakthrough in the spinning machinery: Arkwright's water-frame machine patented in 1769, patent of Hargreaves's spinning-jenny registered in 1770, and above all patent of Crompton's mule spinning machine registered in 1779.[14] These technical breakthroughs in the spinning machine and cotton manufacture industry brought an enormous increase in productivity, improvement in the quality of yarn, and contributed in falling prices. By the end of eighteenth century, cotton manufacture was no longer an art, it was fast becoming a science. The fastest growing cotton manufacturing industry in Britain, after the Industrial Revolution, needed a constant supply of raw materials and new markets for newly manufactured products. Therefore, to fulfil the industrial requirements of Britain, colonialism renewed and reproduced itself in new form where the

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[12] Bernard S. Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Form of Knowledge*, p. 5.
[13] *Ibid.,* p. 16.
[14] Heita Kawakatsu, *The Lancashire Cotton Industry and Its Rivals: International Competition in Cotton Goods in the Late Nineteenth Century: Britain versus India, China, and Japan*, LTCB International Library Trust/ International House of Japan, Tokyo, 2018, p. 59.

colonial state supplied an enormous amount of raw materials to Britain's industries and created markets for the industrially manufactured products. Colonialism created a new economic structure centred on European colonial societies in such way that it benefited Britain. In the process, colonial system followed various critical methods to control and command; one of the important methods was creating markets and consumers for industrially manufactured products.

In July 1866, *Memorandum on the Distribution in Britain and India of the Collections of Specimens of the Textile Manufactures of India* was submitted to the Secretary of State for India in the India Office by J. Forbes Watson, a reporter on the Products of India. The memorandum was about collections of specimens, consisted of twenty sets of eighteen volumes, and each set contained seven hundred 'working samples' of cotton, silk, and woollen textiles of Indian manufactures. The working sample of the extensive collection was obtained from various places in India. Of the twenty sets, illustrating in a complete and convenient manner, thirteen sets were distributed in Britain and seven sets in India.[15] Each working sample was provided and prepared in such a manner that it signified the attractiveness and character of the whole piece of textile from which it was cut, and enabled the manufacturer to reproduce the article if he wished to do so.[16] The twenty sets of volumes, according to the reporter of Products of India, was considered and regarded as "Twenty Industrial or Trade Museums",[17] representing the textile manufactures of India. The main purpose of the extensive collections of working samples and specimens was to

[15] It was recommended that out of the twenty sets of volumes, thirteen remained in England and seven were sent to India. In Britain, while distributing those sets, first preference given to the commercial and textile manufactures and second preference given to industrial museums or other institutions to afford necessary protection, facilities of access, etc. The places referred to were Belfast, Bradford, Dublin, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Halifax, Huddersfield, Liverpool, Macclesfield, Manchester, Preston, Salford— making, with one retained in this Department for permanent reference, thirteen in all. In India, recommended to be placed at Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Karachi, the North-Western Provinces, the Punjab and Berar. With the respect to last named province either Allahabad, Mirzapur, or Agra in North-Western Province, Amritsar or Lahore in the Punjab, and Amravati or Nagpur in Berar, found the most suitable and it left to respective Governments of province to decide on the exact locality.
[16] *Memorandum on the Distribution in the Britain and India of the Collections of Specimens of Textile Manufactures of India,* July 1866, pp. 149-150. MSA, Mumbai.
[17] *Ibid.,* p. 151.

encourage and promote trade operations between the East and West, and to be studied comprehensively and consulted by manufacturers of Britain and India.[18]

These collections of working samples offered a guide book to a large section of British manufacturers for the Indian market which was receiving less attention in England in the first half of nineteenth century. These working specimens illustrated principles which perceived an effort to create designs which would be satisfied the tastes and choices of Indian people whose appreciation and admiration of art, as applied to textile decoration and design, was of a high order. In the memorandum, the following remarks were submitted:

> The original intention was that the whole of the twenty sets should be distributed in [England and India] … because this course will facilitate those trade operations between the two countries which it is the object of the work to promote and encourage…[19]

The documentation and collections of cloth involved, generated and homogenised a vast amount of information about the textiles manufactures in India that formed basis of their capacity to extend trade and create consumers for British manufacturing products. Another advantage accrued from the collection was to disseminate a practical/empirical knowledge of Indian manufactures, which enabled to ascertain what productions could and could not be manufactured in cheap rate by machinery, while the more elaborate Indian patterns were produced by hand.

The reporter of this memorandum believed that this extensive collection would help to create the most "intimate commercial relations" between India and Great Britain, and enable the British manufacturer to learn more about what commodities were saleable and profitable in the Indian market and what sort of commodities England could manufacture more cheaply than India. In addition to this, these textile specimens facilitated trade operations between England and India, and enabled "merchants to give, and manufactures to execute, orders

[18] J. Forbes Watson, *The Textiles Manufactures and the Costumes of the People of India*, George Edward Eyre and William Spottiswoode, London, 1866, p. 1., MSA, Mumbai.
[19] *Memorandum on the Distribution in the Britain and India*, p. 149.

more readily and precisely than they otherwise could."[20] The interests of the Indian as well as those of the people in England, were considered in the collections of specimens of textile, but colonial reporter's observations and comments in the reports applied more specifically to England.[21]

J. Forbes Watson, in his report, says:

> about two hundred million of souls form the population of what we commonly speak of as India; and, scant though the garments of the vast majority may be, an order to clothe them all would try the resources of the greatest manufacturing nation on earth. It is clear, therefore, that India is in a position to become a magnificent customer. She may still be this, and yet continue to seek her supplies in part from herself; for to clothe but a mere percentage of such a vast population would double the loom of Lancashire.[22]

He suggested the colonial state and British manufacturers should try to persuade an Indian individual or India as a country to become a foremost customer for British manufactured goods and articles. The British manufacturers, also, should take effort to make the goods and articles which was liked and needed by Indian people, and the British manufacturers should offer to sell those articles in India. He emphasised that the British manufacturers "[should] not make an effort to impose on others [Britain's] own tastes and needs, but [the British] produce what please the customer and what he wants".[23] However, the British manufacturers and colonial state, in the initial years, hardly followed this rule, and if anyone followed it, met with little success. In early years, they failed to appreciate Indian taste and habits for making new consumer for their articles and goods.

The colonial state was aware that there were few things about Indian tastes and wants beyond the understanding of British manufacturers because, previously, the manufacturer, except few, had no opportunity of acquiring

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[20] *Ibid.,* p. 151.
[21] *The Textiles Manufactures and the Costumes of the People of India*, p. 2.
[22] *Ibid.*
[23] *Ibid*.

knowledge of what India wanted.[24] The reporter of the specimen acknowledged that "some education in the matter is necessary" and without such education, the significance and value of certain characteristics of Indian goods, articles, and forms will not be appropriately realised.[25] Therefore, to meet Indian tastes and Indian wants the British manufacturers required a study and much consideration.[26]

> The 700 specimens show what the people of India affect and deem suitable in the way of textile fabrics, and if the supply of these is to come from Britain, [Indian people] must be imitated there. What is wanted, and what is to be copied to meet that want, is thus accessible for study in these Museums.[27]

It was thought, however, that something more than mere samples was required to enable the manufacturer of Britain to manufactures clothes comprehensibly. The colonial state felt that it was essential for manufacturer that they should know how people wore garments, for what purpose they wore it, and by which sex, —how, in short, the people were clothed, as well as the standards and characters of the garments Indian people wore. It was even more essential for manufacturer that they should also aware that why certain ornamentation and arrangements were adopted, as well as styles of ornamentation and materials employed.[28]

It was shown in the specimens that a large part of clothing of the people, Muslim wore clothes made of piece goods by the aid of scissors and needles,

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[24] J. Forbes Watson was quite aware of the efforts which of late years have been made, more particularly by Glasgow and Manchester, to manufacture sarees and some similar articles of clothing; the result, however, has been insignificant when the British manufacturers remember the extent of the consumption of such articles.

[25] *The Textiles Manufactures and the Costumes of the People of India*, pp. 2-3.

[26] *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3.

[27] *Ibid.,* p. 3.

[28] The steadiness of Indian taste and fashion was a point which colonial state directed to the manufacturer's attention. The reporter writes that the people of India has no constant desire for change in the material and style of their costume as it was noticeable in Europe. In India, some patterns in costume were favourites for that time, had been so for centuries, and certain articles of dress were ages old but still very much in use at that time. The reporter also warned British manufactures that it is not to be understood from this that new styles of ornamentation was not introduced by the Indian manufacturer at that time. But through this the reporter wanted to convey that there was a much greater fixity of fashion in India than in Europe, and it was not necessary to point out that this had a very direct bearing on the operations. See, *The Textiles Manufactures and the Costumes of the People of India*, p. 3.

and Hindu wore clothes which were untouched by needle or scissors. These clothes material leave the loom ready for wear such as turban, loincloth, *dhoti*, and sarees, which have each different function and carry a certain similarity to British scarfs, plaid, and shawls, though they by no means served the similar purposes. The turbans, loincloths, and *dhoti* were worn by men, and women wore sarees. The colonial state advised the British manufacturers that quality of fabric, style of ornamentation, and appropriate lengths and breadths must be considered in the manufacturing process.[29] In order to enable the manufacturer to manufacture cloths for Indian people easily, the 700 specimens were arranged in groups in such a way that each group of the turban, loincloths, and *dhoti* and other garments was kept separately. These large groups were again subdivided on the basis of the quality of the garment, the material of which it was made, and the mode of ornamentation. In these large collections, many basic facts were kept out, such as large proportion of clothing of people of Maharashtra was made out of cotton, there were specific colours or certain nature of colours which were favourites, and gold was mostly used in the adornment of several kinds of fabrics like cotton and silk.[30]

In the nineteenth century certain fabrics which were available at best and most cheaply manufactured by hand in India, whereas the powers of machinery pushed Indian manufacturers to their utmost ruination. The hand-loom weavers struggled for survival when there was high time of production amongst British manufacturers. The power of machinery in Britain disrupted the handloom weaving industry in India. In this process, only those handloom weavers survived who were making very fine and richly decorated fabrics which required delicate manipulation of human fingers for their production.[31] Indian handloom weavers took foremost place in manufacturing of fine and decorated fabrics because of availability of skilled labour, intelligence and refined taste which produced fine embroideries, shawls and carpets, for which they were famous. They continued to manufacture such fabrics for the customer in India; and beauty of some of their productions was well-known and appreciated, and

[29] *Ibid.,* p. 4.
[30] *The Textiles Manufactures and the Costumes of the People of India*, p. 4.
[31] *Ibid.,* p. 7.

found profitable customers in Europe.[32] The reporter of working specimens anticipated such hope through these collections, and he wrote:

> In the meantime, the British manufacturer must not look for his customers upper ten million of India, but to the hundreds of millions in the lower grades. The plainer and cheaper stuffs of cotton, or of cotton and wool together, are those which he has the best chance of selling, and those which he would be able to sell largely, if in their manufacture he would keep well in view the requirements and tastes of the people to whom he offers them.[33]

He also wrote:

> India [in mid-nineteenth century] as a country whose raw products we largely receive. We pay for these partly in kind and partly in money; but India never buys from us what will repay our purchases from her, and the consequence is that we have always to send out the large difference in bullion, which never comes back to us, disappearing there as if it had been dropped into the ocean. We buy her cotton, Indigo, coffee, and spices; and we sell her what we can in the shape of textile and other manufactures. It must not be forgotten, however, that there was a time when India supplied us largely with textiles… She may never resume her position as an exporting manufacturer of goods of this sort… This is clear, however, that it will be a benefit to the people of India to be supplied with their clothing at the cheapest possible rate… If Great Britain can give loongees, dhotees, sarees and calicoes to India which cost less than those made by her own weavers…[34]

Under the colonial rule, machinery and technological skill of the British manufacturers became major supplier of textiles to India at a cheap rate. In late nineteenth century, these collections were led by showing that the British manufacturers gained what Indian people required. The colonial government's intention, according to the report on these collections, shows that British manufacturers were very much interested in producing and supplying those clothing which was easy to produce on machinery. It also seems that the British manufacturers were not interested in certain fabrics such as carpets, shawls and embroideries, which Indian weavers were producing at a lower cost than in

[32] *Ibid.*
[33] *Ibid.*
[34] *Ibid.,* pp. 7-8.

Europe. The colonial government made Indian weavers to sell and Indian people to buy those fabrics and articles because those articles were made by hand with great perfection and beauty than by any machinery invented by the Industrial Revolution.[35]

The project of an extensive collection of specimens was not stopped with textile manufactures in the second half of nineteenth century. It was extended to other areas, where the colonial government hoped that this project would bring benefit to them. The colonial project of extensive study of material and culture goods extended in various directions and areas in which Britain saw a profit. The primary objective of this project was to make 'intimate commercial relations' with India in every possible way and to create a major consumer for British manufactures.[36] In the second half of nineteenth century, a large amount of information was drawn together about all classes of Indian manufactures and products, which made an immense advantage to Britain's manufacturers to create more consumers for their products. At the end of this report, J. Forbes Watson recommended to the Secretary of State for India in Council, sources of the Department should be used for "future efforts in the same direction, having regard to other manufactures of products, to make with less labour and with increased economy."[37] The disseminating knowledge on Indian material requirement directly influenced the process of interchange of commodities in colonial India. These extensive collections of information and knowledge about Indian's like and dislike helped British manufacturers to produce more products suitable to India and created a class of consumers to these British manufactured products. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, helped the European manufactures to send their manufactured products quickly to newly opened market in India, and the Suez Canal considerably reduced voyage and expenditure on transportation of goods that benefited the British Empire.

[35] *Ibid.,* p. 8
[36] *Ibid.*
[37] *Ibid*.

1.2 The Suez Canal and Its Impact on Trade and Commerce

The building of the modern canal across the Isthmus of Suez had been envisioned by Napoleon when he conquered Egypt in late the eighteenth century. Napoleon's strategic plans on the region were part of his strategy to seize and control East India Company's possession in India. In the early 1840s Muhammad Ali Pasha, *Khedive* of Egypt, scrutinised building a canal because this would jeopardise Egypt's autonomy. Neither Muhammad Ali nor his successor Abbas Pasha approved the project of constructing a canal. Abbas Pasha's successor, Mohammad Said Pasha, and his successor, Ismail Pasha, gradually embraced the idea of constructing a canal across the Isthmus of Suez which would serve as "short cut" route to the East for European countries.[38] In 1854, Mohammad Said Pasha granted Ferdinand de Lesseps, a chief architect of the Suez Canal, a concession for the building of the canal. Ferdinand de Lesseps and his company the *Compagnie Universelle du Canal Maritime de Suez* was granted administrative control over the canal for ninety-nine years. Ferdinand de Lesseps campaigned all over Europe and advertised the international and commercial benefits of the Suez Canal. Trade and commerce were the primary reason for the European nations to be invested in the canal. They believed that trade and commerce would be the solution to the Western nations' apprehensions about competition and control in the times of peace and war.[39] Prime Minister of Britain, Lord Viscount Palmerston and numerous British politicians vehemently opposed and objected to the construction of the Canal because they considered that it would open an easy access to India, which would give an advantage to any strong maritime power with whom they might at any future time be at war. When the canal completed and opened for transportation, the British were one of its primary users and beneficiaries. Soon Great Britain appreciated the work of building the canal. Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli purchased 44 per cent of the stocks with 4,000,000 pounds borrowed from the Rothschild's Bank in 1875 in an attempt to ensure that Great

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[38] Mia Carter and Barbara Harlow, eds., *Archives of Empire vol. I: From the East India Company to the Suez Canal,* Duke University Press, Durham and London, 2003, pp. 611-612.
[39] Ferdinand de Lesseps: *The Suez Canal: Letters and Documents Descriptive of its Rise and Progress in 1854-56,* trans. N D'Anvers, Scholarly Sources, Pennsylvania, 1876.

Britain would hold 'the Key of India' (see figure 1.1).[40] The Suez Canal, after its formal opening on 16 November 1869, facilitated maritime highway to Great Britain to market its commercial goods and products more effectively in India and other Eastern countries and, in time of crisis, it also facilitated quick and efficiently transport its military than had been possible during the Crimean War (1853-1856) or the Indian Uprising of 1857.[41] In 1870, Ferdinand De Lesseps was awarded "the Grand Cross of the Star of India" by Queen Victoria, and conferred a freeman by the city of London and he was also awarded a Gold Medal at Crystal Palace from Prince Albert.[42]

Table 1.1: Distance between the chief ports of Europe and Bombay before and after the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869

The Chief Ports of Europe	Distance from Bombay (in Leagues)		Difference
	Via the Suez Canal	Via the Atlantic Ocean	
Constantinople	1800	6100	4300
Malta	2062	5800	3778
Trieste	2340	5980	3640
Marseilles	2374	5650	3276
Cadiz	2224	5200	2976
Lisbon	2500	5330	2830
Bordeaux	2800	6650	3850
Havre	2824	5800	2976
London	3100	5950	2850
Liverpool	3050	5900	2850
Amsterdam	3310	5950	2640
St Petersburg	3700	6550	2850

Source: Ferdinand de Lesseps: *The Suez Canal: Letters and Documents Descriptive of its Rise and Progress in 1854-56,* trans. N D'Anvers, Scholarly Sources, Pennsylvania, 1876.

[40] Mia Carter and Barbara Harlow, eds., *Archives of Empire vol. I*, p. 612.
[41] *Ibid.,* p. 576.
[42] *Ibid*.

Figure 1.1: The Suez Canal: The Key of India

Source: "Mosé in Egitto!!!" The Suez Canal: The Key of India, *Punch, or The London Charivari,* Vol. 69, 11 December 1875, p. 245.

The total cost for construction of the canal was about £19,000,000. Of this sum £12,800,000 was raised by shares, a third of which were purchased by the Egyptian Government, and the remaining £7,200,000 was paid by the Egyptian Government as indemnities, repurchases of lands, the redemption of certain privileges originally accorded to the company.[43] The generous concession given by Mohammad Said Pasha and his successor to De Lesseps crippled the Egyptian economy. D.A. Cameron estimated that Mohammed Pasha's concession cost Egypt over sixteen million pounds and number that cannot address the costs paid by the Egyptian people.[44] All the mercantile communities of Europe had doubtless benefitted more or less by this canal. A glance at the shipping statistics, however, shows that England –the nation that from first to last most strenuously opposed the construction of this canal, and the nation which did not invest anything initially –had benefitted "three times more than all the other nations of the earth combined".[45] Under the British flag, between seventy-five and eighty per cent of the ships of cargo sailed through the canal.[46] The Suez Canal, therefore, brought honour to France, enormous gain to Britain, and ruin to Egypt.[47]

The opening of Suez Canal, a new maritime highway, in 1869 led to connecting the Mediterranean world to the Red Sea. Up to 1869-70, the import trade of Bombay was confined chiefly to the United Kingdom, China and the Persian Gulf, though a very small portion of the trade was possessed by France, Germany and Portugal. Owing to abolition of the East India Company's monopoly and opening of the Suez Canal, the current of trade from 1870 onward showed a disposition of returned gradually to channels, that used to be before the discovery of the sea route of round the cape. The cities of Mediterranean commenced once again to receive and profit by that share of Eastern trade which was theirs before the Portuguese snatched it and transmitted it in succession to the Dutch and English. Ten years after the opening of the Suez Canal (1879-

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[43] Edward Rogers, and *et al.,* "The Suez Canal", *the Journal of Art (1875-1887),* New Series, Vol. 6, 1880, pp. 329-332.
[44] See for more details, D. A. Cameron, *Egypt in the Nineteenth Century or Mehemet Ali and His Successors until the British Occupation in 1882*, Smith Elder and Co., London, 1898.
[45] Edward Rogers, and et. al., "The Suez Canal", pp. 329-332.
[46] *Ibid*.
[47] *Ibid*.

80), Italy had acquired an annual share of 13 lakhs in Bombay trade, which expanded during three successive decades to 17, 28, and 64 lakhs respectively. Next-followed Austria-Hungary whose trade with Bombay was valued at 8l lakhs in 1879-80 and had risen to 135 lakhs in 1906-7, while from the years 1880-81 Belgium, Germany and Russia commenced to acquire an appreciable share, the respective value of which rose from 18, 7 and 12 lakhs during the decade ending 1889-90 to 134, 129 and 72 lakhs during the decade ending 1906-07.[48]

The following two tables (Table no. 1.2 & 1. 3) show the value of the principal articles of commerce imported into and exported from Bombay since the year 1800.

Table 1.2: Exports from Bombay (in Lakhs)

Articles	1801-1850	1851-1860	1861-1870	1871-1880	1881-1890	1891-1900	1901-1907
Cotton, Raw	308	267	1716	1043	1126	859	1288
Cotton, Twist & Yarn	3.92	0.06	4	38	286	587	850
Cotton Manufactured	75	4	16	16	51	71	52
Opium	363.23	258	579	614	461	316	271
Oilseeds	2.08	35	25	80	417	612	677
Wheat	0.18	3	1	24	367	231	90
Wool, Raw	9.01	19	50	64	71	72	80
Total	761.42	586.06	2391	1879	2779	2748	3308

Source: *The Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island*, Vol. I, The Times Press, Bombay, 1909, p. 421.

Table1.3: Imports to Bombay (in Lakhs)

Articles	1801-1850	1851-1860	1861-1870	1871-1880	1881-1890	1891-1900	1901-1907
Cotton Piece-goods	168.09	195	442	439	731	729	824
Cotton, Twist	81.3	33	56	66	98	71	59
Silk Manufacture	21	7	19	27	62	91	120

[48] *The Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island*, Vol. I, The Times Press, Bombay, 1909, pp. 418-419.

Silk Raw	59	28	49	60	74	80	58
Wool Manufacture	9.02	8	21	23	46	64	89
Metals	79	45	136	99	185	212	263
Machinery	0.61	5	25	35	72	114	135
Sugar	82	22	45	70	138	186	272
Liquors	31	213	369	340	322	450	386
Kerosene Oil	-	-	0.1	4	29	81	91
Total	531.2	556	1162.1	1163	1757	2078	2297

Source: *The Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island*, Vol. I, The Times Press, Bombay, 1909, p. 421.

From the above tables, it appears that there had been a considerable increase in the importation of all articles enumerated in it. It shows great increase in exportation of all the principal articles, except cotton piece goods and others, which shows decrease. The cotton piece goods were not manufactured, because it paid better to export cotton than to make it up.

The sea-borne trade from Bombay during 1881-1891 increased from 658 to 844 million rupee or to 28.2 per cent. The average was 754 million. The rail-borne trade, average, much less with 496 million; rising from 480 in 1881 to 543 million in 1891.[49] The chief contributor to the import trade in cotton piece-goods was the United Kingdom. Maclean writes,

> The export of cotton manufactures from India to England began to decline towards the close of the Eighteenth century, and became quite insignificant soon after the beginning of the nineteenth century. About the same time (1813) that the ports of India were thrown open to English merchant adventurers, protective duties of 70 and 80 percent were imposed in Great Britain on cotton and silk manufactures from India.[50]

The value of imported cotton piece-goods, which was nearly 88 lakhs in the ending decade of 1850, rose to 723 lakhs in the decade ending 1890.[51] In 1893-94, the trade sustained the check. The return showed an enormous decrease, brought about by the large stocks of the previous year, the low rate of exchange,

[49] *Provincial Reports on the Material Condition of the People 1881-1891*, pp. 7-8. NAI, New Delhi

[50] Quoted in *The Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island,* Vol. I, p. 422.

[51] File No. 539 of 1890, Revenue Department, Vol. 10, 1890, pp. 50-51. MSA, Mumbai.

and also to the closure of the mints and consequent disturbance of exchange with the silver-using countries of the further East. A recovery afterwards took place, and for the period between 1901 and 1907, the total value of trade was nearly 779.5 lakhs. Other countries of Europe also had a share in the trade. In 1880 Austria-Hungry and Italy had exported goods to Bombay, during the preceding decade, to the value of 1 lakh and 2.5 lakh respectively, which rose during the seven years ending 1906-07 and 7.33 and 10 lakhs respectively; France, during then ten years ending 1890, contributed to the extent of 2.5 lakhs, but had failed to retain her position in the trade since that year. Belgium, Germany and Holland had respectively introduced goods into Bombay valued at 6.3 lakh and 4.5 lakhs and Rs 67,000 respectively during the period ending 1906-07. The importation of cotton piece-goods from America commenced during the decade ending 1890 and amounted to about 9 lakhs during the period ending 1906-07.[52]

The steady rise in consumption of cotton, silk, woollen and metals at the ports of Bombay and other ports of the Presidency to an unfavourable conclusion. The report says that the scale of living was gradually, though very slowly, rising. It was certain that the introduction of cheap clothing and hardware from Europe in every village bazaar of Bombay Presidency during the late nineteenth century benefited the agriculture classes less, and had harmed the native weavers and artisans.[53]

In colonial period, the nature of Indian economy and its structure underwent an enormous change. Initial period, the British's trade and commerce were based on import of the luxury items, and later period, that trade was mostly dominated by the imports of raw materials from India and exports of industrial manufactured products and commodities to India. In fact, mid-nineteenth century onwards, many products and commodities that had once been rare and expensive, such as coffee, tea, sugar and tobacco, had now become inexpensive due to the availability of cheap colonial labour and industrially mass production. As steamships increased trade and commerce as well as Western control of the

[52] *The Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island*, Vol. I, p. 423.
[53] *Provincial Reports on the Material Condition of the People 1881-1891*, p. 8.

oceans, the telegraph and the railways expended Western countries' influence and domination into remote areas.[54]

> The cheapness of the articles produced by machinery, and the improved means of transport and communication furnish the weapons for the conquering foreign markets. By ruining handicraft production in other countries, machinery forcibly converts them into field for the supply of its raw material. In this way East India was compelled to produce cotton wool, hemp, jute, and indigo for Great Britain.[55]

Cotton goods in the markets, as commodities, was looked at from two viewpoints, their use value and exchange value.[56] The utility of a commodity makes its use value, while the exchange value of a commodity manifests itself in price or quantitative relations.[57] In theory, "the value of commodities is inversely proportional to the productivity of labour".[58] In this way, industrially advanced Great Britain could have sold her products cheaply to India. In India, as early as 1834-35, William Bentinck, Governor General of India, reported "the misery hardly finds a parallel in the history of commerce. The bones of the cotton-weavers are breaching the plains of India."[59] However, this is always referred to as an example of cheap machine-made cloth uprooting local handicrafts.

In the international trade and commerce of late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, cotton played such an important role. According to Heita Kawakatsu, "world's payment mechanism centred around Britain's ability to offset a deficit with the rapidly industrialising countries of Europe and North America by means of surplus with the primary producers of the underdeveloped world of Asia in particular."[60] According to Saul's calculation, Britain's balance of payments in 1900 was £118 million surplus in its dealing with rest of the world including India, China and Japan contributed £60s million, £13

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[54] Paul Gillen and Devleena Ghosh, *Colonialism and Modernity,* p. 58.
[55] Karl Marx, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy,* Vol. I, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1995 [First Edition, 1887], p. 300.
[56] *Ibid.*, p. 27.
[57] *Ibid.*
[58] *Ibid.,* p. 421.
[59] Quoted in Karl Marx, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy*, Vol. I, p. 289.
[60] Heita Kawakatsu, *The Lancashire Cotton Industry and Its Rivals*, p. 66.

million and £13 million respectively (on 70 per cent). On the other hand, Britain had deficits of £145 million, of which £50 million with the United States, £45 million with European countries, and £25 million with Canada.[61] In this way, Britain's surplus with India was vital for it to sustain its deficits with the Industrial European countries and America. The British cotton trade with India in particular and Asia in general were a significant part of this international trade. The exports of cotton goods to India had sustained the British surplus balance of payment in international trade. By the late nineteenth century, Britain had shifted its exports of cotton goods to India from Europe and the United States because European countries and the United States had set up high tariff duties against the British products.[62] In this way, Britain's cotton manufactures became the most significant commodities of imports to India. Therefore, the consumption pattern in colonial India started to transform.

1.3 The Rise of Middle Class and the Emergence of Public Sphere

It is very hard to write a history of consumption of colonial India without studying its middle class. The middle class played a very significant role in arena of social reform, religious revival, national movements, education, the visual arts and culture, literature, and several other fields in late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Defining the middle class in colonial India is a challenging task because middle class is not a single set of uncontested values, or one set of economic indicators, or a homogenous social group, that could convincingly define as middle class. The middle class of late nineteenth and early twentieth century India was constituted not by their economic indicator and social class but through their cultural and public sphere politics. Even though, the middle class was not a flat sociological fact, but it was constantly in making throughout the colonial period.[63] Despite its wider base, there is slight agreement among scholars on what constitutes the social class called the middle class, professionals, bureaucrats, teachers, industrialists, landowners, novelists and poets, etc. all these professions defined themselves as middle class in one

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[61] S. B. Saul, *Studies in British Overseas Trade 1870-1914,* Liverpool University Press, Liverpool, 1960.

[62] Heita Kawakatsu, *The Lancashire Cotton Industry and Its Rivals*, p. 66.

[63] Sanjay Joshi, *Fractured Modernity: Making of a Middle Class in Colonial North India,* Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 200, p. 2.

context or another. The rise of middle class as social category and social force in colonial India was product of a long historical process in which the middle class made new values and norms for domestic as well as public life, redefined norms of social conduct and created new forms of politics.[64]

Introduction of modern education and the commencement of new cultural politics that allowed middle class to express themselves through a new set of beliefs, values, lifestyle and modes of politics, that made them different from other social class of colonial period. The colonial rule and modern education facilitated a public sphere in India, even though this sphere was created by the endeavours of educated Indians through their investment in press, working as journalists, establishing political and non-political associations, publishing and debating their ideas in press and public meetings. Using these newly established institutions of the public sphere, middle class redefined its ideas of society, culture, tradition, and lifestyles to differentiate themselves from upper and lower classes. The definition, identity and power of the middle class in colonial India came from its promulgation and dissemination of modern ways of life. Modernity in this sense represents more than a fixed set of categories regarding patterns of economic organisation, social relations and cultural values. In late nineteenth and early twentieth century, to become modern was an aspirational project for people that was not a fixed objective but an ideology. The Indian middle classes were both producers and the product of modernity in colonial India.[65] The middle class was also a cultural and political project that not only shaped the middle class but also much of the world around them in colonial India. In late nineteenth century, many young men and women, through their exposure to modern education institutions, entered into public sphere. This educated group defined themselves as middle class as well as a harbinger of modernity and tried to accept the best of indigenous traditions and Western modernity.[66]

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[64] Sanjay Joshi, "India's Middle Class," *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Asian History,* [online Publication] April 2017. Retrieved from https://oxfordre.com/asianhistory/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190277727.001.0001/acrefore-9780190277727-e-179. On 26 February 2018".
[65] Sanjay Joshi, "India's Middle Class".
[66] Kaushik Bhaumik, "At Home in the World," p. 136.

Jurgen Habermas (1989) was first scholar to historicise emergence of the public sphere as a category in political life. He traced origins of this public sphere, where groups of people use public platform to rationally discuss and debate upon public life, in the history of Western Europe. Habermas explained how socio-economic transformations from the European high middle age contributed to the making of a bourgeois public sphere in eighteenth-century in Western Europe. This bourgeois public sphere, according to Habermas, enabled emergence of a liberal public sphere where educated people could discuss and debate upon the public life and represented public opinion.[67] However, this analysis of the public sphere by Habermas does not suit Indian historical context even though similar situations appear. The discourse on historicising the public sphere in colonial India was extensively studied by scholars. The public sphere was, for Partha Chatterjee, the uncolonized inner domain[68] and it was, for Sandra Freitag, in public ceremonial rituals. The presence of colonialism, for C. A. Bayly, hardly matters in creation of public sphere in colonial India because India had long tradition of debate and discussion.[69] Sanjay Joshi acknowledges emergence of public sphere in colonial India due to dynamic model of social and cultural changes that constituted the middle class in colonial India.[70]

Analysing history of newspapers is the quintessential sign of public sphere in colonial India. The appearance of newspapers in public arena as a commodity which, at least theoretically, allowed anyone to buy and read and were introduced under the colonial rule. Initially, newspapers were exclusively published for the official and non-official British population living in Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay. Later, in mid-nineteenth century, a number of native newspapers started to appear in public domain and their effective readership increased.[71] In late nineteenth century, with the increasing readership of newspapers, many people got involved in the business of running newspapers and magazines in Bombay and Poona. These newly started newspapers and

[67] Jurgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere,* trans., Thomas Burger, the MIT Press, Cambridge, [1989], 1991.
[68] Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories,* Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1993, p. 22.
[69] C. A. Bayly, *Rulers, Townsman and Bazaars.*
[70] Sanjay Joshi, *Fractured Modernity,* pp. 33-34.
[71] *Report of Native Papers for Week Ending,* 2 March 1878, pp. 245-247, MSA, Mumbai.

magazines were publishing on variety of issues related to public life, and enabled one section of Indian population secure for themselves a larger place in the social, cultural and political milieu of the colonial India.

The emergence of public sphere in colonial India was not exclusive to colonialism. But colonialism facilitated the infrastructure for its existence. The emergence of public sphere played a crucial role in the constitution of middle class in colonial India. It was through newspapers and public associations this middle class came to define a new moral, cultural and political code. This newly defined code was consciously different from that of the traditional way of life. The middle class, as a new participant in the social, political and cultural arenas of colonial India, not only had to confront established traditional culture but also needed to encounter the new culture that came with western idea of modernity, and modern education. To make themselves modern and to imitate western way of life styles, members of educated and middle class became first consumers of modernity and Western ideas. To define themselves as modern and as harbinger of modernity, the class of young educated people in Bombay were detaching themselves from the traditional way of living and, systematically, attacking and discarding the traditional lifestyles and cultural practices through the newly emerging consumption patterns.[72]

In early twentieth century, increasing numbers of educated young people in urban society and culture could be seen everywhere in Bombay. These educated young people of this period defined themselves as the first-generation truly modern Indians. Since mid-nineteenth century, new employment opportunities demanded new literary skills, integration of Indian economy with Europe, and developments of technology in urban and rural areas transformed lifestyles of this generation in all spheres of public life. This was especially a significant reason for emerging modern urban centres in colonial Maharashtra, where gradual expansion of public life, of markets, educational institutions, offices, and place of amusement and entertainment were now linked together by an expanding web of public transportation. This provided the materialistic

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[72] *Bombay Chronical,* 25 April, 1919, p. 8.

infrastructure for the emergence of cultures of new consumption practices in colonial Maharashtra.[73]

The first half of twentieth century witnessed, after World War I, volatile economic conditions that changed discourses about consumption practices within families of various classes. This period was also characterized simultaneously by unstable economic conditions and a growing range of consumer goods, many members of the middle-class communities emphasized more on efficient management of household income and expenditure in order to maintain their way of life.[74] The period after World War I was marked by expansion in a range of goods, services, and mass entertainments available to urban as well as rural people. Equally, the deepening of market relation also led to a proliferation of choices before consumers. However, during the 1920s and 1930s, such choices amongst those who identified themselves as middle class and other had to be made in the context of considerable economic uncertainty and financial hardship. Thus, the emergence of an early mass culture and new sources of consumption combined with the rising cost of living and growing unemployment produced, among members of upper caste service communities, a constant preoccupation with the everyday domestic economy.[75] The reflections of these contemporary observers shed light on the pressures and dilemmas confronting middle-class families as they struggled to negotiate a new climate of unstable economic condition and rapid social change. On the other hand, those who claimed to belong to the middle class were conscious of the fact that consumption had become an essential measure of status in a modernizing urban context where the traditional markers of the caste hierarchy were became less adequate and not so much as guarantors of social standing. On the other hand, their insecure income situation consistently forced these men and women to weigh up their everyday spending choices.[76]

In early twentieth century, rise of educated young people brought large-scale cultural changes in urban and rural area. The educated urban young were

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[73] Kaushik Bhaumik, "*At Home in the World*," p. 137.
[74] *Report on an Enquiry into Middle Class Family Budget in Bombay city,* Labour Office, Bombay, 1928 p. 5. MSA, Mumbai
[75] Prashant Kidambi, "Consumption, Domestic Economy," pp. 109-110.
[76] *Ibid.,* pp. 117-18.

entering in the Indian public sphere due to rise and growth of mass national movement. National awakening among Indians was already widespread in political and cultural circles from late nineteenth century. What begins to emerge in the second decade of twentieth century was, rather, a break with older manners of classifying the role of the people for modern India. According to Kaushik Bhaumik "the older definition, a product of patriarchal and paternalistic hierarchies that marked nineteenth century nationalism and social reform, was replete with images of austerity and sacrifice."[77] New generation was responding to the onset of an emerging cultural order based on the consumption of cultural and lifestyle goods that were beginning to flood the Indian markets from 1910s onwards, a trend that accelerated considerably after end of World War I. The members of middle-class paraded goods, both material and cultural, in ways that showed up the implications of this new cultural order radically. They took new technologies, literacies, and artistry in extreme directions, but one always shaped by a logic of greater freedoms defined with respect to perceived moral tyrannies of the older order. In doing so, they consistently crossed swords with the norms of society. They not only consumed the new, according to Kaushik Bhaumik, but dared to equate themselves with the modern and in this way, they became cultural innovators in the late colonial period.[78]

1.4 Advertising and Visual Culture

Advertising, as one of the significant cultural factors, moulds and reflects the everyday life of consumers in modern societies. In present-day, advertisings are omnipresent, pervasive, and an inevitable part of everyone's lives; even if consumers are not reading newspaper, or watching television, the posters and images displayed over urban spaces and surrounding are inseparable. Advertising becomes one of the most important parts of today's social, cultural, and all business environment, and it is impossible to imagine life without it. Advertising form, existing in all the media, became a vast superstructure with an apparently autonomous existence and an immense

[77] Kaushik Bhaumik, "*At Home in the World*," p. 136
[78] *Ibid.*

influence on consumers.[79] A number of western scholars and historians have long seen the study of advertising as central to an understanding of late nineteenth and the twentieth century's most critical transformations: growth of corporate capitalism, emergence of mass consumption, changing structure of markets and the changing shape of middle-class value.[80] However, study of advertising has not been a major arena of research among historians of India, but lately, number of such scholars have begun to study advertising as subject to understand late nineteenth and early twentieth century colonial India.[81]

The concept of advertising was not new to India. Before appearance of formal advertising in print form; hawkers, vendors and drummers used their voices and physical actions to attract customers towards products that they wanted to sell. There has been a change in existing long tradition of advertising

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[79] Judith Williamson, *Decoding Advertisements: Ideology and Meaning in Advertising*, Marion Boyers, London, 1978, p. 11.

[80] See for more details: Stuart Ewen, *Captains of Consciousness: Advertising and the Social Roots of Consumer Culture,* McGraw Hill, New York, 1976; Jackson Lears, *Fables of Abundance: A Cultural History of Advertising in America,* Basic Book, New York, 1994; Richard Ohmann, *Selling Culture: Magazines, Markets, and Class at a Turn of the Century,* Verso, London, 1996; Stephen Fox, *The Mirror Makers: A History of American Advertising and its Creators,* University of Illinois Press, New York, 1997; Pamela Walker Laird, *Advertising Progress: American Business and Rise of Consumer Marketing,* John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1998; Douglas E. Haynes, "Advertising and the History of South Asia, 1800-1950," *History Compass,* Vol. 13, No. 8, 2015, pp. 361-374.

[81] See for more details of Indian advertising history: Arun Chaudhuri, *Indian Advertising 1780 to 1950 A.D.,* Tata McGraw-Hill Publishing, New Delhi, 2007; Douglas Haynes, "Creating the Consumer? Advertising, Capitalism, and the Middle Class in Urban Western India, 1914–40", in Douglas Haynes, *et. al.*, eds., *Towards a History of Consumption in South Asia,* Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2011, pp. 185–223; Douglas Haynes, "Masculinity, Advertising and the Reproduction of the Middle-Class Family in Western India, 1918–1940", in H. Donner, ed., *Being Middle-class in India: A Way of Life*, Routledge Press, London, 2011, pp. 23–46; Douglas Haynes, "Selling Masculinity: Advertisements for Sex Tonics and the Making of Modern Conjugality in Western India, 1900–1945", *South Asia*, Vol.35, No. 4, 2012, pp. 787–831; Kajri Jain, *Gods in the Bazaar: The Economies of Indian Calendar Art*, Duke University Press, Durham, 2007; Arvind Rajagopal, "Advertising in India: Genealogies of the Consumer Subject", in S. Dube, ed., Handbook of Modernity in South Asia: Modern Makeovers, Oxford University Press, New Delhi: 2011, pp.217–228; Madhuri Sharma, "Creating a Consumer: Exploring Medical Advertisements in Colonial India", in Biswamoy Pati and Mark Harrison, eds., *The Social History of Health and Medicine in Colonial India,* Routledge, London 2011, p. 213–228; Sandria Freitag, "Consumption and Identity: Imagining 'Everyday' Life Through Popular Visual Culture", 2010, [Online], Retrieved from: http://www.tasveergharindia.net/essay/consumption-identity-everyday-culture.html, accessed 16 April 2018; Sabeena Gadihoke, "Selling Soap and Stardom: The Story of Lux", Tasveer Ghar: A House of Pictures, 2010, [Online], Retrieved from: http://tasveergharindia.net/cmsdesk/essay/104/index.html, accessed 16 April 2018; Shobna Nijhawan, "Nationalizing the Consumption of Tea for the Hindi Reader: the Indian Tea Market Expansion Board's Advertisement Campaign, *Modern Asian Studies,* Vol. 51, No. 5, 2017, pp. 1229-1252.

in India since the first newspaper published in late eighteenth century. The first advertisement in India appeared in James Augustus Hickey's *Bengal Gazette*, the first Indian newspaper, on 9 January 1780. *The Bengal Gazette*, in its first issue, merely informed the public about arrival of ships carrying consumer goods and people from England. Between 1780 and 1799 a number of new publications started in Calcutta, Madras and Bombay. Bombay was slower to come out with newspaper compared to both Calcutta and Madras. First English newspaper, *Bombay Herald*, appeared in Bombay in 1789. In 1790, Luke Ashburner, an Alderman of the Mayor's Court to Bombay, started *The Bombay Courier* and later it is called *The Times of India.*[82] The paper made immense contributions to development of advertising in India. Since then, appearance of advertisements in newspapers and periodicals marked the beginning of advertising. In subsequent period, with growing influence of industrial productions and enterprising capitalism, and to enhance the manifestations of advertisements and its contents in the print forms, agents came into existence and started working as space contractor between advertisers and press. These agents started advertising agencies. The advertising agencies composed of visualizers, illustrators and copywriters who could draw available information of products and consumers, and made it attractive. In initial phase of advertising, one of the main purpose of advertisements was to provide information about the products and things rather than promoting it, but in early twentieth century this inclination of advertisement changed and advertising turned more towards promoting the products and things. The first advertising agency, B. Dattaram and Company was started in Bombay in 1905.[83] The Indian Advertising Company and the Calcutta Advertising were started in 1907 and 1909 respectively.[84] In 1918, first professionally managed modern advertising agency, Tata Publicity, was started by Lastrumach, a British Army Officer in

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[82] Arun Chaudhuri, *Indian Advertising 1780 to 1950 A.D.,* Tata McGraw-Hill Publishing, New Delhi, 2007, p. 6.

[83] K.J., Kumar, *Mass Communication in India,* Jaico Publication, Mumbai, 1999, p. 37.

[84] Lynne Ciochetto, "Advertising and Globalization in India," *Media Asia*, Vol. 31, no. 3, 2004, pp. 157-169; K. Pashupati and S. Sengupta, "Advertising in India: the winds of change", in K. T Frith, ed., *Advertising in Asia: Communication, Culture and Consumption*, Iowa State University Press, Ames, 1996, pp. 155-186.

Bombay.[85] The second decade of twentieth century was a turning point and formative period in advertising in which several foreign advertising agencies entered Indian market and started working in major cities. In 1928, two leading foreign advertising agencies, D.J. Keymer in Calcutta and J. Walter Thomson (later became Hindustan Thompson) Associates in Bombay, opened their branches in India.[86] They brought trained executives and artists from abroad and advertising in India began to acquire a professional character. The first full-fledged India advertising agency, the National Advertising Service, was established in 1931.

In the second half of nineteenth century, patronage of the colonial state and the opening of new institutions, like the School of Industrial Art in Calcutta and J.J. School of Art in Bombay and other art societies facilitated to establish the culture of academic art in the cities like Bombay and Calcutta. The culture of academic art was based on modern innovations in which printing technology and process of mechanical reproduction was used, which thrived autonomously without much support of the colonial government. These modern innovations in the printing technology and the mechanical reproduction further influenced the Indian consciousness and sensibility, transforming urban people into a visual society, dominated by the printed images which affected equally, both upper-middle class and lower-class people. The lithographic[87] images served a mass market, while pictorial journalism became an essential part of the literate

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[85] S. Kaptan, *Advertising in Print Media,* Book Enclave, New Delhi, 2000, p. 39.

[86] Arun Chaudhuri, *Indian Advertising,* p. 172.

[87] The lithography is method of printing based on the immiscibility of grease and water. The printing is from a stone or a metal plate with smooth surface. In the lithographic process, ink is applied to a grease-treated image on the flat printing surface; non-image (blank) areas, which hold moisture, repel the lithographic ink. This ink surface is then printed on paper. The process was discovered by Aloyz Senfelder, in Munich, Germany, in 1798. He started working on the lithographic process to print pictures. Senefelder and his associates tried to popularise lithography in England. The development of lithography in India owed much to Europeans. Sir Charles D'Oyley (1781-1845) was an artist and leading exponent of lithography. In the second decade of nineteenth century he set up the Bihar lithographic Press in Patna to reproduce his own paintings. From 1820-1850, a large number of lithographic printing press started in India. Lithographic attracted artists since the process provided scope experimentation with colours and techniques. The basic infrastructure in lithography and other printing processes were used by printers of book and printers of pictures of gods and goddesses that seemed to be immensely popular, as well as businessmen who had imagination to appeal to customers through advertisements. Arun Chaudhuri, *Indian Advertisements*, pp. 101-102 and Retrieved from: https://www.britannica.com/technology/lithography, 28 July 2018.

culture of Maharashtra. The modern educated people appreciated and enjoyed illustrated magazines, cartoons, and pictorial books.[88] The entry of better-quality plates contributed to better credibility to writings on art. As printing presses flourished, those publications substantiated public perception for academic art. The mechanical production of images started endless opportunities for aspiring journalists in Bombay.[89] Graphic artists, for instances, were serving internship as illustrators and cartoonists on newspapers and magazines and other printing presses.[90]

In late nineteenth century, a new visual culture, dominated by lithographic images and prints, was taking shape. With the growing number of mechanical printing presses in Bombay, the reproduction of visual images in multiple copies became an easy task. These printing presses enabled to produce cheap prints of images and calendars, easily available for people in markets and neighbouring shops were used for decorating the walls of homes or places of work.[91] These cheap and easily available prints began to transform the popular ideas about tradition and modernity, politics and religions, national and anti-national, and society and culture. Humorous drawings, as entertainment rather than a social protest spread with the rise of illustrated images in late nineteenth and early twentieth century colonial Maharashtra.[92]

1.4.1 Changing Character of Advertising and Creation of Consumers

This section traces the changes in the character of adverting and how that change influenced consumers' practices, by studying select advertisements from the *Bombay Chronical*, *The Times of India* and other print media. These advertisements continued to engage readers composed of European as well as those seeking to emulate Europeans more closely and those aspiring to become modern. These advertisements in the English newspaper and the vernacular

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[88] *The Times of India,* 24 February 1898, p. 6; *Subodh Patrika,* 3 September 1899, p. 4; *Hindi Punch*, December 1904, p. 2.
[89] *Hindi Punch*, June 1905, p. 3.
[90] See for more details: Partha Mitter, *Art and Nationalism in Colonial India 1850-1922: Occidental Orientations,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1994.
[91] *The Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island*, Vol. I, pp. 240.
[92] *Hindi Punch*, December 1904, p. 2.

newspaper played significant role in creating consumers in late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

The primary objective of advertising is to attract consumers and sell things, which involves a meaning-making process and it creates a structure of meaning. According to Judith Williamson, "advertisements must take into account not only the inherent qualities and attributes of the products they are trying to sell, but also the way in which they can make those properties mean something to [consumers]"[93] David Ogilvy argues that advertising is not an entertainment or an art form, but it is a medium of information that persuades people to buy a product.[94] Advertisements often translate information and meanings from the world of things into a form that means something in terms of consumers. The advertisement translated these 'thing' meaning to people as human statements; they are given a humanly symbolic 'exchange -value'.[95] Karl Marx writes about exchange value:

> The process, then, is simply this: the product becomes a commodity, i.e. *a mere moment of exchange*. The commodity is transformed into exchange value. In order to equate it with itself as an exchange value, it is exchanged for a symbol which represents it as exchange value as such. As such a symbolized exchange value, it can then in turn be exchanged in definite relations for every other commodity. Because the product becomes a commodity, and the commodity becomes an exchange value, it obtains, at first only in the head, a double existence. This doubling in the idea proceeds (and must proceed) to the point where the commodity appears double in real exchange: as a natural product on one side, as exchange value on the other.[96]

This section captures capitalistic ideas of the Indian consumer by looking at the content of advertisements and evolution of advertising culture over time in colonial Maharashtra. As many scholars have recognised, modern

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[93] Judith Williamson*, Decoding Advertisements,* p. 12.
[94] David Ogilvy, *Ogilvy on Advertising,* Vintage Books, A Division of Random House, New York, 1985, p. 7.
[95] Judith Williamson, *Decoding Advertisements*, p. 12.
[96] Karl Marx, *Grundrisse: Foundations of the Critique of Political Economy (Rough Draft),* trans. Martin Nicolaus, Penguin Books in Association with New Left Review, n.p. 1973 [written in 1857-61; in German 1939-41], 1973, p. 75; link: https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/download/pdf/grundrisse.pdf

consumer-oriented capitalism involves efforts to shape new needs and reorient old ones.[97] However, at the same times, as Timothy Burke argued that advertisers could not be seen simply as figures capable of creating out of a thin air a 'false consciousness' or of 'inventing false needs.' Instead, advertisers must draw in certain portion upon existing understanding and values to be successful. As Judith Williamson argues, "the subject who is drawn into advertising in one who knows…, advertisers clearly produce knowledge… but this knowledge is always produced from something already known, that acts as a guarantee, in its anteriority, for the truth in itself."[98] The examination of advertisements is centred upon uncovering these prior meanings advertisers and businessmen sought to evoke in their advertisements.

In late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, development of print advertising took place in many ways. First was introduction of printers' rule and visual device used in advertising to demarcate advertisements and decorate pages and a visual device used to make illustration of building, ships, horse, and wooden casks, depending on the subject of an advertisement. The printers' rule and visual devices played significant role in distinguishing one advertisement from another. Second was typography which played an important part in the layout as well as differentiating advertisement from one to another on same page. In the process of advertisement making, the compositor used variations in type points (type font) of headlines, and played with italicised and straight types in the same advertisement to attract attention of the reader.[99] In the second half of nineteenth century, spread of modern education among Indians and influence of social reform movements led to the growth of vernacular newspapers. Many Indians started entering in the business of newspaper publications in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras Presidency. This growth of newspapers reflected increasing literacy among Indians and also indicated changing lifestyle of educated people. The vernacular newspaper did not receive same support that

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[97] Douglas Haynes, "Masculinity, Advertising and the Reproduction" pp. 23–46 and "Selling Masculinity," pp. 787–831, Harminder Kaur, "Of Soaps and Scents: Corporeal Cleanliness in Urban Colonial India", pp. 246-267.

[98] Timothy Burke*, Lifebuoy Men, Lux Women: Commodification, Consumption and Cleanliness in Modern Zimbabwe*, Duke University Press, Durham, 1996, p. 3. I have used Burke's quotes from Williamson's book Decoding Advertisements; Ideology and Meaning in Advertising, London: Marion Boyers, 1978, p. 99.

[99] Arun Chaudhuri, *Indian Advertising,* pp. 7-10, 35-36.

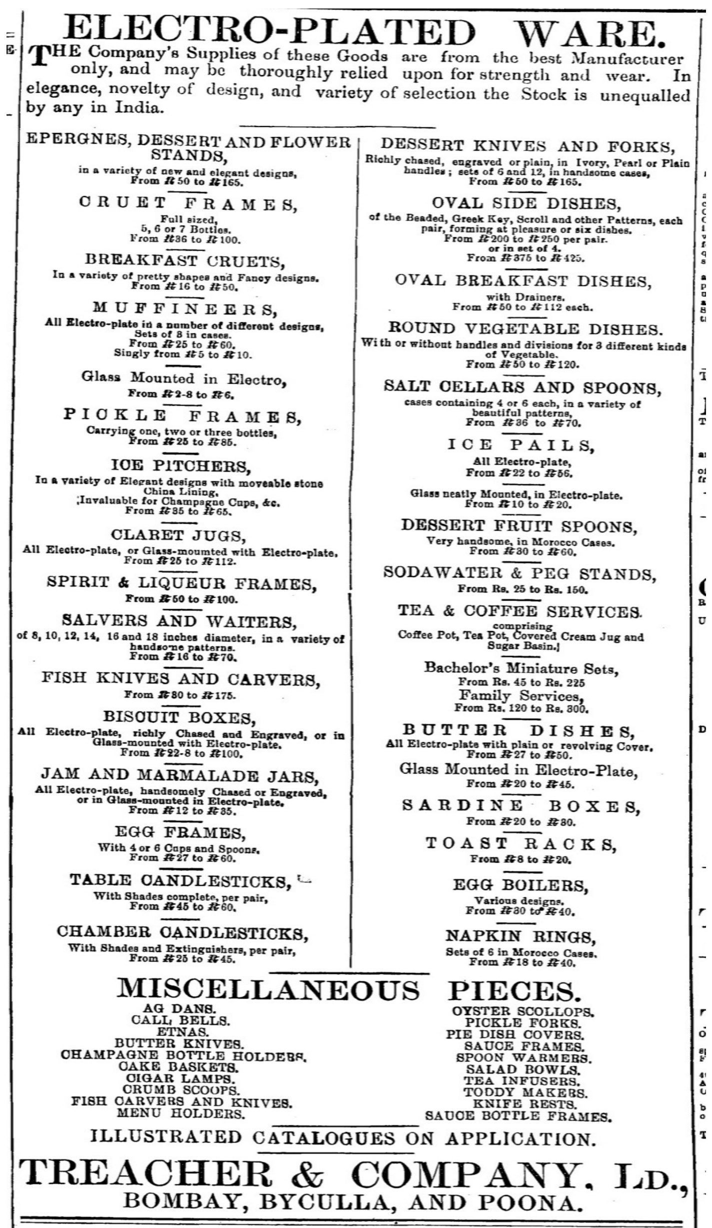
newspapers managed by Europeans received from the colonial government through the statutory advertisements. Therefore, to generate revenue, they focused more on appearance advertisements. In 1878, according to the report on native papers, in the Bombay Presidency 68 native newspaper were published, 9 in Anglo-Marathi, 42 in Marathi, 2 Anglo-Gujarati, 21 Gujarati, 2 Hindustani and 1 Persian languages newspaper. The highest circulating paper had a circulation of 1600 copies and lowest circulation figure was 50 copies. These native newspapers were not only published from Bombay, but also from a number of small towns in the Presidency, 21 native paper published from Bombay, 5 from Poona, 5 from Surat, 3 each from Dharwar and Ahmedabad.[100] One of the reasons for the spread and high circulation of these native newspapers was the increased number of literate people in Bombay Presidency.

In late nineteenth century, advertisements of several imported products from Europe were found in English and vernacular newspapers. These imported products were watches, wall clock, gift items, picture, western musical instruments, hats, clothes, handkerchiefs, wines, and tobacco. The large number of Indians had started using these products manufactured in Europe.[101] The educated class of Indians were beginning to introduce knives, forks, spoons, dining tables, chairs, and other accessories into their daily lives (see figure 1.2).[102] These consumers durable and consumer expendable goods, were previously used by the English community in Bombay. These goods were commonly retailed and advertised and used by upper and middle class Indians in their everyday lives.[103] The following two advertisements of 1880: one illustrating catalogue of kitchen application of Treacher & Company in Bombay, Byculla and Poona shows the detailed description of kitchen utensils and appliances with price tags from dessert and flower stands to napkins rings. The advertisement says "the Company's supplies of these goods are from the

[100] *Report of Native Papers for Week Ending,* 2 March 1878, pp. 245-247, MSA, Mumbai
[101] *The Times of India,* 23 March 1884, p. 3.
[102] *The Indu-Prakash,* 4 May1885, p. 1; *Dyanodaya,* 16 July 1886, p. 442., NMML, New Delhi.
[103] *Subodh Patrika,* 20 November, 1899, p. 2. NMML, New Delhi.

best manufacturer only" and also claims that "elegance, novelty of design, and variety" of the materials is unique in India.[104]

Figure 1.2: Illustrated Catalogue of Kitchen Appliances



Source: Advertisement of Treacher & Company, *The Times of India,* 5 February, 1880, p. 1.

The second advertisement of Hoar & Co., Bombay is for ready-made dress suits (see figure 1.3). In this advertisement, the advertiser tries to attract readers with the use of word 'DISCOUNT' in capital letters and discount of two

[104] *The Times of India,* 05 February, 1880, p. 1.

annas in the Rupee for paying in cash. The advertisement also claims that the suit dress is "made from thin West of England broad cloth, and finished with great care and in correct taste, according to present fashion"[105] and also says "prompt attention" to be given to order from Mofussil towns. To attract more customers to buy the dress articles, the advertisement claims it is using new system of self-measurement on application, assuring the prospective buyer.

Figure 1.3: Advertisement of Dress Suits

DRESS SUITS.

DISCOUNT.—Two Annas in the Rupee for Ready-Money.

Made from thin West of England Broad Cloth, finished with great care and in correct taste, according to present fashion. Rs. 75, " 85, " 90

DRESS SHIRTS.

"The New Front," with one stud only, as now worn,
Six Rs. 31, 34, 36.

Prompt attention to Mofussil Orders. Our new system of self-measurement on application.

TAILORS, SHIRTMAKERS. HOAR & CO., GENERAL OUTFITTERS.
BOMBAY.

Source: Advertisement of Hoar & Co., Bombay, *The Times of India,* 10 February 1880, p. 1.

In the 1888, another advertisement announced certain important development in formulation and packaging. *The Time of India,* in their issue on

[105] *The Times of India,* 10 February 1880, p. 1.

21 November 1888, carried two packaged food's advertisements (See figure 1.4). The first was for, 'Millin's Food' a brand of pre-cooked food meant for infants. The second was for 'Peek, Frean & C.' biscuit manufacturers. In these advertisements, the brand name appeared in large size and also used trademark symbol.

Figure 1.4: Advertisements of Packaged Food

GOOD NEWS FOR MOTHERS!

MELLIN'S FOOD

TRADE MARK

ORA ET LABORA

PERFECT NOURISHMENT FOR INFANTS WITHOUT MOTHER'S MILK.

Marvellous Effects on Sick Children.

Purely Vegetable.

INVALIDS AND THE AGED RESTORED TO HEALTH AND VIGOUR.

FOR INFANTS AND INVALIDS

Made by MACHINERY ONLY. Never touched with the Hand.

Full Directions in all the Indian Languages.

PEEK, FREAN & CO., LONDON,

12 PRIZE MEDALS.

BISCUIT MANUFACTURERS,

By Special Appointment to H.R.H. the Prince of Wales and the Royal Courts of Belgium and Italy.

Fancy Biscuits in hundreds of varieties carefully made, and specially packed for export in Patent Air-tight Tins, with soft inner lid, which can be opened without a knife.

ASK FOR

PEEK, FREAN & CO.'S BISCUITS

IN PATENT SOLDERED TINS.

No Opening Knife Required.

Source: Packed food, *The Times of India,* 21 November 1888, p. 7.

In these advertisements, typographers used fonts that have a very special characteristic. Art directors used typefaces in print advertisement to heighten the impact of the layouts made so that the advertisement stood out even in clutter. The products brands like Pears' soap, (see figure 1.5) were advertised

with types of large fonts and ornate in character because such typeface seem beautiful and aesthetically correct. In this advertisement, the word "The Worst Complexion is improved by the daily use of Pears' Soap", capturing the attention of reader of newspaper.

Figure 1.5: Advertisement of Pears' Transparent Soap

"The Worst Complexion is improved by the daily use of Pears' Soap."

Pears'

Transparent

SOAP

Produces Soft, White, and Beautiful Hands; keeps the Skin Soft as Velvet, and free from Redness and Roughness.

"Matchless for the Complexion."

LILLIE LANGTRY.

Source: Advertisement of Pears' Transparent Soap, *The Time of India,* 21 November, 1888, p. 7'

The advertisement of Pears' soap announced that using the soap "Produces Soft, White and Beautiful Hands; keeps the Skin Soft as Velvet, free from Redness

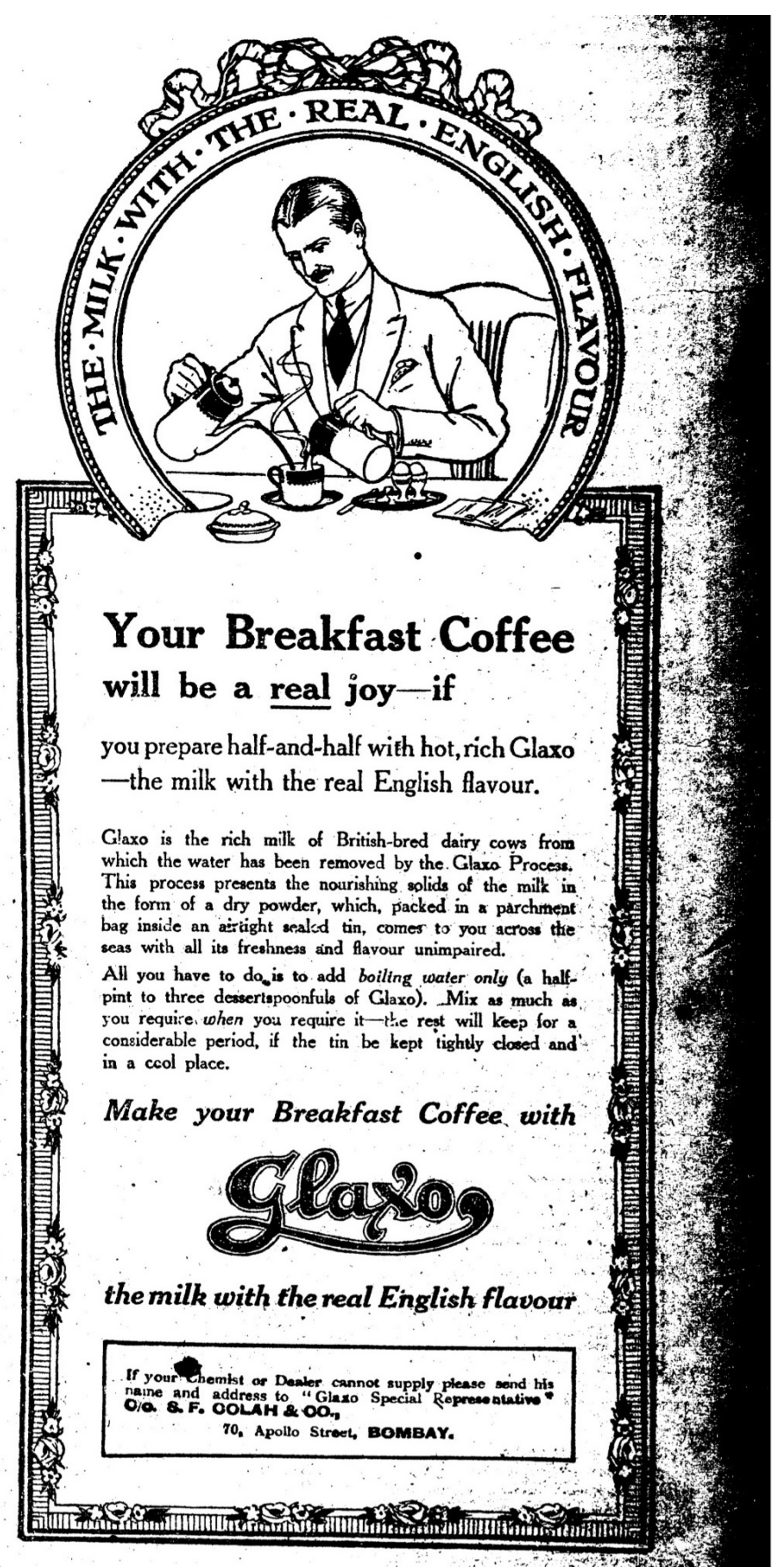
and Roughness." The advantage of using the soap was conveyed in subtle yet unmistakable way to the reader.

In late nineteenth and early twentieth century, newspapers and magazines became one of the important mediums for advertising. In the beginning, advertisements in print media were mostly covered by black and white illustrations and drawings. After the invention of colour printing, the artists got the opportunity to experiment with various shades of hues. At that time, most of the magazines, journals and even in newspapers wood blocks were used for illustrations and drawings (see figure 1.6 and figure 1.7). In some case, lithography was also used especially in calendar art. The advertisements, in late nineteenth and early twentieth century, were technologically not so sound but aesthetically they were rich and creative.

Figure 1.6: Advertisement of Foot Wear for Kids

Source: Advertisement of Evans, Fraser & Company, *Bombay Chronicle,* 25 March 1916, p. 13.

Figure 1.7: Advertisement of Glaxo Breakfast Coffee



Source: Advertisement of Glaxo Breakfast Coffee, The *Time of India,* 9 June 1920, p. 12.

In the period 1890-1920s several significant changes took place in the advertising industry. Agencies focused on aspects like selling space, analysing media market and convincing people to advertise. Only in the later period, there was inclusion of creative functions and increasing range of business in the advertising industry. The use of creative ideas, layout and typeface made advertising an avenue of multifaceted persuasion. An effort was taken to make advertisements aesthetically more appealing to convince the mass and to draw attention to product or idea as well as to leave an impact of the message on the minds of people.

In the period of mass national movements, advertisements started to reflect the preferences and aspirations of Indian society because this period witnessed, after the partition of Bengal in 1905, *Swadeshi* and anti-colonial movement that became turning point in the history of advertising in India. The *swadeshi* movement and national consciousness began to change the mind-set of Indians about the things they used and consumed into their everyday lives. Advertising industry started to use the plank of idea of *Swadeshi* and nationalism against foreign manufactured things to persuade people to buy more indigenously manufactured things (see figure 1.8). The idea of swadeshi and nationalism in advertisements of indigenously manufactured products mostly appeared in the native newspapers, magazines and calendars published in Bombay and Poona. This period witnessed advertisements that supported the idea of *swadeshi* and national consciousness and used sentiments of nationalism to woo the consumers (see figure 1.9).

Figure 1.8: Advertisement of Mysore Toilet Soaps

MYSORE TOILET SOAPS

Gulab . . . .

Jasmin . . . .

Sandal . . . .

Lavender . . . .

Brown Windsor .

Sole Sub-Agents:

THE

SHRI KRISHNA STORES

Company, Limited.

KRISHNA BUILDING,

Hornby Road, Fort,

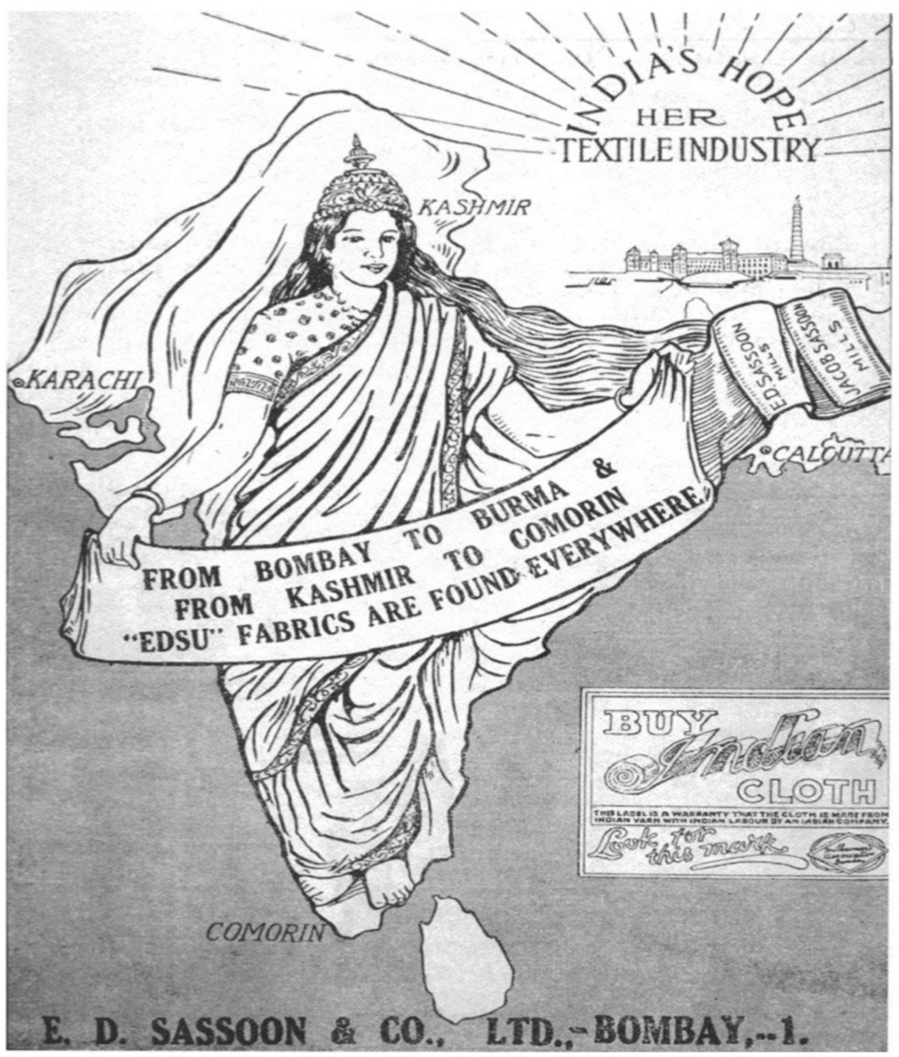
BOMBAY.

THE PROGRESSIVE HOUSE,

SPECIAL RATES FOR THE TRADE.

Source: Advertisement for Mysore Toilet Soap of Shri Krishna Stores, *Hindi Punch,* December 1920*,* p. 112.

Figure1.9: Fabric advertisement of E.D. Sassoon & Jacob Sassoon Mills, Bombay



Source: "From Bombay to Burma & From Kashmir to Comorin" EDSU Fabric advertisement of E.D. Sassoon & Jacob Sassoon Mills, *Bombay Swadeshi League,* 1931*,* 70-71, cited in Lisa N. Trivedi, "Visually Mapping the "Nation": Swadeshi Politics in Nationalist India, 1920-30", *TJAS,* vol. 62, no. 1, 2003, p. 24.

The advertising industry, in the inter war period, became exceedingly imaginative and more dynamic. The industry emphasised less on product appeals and products information and more emphasis was laid on appeals such as insecurity, fear, emotion, hope, emotion, attachment, desire etc. In Bombay, the advertising platforms carried advertisements of products that were entering into the Indians homes, transforming traditional ways of living, and introducing

the notion of hygiene and personal care. The advertisements of this period reflected socio-cultural transition because, with the spread of swadeshi and national movement, more educated men and women were entering in public sphere in cities compared to in the nineteenth century. This growing class of educated men and women aspired to follow a modern lifestyle. In early twentieth century, using picture alongside the text of advertisements, even in the small size advertisements, became common practice. Furthermore, illustrators started using human figures while illustrating designs or cut of garments or two life styles' characteristic in association with certain products and occasions.[106] The illustration of women in various products' advertisements became a common phenomenon. Women were shown in several advertisements of personal care and household appliances brands like bath soap, hair oils, women dress articles, and kitchen appliances, and furniture.[107]

In the colonial period, advertising became necessary in creating consumers for newly available commodities in markets. Its multifunctional activity was also used as best tool for promoting a product or an idea. It was a very cost-effective method in late nineteenth and early twentieth century to reach large number of consumers. In colonial period advertising was used to create an image and build symbolic meaning for commodities or brand. Advertising influenced people in five ways:

A) Dissemination of information: advertising had played a crucial role in dissemination of information about the commodities and a source of primary information between the advertisers and consumers.

B) Assurance: when a consumer asked for branded commodities or product, he felt confident that he got something of a definite standard; advertising gave consumers a sense of assurance about the quality of the product.

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[106] *Bombay Chronicle,* 25 April 1925, p. 14

[107] *Bombay Chronicle,* 9 May 1925, p. 5; *Bombay Chronicle,* 18 January 1935, p. 9; *Bombay Chronicle,* 21 January 1935, p. 3.

C) Convenience: it was easier to sell an advertised product across the markets than any unadvertised product; advertising gave consumer convenience to select the commodities available in markets.

D) Freedom of choice: advertisement gave choice to customers to choose among the existing competitive brands and its products in the market, a customer got the freedom of wide choice.

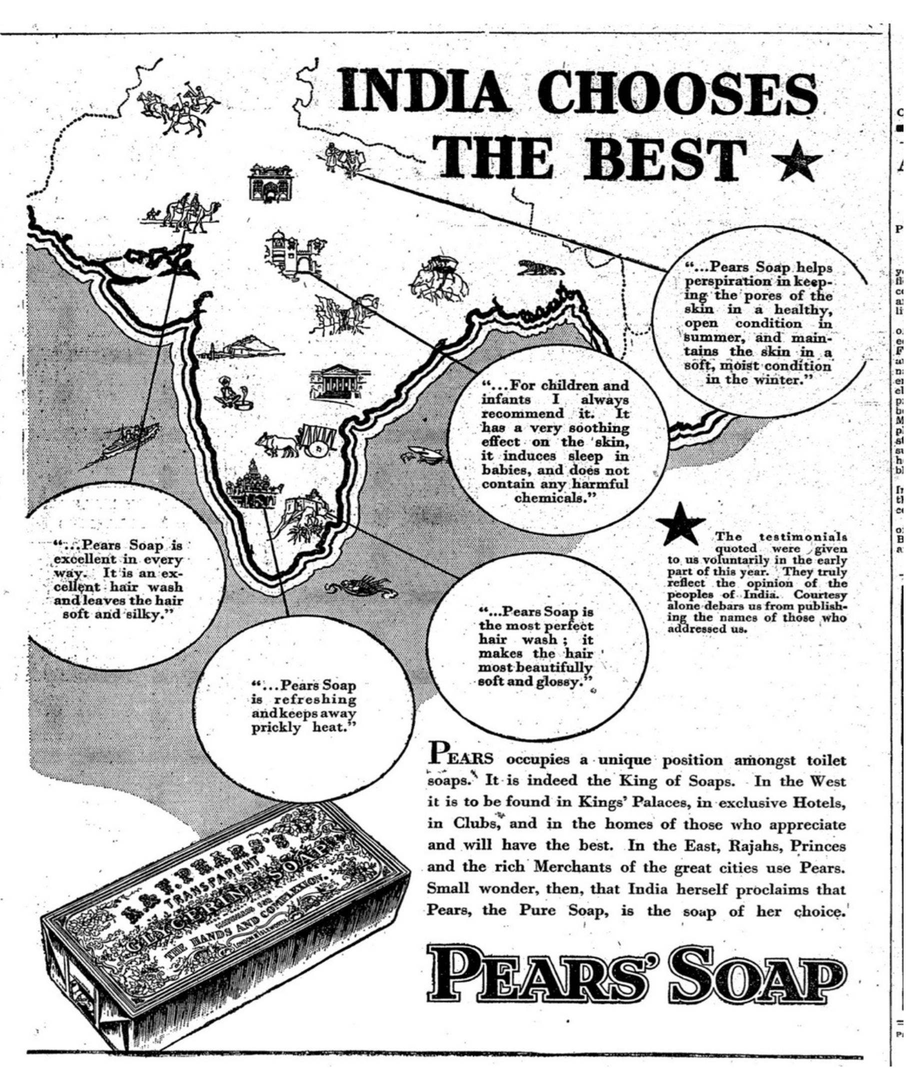
E) Consumers' Guide: advertising always served as a consumers' guide by helping the consumer to know what types of product are available, their specialities, where there are available, at what price, etc. The rise and growth of advertising and visual cultural created large chain of customers for products. The changing character of advertising also shows that it was a driving force behind creation of a large section of consumers and transformation of consumption patterns in colonial Maharashtra.

1.5 The Aggressive Capitalism and New Marketing Strategy

In late colonial period, capitalist development always required the expansion of commodity consumption through cultivating people's aspirations for new ways of being. The modernity of industrial capitalism has been up to now fashioned around the efforts of surrounding the production/ consumption process to capitalism. The consumption in modernity created a desire to project images of status vis a vis the recognition of an out superficial appearance of what one possesses. Therefore, modernity, shaped by logic of productive forces in not only catering the needs of economic interests rather it shapes different cultural and ideological factors. During the period between two World Wars, new forms of advanced capitalism and aggressive marketing strategy began to emerge to woo consumers in late colonial India. The main objective was to focus and expand brand name products in markets that might replace a large number of locally manufactured and marketed goods from local bazaars and markets. With advanced capitalism and aggressive marketing strategy, demand for their products could be stabilised or expanded on a national level by developing sustained consumer loyalties among Indian people through large scale expansion of advertising (see figure 1.10). The interwar period witnessed

manufacturers and businessmen increasingly geared their advertising efforts to a set of urban people who were associating and defining themselves as members of the middle class (see figure 1.11). The inroad of brand name products and capitalism into Indian markets were slow and uneven; a small number of Indian industries that created consumers for their products. Products like readymade clothes, medicines, light bulbs, fans, soaps and others toiletries, vegetable oils, packaged foods etc., had firmly established themselves.[108]

Figure 1.10: Advertisement of Pears' Soap



Source: Advertisement of Pears' Soap, *The Times of India,* 20 October 1932, p. 14.

[108]*Bombay Chronicle,* 26 June 1920, p. 22; *Bombay Chronicle,* 9 May 1925, p. 5; *Bombay Chronicle,* 20 May 1925, p. 11; 2 *Bombay Chronicle,* 6 May 1925, p. 9; *Bombay Chronicle,* 29 August 1931, p. 12; *Bombay Chronicle,* 18 January 19235, p. 9.

Figure 1.11: Advertisement of Household Furnishing

Source: Advertisement of Apollo Furnishing Co., *The Time of India,* 12 March 1934, p. 9.

The interwar period witnessed a variety of developments that promoted a new pattern of consumption. In urban areas changes in taste were causing shifts in demand away from products manufactured by small producers in western Indian countryside, sometimes toward goods that were made in cities or that were imported from Europe, Japan or the United States.[109] Urban women, for instance, were reducing their use of ornate bordered silk with gold thread. There was a new demand for printed sarees and sarees made of 'art silk', that is, synthetic fibres that could assume a silk-like appearance, began to make their entry into the market during late 1920s. Some women shifted their patterns

[109] *Report on an Enquiry into Middle Class Family Budget in Bombay City*, Labour Office, Bombay, 1928 p. 5, MSA, Mumbai

of wearing nine-yard sarees to six-yards sarees, and middle-class women increasingly developed wardrobes of larger numbers of cheaper sarees, causing demand for more expensive varieties to contract.[110] These changes in consumption practices seemingly stemmed from the need to present oneself as 'modern', and a sense of identity which itself was influenced by a wide range of cultural progress, from social reforms to education and changes in the occupational structure of Indian urban spaces.[111]

1.6 National Movement and Idea of *Swadeshi*

The *Swadeshi* movement occupies a very significant place in Indian National Movement ever since the starting of the mass-struggle for the attainment of *Swaraj* (home rule) from Britain. Invoking an earlier movement of the same name,[112] to achieve the objective of *Swadeshi* Movement, Gandhi created new kind of *Swadeshi* politics that encouraged the production of indigenous industry and exclusive consumption of *Khadi,* a hand spun and hand-woven cloth.[113] To promote this movement, he used a significant cluster of culturally meaningful symbols including the *Charkha* (spinning wheel) and the *khadi* (home spun). The *Charkha* and *khadi*, for Gandhi, was a way of *swadeshi* and *swaraj,* and stand for a revival of handicraft, a reorganizing of economy of the village, a weapon against colonialism, an alternative to modern civilization, and a symbol of participation in the nationalist movement.[114]

Gandhian politics' adoption of simple lifestyle was influenced by John Ruskin's book, *Unto This Last* which condemns industrialization and praises simple life. In 1909, Gandhi wrote his own critique of Western civilization, called *Hind Swaraj*, in which he expressed disdain for a society based on

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[110] *Report on an Enquiry into Middle Class Family Budget in Bombay City,* Labour Office, Bombay, 1928 p. 5., MSA, Mumbai.
[111] Douglas Haynes, "Creating Consumer?" pp. 190-191.
[112] The first *Swadeshi* movement had emerged in early twentieth century in Bengal as a response to Britain's plan to partition Bengal Province in 1905.
[113] Lisa N. Trivedi, "Visually Mapping the "Nation": Swadeshi Politics in Nationalist India, 1920-30", *The Journal of Asian Studies,* Vol. 62, No. 1, 2003, p. 11.
[114] Bhiku Parekh, *Gandhi: A Very Short Introduction,* Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1997, p. 12.

fulfilment of bodily rather than spiritual satisfaction.[115] In 1922, Gandhi published fifth edition of *Hind Swaraj*, and he wrote, "This booklet is a severe condemnation of 'modern civilization'."[116] Gandhi writes, "It is my deliberate opinion that India is being ground down not under the English heel but under that of modern civilization"[117] which contained capitalism, materialism and modern machinery[118] representing a great sin.[119] As a result of industrialisation and modern civilisation a series of imperialist domination by Western powers had destroyed the organic structure of non-Western societies since late eighteenth century. "It is machinery that has impoverished India. It is difficult to measure the harm that Manchester has done to us. It is due to Manchester that Indian handicraft has all but disappeared"[120] and that India's socio-economic construction toward *swaraj* depended on freeing itself from modern civilization. Gandhi stressing upon self-reliance of Indian economy cautioned against the dependence of foreign clothes and advocated to reconstruct the internal economy as strong bulwark against economic drain. "India cannot be free as long as India voluntarily encourages or tolerates the economic drain which has been going on for the past century and a half. Boycott of foreign goods means no more and no less than boycott of foreign cloth. Foreign cloth constitutes the largest drain voluntarily permitted by us."[121] Home rule, for Gandhian national movement, means the power to conserve Indian industries that must be protected against consumption of foreign goods at any cost.[122]

Believing the real problem before India to be feeding and clothing of its people, Gandhi advocated reforms according to *Swadeshi* ideas. In 1918, he

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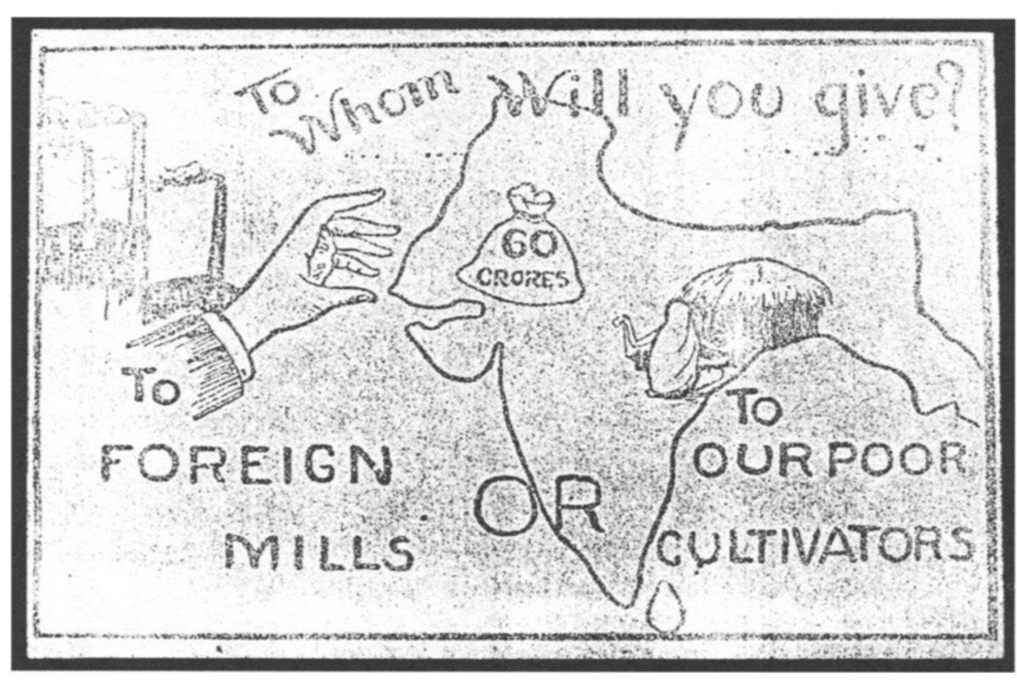
[115] *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, Vol. 10, Publication Division, GOI, New Delhi, 1994, p. 19.
[116] M. K. Gandhi, *Hind Swaraj or Indian Home Rule*, Ganesh & Co, Madras, 5th edition,1922, p. 6.
[117] M.K. Gandhi, *Hind Swaraj.,* p. 39; Kazuya Ishii, "The Socioeconomic Thoughts of Mahatma Gandhi: As an Origin of Alternative Development," *Review of Social Economy*, Vol. 59, no. 3, 2001, p. 298.
[118] M.K. Gandhi, *Hind Swaraj,* p. 34.
[119] V. B. Kher ed., *Economic and Industrial Life and Relations*, Vol. 2, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1957, p. 34.
[120] M. K. Gandhi, *Hind Swaraj,* p. 105.
[121] *Ibid*.
[122] "To Every Englishman in India-II", *Young India*, 13 July, 1921.

said, “India imported worth of sixty crores of rupees cloth from foreign and if India continues to do so at that rate, she would deprive the Indian spinner and weaver of that amount from year to year without practically giving him or her any other work in exchange (see figure 1.12).”[123] He believed that the reform, no matter how liberal it may be under the colonial rule, would not solve the problem in the immediate future, but “Swadeshi can solve it”.[124]And building cottage industry in India required the patronage from all the educated Indian to wear the cloth produced from such industry.[125]

Figure 1:12: “To Who Will You Give?”,



Source: “To Whom will You Give?” *Khaddar Bulletin*, 1931, Cover; cited in Lisa N. Trivedi, “Visually Mapping the “Nation”: Swadeshi Politics in Nationalist India, 1920-30”, *TJAS,* vol. 62, no. 1, 2003, p. 18.

Gandhian politics gave new roles in forms of public resistance in the Non-Cooperation Movement of 1920-22 and Civil Disobedience Movement of 1930-32. Small number of women began to make their way into the world,

[123] “Swaraj in Swadeshi”, *Young India,* 10 December, 1919.
[124] *Ibid.*
[125] *Ibid.*

perhaps setting trends for those who never sought entry into public sphere themselves.

> I have done my packing racked with conflicts as to what to take and what not to take with me – whether to wear khaddar dress there while addressing the audience or swadeshi silk, the point of which will not be so well understood… whether to be smart and fashionable as of old or to be simple common only. I have at last chosen to be the latter. But it is taking time and trouble to assimilate the new method.[126]

Saraladevi Chaudhurani,[127] was preparing a conference in May 1920 when she experienced this sartorial anxiety. She wrote a letter to Gandhi; her letter reveals that the problem of what to wear was still an important issue in India despite Gandhi's attempts to resolve it through the swadeshi movement and the constructive programmes. But, in early phase of national movement, problem had taken new form, people were worrying about the extent to which they should wear westernised clothes. The Indian people who actively participated in anti-colonial movements were worrying about the extent to which they should wear simple and redefined Indianized dress that became part of the national movement. The British used clothing as a way of displaying imperial power and discipline —not 'going native', but wearing formal European clothes in the tropical weather. Conversely, Gandhi used cloth as a symbol of anti-colonialism resistance, by recognising home-spun *Khadi* as a nationalist emblem and through his own simple clothing. The Gandhian politics had raised this problem of what to wear and what to consume to unparalleled heights; Gandhi had drawn it out of the political closet. The problem what to wear and what to consume was no longer relegated to private sphere, but it was turned into a much discussed and debated public issue in the national movement. Furthermore, Gandhian politics and anti-colonial movement particularly emphasised on the morality of *khadi* and other swadeshi products gave the problem of what to wear and what to consume a new essence. Whereas, in past

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[126] *CWMG,* Vol. 17, p. 429.

[127] Saraladevi Chaudhurani was the wife of Rambhoj Dutt Chaudhurani, a nationalist leader in Punjab, and the niece of Rabindranath Tagore. In 1920 she became the first elite women to adopted *khadi* and was exceptional for wearing it in coarse plain white undecorated form; Emma Tarlo, *Clothing Matters: Dress and Identity in India,* University of Chicago Press, London, 1996, p. 94.

and before the entry of Gandhi in the national movement, it was considered culturally and morally acceptable to wear a dress suiting the occasion or to wear a mixture of Indian and European dress. In the Gandhian politics, it became immoral act to wear anything but *khadi* and to consume anything but *swadeshi* goods and materials in everyday life. In Gandhian national movement, any hope for finding a neutral solution to the problem of what to wear and what to consume seems to be completely solved since Gandhi, at large level, encouraged people to buy and consume swadeshi goods and materials as a sign of personal and public belief.[128] Within few years, people across the political spectrum adopted and encouraged to wear *khadi* as a material and visual symbol, wearing simple clothes, to represent various political programs and goals.[129] Nationalist leaders and common people used *khadi* to construct a common visual symbol through which Indian people separated by language, religion, caste, class, and region communicated their political dissent, anti-colonial resistance and their visions of community.[130]

1.7 Conclusion

This chapter argued that the process of creating consumers and transforming consumption patterns in colonial Maharashtra in particular and colonial India in general in late nineteenth and early twentieth century was part of a long historical process in which various transforming factors/ agents played a crucial role. The first was the Industrial Revolution in Western Europe that renewed and redefined the structure of colonialism in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century to maintain its hegemony and dominance over colonised societies. In this process, the colonial administers and orientalist scholars used the investigative modalities to study the colonial people, society, religion, and culture as part of cultural technology of rule. This cultural technology of rule created a new class of consumer for the industrially manufactured products of Britain in India.

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[128] Emma Tarlo, *Clothing Matters*, p. 94.
[129] Lisa Trivedi, *Clothing Gandhi's Nation: Homespun and Modern India*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 2007. p. xvii.
[130]*Ibid*.

The second important factor was the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 as maritime highway connecting Mediterranean world to Eastern world substantially reduced voyage time that facilitated the British manufacture to import industrially manufactured products to India which led to destruction of the indigenous industry. Since 1870 onward, flow of the British manufactured products began to increase in Indian market that created a class of consumers in colonial India. In the colonial period, the spread of aggressive capitalism and new marketing strategy to attract consumers through the use of capitalistic actors such as manufactures, merchants, advertisements and advertising agencies and print cultures created consumers and markets for their products by advertising and that advertisements encouraged the middle class to consume advertised commodities. Thus, the emergence of new consumers and the modern culture of consumption is a result of capitalistic development in colonial period; colonialism and capitalism spread its wings through the consumers and new culture of consumption.

Third important factor was the rise of middle class and the emergence of public sphere in colonial Maharashtra as products of modern education, the Enlightenment ideals, and modernity that believed in new form of cultural etiquettes, and new value systems which defined themselves as modern and harbinger of modernity and rejected the traditional ways of lifestyle. Thus, the middle class became the torch bearer of new pattern of consumption. The Indian national movement under the leadership of Gandhi discouraged the consumption of foreign manufactured commodities and promoted the indigenously manufactured commodities and established several national industries to counter foreign manufactured commodities. The *Swadeshi* movement created consumers who were inspired by Indian nationalism ideals and consumed indigenously manufactured commodities to resist the colonial rule. The Indian national movement created the alternative culture of consumption to counter the western way of lifestyle and modern consumption practices.

Chapter 2

Consumption Patterns in Colonial Maharashtra (1880-1919)

In mid-nineteenth century, rise of Bombay as a major commercial and industrial metropolitan city was accompanied by its rising prominence as an administrative and political centre in the Bombay Presidency. After establishing a major port and cotton market, Bombay began to acquire the shape of a major metropolitan centre in Western India. The construction of Great India Peninsula Railway (GIPR) from Bombay to Thana in 1853 and Bhore Ghat Railway lines from Bombay to Poona in 1863 linked it to a wide hinterland of Deccan.[1] During 1881 to 1891, the railway mileage was increased by 1099 miles (from 1,562 to 2,661 miles) in Bombay Presidency and a major part of the newly constructed railway lines connected the Deccan and Karnataka districts.[2] The newly constructed railway system considerably increased total trade and commerce in Western India. Besides, by 1860, Bombay became a hub of cotton market in Western and Central India, and its cotton trade increased to an enormous extent during the outbreak of the American Civil War in 1861 and Lancashire Cotton Famine. Bombay had become, next to New York and Liverpool, the largest cotton market in the world.[3] Opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 benefited Bombay more than any other single port and reduced its distance from London by three-quarters.[4] Since 1850s, cotton mills began to proliferate in the city, which was accompanied by considerable growth of population which made Bombay second largest city in the British Empire.[5]

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[1] Ian J. Kerr, *Building the the Railways of the Raj: 1850-1990*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1995; Ian J. Kerr, "The Building of the Bhor Ghat Railway incline in Western India in the mid-19th Century" http://www.hms.civil.uminho.pt/events/railroads2011/361_373.pdf

[2] "Brief Memorandum on the Material Condition of the People of the Bombay Presidency, 1881-1891: Part-I", *Provincial Reports on the Material Condition of the People 1881-1891,* Government Central Printing Office, Shimla, 1894, p. 7. NAI, New Delhi.

[3] Rajnarayan Chandavarkar, *History, Culture and the Indian City,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2009, p. 12.

[4] Ferdinand de Lesseps: *The Suez Canal: Letters and Documents Descriptive of its Rise and Progress in 1854-56,* trans. N D'Anvers, Scholarly Sources, Pennsylvania, 1876.

[5] A. R. Burnett-Hurst, *Labour and Housing in Bombay: A Study in the Economic Conditions of the Wage-Earning Classes of Bombay,* P. S. King & Son, Ltd, London, 1925, p. 2.

The present chapter focuses on the consumption patterns in colonial Maharashtra during 1880s to 1919. While exploring the consumption patterns, the present chapter is divided into two themes; first theme discusses how the upper, middle and lower classes or income groups consumed cloths, food, household articles and furnishing, and how these classes were spending their earning on consumptions of these commodities and articles in second half of nineteenth century in colonial Maharashtra. Second theme discusses different consumption practices/patterns followed in different communities and castes in late nineteenth century in colonial Maharashtra and how these consumption patterns were influenced by the religious ideas, castes and communities' rules, and customs. The chapter highlights how each community had their vivid and vibrant lifestyles different from other communities, and how these differences were reflected in their consumptions of cloths, food and household articles and furnishings in colonial Maharashtra. While discussing these two themes, this chapter also focuses on how late nineteenth century and early twentieth century was a transformative period in the consumption patterns in colonial Maharashtra.

2.1 Population of Colonial Maharashtra

The colonial census report is one of the significant source which gives information on the demographic characteristics, education, occupation, literacy, economic activities, housing and family, age and sex, fertility and mortality, religion, language, community, migration and urbanisation, and on many other socio-cultural and economic factors. The census also provides requisite data for analysis and evaluation of distribution, composition, and growth of population. It also gives information about the rise and growth of urbanisation, changing patterns of urban-rural concentration, geographic distribution of population based on occupation and education, and social and economic characteristics of population. The census report helps to understand business and industry and estimates of consumer demand for variety of goods and services, along with accurate information on the size of population and its distribution based on age and sex, which heavily influence the demand for housing, furnishing, clothing, and recreational facilities.

Bombay Presidency was divided into Northern, Central and Southern Divisions for administrative purpose, each division under the commissioner who has head-quarters at Ahmadabad, Poona and Belgaum respectively. The Bombay town and Island was administered as a collectorate at Bombay, the head of which was directly responsible to the Presidency Government. The twenty-five districts of the Presidency, therefore, had been divided into Sind, Gujarat, Konkan, Deccan, and Karnataka.[6] The first two divisions- Sind and Northern Divisions- were nearly homogenous but Kanara was classed with Konkan, though the eastern part of it was physically near to Karnataka, while Khandesh and Nashik were included in Deccan which belonged to Western Satpura in the Imperial scheme of classification.[7]

Following table shows the variations in population in Bombay city and chief regions of Bombay Presidency from 1891 to 1941 –

Table 2.1: Variation in Population of Bombay Presidency from 1891 to 1941.

Variations in Population of Bombay Presidency from 1891 to 1941						
Population	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941
Bombay City	821764	776006	979445	1175914	1161383	1489883
Northern Division	3917777	3513532	3685383	3871605	4239876	5276593
Central Division	6237823	5959175	6410688	6058114	7193113	8197393
Southern Division	5008068	5070692	5061150	4905709	5397681	5885971
Bombay Presidency	15985427	15319405	16136666	16012342	17992053	20849840

Source: *Census of India, 1941: Vol. III, Bombay, Tables*, Government of India Press, New Delhi, 1942, pp. 24-27.

The Census Act II of 1863 reported an enormous growth in the population of Bombay as a result of the Share Mania[8] and increased commercial

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[6] *Census of India, 1911, Vol. III, Bombay, Part. I, Report,* Government Central Press, Bombay, 1912, p. 2., MSA, Mumbai.

[7] *Census of India, 1911, Vol. III, Bombay, Part. I, Report,* p. 2. MSA, Mumbai.

[8] Share mania (1861-1865) was a result of the American Civil War, and the growth in demand for Indian cotton, causing vast influx of capital, the opening of banks and speculation in shares. This brought boom in share prices which lasted till 1 July 1965, when the bubble burst

activities after the American Civil War. Sir Bartle Frere (1815-1884)[9] recognised that "no sanitary improvement could be initiated without an accurate estimate of population" of the city, and decided to have a census in 1864. The figure recorded by Dr. Leith, a Municipal Health Officer of Bombay, was 816,562 persons, of which 783,980 were from the city and 32,582 were from harbour area.[10] The decrease in the population became evident by 1872, and therefore, the second census conducted by the Municipal Commissioner, reported a total population of 666,405. Another colonial officer, Maclean, reported huge disparity between male and female population, 399,716 males to 244,689 females.[11] Bombay was a unique city in the world where several nationality, religions and ethnicity lived together in mid-nineteenth century.[12] In 1881, the Municipality carried out a third census, in which total population of Bombay city was 773,196, the population had increased due to progress in

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and crashed the share prices. A share of Colaba Land Company rose from Rs. 10,000 at par to Rs. 120,000. People were willing to pay Rs. 55,000 for Rs. 5000 share of Black Bay reclamation. Mazgaon land share sold at a premium of Rs. 9,000, the land share at a premium of Rs. 500. During this short-lived share mania period, market started function from three different places in Bombay viz. Medows street, Rampart Row and Bazaar-gate. See for more details, D. E. Wacha, *A Financial Chapter in the History of Bombay City,* A. J. Cambridge & Co. Esplanade Road, Bombay, [Second Edition], 1910, pp. 1-10.

[9] In 1862, Sir Bartle Frere was appointed as Governor of Bombay Presidency, where he continued the policy of municipal improvements. He established the Deccan College at Poona, as well as a college for instructing Indian in civil engineering. His order pulls down the ramparts of old Fort area of Bombay allowed the city to grow.

[10] *The Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island*, vol. I, p. 10.

[11] James Mackenzie Maclean, *A Guide to Bombay: Historical, Statistical, and Descriptive,* Bombay Gazette Steam Press, Bombay, 1875, p. 164.

[12] A local proverb talks about a land with "fifty-six languages and eighteen castes with different head-dress." However, one is unable to fathom the number of languages which were spoken nor the number of castes which lived in Bombay. The Marathi language alone had between thirty to forty variations; one can imagine the variations among the other languages spoken. Govind Narayan Madagaonkar in his book, *Mumbaiche Varnan* estimated the number of castes in Bombay and he writes "among the Hindus there are over a hundred castes – Marwadi, Multani, Bhatia, Vani, Joshi, Brahmin (once again, approximately 25 to 30 caste of Brahmins can be encountered in this city), Kasar, Sutar, Jhingar, Lohar, Kayastha Prabhu, Dhuru Prabhu, Shimpi, Khatri, Kantari, Jhare, Paanchkalashe, shetye, Lavane, Kuhmbhar, Lingayat, Gawali, Ghati, Mang, Chambar, Hajam, Teli, Mali, Koli, Dhobi, Kamathi, Telangi, Kannadi, KingDI, Ghadshi, Purbhaiya, Bangali, Punjabi, *et cetera.* There is no end to the differences and variations within these castes. Moving on to other castes –Parsi, Mussalman, Moghul, Yahudi, Isareli, Bohra, Khoja, Memon, Arab, Kandhari; these are the castes identified by the eighteen different head-headresses. And then came to hatted races, including the English, Portuguese, French, Greek, Dutch, Turkish, German, Armenian and Chinese. Not only is one entertained by the variety of strange costumes worn by these tribes, but the sight of them inspires yet other thoughts in mind." Govind Narayan Madgaonkar, *Mumbaiche Varnan* (Description of Mumbai), Saket Prakashan, Pune, [First Edition in 1863], 2011, p. 18.

trade, particularly of cotton spinning and weaving industry, extension of railway communication, and advance of urban administration.[13]

The fourth official census of 1891 recorded population of 821,764 in the city. The population of the city, in this period of census, increased mainly due to growth of cotton mill industry and increased trade activity at the port of Bombay.[14] According to the census returns of 1901, more than one-tenth of the urban population in Bombay was engaged in trade; about 66,000 persons were classified as shop-keepers, general dealers, hawkers; 9,000 persons dealt with special goods, 1500 persons were vegetable and fruit dealers and 4,500 persons, including fishermen, were dealing with meat business. The leading traders were Bhattias, Banias, Jains, Bohras, Memons, Parsis, Jews and Europeans. The principal European shops were situated on Rampart Row, the Esplanade, Crawford Market[15] and neighbouring streets of Bombay.[16] Retail grocery shops were opened in every quarter of the city, and were owned by Banias from Cutch, Bhavnagar and Gujarat and also by few Muslim and Parsis. The retail shopkeepers used to buy stocks from wholesale merchants at Masjid Bandar (port) and Reckon Street upon making of net profit from Re 1 to 2 per day. At this point, to open a grocery shop, the capital required varied from Rs. 100 to 500, and to start retail grain shop capital required was from Rs. 500 to Rs. 10,000 in Bombay. Most of these retail shops were in hands of Gujarati Banias and Lohanas, who owned about 4,000 shops in different parts of the city. Retail clothing shops were owned by Bhattias and Banias and by few Muslim and Parsis, and hosiery, boot and shoe shops were owned by Muslims.[17]

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[13] *Census Report for 1881* by Surgeon Lt. Col. Weir, IMS. MSA, Mumbai.
[14] *Census Report of Bombay Presidency, 1891* by W.W. Drew, ICS, p. 165. MSA Mumbai
[15] The Crawford market, is situated near the junction of Esplanade and Carnac roads, was established by Mr. Arthur Crawford, the Municipal Commissioner of Bombay and was built in 1865 at a cost of Rs. 708,357. The market was divided into several sections. Fruit, vegetable and grocery section were in a large building facing the roadway. It comprised 650 stalls. In order to observe the religious rights of Hindus, there were separate buildings for mutton, beef, fish, fowls, etc., it comprised 268 stalls. The market used to open from 3-45 a.m. to 10 p.m. and the total income from whole market was about Rs. 1,31,000.; L. W. Michael said in his speech, "Bombay Past and Present: A Souvenir of the Thirteenth Meeting of the Indian Science Congress," *The Thirteenth Indian Science Congress*, Bombay, 1926, pp. 65-66
[16] *The Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island*, vol. I, pp. 453-454. MSA, Mumbai
[17] *Ibid.*, p. 454.

In 1896, the outbreak of bubonic plague appeared in some part of the city and since then to March 1901, when the fifth official census was carried out, it adversely affected the growth of population. The mortality rose more than three times the normal rate. The recurring epidemics caused an immense migration of population, paralysed business activities and disorganised trade, and swallowed immense sum of money which would otherwise have been used for improvement of the city, to attract new immigrants.[18] The total population recorded in 1901 was 7776, 006.[19]

2.2 Consumption of Material Goods

The three basic requirements of a human being are food, clothing, and shelter, whose production, trade and consumption have been primary focus of many economists, sociologists and historians for many generations. Study of consumption practices and commodity culture of late nineteenth and early twentieth century discloses that all three basic categories of requirements such as consumption of food, clothing, and household articles, was a seamless continuation from most cheapest to most expensive commodities sold at market, therefore, making clear division becomes complex and impossible. However, as is shown below, patterns of consumption of food, cloths and household articles gradually transformed from being a basic necessity ensuring survival to being a reason for socio-cultural distinction, social identity, and status that enhanced and enriched the quality and status of a consumer's life.

The material condition of the people of colonial Maharashtra had undergone considerable changes, particularly in respect of their mode of living, style of dwelling, and nature of furniture in their home, during late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Western ideas of consumption practices and new customs were gaining ever firmer hold upon houses of upper and middle classes in this period. For example, introduction of English and German lamps with fragile globes and glass chimneys replaced the strong durable brass lamps,

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[18] S. M. Edwardes, *The Rise of Bombay: A Retrospect,* Reprinted from *The Census of India Series 1901, Vol. X,* Times of India Press, Bombay, 1902, p. 327. MSA, Mumbai.
[19] *The Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island*, Vol. I, p. 166.

called *samayi* and *laman diva,* which were once commonly used in every household; entry of chairs and sofa set of western patterns replaced carpets and *takias* of the old style; modern writing-desk replaced old style of *chaurang,* a kind of small wooden stool commonly used for writing and other purpose.[20] As late as 1870, many houses in Bombay and Poona were built of mud, but, except in distant suburbs of the cities, this style of dwelling had entirely disappeared in the first decade of twentieth century.[21] The idea of nuclear or conjugal family was slowly replacing the system of joint family, and the general tendency of living separately from joint family was emerging as a new phenomenon in newly emerging urban middle classes. Harmony was preserved in few families and brothers contrived to live amicably under one roof with their families, as long as their parents were living. The death of the parents often provoked friction within the family. *The Hindu Reformer* argued that one of the major reason of such family friction was influence of western ideas and modern education which forced the brothers to seek separate lodgings.[22] Another important factor for the disintegration of joint family system was loss or sale of old family houses and estates in the process of rapidly growing urbanisation in Western India.[23] The old generations of Bombay often complained that when western education was making rapid changes in the city, Indian social system was becoming gradually disorganised.[24] They also complained that the younger generation paid scant respect to their elders, keen competition among educated people for employment curtailed their means of livelihood, and many were, therefore, adopting the system of living separately in flats or newly constructed *chawls* with the *pailadesi,* an outsider or a person not belonging to Bombay region.[25] The condition of older inhabitants of Bombay had materially changed

[20] *Arunodaya,* 30 June 1889, p. 3; *The Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island*, Vol. I, p. 176.
[21] *Census Report of 1901, Vol. IX, Bombay, Part 1, Report,* p. 74-76; *Census Report of 1911, Vol. III, Bombay, Part. I, Report,* P. 25-30.
[22] *The Hindu Reformer,* 15 July 1870, p. 12.
[23] According to Hindu law, family property is jointly held by all male members of family. All male family members have an equal share in their father's property. To hold ancestral property independently, brothers used to divide the property and draw up a deed. Among the western educated family members, holding of joint property and joint family together was one of the major sources of family quarrels. In this period, the division of property and separation of brothers became a common occurrence.
[24] *The Hindu Reformer,* 15 July 1870, p. 12.
[25] *The Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island*, Vol. I, p. 176.

during second half of nineteenth century. In this period, spacious houses and large compounds of the Prabhu, Palshikar and other communities had disappeared, and habit of living in flats and *chawls*, which was once regarded as highly undignified, was forced upon these communities by competition of other more commercially minded classes in the city.[26]

2.2.1 Consumption of Clothes

Historical literature on Indian cloth is more dynamic than the literature generated through the anthropological and museum collections. In second half of nineteenth century, several volumes of collections, photographs, and paintings documented the transformation in clothing patterns. C. A. Bayly, Susan Bean, Barnard Cohn, Nirad Chaudhuri, Emma Tarlo focussed on political importance of cloths and dress, and symbolic aspects of dress in historical context,[27] but they failed to focus on how various social and economic classes had consumed cloths differently, and how caste, class, colonialism and other socio-cultural factors influenced the consumers of cloths in late nineteenth century.

This section discusses consumption of clothes in family of rich/upper, middle, and lower income groups/classes in colonial Maharashtra during late nineteenth and first two decades of twentieth century. The following tables show the consumption of and annual expenditure on cloths of men in upper/rich, middle, and lower income group families.

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[26] In 1863, the author of an "Account of Bombay," p. 24, wrote "one may still see here and there, the palatial buildings of Joshis and Prabhus." *The Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island*, Vol. I, pp. 171-172.

[27] C.A. Bayly, "Origins of Swadeshi (Home Industry): Cloth and Indian Society, 1700-1930"; Susan Bean, "Gandhi and Khadi; Fabric of Independence" in A. Weiner and J. Scheider, eds., *Cloth and Human Experience,* Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, 1989; Bernard Cohn, "Cloth, Clothes and Colonialism: India in Nineteenth Century", in A. Weiner and J. Scheider, eds., *Cloth and Human Experience;* Nirad Chaudhuri, *Culture in the Vanity Bag,* Jaico, Bombay, 1976; Emma Tarlo, *Clothing Matters: Dress and Identity in India*, The University of Chicago Press, 1996.

Table 2.2: Expenditure and Consumption of Man's Clothes

Expenditure and Consumption of Man's Clothes									
Articles	Upper Class			Middle Class			Lower Class		
	No.	From	To	No.	From	To	No.	From	To
		Rs.	Rs.		Rs.	Rs.		Rs.	Rs.
Turban	4	75	100	2	30	50	1	2	10
Waistcoat, Broadcloth	4	3	7	2	3	4	--	--	--
Waistcoats, *Barabandi*[28]	4	2	3	2	2	1.8	1	0.4	0.1
Waistcoats, Silk	2	15	25	1	10	15	1	1.8	2.8
Waistcoats, Cotton	3	5	7	2	4	5	1	1.8	2.8
Waistcoats, Plain	--	--	--	2	2.8	4	1	0.15	2.4
Coats, Broadcloths	2	10	20	1	5	10	--	--	---
Coats, Cotton	6	7	9.8	5	6	7.8	1	1.8	2.4
Jacket, *Sadra*	4	2	4	2	2	2.8	--	--	--
Sash, *Dupata*	2	25	100	1	15	50	--	--	--
Shoulder cloths,	3	21	30	1	5	7	--	--	--
Shoes	2	2	3	1	0.12	1	1	0.1	0.12
Handkerchief	4	2	2.8	2	1	1.8	--	--	--
Walking Stick	1	1	2	1	0.8	1	--	--	--
Umbrella	2	3	4	2	2	3	1	0.8	0.12
Total		98	317.6		88.7	164.2		8.8	20.74

Source: *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. XVIII, Part I., Poona*, Government Central Press, Bombay, 1885, p. 104.

The above table shows that man of upper class spent from Rs. 98 to Rs. 317; middle class spent Rs. 99 to Rs. 164 and lower class spent about Rs. 9 to

[28] Waist coat of twelve-knotted

Rs. 21 per annum. Men of all classes spent almost half of the money on buying turban, because it was one of the most significant part of daily dressing. It appears that upper and middle class' spending was on waist coats of broadcloths and Twelve-knotted (*barabandi*) and sash (dupata). Lower classes mostly consumed cotton and plain cloths and upper class and middle class mostly preferred broadcloths, silk cloths and shoulder-cloths. In second half of nineteenth century, clothing of working class nowhere required more than Rs. 5 or Rs. 6 in the equal climate like Konkan region.[29]

At home, a male member of a rich/upper class family wore a cotton waistcoat[30] or a silk-bordered waistcoat in normal season. In winter season, he wore waistcoat of flannel and also covered himself in shawl around upper part of his body. In outdoor, he used to wear a big round flat-rimmed turban regularly with a strap of low central peak covered with gold on front. Normally he wore turban of white, red, crimson, and purple colours. He also wore a short coat of cotton or broadcloth,[31] *barabandi*, a twelve-knotted waistcoat, *uparna,* a shoulder cloth, and on his feet square-toed red shoes. In functions and ceremonies, his dress was the same as his everyday dress. Members of Western and modern educated and English-speaking young generation used to wear neatly folded small turban, an English cut-shirts and coats of broadcloth, coloured stockings and English boots and shoes, and occasionally, they used to wear loose trousers. The dress and clothing of middle-class man was not different from clothing of the rich man.[32] *Kunbis*, peasants were neat and clean in their clothing. They were rarely rich enough to indulge in their taste, but the well-to-do peasants were fond of festive attire, the men wore, generally, red and white turbans and the women wore red saree.[33] In outdoor, man wore a loincloth around his waist, covered his body with armless jacket or a waistcoat. He also

[29] *Provincial Reports on the Material Condition of the People 1881-1891,* p. 8. NAI, New Delhi.
[30] A close-fitting waist-length garment worn specially by men over shirt and under a coat or jacket
[31] Broadcloth fabric is made with smooth and simple over and under weave and broad cloth fabrics were lighter in weight and thin and smooth. This fabric was famous among the upper and middle class.
[32] *The Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency, Vol. XVII, Part I, Poona,* p. 104.
[33] *Ibid.,* p. 288.

wore turban on his head. In monsoon and winter season, he used a coarse blanket over his shoulders or tied it in a hood and drew it over his head. Besides that, the blanket and waist-cloth was used as mats for sleeping, and also as bag for carrying vegetables and garden stuff. Covering both the back and chest, the end was tied in front.[34]

A woman was a most significant consumer of cloths and dresses compared to men of the same classes. The value of an upper-class women's clothing and dress articles was between 500-1200 rupees; and of middle-class women's wardrobe varied from Rs. 150-300, and a lower class woman spent between Rs. 24 to Rs. 40. The details of expenditure and consumption of woman's clothing are given below:

Table 2.3: Expenditure and Consumption of Woman's clothes

Expenditure and Consumption of Women's Clothes									
Article	Rich			Middle			Poor		
	No.	From Rs.	To Rs.	No.	From Rs.	To Rs.	No.	From Rs.	To Rs.
Bodice, *Choli*	2	20	35	12	12	19.8	7	2.12	6
Shalu Saree	1	200	300	--	--	--	--	--	--
Paithani Saree	1	100	500	1	75	150	--	--	--
Pitambar Saree	1	50	100	--	--	--	--	--	--
Dhanvadi Rosta Saree	2	20	40	1	10	15	1	10	15
Burhanpuri Saree	2	20	40	--	--	--	--	--	--
Ahmadabadi Saree	2	15	25	1	10	20	--	--	--

[34] The Kunbi's dress seems to have improved since 1819. Thomas Coats, a surgeon in the East India Company Service in Bombay, writes, a Kunbi, in his everyday attire was "a most wretched-looking being, and when first seen by a European, can only excite feelings of pity and of disgust." In summer and hot season, he used to wear nothing but a dirty rag round his waist and sometimes, he had a dirty bandage round his head and a pair of short coarse cotton drawers. His holiday dress was improved but not attractive. His turban was white, sometimes red or green. His body was covered with a frock of whitish cloth, extending to the knee, without a collar, fixed at the neck with a button, and made to cross over in front, and tied with tape; a white cotton cloths (*dhoti)* of a fine texture was thrown across his shoulders or worn round his waist. The per annum cost was about Rs. 15. The Kunbi women's dress, Dr. Coats wrote, was a twenty-four feet long and three feet wide sari. The other dress articles of women were *choli*, a short jacket with the sleeve to the elbow and covering half body. Thomas Coats, "Account of the Present State of the Township of Lony: In Illustration of the Institutions, Resources, &C. of the Maratha Cultivation", *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay,* vol. III, Longman & Others C., London, 1823 [reprinted at Bombay Education Society's Press, 1877], pp. 208-209, 232-233. MSA, Mumbai.

Bruhapuri Saree	--	--	--	1	10	20	---	--	--
Ahmadabadi Saree	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	6	8
Mugta Saree	3	12	20	1	5	7	1	2.6	4
Cheap Saree	--	--	--	2	10	15	2	6	8
Shawls. A pair of	1	50	100	1	25	50	--	--	--
Scarf, *Shela*	1	25	40	--	--	--	--	--	--
Total		513	1200		157	296.8		27.5	41

Source: *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. XVIII, Part I., Poona*, Government Central Press, Bombay, 1885, p. 105.

At home and out of home, the upper-class women's dress was *nauvari lugade*, a saree of twenty-four feet (nine yards) long and three to four feet wide, and bodice of cotton and silk. *The Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency,* while describing the process of draping a *nauvari* saree, reported that the *nauvari* saree was passed around the waist to divide it into two parts; the shorter part was drawn over the shoulders and chest and the longer part used as a skirt for covering lower half of body. The corner of lower half of saree was passed back between the leg and tucked into the waist. The upper part of saree was drawn backwards over the right shoulder and passed across the chest and fastened in the waist.[35] While going out, the women carry one corner of saree over the head and the end of it was hold in their right hand. Besides, women also wore bodice which was carefully stitched to fit the chest and support the breast, the ends of bodice were tied in a knot in front.

Table 2.4: Expenditure and Consumption of Children's Clothes

Boy's clothes						
Article	Upper		Middle		Poor	
	From	To	From	To	From	To
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Cap of Gold and silver Lace	6	10	4	6	--	--
Cap of wool	0.8	1	0.8	1	0.8	0.12
Hood, *Kunchi* or *kinkhab*	5	10	4	8	--	--

[35] *The Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency, Vol. XVII, Part I, Poona,* p. 105.

Hood, of Cotton-silk	3	5	3	5	1	2
Hood, *kunchi* of Chitz	1	1.8	1	1.8	0.8	0.12
Waistcoat, Banyan	0.12	1	0.12	1	0.8	0.12
Coat, *Angarkha* of silk	6	12	5	7	--	--
Coat, *Angarkha* of Cotton	2	2.8	1	1.8	0.12	1
Coat, *Dagla*, Broadcloth	3	5	2	4	1	1.8
Shouldercloth, *Uparna*, Silk edged	5	6	4	5	--	--
Shoulder cloth, *Uparna*, Plain edged	--	--	1	2	1	1.8
Trousers, *Tuman*, Cotton-silk	3	5	2	3.8	--	--
Trousers, *Tuman*, Cotton	1	2	1	1.8	0.12	1
Shoes, *jode*	0.8	1	0.8	1	0.4	0.8
Total	36.12	62	29.12	48	6.4	9.12
Girl's Clothes						
Hood, *Kunchi* of Kankhab	5	10	4	8		
Hood of striped silk-cotton	3	5	3	5	1	2
Hood of Chintz	1	1.8	1	1.8	0.8	0.12
Bodice of Gold Cloth	4	6	--	--	--	--
	3	5	2	3	--	--
Petticoat of *Kinkhab*	15	25	--	--	--	--
Petticoat, *Barhnapuri*	7	8	4	5	--	--
Petticoat	7	10	5	7	--	--
Robe and Bodice, Sadhi-Choli	8	10	5	6	1	1.8
Total	53	80.8	24	35.8	2.8	4.4

Source: *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. XVIII, Part I., Poona*, Government Central Press, Bombay, 1885, pp. 106-107.

At home, children of upper, middle and lower classes remained naked till the age of four, but while going out of home, their body was covered with a cloak which was drawn overhead and ended in peaked hood. A boy regularly

wore a waistband and a girl used to wear a petticoat in the home after the age of four. Outside the house, boy's dress was waistcoat and girl's dresses were petticoat and bodice. The cost of seven or eight-year child's dress was as much as the grown person's dress. The money spent on an upper-class boy's dress was Rs. 500-1000, the middle class was Rs. 220-240, and lower class was Rs. 40-70. The money spent on a rich girl's dress and clothing was varied from Rs. 250-500, of a middle-class girl from Rs. 170-280, and of a poor girl from Rs. 30-50. Along with these cloths, most of girls and boys of upper and middle class used to wear valuable golden jewellery on them. In 1870, *The Rast Goftar* criticised the custom of putting ornaments on children as this custom led to abduction and murder of children for the sake of ornaments. The newspaper also advocated banning of this 'pernicious custom' by enacting the law with the help of educated and enlightened masses. Besides, the writer of the article did not allow much validity to the objection that, such a law as he proposed would interfere with the universal custom of the country.[36]

In 1867, one of the directors of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce while speaking on Bombay mills in 1867 had pointed out that domestic cloths, T-cloths, and the long cloths produced by Indian had been gradually becoming favourite among people of Bombay Presidency, and people were preferred to Lancashire cloths of the same class owing to the fact that the cloths manufactured in Bombay lasted longer than the finer and heavily sized cloth manufactured in England.[37] In this period, the Bombay mills produced cloths was about 110 million pounds a year and several varieties of cloths were manufactured such as, long cloths, domestic cloths, *dhoti,* shirting, jeans and tent clothes. The coloured piece of clothes was woven and attempts made to bleach grey clothes, two mills introduced machinery for printed coloured goods. The yarn used was almost invariably spun in the same mill that produced clothes. Attempts were made to manufacture cloth of a finer quality, such as cambric, lawns and zephyrs. The weaving branch of Bombay cotton industry may be described as one just emerging from its first phase. While emerging, the Bombay cotton industry faced strong competition with imported goods of

[36] *The Rast Goftar,* 13 February 1870, p. 8.
[37] *The Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island*, Vol. I, pp. 488-487.

Britain. However, in the first decades of twentieth century, the *Swadeshi* movement which had taken place in all parts of India had given a distinct impetus to local manufactures, and it seemed quite possible that within the next few years there would be an extension of the weaving industry.[38]

2.2.2 Consumption of Food

In Bombay Deccan, upper and middle-income group, after harvesting season, either in November-December or in April-May, used to buy and store grains, oil and fuel for yearlong consumption. Only vegetables and fruits were bought on daily basis from local *Peth* or weekly bazaar. A male servant made the daily purchases of food in upper-class families and the responsibility of purchasing food in middle- and lower-income families was on the head of the family or the grown-up sons. In this period, women hardly visited the bazaar to buy vegetable or other commodities.[39] The main and staple food the people of colonial Maharashtra consumed everyday were millet or wheat roti, pulses, vegetables, rice, and milk and curds. They sometimes used to drink tea and coffee, and drinking of spirituous liquor was forbidden in some communities, even though people used to drink liquor for leisure purpose. The consumption of European liquor in late years became common practice among the modern educated class.[40] In this period, men and women hardly ate together, women always ate after the men of family. Some communities in colonial Maharashtra used to eat non-vegetarian food, such as fish, chicken and mutton, but they usually ate secretly as they preferred to show others that they are vegetarians, and they used to drink both local or foreign liquor.[41] The following table shows expenditure on food consumption per month in late nineteenth century.

[38] *Ibid.*, p. 489.
[39] *The Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency, vol. XVII, Part I, Poona,* p. 102.
[40] *Ibid.,* p. 102.
[41] *Ibid.,* p. 192.

Table 2.5: Expenditure on Food Consumption (Per Month)

Food Articles	Upper Class		Middle Class		Lower Class	
	From	To	From	To	From	To
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Rice	10	12	10	12	7	8
Spilt Pulse	2	3	1	1.8	0.2	0.8
Wheat	4	5	2	3	--	--
Millet Bread	--	--	2	3	1.8	2
Pulse	3	5	2	2	0.12	1
Butter	10	12	3	4	0.8	1
Oil, Sweet	5	7	2.8	4	0.8	0.12
Oil, Bitter	1	2	3	4	0.12	1
vegetables	4	5	2	2.8	0.4	0.8
Sugar	5	7	2	2.8	0.2	4
Molasses	3	5	2	3	0.4	0.8
Milk	8	10	5	7	1	2
Coffee	1	2	0.8	0.12	--	--
Tea	0.8	0.12	--	--	--	--
Firewood	7	9	5	6	3	4
Tobacco and Betel	2	4	1	1.2	0.4	0.6
Buttermilks and curds	--	--	--	--	0.8	0.12
Total	65.8	88.12	43	56.14	16.8	22.1

Source*: Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. XVIII, Part I., Poona, Government Central Press, Bombay 1885, p. 103.*

This table shows the expenditure on food consumption on a monthly basis, in a family of five person, a man, his wife and their three children, was different for an upper-class family from Rs. 65 to Rs. 88; for a middle-class family from Rs. 43 to Rs. 56, and for a poor / lower class family from Rs. 16 to

Rs. 22.[42] It appears that the standard of living of lower and working class was different from region to region in the Bombay Presidency. A ration of 2 lbs. grain, generally, the staple millets, jowar, *bajra* and *ragi*, occasionally rice and wheat helped with pulses and condiments, sufficed to the working man. Meat was rare at daily meal, and milk or curd and ghee was seldom absent from their daily consumption. The cost of this kind of diet did not exceed Rs. 24 per annum.[43]

Several petitions submitted by members of clerical establishment employed in Bombay city in 1897 indicated that the cost of living had increased to such an extent in late nineteenth century that the existing scale of salary no longer enabled them to subsist in comfort. The Bombay government, thereupon, appointed a committee to inquire into the matter. The Committee, first prepared a list from the monthly price published in the *Bombay Government Gazette*,[44] showing the average prices of certain foodstuffs in the city for each year between 1870 and 1907 in order to ascertain the cost of living in the city. While using this list, the committee made a careful examination of several regularly kept private accounts and obtained as far as possible accurate prices of articles. The articles selected for comparison were rice, wheat, *tur,* dal, ghee, sweet oil, coconut oil, sugar, salt, and firewood, which were delivered to be representative items in the cost of living of a native. The committee reported as follows-

> The price of all these excepting only sugar and salt, have risen largely of late years. There have of course been temporary fluctuations, both up and down, in the series of years since 1870, but the permanent result is great advance in prices since the existing scale of salaries fixed and prices have touched a higher point this year [1907] than even before. The amount spent on the salt and sugar is so small that the fall in prices of these commodities does not afford much relief. We think it may be safe to be said that the cost of native food has advanced 20 percent in the last 30 years, and so far, as we can see there is no prospect of any appreciable fall in price in the near future. The general opinion is that, whatever may be the cause or causes, the level of prices has been permanently

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[42] File No. 29 of 1885, General Department, 127/1885, Compl. No. 3, p. 2-3. MSA, Mumbai.
[43] *Provincial Reports on the Material Condition of the People 1881-1891,* p. 8. NAI, New Delhi.
[44] Vide Appendix III, *The Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island*, Vol. I, pp. 318-319

> raised and that they will not drop again to the level of the seventies and eighties, even with successive good harvests.[45]

The observation of the committee on the fluctuation in the price of non-agricultural products is as follows-

> We do not find that any relief has been given by fluctuations in the prices of clothes and other articles mentioned in the reference to us: the expenditure on them is very small compared with recurring cost of food and house rent, their prices on the whole have not gone down, and any cheapening there may be of particular articles is, we fear, more than balanced by the improvement in the style of living during the last 30 years among all classes in the city, consequent on the development of trade and communications.[46]

The rise in house rent was also shown by the Committee as being undoubtedly the item of expenditure which pressed heaviest on the people.

2.2.3 Consumption of Household Articles and Furnishing

In Bombay Presidency, John Fryer describes "the houses are low, and thatched with oleas of cocoa-trees, all but a few the Portugal left, and some few the company have built, the custom-house and warehouse are tiled and plastered and instead of glass use panes of oyster shells for the windows (which as they are cut in squares, and polished, look gracefully enough)."[47] When the East India Company had firmly established itself in the Island and merchants of various classes commenced to immigrate in large numbers, substantial houses built of durable material and planned to give ample accommodation began to arise in areas within and outside Fort walls. Characters of the house in colonial Bombay had undergone a significant change during nineteenth century. Mrs. Graham, writing of Bombay at the commencement of the nineteenth century remarked that the houses of the rich families were surrounded by verandas because it was necessary to protect against the extreme heat in summer and rains

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[45] *The Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island,* Vol. I, p. 319.

[46] *Ibid.*, p. 320.

[47] John Fryer, *A New Account of East-India and Persia, in Eight Letters Being Nine Years of Travels Begun 1672 and finished 1681,* Chislwell, London 1698, p. 66; James Douglas, *Bombay and Western India: Series of Stray Papers,* Sampson Low, London 1893. Account notes that in 1893 a fair example of the old-styled Bombay house could have been seen in Cowasji Patel Street, Fort, at the back of the Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank Building.

in monsoon. The wall of the houses was generally painted with motifs of leaves and flowers of red and green colour; some Hindu house had usually the fables on their walls. These kinds of houses were found in large extent because, in these houses if a man had twenty sons, all of them continued to live in the same house after their marriage. Most of the people in the lower income group used to live in small huts, mainly made of clay and covered with *cadjan.*[48] Some of these huts were so small that only one person can sit upright in it and just give cover to his feet when he lay down in it. There was usually a small garden around each house. Most of the upper-class dwelling houses of by late ninteeth century were built outside of the fort walls had one story only, but were fairly lofty,[49] while Regulation III of 1812 strictly limited the height of houses within the Fort. The public buildings were more useful than elegant, and richer natives lived in large houses built very close together; while the dwelling of Europeans which were planned as far as possible on Western lines with wide verandas were on the whole not so comfortable as the villas which they built in and around Mazgaon, Parel and Mahim, and to which they were accustomed to resort during hot season.[50]

In Bombay Deccan, a house was normally built around a central plot and entered through a door in the outer face of the building. The inner court of house steps led to veranda and the house was constructed on *jote,* a platform of three feet height. The veranda of the house was used for receiving guest, a playing place for children and a working place for a clerk and other professions, and women of the house also used veranda for swinging and talking with other women. The ground floor, normally, had a central hall, four to seven rooms and a veranda and the first floor had two large halls and four rooms. The wall of house was built with bricks and mortar; the roof was tiled with teak or common timbers used for woodworks. In this period, the cost of house construction and building was Rs. 5000 to Rs. 10000 for upper-class, around Rs. 2000 for a

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[48] Cadjan is a mat made with interwoven leaves of Palmyra or coconut tree, used for walls and roofing.
[49] J. Gerson Da Cunha, *The Origin of Bombay*, Bombay: Society Library, 1900, p. 4.
[50] *The Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island*, Vol. I, p. 195.

middle-class house and from 300 to Rs. 400 for lower-class.[51] For extreme poor people, dwelling, consisting either of a substantial cottage lasting for years or of a hut of wattle and twigs, which required rebuilding every season, used to cost annually not exceeding Rs. 3.[52]

Table 2.6: The Details of the Household Articles and furniture:

The Details of Household Articles and Furnitures						
Articles	Upper Class		Middle Class		Lower Class	
	No.	Cost	No.	Cost	No.	Cost
Benches	2	10	1	5	--	--
Chairs	12	50	2	8	--	--
Swinging Cots	2	100	1	20	1	10
Cots	2	100	2	50	1	5
Boxes	10	200	2	40	1	15
Low Wooden Stools	12	40	5	15	2	8
High Wooden Stools	2	20	1	5	--	--
Cradles	3	90	1	10	1	5
Blankets	5	50	2	10	2	5
Beddings	10	200	3	30	1	8
Carpets	2	200	1	50	--	--
Coverlets	10	20	3	6	2	3
Wooden lamps	2	25	2	10	2	5
Brace Lamps	10	80	5	25	2	8
Glass Hanging Lamps	10	200	4	75	--	--
Worship Vessels	20	300	15	150	5	40

[51] *The Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency, vol. XVII, Part I, Poona,* p. 101.
[52] *Provincial Reports on the Material Condition of the People 1881-1891,* p. 8.

Silver Vessels	30	500	10	100	--	--
Metal Pots	150	900	50	250	20	40
Earthen Pots	5	10	10	5	15	3
Hand-mills	2	25	1	10	--	--
Mortars and Pestles	3	15	2	10	1	4
Grind stones and Pins	4	20	2	8	1	3
Carriages	2	1000	--	--	--	--
Total		4155		892		162

Source: *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. XVIII, Part I., Poona*, Government Central Press, Bombay, 1885, p. 102.

Besides the articles mentioned in the above list, an upper class family had tables, four sofas, a pair of mirrors, a few cups and dishes for serving tea. In the house of Pathare Prabhus, usually, ordinary cushions, pillow and carpets were found along with European pattern tables, chairs, sofas, benches, chests of drawers, brass or wooden bedsteads, cupboards, knick-knack cabinets, lamp chandeliers and wall paintings and pictures.[53] In late nineteenth century, educated young men began to furnish and equip their houses with European style and European materials.[54] The furniture and household articles in an upper class house were worth Rs. 4155; in middle class houses it was about Rs. 900; in the house of a poor it was about Rs. 160. In 1893, an article in *Buddhiprakash* noted that many things were commonly used that was unknown even a generation before: "suit jackets, colourful cotton mill saris, expensive French satins, pocket watches, shoes, European-made hardware, knives and scissors, machine-made paper, china teacups, eggbeaters, kerosene lanterns, candles, and mass printed books."[55] These articles not only represented new notions of taste in house, but they also improved function and expanded options for

[53] *The Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency, vol. XVII, Part I, Poona,* p. 193.
[54] *Ibid.*, p. 102.
[55] 'Kala Kaushalya: Udhyamano Kelvani', *Budhiprakash,* vol. 40, no. 3, March 1893, p. 12

entertainments. All these newly available articles, according to the article, not only changed people's living methods and lifestyles, but also increased its users' 'comfort'.[56] In this period, consumers were also increasing their comforts in accessing newly emerging goods commodities. By the early twentieth century, several fashionable stores were opening formal showrooms of commodities and goods that carefully isolated from, previously, workshops. The newly opened formal showrooms in Bombay and Poona issuing printed catalogues to publicise their wares, and placed advertisements in local newspapers and journals to solicit orders.[57] The entry of new commodities into the home altered relations between family members, and changed the conceptions of hygiene and health. This period also witnessed several unique English and Swiss toys exposed to sale with a variety of knick-knacks, and it became famous among the people of Bombay and the toys sellers started to gain more profit in this business.[58] The primitive mechanical toys were in high demand and fetched high prices. According to Dineshah Wacha, a little doll, dressed up, smiting 'mamma' would fetch five rupees. A little accordion with the most elementary tunes, about 1.5 to 3 rupees became famous among the children. All these toys were used to sell in all fairs held on the southern part of the large Esplanade in Bombay. These stalls used to display numbers of articles and ware, and the art of parading them attractively was well known to them.[59] In this period, introduction of European made mechanised and others toys also become important part of day to day life in urban centres, and people started to consume those toys.

Many houses built around mid nineteenth century had a wooden framework, and in some cases, the walls were made exclusively out of wood. As a result of the Share Mania of 1860s the old style of Bombay house started to disappear in response to the increasing demand for accommodation, and the local moneyed class and builders began to construct houses divided into a plurality of compartments without any consideration for ventilation or light. The second half of the nineteenth century had been characterised by an enormous

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[56] *Ibid.*
[57] Abigail McGowan, "Consuming families," p. 157.
[58] D. E. Wacha, *Shells from the Sands of Bombay being My Recollections and Reminiscences-1860-1875,* The Bombay Chronicle Press, Bombay, 1920, pp. 91-93
[59] *Ibid.,* p. 94

expansion of residential area, by the occupation of many privately-owned buildings at Colaba, the Fort, Chaupati, Walkeshwar, and Cumballa Hill by the multiplication of lofty and many storeyed buildings in Bombay. The outbreak of plague in 1896 forced the rich and upper-class people to migrate at better and faraway localities. But several people stayed back in the city because their daily work did not allow them to leave. In these localities, the number of houses were 22,214 in 1872; 28,315 in 1881, 30,125 in 1901.[60]

The labour and working class people of Bombay lived in three types of houses: a) Chawls, a building let in separate tenements, b) shed built of corrugated iron, empty kerosene tins, woods etc., and c) *Zavli*, a shed hut constructed of dry leaves from date or coconut palms. The majority of working classes lived in chawls.[61] The second class of houses was often tenanted by municipal employees or by tenants evicted from the insanitary housing areas by the Improvement of Trust. The trust erected the semi-permanent corrugated iron sheds for them. People of lower and backward caste always found difficulty in getting accommodation, as no other community allowed them to get accommodation; and when they could not get accommodation in *chawls,* they used to live in sheds or huts. Many of these sheds' roofs and walls were made from flattened-out kerosene tins. The rent paid in 1917-18 for a room in the tin shed was Rs. 1.12 per month, but in addition to this Rs. 10 to Rs. 15 were required to spend annually on replacing some of the tins, and once in four years a thorough renewal was required. The *Zavli* sheds were occupied chiefly by *Ghati*[62] carters, who frequently shared them with their domestic animals, cows

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[60] The rapid increase in rents and the overcrowding in the city have resulted in late nineteenth century in driving the middle classes out to the suburbs, where many large houses and chawls have been built. This is peculiarly noticeable between Bandra and Borivali on the B. B. and C.I. Railway and between Kurla and Thana on the G. I.P. Railway.

[61] No accurate statistics are available as to the number of the working classes living in chawls. The figures published by census authorities are based on narrow definition and are admitted by the Superintendent of Census Operations to be incomplete. In 1921 there were 18,535 building containing 20 persons and under, and 5,588 buildings with 21 to 40 persons each. If we assure that each of 18,535 building was inhabited by 10 persons on the average and each of the 5,588 buildings with 30 persons on the average, and if we further assume that all buildings containing more than 40 persons are tenements, the calculation gives the proportion to seven-tenth living in chawls.

[62] *Ghati* means the person of the hills or above the hills or *ghats*, was used especially for the people from the villages in Western *Ghats* (Sahyadri range) of Maharashtra.

and calves. Rs. 6 per month was ground rent paid in 1917-18, and the annual cost of renewing the leaves was about Rs. 20.[63]

The *chawls,* a tenement usually consisted of single rooms, sometimes of double rooms, but not more than two. These *chawls*, which differed considerably in appearance, construction and size. The major objective behind the construction of chawls was housing for all working classes in the city. These *chawls* were constructed in the vicinity of cotton mills area where mill workers and mill hands and others workers lived. The typical room in *chawls* measured about 12 feet long, 8 feed wide and 8 feet high with an open veranda of 3 feet wide running the entire length in front. The only ventilation which these *chawls* rooms had as a door and a window. The size of the door was about 5 feet high and 2.5 feet wide and the window 2 feet high and 3 feet wide. Each room was divided by a partition, the inner part was used by women, and men used the outer room with veranda. No *nahani*, a sink or bathroom was attached to these rooms, toilets and bathroom were shared by all tenant of the *chawls*. The approaches to *chawls* were, therefore, filthy with pools of un-drained and stagnant sullage dotting the place around and breeding ground for mosquitoes. There were one or two water taps not far off the latrines where the inmates gather together to fill their water pot or can, cleaning their kitchen utensils and washing their clothes. This part of a *chawl* was invariably dirty. Later period, these *chawls* became 'human warehouse' for large numbers of working classes.[64]

In chawls, two or three families lived together in each room, generally from 10 to 15 persons, excluding children. In last decade of nineteenth century, a room of this dimension could be rented for 3 or 4 rupees. This rent had since then risen to Rs. 6 per room, and therefore, overcrowding had also proportionately increased in the first decade of twentieth century. The tenants of these rooms sometimes extemporised a *mach,* a bamboo platform to the height of 4 feet as a sort of sleeping berth and to secure a small convenience or

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[63] A. R. Burnett-Hurst, *Labour and Housing: A Study in the Economic Conditions of the Wage-Earning Classes in Bombay,* P.S. King & Son, Ltd, 1925, pp. 19-20.
[64] *Ibid.,* p. 20.

additional space for lying down. In the season of monsoon and winter, the residents of these *chawls* managed to sleep in the rooms and veranda, but in the summer season they used roads and the footpaths as their dormitory.[65]

The class and style of dwelling varied according to the status and wealth of the individual. The lower classes, almost without exception, lived in tenements of a single room in large *chawls*, which sometimes provided a common washing place on each floor and sometimes a *nahani,* a sink in each room. The sink was mostly responsible for the speedy dilapidation of the timber frame buildings, and as the constant soaking from the washing places produces rapid rot of pillars and posts. It pathetically described their residences as slow and dark, and their families were huddled in small rooms, which were once used as cooking rooms, sitting rooms, and sleeping rooms.[66] The clerks, working on moderate salaries, used tenements of two rooms in *chawls*; and there was a tendency for the old style of house with its *masaghar,* middle hall, to disappear under the pressure of space and high rents. The rich middle classes, both Hindus and Muslims, lived in flats, the prominent feature of the flats was the *divankhana,* a reception room and around it sleeping-room, women's apartments, the kitchen, bathroom. The size of the flats depended upon the wealth of the owner. The upper classes occupied for the most part whole houses. The Parsi houses were built usually in more or less European style. In the case of Bhattias, Banias and Jains, the houses were built on a plan which permitted to build kitchens, washing-places and separate women's apartments in the rear-portion of the house. The high rent of bungalows had forced the European population to choose the rented flats, built on the English model, for living. These flats were sprung up in large numbers in the Fort area during the first decade of twentieth century.[67]

Houses built and being built in the first decade of the twentieth century in Bombay and its vicinity lack the substantiality of the older style of dwelling, in consequence of more general use of inferior material, but it shows

[65] *The Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island*, Vol. I, pp. 207-211.
[66] *The Rast Goftar,* 19 February 1871.
[67] *The Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island*, Vol. I, p. 199.

improvement from the architectural standpoint and were planned more in accordance with sanitary requirements. The demand for increased residential accommodation which subsisted in the second half of nineteenth century had resulted in the construction of a large number of new buildings varying in type from the ramshackle and jerry-built *chawl* to residence of tolerable durability. The majority of the buildings were characterised by more or less ornate frontage, but the commercial spirit of the period which demanded a higher return upon investments, the rise in the price of building materials and high wages of labour had resulted in some sacrifice of durability.[68]

Bombay city started getting congested in mid-nineteenth century, since then it has been reported that rent for any kind of accommodation, except at inconvenient distance from the business centre, was quite high. For example, the rent of a miserable bungalow containing eight habitable rooms was around Rs. 60 to Rs. 100 per month. This condition of affair continued ever since house-rent showed a steady tendency to increase. It is said that several times the so-called liberty of the Bombay *Shettis* was appealed to remedy the evil, but without effect. The *shettis,* instead of exercising humanity in question, have been found exact exorbitant rent from their poor tenants. Some of them too have, in the time of late speculation in shares, not scrupled to inflict distress on the poor classes in order to fill their own pockets.[69] By early twentieth century, the rents of all class of houses had raised significantly in Bombay. The valuation of properties was done based on rentals, the rise in valuation to some extent represented corresponding rise in rents. However, rents were increased in some cases by landlords to obtain higher values for properties notified for acquisition for public purposes and also to compensate themselves for loss of rent accrued during plague epidemics, when most of the tenants vacated houses in the city. The changes in family system, such as break up or separation of the joint family was also regarded as a factor in the rise of rents. The average rise in valuation and rent, since 1891, was found to be not less than 22 per cent and in several cases, it was even greater than that. It had become impossible at that time to rent the poorest accommodation suitable for a low-paid clerk and his family within

[68] 10/704-H, General Department, 1920, Compl. No. 1258, p. 5. MSA, Mumbai
[69] *The Rast Goftar,* 19 February 1871, MSA, Mumbai

a reasonable distance of the office at less than Rs. 10 a month. The rent of the houses also rose due to demolition of houses carried out by the Bombay Improvement Trust under the city development schemes. In Bombay, the rents of *chawls* and two-storeyed houses on public roads were generally higher than those of similar building situated in lanes and interior places. Rents also depended upon the importance of the locality, house plan in buildings, conveniences of railway and tramway and demand of locality. The rents of properties in commercial area were very high.[70]

First, the purchasing power of many families that considered themselves as middle class placed constraints on material practice. In Bombay, around 40 per cent of these families lived at income levels little better than those earned by upper end of the working class.[71] They spent majority of their income on food and housing. According of family budgets collected by the Bombay Labour Office during early 1920s, while working families used about 28 per cent of their income on items other than food, fuel, clothing, bedding, and house rent, families defined as middle class devoted only slightly more, on average about 35 per cent, to such goods. Those people, who were earning less than Rs. 125 a month, according to almost two-fifths of the survey sample, committed on average only 29 per cent of family expenditure outside these four categories.[72] Clothing was the largest item of consumption in urban spending outside of food and housing, and the potential for expanding demand for this particular product was high.

2.2 Consumption Patterns in Different Classes/Communities

The material condition of the population of Bombay Presidency had undergone considerable change, particularly in respect of their mode of living, style of dwelling, and nature of furniture in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, and western idea and customs were gaining even firmer hold upon upper and middle classes in newly emerging urban centres in Bombay

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[70] *The Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island*, Vol. I, p. 324.
[71] *Report on an Enquiry into Middle Class Family Budget in Bombay city*, p. 1; *Report on an Enquiry into Working Class Family Budget in Bombay city*, Bombay: Labour Office, 1923, p. 5.
[72] *Report on an Enquiry into Middle Class Family Budget in Bombay city*, p. 5.

Presidency. However, few communities and castes consumption patterns were largely influenced by the community rules, customs and religious ideas in second half of nineteenth century Maharashtra.

2.2.1 Pathare Prabhu

Among Hindus, the Pathare Prabhus had always set the fashion in dress, food and mode of living in Bombay city and its region. Till 1870, dress of the Prabhus was considered a model attire (see figure 2.1) and was imitated and adopted by other Hindu communities like *Shenvis*, *Panchkalshis*, *Sonars*, *Khatris*, *Vadvals,* *Bhandris*, etc.[73] The real Prabhu coat was longer than the ordinary Hindu coat, its *bands,* a fastening were flat instead of round, and the *mogji* on the chest was triangular instead of circular as in the ordinary Brahman coat. The Prabhu *bandi,* a waistcoat was usually fastened down the front instead of at the side like the Brahmin *bandi.* The *dhoti,* a waist-cloth had either a silk or coloured cotton border, and the shoes were black and pointed. The Prabhu did not wear the Brahman *uparna*, a shoulder-scarf, but wore a gold-bordered *shela* and sometimes a shawl in festivals and occasions. *Prabhu* male dress had undergone significant changes in late nineteenth century. The *angarakha*, a long coat which replaced the *jama,*[74] had in its turn gave place to the coat of European cut with or without a collar. Shirts and waistcoats with collar and cuffs and sometimes with stiff front were seen in place of '*adwe bandache waskut'* and '*ubhe bandach waskut'* (horizontal fastening waistcoat and vertical fastening waistcoat) which were the *jama* and the *angarakha* in small size. The turban of *Prabhu*[75] which was once a huge and heavy weight headdress had reduced much in size and weight in late nineteenth century. In late nineteenth century, boys of Prabhu community started to wear velvet cap, and even young men preferred English hat and cap over turban in which they found more comfort than in turban (figure 2.2). The *pagadi,* a turban, made of glazed spotted

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[73] *The Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island*, Vol. I, pp. 169- 170.

[74] Having held high posts under the Muslim rule for long time, the Prabhu adopted the *jama* and *pichodi* from their rulers. Even in the first half of the nineteenth century Prabhu were seen going to their offices with *jama* and *pichodi.* This heavy dress, then, became for some time the marriage dress of both the bridegroom and his friends and relations. It now lingers as the marriage dress of the bridegroom only.

[75] This kind of turban is worn by some Brahmans at Sihor near Bhavnagar in Kathiawar. The Salats, Bhois and Khatris of Kathiawar and Gujrat also wear this turban.

cloth, which elderly people once wore, completely disappeared in early twentieth century. The professional men and persons in high posts started to choose trousers over *dhoti.* The *Prabhu* shoe, once famous, with its tapering end turned upwards was also going out of use, and broad-toe shoes, as well as boots and shoes of European pattern were in vogue. In late years, the appearance of modern Prabhus had been greatly influenced by the European custom and cloths.[76]

In case of women of Prabhu community, the clothing had not changed much. The *polka* with or without fringes was the only article added to their wardrobe in this period. The women's clothes in home consisted of a *lugade* or *patal*,[77] a bodice (*choli*) and a *polka* over it. When they went out, women used to wear *lugade,* bodice and cover head with shawls; young women freely wore shoes and English slippers.[78] In this period, the *pardah* system became a thing of the past;[79] women were attending social gathering of the community while sitting apart in group, such kind of mixed social gatherings were many. It appears that *Prabhu* women were very particular about their elegant and neat appearance, and they started to keep their hair loose.[80] Amongst the *Prabhus* the position of women had always been very high. At home, they were consulted in all domestic affairs, and took an active interest in social and national activities. As the men, so the women's fashion had been regulated in the past by then *Prabhu* community. At home, the dress of a Prabhu woman (see figure 2.3) consisted of saree of *Dhanwad*, *Nagpur* or *Ahmedabad* and a tight-fitting *choli* a bodice which was formerly made of *cholkan,* a country made cloth with a silk border or embroidery, but in later period it was usually made of Manchester cloth.[81]

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[76] *The Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island*, Vol. I, p. 244.
[77] Nine-yard Maharashtrian Saree.
[78] *The Times of India,* 12 October, 1896, p. 6.
[79] Only old ladies now go out in carriage like Victoria with piece of cloth tied to them to conceal the occupants. This is the only remain of the *purdah* system in this community. *The Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island*, Vol. I, pp. 244-245.
[80] Women of other communities ask one another "*Prabhin diste?*" you look like a Prabhu lady?; *The Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island*, Vol. I, p. 245.
[81] *The Times of India,* 27 January, 1899, p. 13.

Figure 2.1: Pathare Prabhus

Source: William Johnson, *Photographs of Western India, Vol. I, Costumes and Characters, 1855-1862*, Photograph No. 29

Figure 2.2: Children of Prabhu

Source: William Johnson, *Photographs of Western India, Vol. I, Costumes and Characters, 1855-1862*, Photograph No. 31.

Figure 2.3: Pathare Prabhu Women

Source: William Johnson, *Photographs of Western India, Vol. I, Costumes and Characters, 1855-1862*, Photograph No. 30.

The people of the Prabhu community lived in one-storeyed houses, in which the ground-floor comprised of the *ota,* a veranda used for the reception of visitors or guests. An apartment called *osari,* a central room called *vathan* used by the women of family as a reception-room, two bed-rooms, a god's room (*deva kholi*), a dining-room, kitchen and a rear veranda. The first storey contained a half area for the living room of men, two bedrooms, an open terrace (*agashi*) and a loft. All houses had an open space in the rear, and a few possessed a front courtyard. The rear portion of the compound usually contained a well and a store. The furniture of Prabhu house consisted of brass and copper plates, pots, cots, benches, chairs, tables, cupboards, European and native lamps, grinding stone (*jaten*), pounding stone and pestle (*pata varvanta*), a wooden pounding instrument (*uakhal*) with two wooden pestles (*musals*), trunks, wooden boxes, pictures[82] and looking-glasses. The rich used silver pots, sofas, Persian carpets, Chinese and various European knick-knacks. The hubble-bubble, a *hookah* had almost entirely gone out of fashion and in some cases had yielded place to cigars and cigarettes.[83]

In late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the *Prabhus* were a well-educated community in Bombay Presidency. They had among them eight M.A.'s, fifty-five B.A.'s, twenty-four LL.B.'s, fifteen L.M.&S's (Licentiate in Medicine and Surgery), and eight L.C.R.P&S's (a degree in Medicine) and many of them studied till the matriculation. Girls of *Prabhu* community attended school freely, and in many cases, they were allowed to continue their studies after attaining the age of puberty. Few women of this community even attained and received a college education in Bombay. Among them, three women passed the matriculation examination, one passed the intermediate examination and one was in the B.A. class. Four young ladies were teachers in girls' schools, and two were training themselves as nurses and midwives in 1908.[84] The general occupation of a Prabhu was of a clerk in government and

[82] Raja Ravi Varma's pictures have driven away European pictures from many Prabhu houses.
[83] *The Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island*, Vol. I, pp. 242-243.
[84] *Ibid.*, p. 245.

private offices; but some of the highest and most important government posts had been held by the Prabhus.[85]

It appears that members of the Prabhu community were highly affectionate of worldly pleasures, and had their own clubs and periodical social gathering, besides Sunday parties and holiday excursions. The Pathare Prabhu social club was a popular place of resort where men gathered every evening, they used to drink tea, and discuss news and social issues; some of them played cards, and some used to take part in music. The community also had debating clubs, where they discussed their social issues and helped the poor and needy of their community. This period also witnessed the social institutions of the Prabhus undergoing a considerable change; one of the major changes was disintegration of joint family system that had given place to a tenancy-in-common and in some cases it appeared that in a joint family, brothers lived together, but they kept their earning separate, and used to pay their proportionate share in the family expenses. They were joint in residence, food, and worship, but not earnings.[86]

2.2.2 Koli Community

The *Koli* is a community of fisherman who lives in Bombay and along the coastline of Konkan coast. The ordinary *Koli* meal consisted of curry (*ambat*), rice, fried fish and rice cakes. On auspicious occasions and fasting days, the Christian Kolis subsisted on milk and sweet potatoes and during holidays all classes indulged in sweetmeats like *gharya* and *undre.* The *Kolis* were, as a class, addicted to drink, and the evening meal was usually preceded by a visit to the tavern. All *Koli* of Bombay, in the late nineteenth century,

[85] The first native judge of the High court (Acting), two Judges of the Small causes court, two Presidency Magistrates, 2 Munsifs or sub-judges, 2 Oriental Translators, I sheriff of Bombay, 2 Deputy Collectors, one Assistant Commissioner of Customs, one Assistant Secretary of Government, Revenue Department, one assistant Superintendent of Stamps; one Lieutenant Colonel, Indian Medical Service, three Honorary Magistrates. They have also three Divans (one still in power); one Captain in Army, and one sanitary Commissioner. *The Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island*, Vol. I, p. 245.

[86] For further information, about the Pathare Prabhu in general, see *The Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency*, Vol. XIII, part I, pp. 89-108 and *The Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency, Vol. XVIII*, *Poona*, pp. 193-256.

adopted a practice of tea-drinking, a cup or two which was drunk before going for fishing and other work.[87] The ordinary Kolis house comprised a veranda which was used for receiving visitors and repairing fishing nets, and a sitting-room used by the women for their household works, a kitchen, a central apartment, a bed-room. The poor families lived in a single room, one corner of which was reserved for gods' stand. The usual furniture in the house of the poor *Koli* was composed of several earthen pots, few mats, a grinding stone, a hookah, broken chairs, few wooden boxes. The home of rich *Koli* had sofas, photograph frames, and western Knick-knack cabinet in their house as these articles were also found in middle-class Hindu homes of Bombay.[88] While fishing or at work, members of *Koli* community wore red loin-cloth, a coarse woollen waistcoat and *kamblichi topi,* a close-fitting warm cap with a string attached to knife, passed around the neck. On ceremonial occasions they wore *angarkha,* a white coat, *uparna,* red coloured kerchief on shoulders, sandals and peculiar *Koli* red hat, with semi-circular scallop in front.[89] On the occasion of

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[87] *The Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island*, Vol. I, p. 227.

[88] Among the most curious features of many Koli houses were the photographs of corpses. They seldom photograph the living person, when a member of the family died, his/her corpse was dressed in gay attire, placed in a sitting posture, and perpetuated by the camera. These was seen on the walls side by side with portraits cut from the English illustrated papers. The custom seems to have been borrowed from the Salsette Christians who followed the practice for many years.

[89] The origin of the *Koli* red hat has been a subject of much speculation. It is worn only by the *Kolis* of Bombay, Thana, Versova and Madh. The Kolis of Revadanda wore fatter hats, the Pan-Kolis wore turbans, the Kolis who lived North of Bhayandar or Bassein wore the *kantopi* or ear-cap like the Gosavi or mendicant. This last fact perhaps affords a clue to the origin of Bombay *Kolis*' hat. In the Gosavi ear cap the crescent or scallop in front was much larger and in fact formed a semi-circle across the whole forehead from ear to ear, the flaps on either side protecting the ears. Before the conical knitted cap was imported and largely used, the Bombay *Kolis* invariably wore the Gosavi cap with ear-flaps while out at sea. The fashion expanded gradually, and the *Koli* took to wearing upper and lower ear-rings. The ear-flaps, thus, became troublesome appendages and were usually turned up or folded tight to leave the ears free just as the Bassein *Kolis* do in those days. In due course of time, the flaps had to go, taking with them the large frontal semi-circle. But partly through conservatism, partly because the scallop helps to fit the cap more firmly to the head, the *Koli* probably invented the smaller crescent shaped scallop which was so distinctive a feature of his ceremonial head-dress. The height of the original Gosavi cap was the same as the modern red hat of the Bombay *Kolis*. The colour and general shape may also have been partly derived from the red velvet caps worn by Shenvi Brahmins in Goa and by Sonars in Bombay Presidency. Another explanation is based upon the curious mark ʊ which is found at the back of the Bombay *Koli* hat. This, coupled with the fact that the front portion of the hat, when worn, forms a curious resemblance to the outstretched hood of cobra, has led some to suppose that the hat was intended as a rough representation of the cobra's head and denotes the original connection of the *Kolis* with a Nag-Vanshi family. No modern koli can give trustworthy account of this symbol, and although it must originally have had a definite significance, there is at present too little

marriage they wore a *mandil*, stiff tall head-dress, a *jama,* a long white robe fastened under the left arm with tight sleeves, and a *pinchodi* a sash or broad band of the same material as the *jama* were worn; and the red hat only appeared at a *pat* or remarriage ceremony.[90] *Koli* women wore a bodice and cotton *sari* drawn up very tightly between the legs (see figure 2.5). The unmarried Christian *Kolis* and *Son-Kolis* girls did not wear upper part of saree, which covered head and chest, until they got married.[91] The significant changes, both in dress and occupation, were taking place due to introduction of education and the difficulty of earning in the fishing business. Thus, the young members of Koli community, had largely discarded the *langoti* and red hat and adopted the *Agri* or *Bhandari* dress; while those with some little education preferred the work of compositors and clerks to the time-honoured sea-traffic offices.[92]

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evidence to warrant absolute acceptance of the theory. It might be worth enquiring whether the mark has any connection with the Sheshkuls mentioned by Mackintosh in his account of the Mahadev *Kolis*, printed in *the Journal of the Bombay Geographical Society*, vol. I, p. 229;

[90] A Christian *Koli* bridegroom usually wore a dilapidated Portuguese Admiral's uniform, which was specially preserved and lent out on such occasions.

[91] The male *Kolis* of Bombay, Madh, Varli and Trombay did not wear bangles; while those of Alibag, Versove, Danda, and Mandwa wore armlets on the left wrist. The *Son-Kolis* wore bangles on both wrists. The Bombay K*olis* wore an upper ear ring (*bali*) and a lower earring (*gathe*). A Christian *Koli* can always be distinguished from a Hindu *Koli* by his ear-rings (*kadya*) which were much thinner than those (*gathia*) worn by the latter.

[92] The *Koli* Patel of Danda was elected a Municipal Commissioner of Bandora in last decades of nineteenth century. The Caxton Press had several Kolis among its compositors; and in the Secretariat at least one Koli clerk was employed, who cannot be distinguished in dress and manners from the members of the ordinary clerical classes.; *The Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island*, Vol. I, p. 231.

Figure 2.4: Koli Women in Bombay

Source: William Johnson, *Photographs of Western India, vol. I: Costumes and Characters, 1855-1862,* Photograph No. 48.

2.2.3 Bhandari

The Bhandaris[93] constituted one of the oldest communities in Bombay island and sub-divided into five classes, *Shinde, Gaud, More, Kirpal* and *Kitte* or *Kitree*, which neither dine together nor inter-marry. Among these five classes, the *Kitte Bhandaris* were superior to the others in matters of accomplishments, dress and manners, and it seems they, originally, came from the Southern Konkan and Goa.[94] The main occupation of poor *Bhandari* (see figure 2.5) was the extraction of liquor from the palm trees, lately, albeit they were facing the rivalry from the native Christians of Dadar and Mahim in this business. The economically prosperous and rich *Bhandaris* were competing

[93] *Bhandaris*, whose name is derived by some from the Sanskrit *Mandharak* (a distiller) and by others from *bhandar* (a treasury).
[94] *The Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island*, Vol. I, pp. 231-232.

with Parsis liquor shop and distillery contractors in Bombay; while other members of the community were serving as seamen on country-vessels or as members of the police force. The trade-rivalry and the enhancement of the palm tree cess since 1877 led many *Bhandaris* in Bombay to become labourers, carpenters, snuff-sellers, printers and decorators. Gradually, *Bhandaris* made progress in education and several members of the community obtained clerical posts under Government and municipal bodies.[95] The *Bhandaris* women (see figure 2.6) were usually busy with household duties, though a few of the poorest were working in factories. As a rule of the community, no *Bhandari* ever accepted domestic service, deeming such work beneath his dignity, nor resort to begging.

Figure 0.1: Bhandari Men

Bhandari Men, Source: William Johnson, *Photographs of Western India, vol. I: Costumes and Characters, 1855-1862,* Photograph No. 50.

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[95] *Ibid.*, p. 233.

Figure 2.6: Bhandari Women

Source: William Johnson, *Photographs of Western India, vol. I: Costumes and Characters, 1855-1862,* Photograph No. 51.

The style of residence varied with the occupation and status of the family of *Bhandaris*. The toddy-trapper lived in thatched or sometimes tiled hut, comprising a sitting room, kitchen and *deoghar* or god's room, with a small thatched but attached room for the storage of utensils and tools used in the extraction of liquor, others lived in *chawls;* while the rich and better educated members rented small houses which they used to furnish in the European style. Except gourds, the palm-tapper's household effects were much the same as those of the ordinary lower-class people; while their food consisted of rice, rice-

cakes and fish-curry. The drinking of liquor was contrary to the rules and customs of the community. The ordinary dress of Bhandari men consisted of a loincloth worn tightly around the waist and a skull cap of cloth;[96] and they, occasionally, wore a red waistcoat, while a heavy broad-bladed tapping-knife hung on the left thigh; the educated members wore *dhoti, Angarkha, uparna* and turban of the Brahman and other advanced communities.[97] *Bhandari* women used to wear the ordinary Maratha saree and wore nose-rings and silver armlets of peculiar pattern; while the male ornaments were a silver or gold bracelet worn on the right arm above the elbow and silver waist belt (*kargota*). Among the lower classes of the population, the *Bhandari* had the reputation of being a dandy, with his *pilldar misha,* pointed moustache, *Kangnidar pagote*, tilted turban, and *angarkha,* a well-fitting coat, and attention to his grooming and personal appearance.[98] The *Bhandari*, in the early twentieth century, became a caste of medium stature, somewhat fair and better looking than the *Kolis* and *Agris*. The *Bhandari*s were industrious, honest, and courageous in adversity, but decidedly unthrifty and prone to arrogance and boastfulness.[99]

The social economy of the upper-class *Panchkalsi* household did not materially differ from the ordinary upper-class Hindu family. The eldest male theoretically commanded the highest respect and obedience, but in practice, the concept of nuclear family system and the struggle for living had to some extent robbed the *patria potestas*[100] of appearance and significance.[101] The poor *Panchkalshis* and *Vadvals* approximate closely in their daily life and religious practices to the other backward Hindu classes. They were addicted to liquor and partook freely of it on the occasion of marriages, but occasionally so

[96] Elderly Bhandaris also wore the Gosavi ear-cap (*kantopi)*

[97] The Brahman turban and *dhotar,* together with the *jama pichodi*, form the recognized attire of a Bhandari bridegroom. In the case of remarriage, the *jama pichodi* is not worn.

[98] The date of their loss of this right is put between 1860 and 1870. To this day unpunctuality in an individual is rebuked with the words "*Bhandaryani apale nishan asench ghalavile*" (In this way the Bhandari lost their distinction.); *The Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island*, Vol. I, pp. 234-235.

[99] The *Bhandari*'s tendency to brag has passed into the following local proverb- "*Bayako deil, pan badai denar nahin."* (He may give up his wife, but never his pride); *The Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island*, Vol. I, Bombay: The Times Press, 1909, p. 236.

[100] *Patria Potestas* means the power of a father and the male head of a family exercised over his children.

[101] *The Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island*, Vol. I, p. 239.

superstitious that they would not touch pipe-water or soda water. Their dwellings were thatched or tiled with walls made of split bamboos plastered with mud and were arranged in a manner similar to the ordinary low-class Hindu dwelling, with a veranda, reception-room, central apartment containing a swing-cot, and one or two rooms on either side. One of these was the *deoghar or* god's room, behind which lay the kitchen.[102] The original dress of the upper-class *Panchkalshis* used to resemble with the Prabhu dress closely, but became almost obsolete in early twentieth century. Trousers, English boots, coats and waistcoats or approximately English cut shirt, and a Brahman turban took the place of old coat with long sleeves, the *dhoti,* the country-shoes and the Prabhu turban. The dress of *Vadvals* was similar to that of the original lower classes of the island, and consisted of a short waistcloth, a *barabandi* or waistcoat, folded double and fitted with twelve fastenings under the arms, six on each side, and for head-dress either the *Koli* cap or a larger red turban. The women wore a cloth which may not reach below the knee and was tucked up and fastened behind like the *Koli* women.[103]

2.2.4 Parsi Community

The members of Parsi community, when they first settled in Gujarat, adopted dress of the Gujarati Hindus, the only difference was that their males and females both wore the *sudra, kusti*[104] and trousers and the women covered their heads with a cloth. The Parsi dress was, in later period, replaced by European attire, particularly in case of old head-dress which yielded place to European hats and helmets.[105] The Parsi dress underwent a great metamorphosis

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[102]*Ibid*., p. 240.
[103] *The Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island*, vol. I, pp. 241-242.
[104] *Sudra* is white colour special shirt of nine seams made of cotton and prepared from one whole piece of cloth. On such a *sudra* round the waist is girded a *kusti.* A *kusti* is made of wool woven of 72 threads with the two ends each divided into three woolly parts marking six in all. 72 threads of kusti show 72 steps of *Ashoi* which a man has to attain at. When a man attains the significance of nine seams of *sudra* and 72 threads and six woolly end threads of *kusti* he is said to have attained and enjoyed six *Gahambars* to his benefit and to the benefit of the rest of the world. Framroze Sobrabji Chiniwala, *A sequel to Essentials of Zoroastrianism (1951),* 2002.
[105] *The Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island*, vol. I, p. 170.

during the second half of nineteenth century; and most upper-class Parsis had adopted the European style of clothing. Mr. K.N. Kabra, a writer, argued;

> In the course of two generations, the headdress of Parsis has undergone various changes. The orthodox turban of old was a heavy bundle, consisting of many yards of cloth wrapped around the head. The weight of the turban was accounted a measure of the dignity and respectability of the weaver.[106]

K.N. Kabra wrote that the burden of the turban on head was too heavy to bear, and a reduction in weight of turban was gradually made until at least the headdress took the form of mere skeletons of turbans, made of cloth mounted on the pasteboard. Subsequently, Parsi merchants who engaged with China introduced a round-faced turban with a facing of a particular kind of silk cloth. Again, the distinguished poet, Mulla Pheroze, put in a round *pheta*, a shawl wrapped round a blood–red cap, and this fashion was readily adopted by the young. Turban of Parsi had undergone quite a transformation in the late nineteenth century, having been greatly reduced in bulk and weight. In early twentieth century, it was made up of the English hat (*i.e.,* the hard black or brown felt hat) with a ring around it in place of the customary brim.[107]

2.2.5 Beni-Israel Community

Up to the beginning of nineteenth century, the people of Beni-Israel[108] community were masons and carpenters, and lacked in education, but after the establishment of Beni-Israel school of Bombay in the Kolaba District and with the spread of education amongst them, which Reverend Dr. J. Wilson largely fostered, many gradually forsook their hereditary occupations in favour of medical, legal, engineering and clerical professions. Many people of this community also worked as carpenters and skilled mechanics, draftsmen, surveyors, school-masters, physicians or hospital-assistants, engineers and pleaders in early twentieth century. Among the women there was an increasing

[106] See for more details about the Parsi community in Bombay, K. N. Kabraji's Reminiscences, *Times of India,* 1902; Heber's *Journey III,* 98, trans. Bombay Literary Society; *Bombay Times,* 25 January 1853, 22 February 1866, and 24 February 1883.
[107] K. N. Kabraji's Reminiscences, *The* Times *of India,* 1902.
[108] Jews community in India, lived in the Bombay Presidency and recognised the name *Shanivar Telis* (Saturday's Oil-pressers) in reference to their chief occupation of oil pressing.

tendency to devote their lives to hospital-nursing and midwifery.[109] The poor families used to live in *chawl* at a rental of Rs. 6 per month; while the middle class paid from Rs. 25 to Rs. 30 per month for the flats which consisted of the hall, two or the three rooms on the upper-floor, kitchen, bedrooms, while the main hall served the purpose both of setting-rooms as well as a sleeping apartment for the head of the family.[110] The furniture of the poor family differed little from that of poor Hindu families, except that the wooden articles, being often home-made, were far more substantial, and that on the walls there always hung pictures of the *Kothal Maarabi,* the western Wall of Jerusalem or of the Candelabra symbolising the 67th Psalm, and a clock. The rich members of community furnished their homes on western lines, and kept large numbers of crockery and copper cooking pots, in accordance with the Rabbinical ordinance which forbade food composed of butter and milk to be prepared in the same vessel in which meat was cooked. Among the educated members, the use of English stoves was gradually replacing the old oblong brick stove manufactured by Beni-Israel women. The regular food of a Beni-Israel family cost about Rs. 30 to Rs. 100 per month according to their pecuniary position. The middle-class family had to contend itself with one half-time servant, shared with one or two other families but the rich usually employed one male and one female servant, of whom the latter, who acts as cook, belongs to the same community as her employers.[111]

The ordinary dress of a Beni-Israel consisted of a turban, long coat of Hindu pattern, trousers or *dhoti,* a waist cloth, and locally prepared shoes. The turban was gradually replaced by the Turkish or Persian cap and later by the English hat or cap, which was generally worn in the early twentieth century. The long coat was replaced by the short European coat and collar, and locally prepared shoes was replaced by the shoes of English pattern. Similarly, the women, who formerly wore the Brahman and Prabhu saree and *choli*, in early

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[109] *The Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island*, Vol. I, 1909, p. 249.

[110] A Beni-Israel house can always be distinguished by the *Mesonsa* attached to the door-post, which consists of a wooden or glass tube containing a piece of vellum on which are inscribed passages from the Scriptures (Deuteronomy VI, 4-9 and XI, 13-20) and bearing outside a Hebrew word meaning "Almighty." The *Mesonsa* is kissed when entering or leaving the house.;

[111] *The Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island*, Vol. I, pp. 250-251

twentieth century started to dress in Parsi fashion, with the only difference that they did not wear the Parsi dress *sadra* and that they passed the end of saree over their head from left to right instead of from right to left. A certain number of educated Beni-Israel women have adopted European dress, but its costliness debars the majority from wearing it. The Beni-Israel community used to purchase new clothes prior to two festivals seasons, i.e., celebration of the Passover[112] and New Year and the Tabernacle holidays while following the religious rules. [113]

In early and mid-nineteenth century the Beni-Israel rigidly observed the joint-family system under which parents, sons, wives, children and grand-children all lived together under one roof and subsisted jointly on the earning of each member of family; and a son who severed his connection with the family incurred the displeasure of all of the other members and was regarded as a deserter. The system of joint family was modified to last for the space of one generation only, and on the death of parents, it became customary for sons to divide the joint property among themselves and formed the nucleus of other joint families. Even this custom died out in consequence partly of high rental obtaining in the city, which forbade the occupation of sufficiently commodious premises, and partly of the emancipation of the women, who were regarded as more or less negligible under the old system. The disappearance of the custom of child marriage and the spread of women's education had raised the Beni-Israel wife to a position from which she can direct her husband's affairs and can insist upon his severing his connection with relatives who did not add materially to the family exchequer.[114]

2.2.6 Konkani Muslims

The dress of the *Konkani* Muslims[115] had undergone considerable changes in the second half of the nineteenth century. While describing this

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[112] Passover, *Pesach* in Hebrew, is one of the Jewish religion's most sacred and widely observed holidays. Passover commemorates the story of the Israelites' departure from the ancient Egypt.
[113] *The Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island*, Vol. I, p. 252.
[114] *Ibid*.
[115] The *Konkani* Muslim of Bombay are mixed race of Sunni Muslims belonging to the Shafai Sect, the predominating element in their ancestry being Arab.

change, *The Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island* recorded that they used to wear long-cloth, as material for garments, had superseded the former silk and cotton fabrics while the *shaya,* a long coat worn with upper button unfastened. They also used to wear *jaba,* an overcoat without fastening worn over the *Shaya*, which were formerly worn by *Konkanis* after they returned from the Haj pilgrimage and had ousted the ancient Hindu *angarakha* and *Jama,* which was worn by the bulk of the community formerly. Similarly, the *Khoja* community people's skull-cap of embroidered silk or cotton had yielded place, for house wear, to the white cotton or velvet cap. They also wore the ancient *mullagiri* and *sipahigiri pagadis* to the Benares gold turban.[116] Broad toed shoes of red leather or shoes of English pattern were worn instead of the old red shoes tapering to a point in front or the cream-coloured foot-gear worn during the monsoon months.[117] Konkan Muslim women wore Hindu bodice (*choli*) and silk and cotton *sari*, and enveloped themselves in a long white sheet whenever they went outside the house. Their ornaments and bangles resembled those worn by Hindu women, though a few had commenced to discard the old-fashioned ornaments of gold solid in favour of jewelled trinkets of more western type, while among the men, the influence of western customs appeared in the rings, watches and silver headed stick carried by the younger generation.[118]

Konkani Muslim house possessed only one upper storey, the front portion of which, known as *ravish*, opened to the street. The ground floor included a veranda for the reception of guests, sleeping apartments, a passage in which swings (*hindlas*) were erected, and kitchen looking out upon *wada,* a back-yard. The door in the backyard (*wada)* was opened to the backyard of other houses. Women of the house could easily pass from house to house while using this door and without violating the *parda*. Besides, the upper storey contained a

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[116] The *mullagiri,* made of gazed cotton, cloth, was worn by the leaders of the community. A specimen of it is afforded by the statue of Sir Jamestji Jeejeebhoy at the Junction of Bellasis, Duncan and Ripon roads. The *sipahgiri pagadi* was worn by soldiers, peons and the middle-classes and was probably in the first instance a military turban.; *The Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island*, Vol. I, pp. 256-257.

[117] In old days a yellow leather shoes remaining into a sharp point at the toe, was an indispensable feature of a bridegroom. *The Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island*, Vol. I, p. 257.

[118] *Ibid.*, p. 257.

divankhana (reception-room) and sitting rooms. The size of the house varied according to the position and means of the family, which often could not afford to rent more than a small flat. European furniture of all kinds was seen in the houses of rich and to some extent in those of the poorer families, the only apartments usually furnished wholly in the oriental style being those of the women. Many Konkani Muslim possessed good collections of old China materials.[119] The older members of this community usually shaved the head, moustaches was being clipped short, while the younger generation had adopted the European fashion of dressing the hair, parting it sometimes in the middle, sometimes at the side. *Konkani* Muslim ladies did not cut their hair and any suggestion of this nature was considered an insult.[120]

2.2.7 Peasants and Other Communities

The peasant community were composed chiefly of Maratha *Kunbis*, a caste of cultivators, and were known in Bombay city under the general appellation of *Ghatis* or men from above the western *Ghats*, hills (see figure 2.7). They were natives of the Deccan where many of them owned agriculture lands, but had left their ancestral homes in search of better employment and highly-paid work which the city offered to them. The rise and growth of industry and progress in trade and commerce demanded ever fresh labour, which was supplied by a full tide of *Ghati* immigration. They had frugal habits, simple tastes and fewest possible wants in Bombay and Poona. Maratha migrants in urban areas were satisfied with a small area for accommodation and perfectly contented with two meals a day and a sufficiency of Manchester cotton fabrics to wear.[121] These migrant's full wardrobe was a *pagadi,* a turban, two *bandis,* a waistcoat, and two *dhoti*, to which he added a rude grey woollen blanket which served both as a bed and a covering.[122] Maratha labourer subsisted on *bajri roti*

[119] *Ibid.*, pp. 258-259.
[120] The statement that a women's hair is shaved or cut is tantamount to a curse against the life of her husband or describing her as slave-girl, the word *choti-kat* (tress-shorn) being synonymous with slave girl. *Konkani* Muslim women usually have very fine heads of hair, which they attribute to the use of coconut milk and oil as hair-douche. *The Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island*, Vol. I, p. 259.
[121] *The Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island*, Vol. I, p. 224.
[122] *Ibid*.

with some condiment or *chutney* of which chilies were chief constituent. Rice and fish were rare dishes and mutton was rarer to them. He owned no furniture except possibly a small wooden trunk and all he required in the way of accommodation was narrow space to sleep at night. An unmarried *Ghati* labourer used to live with a family who cooked his meals and charged him from Rs. 2 to Rs. 4 per month for boarding, lodging, water and *halalkhor*[123] service. If *Ghati* labourer's wife was staying with him in the city, she helped him by earning a daily wage or by performing domestic work for the middle-class family, and even the children were employed to add a little grist to the *Ghati* mill.[124]

The Deccan Riots Commission reported in 1875 that the districts of Bombay Deccan exported little, except its surplus labour. In the period of eight months from October to June every year, a large number of *kunbi*, a peasant or a cultivating class, went to Bombay and others cities, where they earned a living as labourers, grass-cutter, palanquin- bearers, carriers. It is very difficult to make a correct estimate of the people who annually migrated to Bombay in search of work. This practice of annual migration in search of work in city made them independent and self-reliant. In the period of famine, drought and scarcity, the people migrated to all parts of Bombay Presidency for search of work and subsistence for livelihood.[125]

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[123] Sweeper who removed waste and excreta from houses and street.

[124] The Ratnagiri Marathas worked in mills and as domestic servants to the Hindu population of Bombay. In mills they earned Rs. 20 to Rs. 30 per month, their wives and children Rs. 8 to Rs. 8 to Rs. 10 and Rs. 5 to Rs. 6 respectively. Domestic servants earned Rs. 3 to Rs. 6 with food and perhaps lodging also free. For further account of the Ratnagiri Marathas, see occupation section of this chapter. For further details, see *The Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency,* Vol. X, p. 121.

[125] The Deccan Riot Commission, *Copy of the Report of the Commission Appointed in India to Inquire into the Cause of the Riots which took place in the Year 1875 in the Poona and Ahmednagar Districts of the Bombay Presidency,* Her Majesty's Stationary Office, London, 1878, p. 22. MSA, Mumbai.

Figure 2.7: Marathas of the Deccan

Source: William Johnson, *Photographs of Western India, Vol. I: Costumes and Characters, 1855-1862,* Photograph No. 28.

The depressed and backward classes worked chiefly as labourers and scavengers, and a certain number were employed as domestic servants by the European population.[126] The *Banias* or traders' number about 43,000, their chief sub-divisions, with a population of more than 2000, being the L*ohana* (10,000), the *Vaisya* (6,000), the *Bhattia* (5,000), the *Kapol* (2500). The Banias

[126] *The Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island*, Vol. I, p. 226.

controlled the trade and commerce of India with countries bordering the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean, and in late nineteenth century, most of them were employed in trading, shop-keeping and broking in Bombay city.[127] The Brahmans, whose number was more than 30,000, comprised *Gaud Sarasvats* or *Shenvis* (5,00), *Konkansthas* or *Chitpavans* (4,000), *Audichyas* (3,000), and *Deshasthas* (2,000)[128] They were employed in Government, Municipal, Railway and mercantile service and also largely in legal and medical professions.[129]

The lower and backward castes everywhere in the Presidency furnished a certain number below the standard. Many of the *Kunbi* and kindred castes like, *Dhanagar*, in the Deccan were little better off than the depressed classes. The special weakness of both of the backward castes and *Kunbis* in these tracts was their poor soil, liability to famine and debt. Census details available showed that in Poona, Satara and Sholapur districts, during the census of 1881, the greatest decrease in population was found to have occurred among *Kunbis* (11 per cent) and next among the backward and lower castes (8 per cent).[130] While describing about the expenditure of this community the *Provincial Reports on the Material Condition of the People 1881-1891* argues;

> The whole charge of living will amount to Rs. 32 or say, Rs. 30 to Rs. 35 per adult man. Taking the average family as equivalent to a man, wife and two children, one an infant, the man consumes about two-fifths of the whole. Such family, therefore, will require Rs. 75 to Rs. 85 to support it. This, it will be observed, is exclusive of stimulants or narcotics. But even including a substantial charge for liquor, there are few places where a family of the working class could not be decently supported on Rs. 7 to Rs. 8 per month.[131]

The total income of a labourer in the mill, including the earning of his wife and children, was about Rs. 30 a month; and yet as compared with a clerk on Rs. 15, a mill hand was in a chronic condition of poverty.[132] The mill-

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[127] *Ibid.*, p. 226.
[128] A full account of these several divisions is given by sir James Camp bell in the Bombay Gazetteer.
[129] *The Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island*, Vol. I, p. 227.
[130] *Provincial Reports on the Material Condition of the People 1881-1891,* p. 9.
[131] *Ibid.,* pp. 8-9.
[132] *The Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island*, Vol. I, p. 210.

labourers, in this chronic condition of poverty, could afford furniture, like rough deal wood boxes with padlocks and iron-plate trunks; about half a dozen was all, littering the sides of the rooms. They placed a few bamboo sticks horizontally by cords at each end near the ceiling and in the veranda serve for hanging clothes, bedding and bundles of knick-knacks cabinets. The bedding was a mere blanket (*ghongadi*). The handy bamboo was further used for drying wet clothes. A worn-out mat of date leaves was spread on the floor to accommodate the visitors and friends. Sometimes they spread blanket on the floor as a special mark of respect to the visitor. The richer mill-hand also owned a bench and chair in dilapidated condition. These were exhibited on the veranda. [133] Cheap chromo-lithographs, representing scenes from Hindu mythology, decorated the walls. Food was cooked in brass-pots, which were seldom if ever tinned, and was eaten from brass plates. The *Karanda*[134] was an indispensable adjunct of the mill labourers' life as they carried food in it and the lid of the *Karanda* served the purpose of a drinking cup. Each family also owned a few *lotas.* a drinking container of glass or brass, and a few brass cups, and one or two low stools (*pats*) consisted of a piece of planking with a batten at either end on which they sat while taking their meals at home. Earthen pots were used for storing grain, spices and salt fish, while water stored in large copper basins (*handa* and *ghagar*). A curry-stone and a grain mill were also items of household furniture. Tin lamps of Kerosene oil were generally used for lighting purposes.[135]

The condition of the labourer class did not improve during this time despite a hike in wages due to the rise of prices, and many of them were in debt to their landlords and boarding-house keepers. A certain number of *Konkanis*, known as *Bankotis*[136], were employed as menials in Hindu households and were somewhat highly paid, their wages raised by fifty per cent and more during the last thirty years of the nineteenth century.[137] Despite this fact, they evince a

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[133] *Ibid.*, p. 211.
[134] A small round brass basin fitted with a lid
[135] *The Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island*, Vol. I, p. 212.
[136] Among Parsis the word Bankoti has become a synonym for an idler or worthless person
[137] *The Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island*, Vol. I, pp. 213-214.

tendency to relinquish domestic service in favour of employment in mills and factories[138]

2.3 Conclusion

This chapter argued that the consumption of foods, cloths, and household articles and furnishing in colonial Maharashtra in the end of nineteenth century had been largely influenced by the religious idea, castes and communities' rules, and customs. Every community had a vivid and vibrant lifestyle which was different from other communities. This difference in lifestyle was reflected in their choice of foods patterns; in the clothes they wore; in furnishing and managing the household. The late nineteenth century and early twentieth century was a transformative period in the consumption patterns of cloths, food and household articles and furnishing. In this transformative period, many commodities and goods then in common use was unknown to a generation before. This period also witnessed a constant struggle between tradition and modernity. The entry of new commodities and goods in home were representing new notions of taste among the educated middle class. The growth of population and massive expansion of urbanisation in Bombay and Poona, modern education, rise of middle class, transformative nature of colonial rule, colonial economy and modernity played a crucial role in transformation of vivid and vibrant lifestyles of people and created new consumption patterns which was based on the new value and cultural system which emerged in Post-World War I period. The next chapter discusses how emergence of new consumptions played crucial role in the transformation of society, culture and economy of colonial Maharashtra during 1919 to 1939.

[138] *Ibid.*, p. 214.

Chapter 3

New Consumption Patterns in Colonial Maharashtra (1919-1939)

The interwar period between 1919 and 1939 witnessed a variety of changes that promoted new patterns of consumption in colonial Maharashtra, especially in the emerging modern urban centres like Bombay and Poona. Several factors, like the emergence of new working system which demanded new literary skills, the rise of a new economic system, the development of technology and communication in urban areas enabled people to enter in the colonial public sphere and helped in the promotion of new consumption patterns. These changes were much more visible in Bombay and Poona due to the major expansion of public life, like establishment of markets, educational institutions, offices, places of amusement and entertainment, and expansion of the network of public transportation and communication.[1] The rise and growth of the *Swadeshi* Movement and Indian nationalism, influence of socio-religious reform, and growth of print culture and rise of literary class and the emergence of public sphere shaped a new interactive culture in colonial Maharashtra. This development of communication and emergence of incipient interactive culture created a substructure and provided materialistic infrastructure for the emergence of the culture of new consumption patterns in Bombay and Poona in the first half of the twentieth century.

This chapter explores how the emergence of new consumption patterns and practices played a crucial role in the socio-cultural transformation of colonial Maharashtra in the period between the 1920s to 1930s. To discuss the consumption patterns and socio-cultural changes, the present chapter has chosen four themes: the first theme explores the standard of living of the middle class and working class in the 1920s and also discusses how middle class, working class, and lower classes

[1] Kaushik Bhaumik, "At Home in the World", pp. 136-154.

spent their income on the consumption of foods, clothes, and household article and furnishing. The second explains how the shifts in the attitude of people, with the emergence of the public sphere and Indian nationalism, brought changes in consumption of clothing and how these shifts in attitude created a culture of consumption. The third theme discusses how the expansion in range of goods, services, communication and mass entertainments enabled the rise of culture of processed food and restaurant culture and how these incipient cultures brought changes in consumption of foods patterns. The last theme discusses how the emergence of hyper-interactive culture and the incipient culture of consumption enabled to rise each other in the period between the two World War and how both cultures created the institution of hygiene, appearance, and transformed domestic space in colonial Maharashtra.

3.1 The Standard of Living

The most interesting and perhaps most difficult portion of this study is to trace the monthly income of middle class and working-class family in Bombay and their monthly expenditure on consumption of necessaries, decencies, and luxuries, or in other words, the standard of living or the standard of comfort of the people. In its broadest sense, the standard of living or standard of comfort was distributable wealth (the aggregate earnings) of the population divided by the total population. It is, however, something more than a statistical result as it raises many questions relating to the spending of income. It deals with the distribution of the family income on necessaries of daily lives, such as the requisite supply of foods, clothes and household articles and furnishings. There were luxuries such as expenditures on amusements and festivals. In examining the family budget of these classes, it is unnecessary, perhaps, to mention that the caution that the standard of living matters vary from time to time, from income class to income class, from family to family,

indeed from region to region.[2] The difference of customs and caste as well as of climate made things necessary or redundant in the case of the middle classes and working classes of Bombay.[3]

3.1.1 Income and Expenditure of Working and Lower Classes

In the 1921 census, the industrial worker's population in Bombay city numbered 249,479 males and 54,298 females, and with the inclusion of wage-earner engaged in transport services (74,909) and domestic services (43,755), the total number of workers population was 422,441 out of a total population of 1,175, 914.[4] The working classes were divided into three categories based on their monthly income: in the first category of below Rs. 40 per month income group had 13.7 per cent, in the second category of Rs. 40 to Rs. 70 had 75.1 per cent; in the third category of Rs. 60 and above had 11.6 per cent of working-class family.[5] The average earning of the family per month was Rs. 55.4[6] and most of the working-class family's income fall in the category between Rs. 40 and below 60 per month. Three-fourth of family budgets fall within Rs. 40 and below Rs. 70 per month. In the same period, the annual per capita income (men, women and children of Bombay working class family) was Rs. 149.6.[7] According to the 1921 census the standard per capita income in the Presidency for urban areas, excluding the large cities, was Rs. 100 and for the rural area about Rs.75.[8]

A family of working and lower classes used to spend its total monthly expenditure's 55.8 per cent on the food, 9.6 per cent on clothing, 7.7 per cent on house rent, 7.4 per cent on fuel and lighting, and 18.5 on miscellaneous things.[9] On

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[2] *Report on an Inquiry into Working Class Budgets in Bombay, 1923,* pp. 12-13. MSA, Mumbai
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 13.
[4] *The Census of India, 1921, Vol. IX, Cities of the Bombay Presidency, Part. I, Report,* 1922, p. 3. MSA Mumbai
[5] *Report on an Inquiry into Working Class Budgets in Bombay,* p. 5-6.
[6] *Ibid.*, p 10.
[7] *Ibid.,* 1923, p. 11.
[8] *The Census of India, 1921, Vol. IX, Cities of the Bombay Presidency, Part. I, Report,* 1922, p. 57.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 4

the first four categories of commodities such as food, clothing, house rent, fuel and lighting, amounted to 81.5 percentage, and miscellaneous expenditure was 18.5 percentage. The above percentage of expenditure shows that more than half of the expenditure of a family was spend on food articles. The higher income group of working classes spent a more significant proportion of their income on the food due to a large number of people in the families. The *Ghati* labourers from Western Ghats consumed more *jowari* and *bajri* than rice, while Konkani immigrant was chiefly a consumed rice and sweetmeats than his fellow members. The working-class members of Muslim community used to consume mutton and beef. Their expenditure on meat and other non-vegetarian food was 5.5 per cent of the total monthly income.[10] The large section of the working class's diet was mostly vegetarian food. Besides, the expenditure on clothing was particularly low in the lowest income group of workers and it appears that the expenditure on clothing increased in the higher income group of workers. It was the monthly portion of the annual expenditure on clothing, which accounted for the significant part of the deficit in the family budget of the lower income group. In the category of miscellaneous expenditure includes the cost of kitchen utensil, hair-cutting, washerman's charges, medicine, education, daily travelling expenses for work, tobacco, liquor, *pan supari* (betel-nut), amusements, and interest on debts.[11] The cost of utensil was roughly estimated in the inquiry report due to non-availability of information and the cost of these articles shown in the report was not in sufficient detail in the survey of family income and expenditure of working classes.[12] The expenditure of working class on education was inadequately low and nil in the lowest income group of workers, and negligible in other classes, except in the highest earning working classes. In Bombay city, the percentage of illiteracy[13] of

[10] *Ibid.,* p. 17.
[11] *Ibid.*, p. 28.
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 29.
[13] Here literacy means the ability to read and write a letter in any language.

all ages was 76 as compared with 68 in Surat, 74 in Poona, 76 in Ahmedabad, 80 in Karachi and 87 in Solapur.[14]

3.1.2 Income and Expenditure of Middle classes

The *Report on an Inquiry into Working Class Family Budgets in Bombay City* published by the Labour Office of Bombay Government in the year 1923. While the report was under preparation, it was decided to supplement this enquiry dealing with social and economic conditions of the middle classes in Bombay city. Accordingly, the inquiry was started in July 1922 and completed in August 1924. While examining the middle-class families in Bombay, the Labour Office enquiry restricted a person having fixed and guaranteed income per month.[15] The enquiry was, therefore, confined to families with an income of not less than Rs. 50 and not more than Rs. 225 per month.[16] The middle class was divided into three categories based on their monthly income: the first category was between Rs. 75 to Rs. 125 per month income and it was 39.6 per cent of total middle classes in Bombay. The second category was between Rs. 125 and Rs. 175 per month income and it was 38.3 per cent of total middle-class population in Bombay, and in the third category was between Rs. 175 to Rs. 225 per month income group and it was 22.1 per cent of Bombay's middle class population.[17] This division of middle classes shows that most of the middle class (77.9 per cent) fall within the income category of Rs. 75 and below Rs. 125 and Rs. 125 to Rs. 175.[18] The average family of a middle class in Bombay consisted of 5.09 persons per family, average 4.58 persons lived with a

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[14] *Report on an Inquiry into Working Class Budgets in Bombay,* p. 29.
[15] *Report on an Inquiry into Middle-Class Family Budgets in Bombay City*, p. 1.
[16] In the middle class's category, several occupation groups have fixed, and guaranteed income included such superior officers and technical staff, ordinary clerical, ordinary mechanical and technical, teaching and professional. These were the superintendent of schools, officers, manager, head clerk, doctor, teacher, ticket collector, salesman, watchmaker, advertiser, theatre manager, telegraph operator, secretary, postmaster, police and ship inspector, storekeeper, etc.; Report on an Inquiry into Middle Class Family Budgets in Bombay City, p. 22.
[17] *Report on an Inquiry into Middle-Class Family Budgets in Bombay City,* p. 1
[18] *Ibid.*, p. 2.

family and 0.51 persons lived away from the family. Middle class's monthly expenditure on various commodities and articles were divided into the following group: Middle classes spent their monthly income's 43.4 per cent on the food, 5.5 per cent on the fuel and lighting, 10.4 per cent the clothing, 2.5 per cent on household articles and furnishings, 14.8 per cent on the house rent and 23.4 per cent on the miscellaneous things.[19] The expenditure on miscellaneous category contained articles such as watches, trinkets, toys and other commodities such as soaps, toilets requisite, bangles, flowers, combs and brushes, tobacco, cigarettes, spirits and wine, education, club subscriptions, newspapers, stamps and stationery, gifts, charity, provident fund, insurance, etc.[20] The principal items of food on which the middle classes incurred expenditure were cereals, milk, ghee and butter and vegetables. The expenditure on sugar and refreshments was also considerable. Unlike the food, fuel and lighting and rent, expenditure on clothing[21] was not incurred every month. According to the author of this report "there is, therefore, considerable difficulty in ascertaining the monthly expenditure on this item. In the absence of a better method, it was decided to gauge the monthly expenditure on clothing by dividing the total expenditure on each article of clothing by its estimated duration."[22] The average monthly expenditure of families on clothing comes to Rs. 14.6 or 14.4 per cent of the total expenditure.[23]

It is interesting to compare the monthly expenditure of middle classes and working classes on the consumption of food, clothing, household articles and other

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[19] *Ibid.*, p. 4
[20] *Ibid.* p. 20.
[21] For men- *Dhotis*, *pagris*, *fetas*, *turban*, *bandis*, *pahirans*, *Sudresh*, Shirts, Coats, suits, pants, waistcoats, collars and ties, handkerchiefs, socks, sash or belt, *pyjamas*, raincoats, Umbrellas; For women: Saree, *cholis* or blouses or jackets, hats, *mahatanas*, *chanias*, *patals* or *gavans* petticoats, bodice, skirts, *odhinis* or shawls, stockings, belts, others; For children for 14 years: *Dhotis*, saree, *kurtis,* half shirt, frocks, *kunchis*, bay caps, coats, pants, suits, *parkars*, socks, *patals*; Footwear: Boots, shoes or sandals, boot polish, boot lace
[22] *Report on an Inquiry into Middle Class Family Budgets in Bombay City,* pp. 7-9.
[23] *Ibid.*

commodities and articles. The percentage of distribution expenditure of family budgets of middle classes and working classes in Bombay shows in following table-

Table 3.1: Percentage of Per Month Expenditure among the Middle and Working Classes

Commodities	Percentage of Expenditure of Middle Class Family (1922-24)	Percentage of Expenditure of Working Class Family (1921-22)
Food	43.4 %	54.8 %
Fuel and lighting	5.4 %	7.1 %
Clothing	10.4 %	8.2 %
Household articles	2.5 %	2.2 %
House rent	14.8 %	7.5 %
Miscellaneous	23.4 %	20.2 %
	100 %	100 %

Source: *Report on an Inquiry into Middle Class Family Budgets in Bombay City,* p. 5; *Report on an Inquiry into Working Class Budgets in Bombay*, p. 4

The above table shows the monthly expenditure of working class on the food articles was a considerably higher than the middle class's expenditure on the food. This, however, is only to be expected, for the greater the earning of a group of workers the smaller will be the percentage of those earnings spent on food. On the other hand, the middle classes were spending more of their earning on house rents in Bombay. It also shows that the working classes spent 7.5 per cent expenditure on house rent, and middle class used to spend its budget's 14.8 per cent and those earning less than Rs. 125 per month spend as much as 16.4 per cent on the house rent. The report on middle class shows that as income of middle classes increased, the percentage of expenditure on food, fuel and lighting and rent was decreased.[24] These inquiry report on the working classes and the middle classes shows that the standard of living was a very low in the working class who earned under Rs. 40 per month. The expenditure on education was little or nothing among

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 7.

the working classes, but middle classes used to spend significant amount of monthly income on education under the category of miscellaneous expenditure.[25] The reports recorded that the customs of Indian lifestyle were changing more rapidly than was formally the case. In the 1920s, spending wisely may be regarded as the crux of the whole problem of the middle class in the period of economic flux and increasing prices of the commodity after the first World War.[26]

3.2 Shifts in Attitudes and Sartorial Changes

Shifts in attitudes among and about women were a critical part of study of consumption patterns and socio-cultural transformation in colonial Maharashtra. Abigail McGowan argued that changes in the family system, at the beginning of the late nineteenth century, allotted women new management roles over household budgets, presumably with greater control over household expenditure.[27] This led to a change in women's perception and paved the path for women's entry into the public sphere in western Indian cities. Especially after 1920, theatre, cinema, education and shopping also brought women outside of their home while permitting them to access the public sphere, at least in Bombay and Poona, and providing a new model of imitation to others. Until 1920, upper and middle class women had often not come directly to shops and to make purchases; instead, men and perhaps senior women in joint families chose purchases for the younger housewives, or the family purchased clothes by mail order or from itinerant merchants who brought goods to the home.[28] By the 1920s and 1930s, however, women were visiting shops themselves in increasing numbers.[29] These changes in consumption practices seemingly appeared from the notion that enabled people to identify themselves as modern, which itself was influenced by a range of changes, from social reform

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[25] *Report on an Inquiry into Working Class Budgets in Bombay*, p. 13.
[26]*Ibid.,* pp. 13-14.
[27] Abigail McGowan, "An All Consuming Subjects", pp. 31-54.
[28] *Ibid.*
[29] Parvati Athavale, *My Story: The Autobiography of a Hindu Widow,* trans., Rev. Justin E. Abbott The Knickerbockers Press, New York, 1930, p. 136.

movements to the new education system and changes in the occupational structure of colonial cities.[30] The 1931 census reported that the employment of editors and authors in the newspaper houses had increased. Besides, the newly established cinema industry also contributed to the growth of the city's population.[31] This cultural development also led to the opening of art school and art galleries and proliferation in art exhibitions in the city. Besides, "the political discourse in songs, plays, and the speeches never failed to emphasize that the future of the country lay in the action of young."[32] The intellectual and progressive excitement grew up in the last quarter of the nineteenth century in many parts of India, especially in urban educational centres. Bombay and Poona, two of such Indian intellectual hubs, advocated the new ideas with the help of a small number of enthusiastic modern educated young people's group. Their reaction to the western influence took the form and assumed important personal dimensions for the individuals affected by the movement.[33]

Many of the social changes which took place in early twentieth century Maharashtra, for instance, the disappearance of the purdah-system in the Pathare Prabhu community was revolutionary. Mr. Edwardes states that only old Prabhu ladies were using the purdah-system and went out in the covered carriage to 'conceal the occupants'.[34]

The partial disappearance of the joint family system due to the introduction of Western ideas and modern education,[35] but more to the fact that the spacious houses of the 1860s and 1870s replaced flats and chawls, and the keen competition reduced means of livelihood. The old houses disappeared with old customs. The

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[30] Douglas Haynes, "Creating the Consumer?", pp. 185-223.
[31] *Census of India,* Vol. IX, 1931, p. 51
[32] Kaushik Bhaumik, "At Home in the World," p. 141.
[33] D. D. Karve, ed. and trans., *The New Brahmans: Five Maharashtrian Families*, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1963, pp. 11-12.
[34] *The Times of India,* 10 November 1910, p. 6
[35] *Subodh Patrika,* 13 October 1901, p. 3.

practice of keeping two or three cows in the compounds of the houses by many Parbhus and most of the Palsikar Brahmins for milk and religious rites was disappeared from Bombay and Poona in the early twentieth century.[36] European lamps, furniture, knick-knacks cabinets, European dishes, along with food items like potato pies, omelettes and cutlets, previously only consumed by the upper class, were added to the Prabhu's kitchen and menu. The culture of hookah smoking made way for the more convenient cigar and cigarette.[37]Amongst other and less well-known changes happened due to the new consumption pattern, and its impact on the traditional culture recorded by Mr Edwardes is the following:

> People who have lost a child when young prefer to give to those born later such names as Dhondu (stone), Bhikhu (beggar), Keru (sweepings) and Ukirda (dunghill), in the belief that these ugly names will avert the evil eye from their offspring. This practice, however, is somewhat on decline; and Hindu mothers, who are gradually becoming better educated, prefer the names of the heroes, heroines of Mahabharata, Ramayana, and the Sanskrit dramas of Kalidas and Bhavabhuti.[38]

The immense growth in the print media and print culture with modern education, increasing the luxury of buying books and reading literature among men and women had changed the traditional methods of naming a person; also changed the aesthetic sense of the people in western India that led to rise of new culture which believed in modern lifestyles.

The fashion in clothes and dressing also started to change, though not significantly, during this period. One of the reasons for this transformation, according to E.H. Aitken, was the changes in the economy. He writes,

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[36] *The Times of India*, 10 November 1910, p. 6.
[37] *Ibid.*, p. 6.
[38] When women had lost a number of children by death, she might give her living children uncomplimentary names in the belief that the god of death can be persuaded to avoid such children. Thus, well-known social reformer Dhondo Keshav Karve's name was Dhondo means 'stone', and his brother name was 'Bhiku' means 'Beggar', D. D. Karve, ed. and trans., *The New Brahmans: Five Maharashtrian Families*, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1963; *The Times of India,* 10 November 1910, p. 6

> A poor man puts on what he can afford to buy, it may be the cast of raiment of an alien, and wears it until it drops off him. There is an incredible trade in old clothes from Europe and the workmen engaged in the mills and workshops dress almost universally in shirt, trousers and coat, of which the two last, if not all three have unmistakably come from Moses and Co. So, to Maharashtra, *dhotis,* the large scarves which are mentioned by early travellers as the most distinctive articles in the dress of every man of position, were going out of fashion, and the handloom weaver's work was supplanted by cheaper imported silks fabrics. But these changes not always of aesthetic advantage, a railway porter has been seen going about in one sock, having lost other.[39]

In Bombay, in the 1920s, dress had changed more for capricious reasons. The Parsi community imitated European attire, especially the European head-dress, and members of Beni-Israel community preferred a short European coat, English shoes and hat to the long coat, Indian shoes and Turkish or Persian cap which their ancestor of a hundred years ago generally wore. A certain number of Beni-Israel women also adopted European dress. Amongst Hindus, the Prabhus, in particular, had been much influenced by European custom in regards to personal appearance. Their women folk were conservative, but the men's dress undergone significant changes. The *dhoti* supplanted by trousers in the case of government employees, professional men and persons in high posts, and with both male and female, the shoes of English pattern were in vogue 1920s. The Prabhu turban, like other distinctive kinds of headdress, reduced in its size and weight. This almost universal lightening of the hat was indeed one of the most noticeable outward signs of changing fashion. An unknown reporter named Eha writes in *the Time of India* that "the young Hindus are abandoning all other headgear in favour of a black velvet cap which is useful for no purpose whatsoever."[40] This shorts list of changed and changing habits and customs refers only to external and visible things. But in these external changes, often finds a minor sign of a reflection in which a far more profound, more significant changes had occurred in Indian thought and the Indian

[39] *The Times of India*, 10 November 1910, p. 6
[40] *Ibid.*

psyche, which gives us a glimpse of changing peoples' attitude as a result of the cultural encounter with the west.

During the early twentieth century, clothing became a complex site of discourse in India. On the one hand, the influence of western dress was evident in male and female dresses; on the other hand, traditional clothing became a symbol of the national movement. *Khadi*, *khadar* and *dhoti* became a symbol of anti-colonial resistance, but the majority of the men became used to with the convenient style of wearing trousers, while saree was retained as the image of Indianness. The changes of dress appealed the upper castes and classes rather than to those who had to do the actual manual work and who could not afford the new products. Also, throughout the nineteenth century, upper-class women seldom took part in job and professions in public. Only in the twentieth century, particularly after the first World War, they had started working, mostly as teachers, nurses, editors, and office assistants and saree was their only form of attire. They had never worked in jobs with heavy manual labour and had never competed with their male counterparts in terms of revolutionising their dress. The saree, therefore, became a metaphor of a gendered national identity, which women themselves had sometimes pushed at the boundaries and transgressed into the male preserve of wearing trousers, through various avenues like participating in *Swadeshi* or the Indian nationalist movement in colonial India.

The saree was a cultural artefact, and specific styles of wearing a saree illustrated the socially constructed nature of gender and their cultural differences. Hegemonic or dominant masculinity provided a dress code to normal and acceptable behaviours that confirm to cultural perceptions of womanhood. The innovation of new saree in the late nineteenth century became a signifier and symbol for the colonial construction of a modest and educated female body, as it was the visible part to assert identity where the physical self ends and dress begins. The newly emerged styles of wearing saree; the educated women had worn a saree modestly and respectably. Thus, she became a new woman, subject to new patriarchal norms.

Transformation in patterns of women’s clothing was associated with changes in cultural tastes, notions of beauty, aesthetics of the body, and clothing, sexuality, and decency. The hegemony of the dominating ideology was the deciding factor in this regard. In the sartorial creativity and inventiveness of the nineteenth century Maharashtra, for example, discarded the medieval tradition of wearing *lugad or patal,* a nine-yard saree, though some initial uses found in pictures and photographs of the first half of the twentieth century Maharashtra. In the women's sartorial changes, the western influence was adjusted with the Hindu tradition. In fact, by the end of the nineteenth century, the modern educated and enlightened women of Colonial Maharashtra were making their presence felt in the Maharashtrian cultural field. The minds of imprisoned women in houses were opened to a new world with well-mannered norms and domestic virtues.

3.3 Expansion in Range of Goods and Services

The period after the First World War was marked by an increase in the range of goods, services, and mass entertainments available to urban dwellers. Equally, the deepening of market relation also led to a proliferation of choices that lay before consumers. However, such choices amongst those who identified themselves as middle class and others had to be made in the context of considerable economic uncertainty and financial hardship during the 1920s and 1930s. Thus, the emergence of nascent mass culture and new sources of consumption combined with the rising cost of living and growing unemployment to produce among members of service sectors a constant preoccupation with the everyday domestic economy. The reflections of these contemporary observers shed light on the pressures and dilemmas confronting middle-class families as they struggled to negotiate a new climate of constant economic and rapid social change. On the one hand, those who claimed to belong to the middle class were conscious of the fact that consumption of material and cultural goods became an essential measure of status and distinction in a modernising urban space in Bombay where the traditional markers of the caste hierarchy were becoming less adequate guarantors of social standing. On the other

hand, their insecure income situation consistently forced these men and women to weigh up their everyday spending choices.[41]

3.3.1 Culture of Processed foods

In the inter-war period, a considerable number of bakeries opened in Bombay, the first best-known bakery was established by a Goanese in the first decade of the nineteenth century. Initial period, the industry received high patronage from the European and Parsis community in Bombay, who by virtue of their food habits were the primary consumers of bread and other bakery products. Initially, the Europeans and Parsi community were the only consumers of bread and bakery products, but in the later period, it became one of the essential foods for other communities in the first half of the twentieth century. In spite of the unavailability of statistical data, it can be said according to *Gazetteer of Greater Bombay* that the bakery industry was prosperous during the interwar period due to increased demand for bakery products.[42]

The scientific methods of processing and preservation of food products developed in the late nineteenth century in India, but the food processing and preservation industry expanded mostly after the beginning of the First World War when the supply of large quantities of vegetables, fruits, meat, bread and canned food for armed forces increased. The Second World War provided further impetus to the preservation of this industry. The wide assortment of the processed and canned products and their easy transportability and convenience to consumers created significant demand for preserved food in this period. Thus, the food processing and preservation industry whose rise and growth occurred in the scarcity conditions of the First World War, assumed a considerable significance. Later period, the increase in sophistication in tastes, growing urbanisation, high standard

[41] Prashant Kidambi, "Consumption, Domestic Economy", pp. 117-18.
[42] *Maharashtra State Gazetteers, Greater Bombay District,* Vol. II, Bombay: Government of Maharashtra, First Edition: 1909-1910, Second Edition, 1987, p. 287

of living and the constraints of city life led to the rise in demand for food products which were more varied, exotic tasting and incorporating sophisticated flavours. Other sociological changes, such as the desire to spend less time in the kitchen, the increased value placed on leisure, the rise and growth of hotel and restaurant culture and the weakening of family ties created increased demand for processed food products.[43]

The history of the processed food industry in Bombay can be traced to the first decade of the nineteenth century when one of the best-known bakeries was established in Old Hanuman Lane in Bombay. Since then, with the massive expansion of the city and its cosmopolitan character, the number of processed food product makers had significantly increased. In the unorganised sector, there were a large number of establishments comprising flour mills, bakeries, production of edible oils, sweetmeat makers, biscuits and confectionery products, fish curing, canning of fruits and vegetables, breakfast food and dairy products. This un-organised sector employed large numbers of people and catered to the needs of society while playing an important role in the socio-economic life of the city.[44] The food products industry comprised the basic food industries and processed food industries which registered under the Factories Act of 1922.[45] This engaged in flour milling, production of edible oils, biscuits, bakery products, confectionery, vanaspati, meat and fish processing, canning fruits and vegetables, breakfast food, dairy products, infant foods, malts and malt products, etc.[46] In the post-World War period, the advertisements of processed and packaged food products found in several English and vernaculars newspaper with attractive catchphrase and tagline. The following two advertisements: one is advertisement of cheese (see figure 3.1) and another advertisement of products of 'The American Express Bakery' (see figure 3.2) give glimpse of the how the advertisements of processed food products

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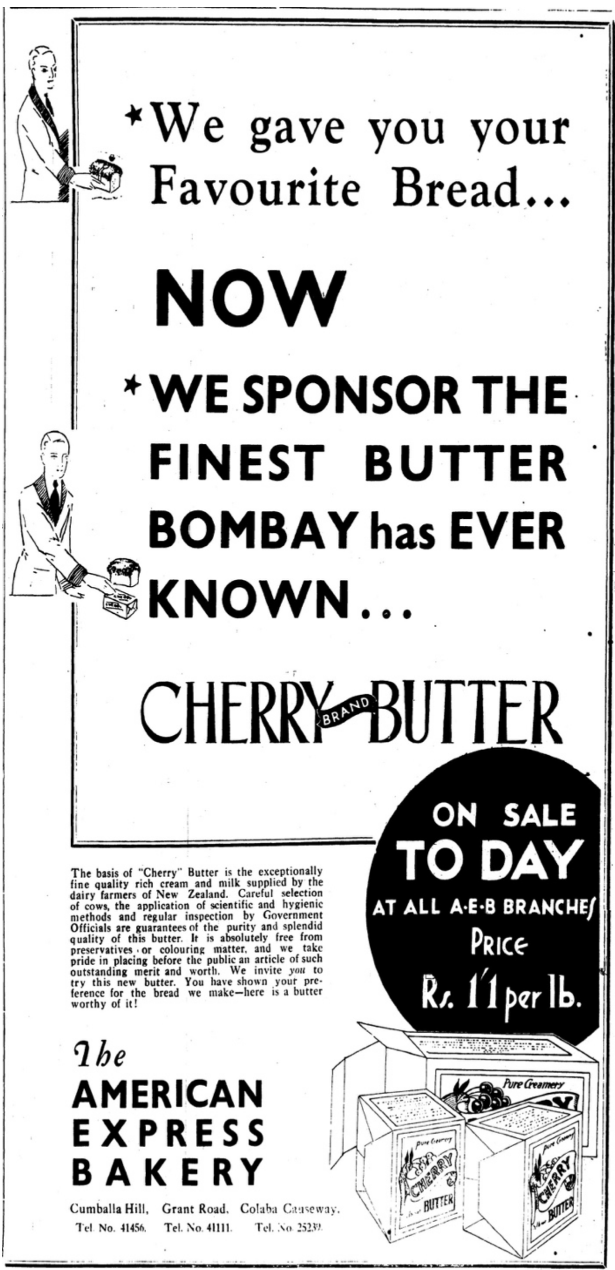
[43] *Ibid.,* p. 281-282.
[44] *Ibid.*, p. 282.
[45] *Indian Factories (Amendment) Act of 1922,* pp. 1-12, MSA, Mumbai.
[46] *Maharashtra State Gazetteers, Greater Bombay District, vol. II*, p. 282

attracting consumers and also give the idea of available processed food for Indian consumers.

Figure 3.1: Advertisement of Krafts Elkhorn Brand Cheese

Source: Advertisement of Krafts Elkhorn Brand Cheese, *The Times of India,* 1 January 1921, p. 20

Figure 3.2: Advertisement of The American Express Bakery



Source: Advertisement of The American Express Bakery, *The Times of India,* 4 May 1934, p. 18

The following table 3.2 gives details about the number of food processing factories and their employment in the category of food industries, except beverages, from 1923 to 1940 in Bombay city. The data for a few years with five years break up to illustrate the growth of this industry in Bombay during 17 years has given below:

Table 3.2: Food Factories and Employment in Bombay from 1923 to 1940

Year	No. of food factories	Employment in food factories	Percentage of employment to total factory
1923	16	1021	0.5
1925	29	1489	0.7
1930	29	1957	1.1
1935	33	2192	1.1
1940	90	4410	1.9

Source: *Maharashtra State Gazetteers, Greater Bombay District, vol. II*, pp. 282-283

The statistics in table 3.2 illustrate that there was a more than hundred per cent growth in the industry regarding the number of factories, and employment over 12 years from 1923 to 1935. The growth of the industry, however, was high from 1935 to 1940 in all respects. The pace of growth was started in 1938, in which year the number of factories increased to 82 and employment increased to 3822. Throughout the second World War period, the industry continued to grow, and reached the climax in 1945. This attributed to the enormous demand for processed food created by the wartime situations and the enforcement of rationing of many food articles. The war efforts of the colonial Government demanded considerable supplies of processed foods. The enforcement of rationing increased the demand for food products as substitutes for cereals while shortages of many articles forced

the consumers to buy processed foods, there was a decline in the number of factories in 1946. Thus, during 1923 to 1940, the numbers of food preserving and processing factories increased more than six times while employment therein rose around four times.[47] The consumption of processed foods, like canned fish, preserved meat, fruit and vegetable products, food products with protein, cakes, biscuits and bread become the part of the everyday life of the people. The consumption of biscuits and bread grew very common among the upper and middle classes of Bombay.[48]

1.2. Culture of Hotels and Restaurants

With most of the changes mentioned above and some others, such as the rise and growth of the culture of 'restaurant habit' were significantly impacted the culture of early twentieth century Bombay and its vicinity. Several travellers who visited Bombay in late eighteenth century recorded that there were few taverns kind of hotels in the city served for the new visitors to the city till they find a place of residence for themselves. However, up to the mid-nineteenth century, the hotel business in Bombay could not be able to make much progress because these hotels were low-class taverns which were mostly visited by soldiers, sailors, and lower-class people.[49] The upper-caste and class, religious and conservative people, preferred to stay with locals and in the *dharmashala,* or with hired tents which were erected on the Esplanade area. In 1837, a series of new taverns such as Portuguese George's, Parsee George's, Paddy George's and Racquet Court opened in Bombay and started serving liquor. In the later period, they flourished as 'drinking dens' which spread all over the city and its suburban area. However, mid-nineteenth century most of the taverns started to disappear and these taverns replaced by a moderate hotel like Hope Hall Family Hotel began to serve proper hospitality to

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[47] *Ibid.*, pp. 283-284.
[48] *Ibid.,* p. 791.
[49] *Ibid.*, pp. 777-778.

visitors of the city. The Hope Hall Family started at Mazagaon Dockyard area which for many years served as the leading hotel in Bombay.[50] The first residential club was started in the premises of Byculla Race Course Ground, the idea of behind starting this club was providing proper and reasonable lodging for visitors.

Since 1840, the hotel and hospitality industry were on rapid growth due to the expansion of Bombay city. Mr. Pallunji Pastonji, a well-known *Parsi* businessman, started the Victoria Hotel which was known as the British Hotel made based on the chain of hotels in London and other European cities, and became famous among the people of civil and military services. As a result of this, the hotel expanded to better premises on the Clare Road as well as in the Fort area of Bombay city. The British Hotel started to disappear in Bombay from the early 1850s. In the early 1860s, the Great Hotel Company was formed in the hospitality industry but failed to make on the Bombay city. In 1871, a famous silk merchant and draper who earned lots of wealth in his trade opened the Esplanade Hotel with 300 rooms in the city.[51]

The Watson hotel on Esplanade area became famous in Bombay because it was started to serve exclusively for Europeans and various travellers described this hotel as 'something like a bird cage' which was constructed based on the palatial hotels of London and Paris.[52] In 1904, the Taj Hotel opened and was the cherished project of Jamshetji Nusserwanji Tata, eminent *Parsi* industrialists and businessmen of Bombay.[53] In 1923, Mr. Shapurji Sorabji, a *Parsi* businessman,

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[50] *Ibid.*
[51] *Ibid.*, p. 778.
[52] Gillian Tindall*, City of Gold: The Biography of Bombay,* London: Maurice Temple Smith, 1982, p. 175. The Watson hostel started a new era in the hotel trade in Bombay. It was distinguished in splendour and convenience. For his galleried hotel Watson imported not only iron but also bricks, from Webster's Manufactory in Burnham in England.
[53] It is said that J. N. Tata was once humiliated by asking to leave the then best hotel in Bombay, the Watson's. His pride was shaken, and he decided that he would one day build a hotel of his own, which would far exceed the Watson's in its quality. He got it designed in 1896 by a local European firm of architects.; Gillian Tindall, *City of Gold: The Biography of Bombay,* p. 26-27.

opened the Grand Hotel in Bombay. A few years later the Majestic Hotel was started. Till this time most of the hotel in Bombay and its vicinity were run on the western lines. In 1900 and 1908, with the opening of the Sardar Griha and Madhavashram respectively and began to appear the Indian style of hotels in the city (See figure 3.3).[54]

Figure 3.3: Men and Women in a Restaurant

Men and Women in a Restaurant, a calendar image from the Oriental Calendar Manufacturing Ltd, 1930s, Source: Tasveer Ghar: A Digital Archive of South Asian Popular Visual Culture.

[54] *Maharashtra State Gazetteers, Greater Bombay District*, Vol. II, p. 779.

In the early twentieth century, with the coming of palatial structures, to accommodate hundreds of visitors of the city at the time which built on the central areas of the city. In this period, the Bombay's hotels were serving from luxurious lodging to extravagant food like champagne and *pate de foie gras*[55] to exotic curries and pickles. In these hotels, much of the foods prepared by Italians chefs. In Bombay, restaurant serving not only Western food but also several restaurants were serving Chinese and other countries' food. One of the famous chinse restaurants in 1927 was Kamling Chinese Restaurant in Bombay (See figure 3.4). In the same period, several local hotels also reached the peak of their splendour as the house of entertainment such as several kinds of foods, wine and music. The Maharajas of princely states, business magnets and industrialist most of the time arranged and organised the most attractive and grand banquets for their guest, visitors and business purpose, and spent lavishly on those banquets in Bombay. In the early twentieth century, western classical music started to appears in hotels. The waltz, the Mazurka, and the Polka were the dances that became famous and roused the enthusiasm among urban young people. The end of the First World War saw the introduction of jazz music on a large scale in Bombay city. The old classical orchestra was gradually disappearing from fashion, and dancing became the rage of the age (see figure 3.5). The one-step, the tango, the rhumba and the jitterbugs, became in turn, the favourite obsession among residents of Bombay. This was also the era of the cabaret[56] where the finest swing bands, the cabaret artistes, and the best crooners of dance took the floor and stood before the microphone in Bombay's grand and splendid hotels. These hotels occupied cafes, *sarais,* cook shops, restaurants, eating houses and their employees, and various trades such as owners and managers of hotels. The total number of employees in this business of hospitality, according to the census of 1911, was 5013 males and 822 females, in

[55] *Pate de foie gras* was a French dish considered an ultimate luxury food made of the liver of fattened a goose and duck.
[56] Cabaret was a form of theatrical entertainment featuring song, music, dance, recitation and drama. It was mainly performed in the hotels, restaurant and bar.

1921 it was 7573 males and 1011 females, and in 1931 it was 19503 males and 1610 females.[57]

Figure 3.4: Advertisement of Chinese Restaurant

Source: Advertisement of Kamling Chinses Restaurant, *Army and Navy Guide to Bombay,* 1927, p. 73.

[57] *Census of India, 1911*, Vol. IX; *Census of India, 1921*, vol. p. 58; *Census of India, 1931*, Vol. IX, p. 273

Figure 3.5: Dinner Dance on Thursday

Source: Advertisement of The Ritz Hotel, *Army and Navy Guide to Bombay,* 1927, p. 48.

3.4 The Emergence of Hyper-Interactive Culture

The rise of modern educated young people in Bombay and its vicinity during the 1920s played a significant role and helped in the large-scale cultural changes which were sweeping across colonial Maharashtra in the first half the twentieth century. During the 1920s, new generation was responding to the onset of an emerging cultural order based on the consumption of cultural and lifestyle goods that were beginning to appears in large scale in the Indian markets from the 1910s onwards, a trend that quickened considerably in the years after immediately following the end of the First World War. The educated young people in urban spaces paraded themselves with goods, both material and cultural, in ways that showed up the implications of this new cultural order radically. Kaushik Bhaumik says that the young generations of the 1920s took new technologies, literacies, and artistry in extreme directions, but one always shaped by the logic of greater freedoms defined with respect to perceived moral tyrannies of the older order. In doing so, they consistently crossed swords with the norms of society. They not only consumed the new but dared to equate themselves with the modern; in this way, they became cultural innovators in the first half of the twentieth century.[58] The increasing prominence of the young generation people and their imprint on urban culture could be seen in almost all walks of life, from the simple matter of walking out into the streets of post-World War-I Bombay to the loud radicalism of a new generation of young cultural innovators who explicitly staked claim to pre-eminence by virtue of their belief that they were the first truly modern Indians.[59]

Introduction of co-education in colleges, political and social activities and the transformed nature of urban public spaces increased the scope for encounters between the men and women.[60] One of the directors of the Missionary Settlements

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[58] Kaushik Bhaumik, "At Home in the World," p. 136.
[59] *Ibid.,* p. 137
[60] Co-education in Bombay colleges was a reality much before it appeared in England.

for University Women wrote in 1923 that "the completely free and open interaction between male and female students of Medical College had struck him."[61] The reports of the missionary were supplied with instances where women and men meet in the college's common room, at functions, and in the course of work. The passing of Sharada Act of 1929 alongside other attempted legislation to reform marriage amongst consenting young adults.[62] There was a greater tendency to discuss sex questions in the 1920s than a few years ago.[63] It was the world of art, entertainment, and culture that the transgressive radicalism of this shift came to be most palpably felt and the cultural leadership of the young become most evident.

Migration into the city from the hinterland and the natural growth of the city's population contributed to the increase in the educated people's population in Bombay. Just as migration into city favoured the people, so too did new industrial and commercial growth. Kaushik Bhaumik also argues that reading, watching, eating, and participation in different games, actively or passively, formed part of a 'hyper-interactive' culture of public spectacles in Bombay and its vicinity during the interwar period.[64] The people of Bombay started to visit frequently and ate at restaurant; participated and also watched cricket matches along with other sports; betted on the horse races at the Race Course ground.[65] Watching films and plays in the theatres and eating at Irani restaurant, drinking beer and other drinks were becoming the favourite leisure activities amongst the middle classes and certain sections of the working class as well.[66] This period witnessed transformation in the sartorial styles; young men of Bombay increasingly began to wear trousers and

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[61] *Annual Report of the Missionary Settlement for University Women, 1922-1923*, Bombay: The Missionary Settlement for University Women, 1923, pp. 2-3, MSA, Mumbai
[62] *Proceeding of the Government of Bombay, Home Department, 1921,* Bombay: Bombay Central Government Press, 1921, pp. 875-877. MSA, Mumbai,
[63] Kaushik Bhaumik, "At Home in the World," p. 142.
[64] *Ibid*., p. 143.
[65] *The Times of India,* 23 February 1924, p. 7.
[66] *Report on the Administration of the Excise Department in the Bombay Presidency,* 1928-29, p. 9., MSA Mumbai

shirts and women attracted and switched to fashionable cheap printed saris. The large-scale influx of inexpensive Japanese cotton and silk clothing into Bombay market which helped in the spread of new sartorial styles into wider sections of the urban population, especially the lower income group and labour classes. The widespread of education among the people and the development of print technology and print culture in Bombay and other parts of region expanded readership of newspapers, magazines, periodicals, and other literatures.[67] With the opening an edition of newspapers, magazines and periodicals, this large section of readers could check advertisements for films, plays, clearances sales, new fashion and sartorial styles, etc.[68]

The crucial factors in all hyper-interactive cultural activities were driven towards a modern individual autonomy which involved and defined one's life through consumption of material and cultural goods in the market as well as a transgression of social taboos in society. Popularising new sartorial styles, which could be western styles and *khadi* emerged and inspired from idea of *Swadeshi* and anti-colonial movement, the educated people of the 1930s were the first generation to identify themselves with the certain style of urban life and defined by sensory freedom of the body to enjoy the good things of life freely without interference by any discourse.[69] Increasingly, the young educated generation spoke English, and Marathi language with equal fluency and some of them went abroad to acquire the first-hand experience of western education and cultural systems.[70] The English literacy rose from 8 per cent of the population to 11.06 per cent between 1921 to

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[67] According to this Report, 1,430,567 males were literate in vernacular, and 239,777 males were literate in English out of 10,176969 male population of Bombay. 225,513 Females were literate in vernacular and 39737 female literates in the English language out of 9,171,250 female population. *Department of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics, Statistical Abstract for British India with Statistics, where available, relating to Certain Indian Cities from 1914-14 to 1923-24,* Government of India, Central Publication Branch, Calcutta, 1925, p. 29. MSA, Mumbai.
[68] Kaushik Bhaumik, "At Home in the World," p. 143.
[69] *Ibid.,* p. 144.
[70] Parvati Athavale, *My Story: The Autobiography of a Hindu Widow*, trans., Rev. Justin E. Abbott, 1928, G.P. Putnam, New York, reprinted, 1930, pp. 133-134.

1931.[71] The people of old generation complained that young men and women were increasingly and frequently visiting hotel and restaurant, drinking tea, lemonade, liquor, and smoking cigarettes and imitating western mode of dressing, such as trouser, coat, sleeveless blouses, skirts, etc. Among the upper class, the craze for cars, high heeled boots, parties, dances, plays, roaming girl and boys together were seen as a symptom of the breakdown of traditional boundaries of Indian societies.[72] Kaushik Bhaumik argues

> certain changes –such as a turn towards westernised clothing in context of works, consumption of commodities such cigarettes and films, and certain interest in modern romance –were beginning to affects populations across the divide separating the upper and middle classes, probably even percolating down the elements of the working classes.[73]

The hyper-interactive cultural activities mediated by consumption of cultural and material commodities began to include substantial sections of society in the interwar period. New sartorial style, consumption of cigar and cigarettes, drinking liquor, eating out at the restaurants, watching movies, and modes of political association coupled with new mode of self-presentation in the public sphere were beginning to serve as mascots of individuation.[74] The people of this generation as students, as single workers in the city, or as admirers of new fashions were definitely at the forefront of this transformative process in cultural mores. In the Post-World War I period, emerging the market became more aggressive enough than the earlier market to provide material and cultural goods signifying the modern and the new to consumers across the class spectrum of colonial society. Such a competitive market and a new regime of consumption supplied material and cultural goods with price differentials that redefined class hierarchies along with new parameters. Against this, one could point out that in the cinema halls the

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[71] *Census of India, 1931*, Vol. IX, p. 33.
[72] Parvati Athavale, *My Story: The Autobiography of a Hindu Widow*, p. 137.
[73] Kaushik Bhaumik, "At Home in the World," p. 144.
[74] Which is not to say all uses of all commodities were restricted to individuation.

working-class frontbencher could see the same film as the upper-class gentleman sitting in the box.[75] On close examination offers a rare glimpse in the colonial archive of modernisation of Indians through the assumption of a new regime of consumption.

The volatile economic conditions of the late colonial period also inflected discourses about the consumption practices within middle-class families. In an era, characterised by economic flux and a growing range of consumer goods, many contemporaries within Bombay's service sectors sought to emphasise the need for more efficient management of household income and expenditure in order to maintain the middle-class way of life. In the process, these men and women expressed a moral ambivalence about modern consumption not entirely dissimilar to that highlight by recent ethnographic writing about contemporary South Asian Society.[76] According to Sanjay Joshi, the middle class is better understood as a product of collective 'self-fashioning' carried out within the colonial public sphere.[77] "Though the economic background was important," Joshi notes, "the power, indeed, the constitution of the middle class, as perhaps over much of the world, was based not on economic power it wielded, which was minimal, but from the abilities of its members to be cultural entrepreneurs."[78] Middle class formation, in this view, was a 'cultural project' constantly 'in the making', rather than flat sociological fact.[79]

In this time of transition, when Indian people were imbibing customs and habits mostly from the West and were at the same time looking back at her own ancient culture and tradition and trying to revive the old spirit, the Indian often wonders on what standard his mode of behaviour has to be based. Apart from the deeper ideals and thought of life, more superficial habits often puzzled one, such as

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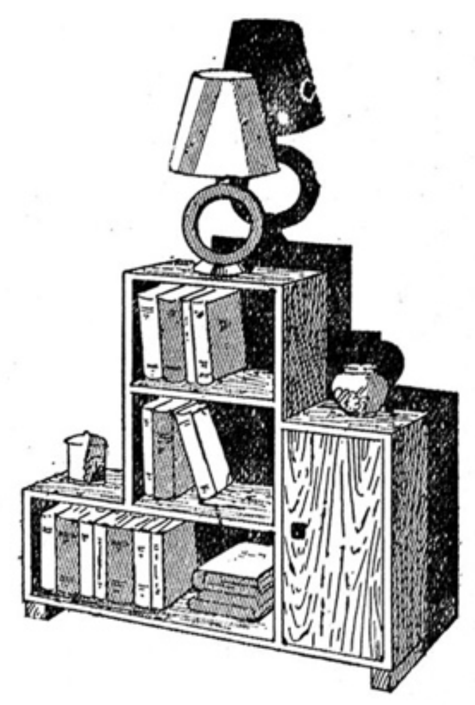
[75] Kaushik Bhaumik, "At Home in the World," p. 144-145.
[76] Prashant Kidambi, "Consumption, Domestic Economy," pp. 109-10
[77] Sanjay Joshi, *Fractured Modernity*, p. 2
[78] *Ibid*.
[79] Prashant Kidambi, "Consumption, Domestic," p. 110.

the modes of living, the ways of talking and behaving. The young educated people were questioning themselves that how did one live for instance and whether to make Indian homes after the European and Indian style. The advertisements on the household articles and furnishing show that many of Indian houses were furnished entirely in the European style (see figure 3.6 and 3.7). Many of the good traditional habits were discarded by the Indians. In this period, a smaller number of westernised and educated people continued the practice of sitting on the floor and eating with fingers from silvers platters or plantain leaves. Many among these people, who loved their own country and at the same did not believe in scorning good useful western habits, made a brave choice and followed the most congenial mixture of both cultures in their home. Often the Indian touch was supplied in the furnishing by the presence of a low divan in the sitting room, piled with cushions and covered with beautiful Persian rugs, that at once gives an Oriental atmosphere amid Western furniture.[80]

[80] *The Times of India,* 24 April 1937, p. 23.

Figure 3.6: Advertisement of Modern Household Furniture

You can
possess
furniture
like this



HOW OFTEN have you admired the distinctive charm of modern furniture—and regretted that you yourself cannot afford it? You *can*, from Sheraton's!

Although every piece is made from the finest materials by our own craftsmen and under expert supervision; although our furniture may be seen in great hotels and famous palaces; yet it is available on terms which modest incomes can well afford. Will you visit our showrooms, or write for special designs and prices?

131, Medows Street, BOMBAY.

Our craftsmen prepare fine furniture to any design.

QUALITY FURNITURE AT ECONOMY PRICES

Source: *Advertisement of Sheraton's Furniture*, *The Times of India,* 12 March 1934, p. 9

Figure 3.7: Advertisement of Modern Household Furniture

Source: Advertisement for Sajan & Co. *The Times of India,* 10 September 1934, p. 12.

At the table, the meal consisted of European and Indian dishes. the Indian food served in true Indian fashion on silver platters or plantain leaves. A silver basin and silver stand outside for one to wash once fingers before and after the meal, After the meal, one was served with *pan supari* in the authentic Indian style.

However, this same household also served another meal in complete European fashion (see figure 3.8).[81]

Figure 3.8: Family Sharing a Meal

Family Sharing a Meal, Oriental Calendar Manufacturing Ltd., 1930s, Source: Tasveer Ghar: A Digital Archive of South Asian Popular Visual Culture.

[81] *Ibid.*

In the 1930s, life in an conservative home was not very exciting in the modern sense of the word, and one had to meet with more serene content and a calm outlook on life in an old fashioned Indian household, than one did in many a hectic modern home, simply because the members of it, with whom there were a vast number owing to the prevailing joint family system, believed in a composed philosophy that cuts them off from the desire to seek for happiness and excitement in the outer world. As far as the home itself was concerned, it did not hold forth a lesson in up-to-date household fashions. The furniture was still old world, and the housewife had no eye for priceless prints of modern accessories, and yet there was a sense of homely comfort which many a modern and stylish home was lacking in the mid-twentieth century.[82] The women of the houses loved to sit on the floor, thus, although every house boasted of a conventional sitting room, with two or three stiff chairs and a very dilapidated stuffed settee; with the walls plastered with pictures, many of them being cheap Indian prints of which clothes had been cleverly draped and ornamented by the women in house; with knick-knack on old fashioned tables, and a fairly old carpet gracing the floor, the rooms inside were usually more or less bare, except for beds, some tables and a few chairs.[83]

3.5 Changes in Domestic Space

Notable within this general shift towards youth was the emergence of young middle class women in the public sphere in substantial numbers, which had a significant impact on society. Women started to enter in public sphere through their employment as secretaries, teachers, lawyers, and doctors in the first half of nineteenth century. There were 1,179 women involved in the medical profession in 1931 as compared to 815 in 1921. By 1931, 270 women were employed by the government in various departments of public administration as compared to five in 1921. In the professional world, 2,411 women entered as cashiers, book-keepers,

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[82] *The Times of India,* 5 September 1936, p. 23

[83] *Ibid.*

and accountants; 2,457 women were engaged in the professional and liberal arts as compared to 2,199 in 1921.[84] These statistics probably undercount the numbers of middle-class women in formal employment. Considering that the enumeration of the population during the 1931 census was notoriously inaccurate because of the Civil Disobedience Movement, the figures were probably higher for women engaged in non-official activities. Moreover, the figures did not take into account the activity of women in the political and social service fields. Even with exiting numbers, though, it is important not to underestimate the impact of this shift. In a society where women from educated classes were restricted to homes and their public movements a matter for social debate, a slight increase in numbers of the public presence of women was rendered more 'visible', and socially significant than the literal reading of statistics would indicate. However, the reaction to the entry of young women into the public sphere was markedly ambiguous. On the one hand, reform required the emancipation of women; on the other hand, their presence in public spaces caused acute discomfort to observers. Above all, their role as consumers of fashion was derided repeatedly in the prose and poetry of the times. Satirical poetry against the growing taste for fashionable clothes amongst women was published in increasing numbers through the 1920s. Orthodox section of society viewed the traditional Indian family order as threatened by the temptations of fashionable young women posed for young men, luring them away from their families and leading to financial ruin.[85]

To familiarise a broader shift in consumption in the period of interwar, one needs to look at a range of changes that taking place within domestic spaces in the urban area. In the late colonial period, the existing conditions changed rapidly as suburbs, and industrial housing projects expanded, and slum area flourished in the city. In the same period, notions of home and house were continuously changing

[84] *Census of India, 1931,* Vol. IX, 1931, pp. 48-51.
[85] Kaushik Bhaumik, "At Home in the World," p. 142.

due to reforms efforts targeting women and their popular culture, the introduction of education on domestic and home science, the emergence of notions of sanitary health, the reinvention of marriage and new stress in the married family.[86] In the context of all these changes, consumption of material and cultural things were crucial in remaking of home spaces, helping to negotiate sometimes between ambiguous desires and demands to make home in ways that there should be proper ventilation and light, and scientific hygiene; which urges to barred from pressure of urban life and desire to create aesthetically pleasing comforts and space within domestic space.[87]

3.6 The Institutionalisation of Hygiene, Manner and Appearance

Lessons on, hygiene was often contained within general attempts to promote 'civilized' manners and discipline in the behaviour of the self and the practice of everyday life.[88] The cosmetic, soaps and detergents industry was conceived to include manufacturing perfumes, cosmetics, lotions, hairdressing materials, toothpaste, soaps, synthetic detergents, shampoos, shaving products, cleaners, washing and scouring products and other toilet preparations. The industry, thus, covered a wide range of chemical-based goods of household use. Though attempts were made as early as 1879 to manufacture soap on western lines at Meerut, the first soap factory in India on modern lines was established as a private enterprise by the Tata at Cochin. This was followed by companies like the Godrej and Boyce in Bombay, which was the first soap manufacturing factory in Bombay and second in India. When the Tata and the Godrej entered the field, India was importing soap from the European countries.

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[86] Charu Gupta, *Sexuality, Obscenity, Community,* 2005; Mary Hancock, "Home Science and Nationalization of Domesticity in Colonial India," *Modern Asian Studies,* Vol. 35, no. 4, 2001, pp. 871-903.
[87] Abigail McGowan. *"Khadi* Curtain and *Swadeshi* Bed Covers", pp. 518-563.
[88] *Ibid*, p. 39.

The *Swadeshi* movement launched by nationalist leaders against colonial rule gave a significant boost to the indigenous industry to strive. By 1930, several big and medium-sized factories started operation by trained personnel, and about 85 per cent of the material could be obtained in India. But soon the industry had to face foreign competition. To organise the industry on an All India basis, the All India Soap Manufacturers' Association came into existence in 1934 at Calcutta. The establishment of soap factories by the Lever Brothers, now called Hindustan Lever, in 1933-34 gave new dimensions to the industry, with which imports of soap declined. The Hindustan Lever, established in 1933-34, is another giant manufacturer of popular soaps, detergents, toilet preparations glycerine and Vanaspati.[89] The Johnson and Johnson company with its plants at Mulund in Bombay manufactured perfumes, cosmetics and other toilet preparations and baby soaps. The Muller and Phipps (India) Ltd. with a factory at Vile Parle in Bombay produced talcum powder (900 tonnes), detergents (288 tonnes) and soaps, medical preparations and insecticides (2.50 lakh litres).[90] In the period of post-World War I, according to *The Time of India,* Indian people purchased nearly sixteen crores of rupees cosmetics and other toiletries to look beautiful. A journalist in the report says that this is the conclusion reached as a result of an investigation to ascertain whether Indians attaches the same important to good looks like the Western World and whether Indians gives the same amount of thought to beauty culture and beauty aids as Europe and America.[91] The consumption of beauty products is discussed in details in next chapter.

Conclusion

The present chapter argues that in the interwar period between 1919 to 1939, witnessed the emergence of new working culture, the rise of a new economic system after the First World War, development of communication, establishment

[89] A kind of thick vegetable oil used for cooking in India.
[90] *Maharashtra State Gazetteers, Greater Bombay District,* vol. II, p. 154.
[91] *The Times of India,* 23 March 1935, p. 20.

of cinema hall, theatres, opening restaurant, and expansion of public life of markets, educational institutions, offices, places of amusement and entertainment, expanding network of public transportation in urban areas. These changes in public sphere enabled people to interact with each other. This interaction between people and modern institutions created a hyper-interactive culture in Bombay and Poona in first half of twentieth century. Besides, the rise and growth of *Swadeshi* and national movement, socio-religious reforms, and growth of print culture, and rise of the literary class shaped that an incipient hyper-interactive culture. This hyper-interactive culture was driving force behind the transformation of consumption patterns in colonial Maharashtra.

The development of new technology in food processing and packaging changed the way Indian people consumed food; mainly upper, and middle class became the major consumer of the processed and packaged food in this period. The changes in patterns of food consumption were, gradually, shifting people consuming traditional food to technologically processed food. The emergence of hotel and restaurant culture became not the only place for lodging and food, but also place for amusement and leisure where music, dance, and exotic food were served.

The changes in the domestic space also led to the shift in the consumption pattern, bigger houses were replaced with small apartments, and this affected the possession of the asset in the household. Besides, the consumption pattern also changed the structure of the domestic space and emphasised more on the aesthetic sense and modern furnishing. The women's entry in the public sphere transformed the world of women and women became the flagbearer of this change in consumption pattern. The changes in the family structure made women more independent than the earlier time and encouraged them to enter into the public space. The women entry in the colonial public sphere brought changes in the way women wore clothes and the way they managed the household. The next chapter discusses how gender played a crucial role in the shaping of consumption, and how

the new culture of consumption practices, spaces, and products had involved in the articulation of gender identities in colonial Maharashtra and in this process how women emerged as consumer in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century colonial Maharashtra.

Chapter Four
Women and Consumption Patterns in Colonial Maharashtra

Consumption is not only a social act that arises in a cultural setting, but it is also a gendered phenomenon. While saying consumption as a gendered phenomenon means that consumption is categorised on the basis of gender and consumption of certain material and cultural goods, which gives a gender identity. Not only people are classified in gender lines in relation to consumption of specific material and cultural goods, but also there are social guidelines and norms for both men and women as to how to consume those items. In consumption of material and cultural goods like clothes, food items, leisure, one can thus see an inherent gender dimension as the consumption of these items involves certain value systems which work according to gender principles of hierarchy and classification. Consumption was regarded as a gendered phenomenon not only in traditional societies but also in modern societies. It is argued that consumption of certain material and cultural goods became a significant area for the construction of identities, gender roles and its meaning in the colonial and post-colonial societies.[1]

This chapter discusses the relationship between women and consumption patterns in colonial Maharashtra in the late nineteenth and first half of twentieth century. While discussing women and consumption this chapter focuses on two most important themes, i.e., how gender played a crucial role in the shaping of

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[1] Anne McClintock illustrates how certain commodities became associated with race via images of black/dirty and white/clean, and other commodities took on a magical aura associated with imperial power. Thus, tropes such as gender, race, patriarchy, maternity, femininity and domesticity, as well as the privileging clean, efficient and well-run home, good public hygiene, motherhood, scientific childbearing methods, the instillation of proper morals, were re-inscribed and reconstructed in the service of colonialism and modernity. McClintock concludes that nations are, therefore, frequently figured through the iconography of familial and domestic space. Within this space, women are represented as the atavistic and authentic body of national tradition; men, by contrast, represent the progressive agent of national modernity, embodying nationalism's progressive or revolutionary principle of discontinuity ; Anne McClintock, "'No Longer in a Future heaven': Gender, Race and Nationalism', in A McClintock, A Mufti & E Shohat, eds., *Dangerous Liaisons: Gender, Nation and Postcolonial Perspectives*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1997; Paul Gillen and Devleena Ghosh, *Colonialism and Modernity*, pp. 179-180.

consumption, and how the new culture of consumption practices, spaces, and products had involved in the articulation of gender identities in colonial Maharashtra. This chapter also discusses how the rise of consumption in colonial Maharashtra enabled women to enter the public sphere and how consumption was an opportunity and threat to women in the colonial period. This chapter also investigates what were the gendered anxieties of consumption in colonial Maharashtra and also explores the new anxieties which were generated by changing patterns and styles of consumption. Lastly, this chapter also discusses how women changed themselves to adopt a new lifestyle in colonial Maharashtra. To explore the relationship between gender and consumption patterns, the present chapter used the non-conventional sources like women's autobiographies for narration in concerned context. These autobiographies are: *Amachya Ayushyatil Athavani* (*Ranade: His Wife's Reminiscence,* 1910) written by Ramabai Ranade (1863-1924); *Maze Purana* (*My Story,* 1944) written by Anandibai Karve (1865-1950); *Amchi Akara Varshe* (*Our Eleven Years,* 1945) written by Lilabai Patwardhan; *Smruti Chitre* (*I Follow After: An Autobiography,* 1950) written by Lakshmibai Tilak (1869-1936); *My Story: the Autobiography of a Hindu Widow*, 1930 by Parvati Athavale. These Marathi autobiographies written by women in late nineteenth and first half of twentieth century are a significant source of studying women and their world as well as socio-cultural transformation in colonial Maharashtra.

As Peter Stearns has argued, the turn of the twentieth century was a period of global concerns about consumption; it was also, he notes, a time in which concerns often focused primarily on women, recognises the growing new identification of shopping as a particularly feminine activity.[2] Abigail McGowan argues that consumption was increasingly feminised among elites in this period. That offered women new freedom of mobility, sociability, and control over finances in household management. At the same time, however, those freedoms offset by expectations that women subordinate their desires to the needs of a family. This

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[2] Peter Stearns, "Stages of Consumerism: Recent Work on the Issues of Periodization," *Journal of Modern History,* vol. 69, no. 1, 1997, pp. 102-117.

change meant limitations on choice as women charged with the management of household purchasing had to accept oversight from husbands.[3]

4.1. Dynamic of Print, Public Sphere and Popular Culture: Implications for Women

Women's education appeared high on the agenda of both social reformers and missionaries in the nineteenth century. In the pre-colonial period, women literacy rates were extremely low and educating women was mostly neglected by society and the state. The East India Company and the Christian missionaries started efforts to improve women's education from the early nineteenth century.[4] The earliest schools for girls were opened in India with the help of the Christian Missionary, and these were the first tangible effort made by the Christians missionaries and the East India Company to modernise women in India.[5] The socio-religious reformist groups such as Brahmo Samaj in Bengal Presidency, Prathana Samaj and Satyasodhak Samaj in Bombay Presidency, Arya Samaj in North India and Theosophical Society in Madras Presidency, gradually campaigned for women education and women empowerment, and in large extent succeed in getting supports of native people to this cause. In consequence, there were almost 626 schools for women education established in the mid-nineteenth century.[6]

In 1857, *Stribodh,* a first women's journal started as reading material for women, which specialised in offering advice and suggestion on specially on the 'behaviour and manner of wife' The journal gave several principal instructions to women such as 'good wifely care', 'dress in nice clothes', 'receive him when he returns in the evening' and 'do not ever nag him'. In this period, women started to receive an education that was to prepare women for modern domesticity and

[3] Abigail McGowan, "Consuming Families" p. 160.
[4] William Adam, a Baptist missionary who worked under the Bengal governor, first brought to attention the state of females' education in India and published the *Report on the State of Education in Bengal* in 1835.
[5] Charu Gupta, ed, *Gendering Colonial India: Reforms, Print, Caste and Communalism,* Orient BlackSwan, New Delhi, 2012, p. 17.
[6] *Ibid*.

making them well-organised housewives and efficient companions to modern educated husbands. Thus, education for women was designed to domesticate women and to allocate them a more informed role for more excellent compatibility in married life. Similarly, it was also a moral imperative and a national important against the colonial rule.[7]

These changes bring us to understand the emergence of a dynamic of the public sphere in Bombay Presidency, coincided with a thriving mass print culture, from the second half of the nineteenth century, which had a distinctive impression for women as well. Women emerged as both objects and subjects of this mass print culture and vernacular literature. The rapid growth of libraries, printing presses and publications houses, newspapers, books and the public institutions from the second half of the nineteenth century in Bombay Presidency improved the circulations and movements of printed material as a commodity. Missionaries, literary scholars, social reformers, nationalist leaders, extensively used print and press as a medium to disseminate their objective and ideas among the large public. The cheapness and ubiquity of print, combined with urbanisation and middle-class formation, facilitated the rise of multiple, distinctive vernacular publics.[8] Print crisscrossed with oral, performative and popular traditions and its impact extended by the literate level.

The spread of modern education among many middle-class women enabled them to become visible and participate in the public arena. They were actively writing and publishing in magazines and journals, attending literary and political functions.[9] When women accepted some of the structure of male reformers and cast themselves in reformist mould, even women's journal generated unending opportunities for women and gave them a voice to argue for their right in the family and the public arenas. There were letters written by women in various women's

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[7] *Ibid.*, p. 18
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 21.
[9] Parvatibai Athawale, Parvati Athavale, *My Story: The Autobiography of a Hindu Widow,* trans., Rev. Justin E. Abbott The Knickerbockers Press, New York, 1930.

magazines which emphasised their right to feel and allowed a space for solidarity in a covert and tentative way.[10]

The spread of print culture and modern education transformed reading habits, increased its possibilities, and entered in everyday life of people. The modern education may have strengthened the power and dominance of men over the women, but it also empowered the women in ways unanticipated by reforming patriarchs. Thus, modern education, undoubtfully, created significant opportunities for some women in the public and private sphere of late colonial India.[11] This rise and growth of new print media, journalism and other forms of prose took up discussions on family matters and intimate subjects concerning women. There was flooding of advisory and moralistic manuals for women written overwhelmingly by educated and influential sections of the urban middle class in the Marathi language, which had social and cultural character.[12] They became culture innovators, which enabled them to create respectable domesticity.[13] In these etiquette and moralistic guides, educational reforms, child care and household management, thrift and construction of sexuality became a central point of crucial social concern and systematic inquiry. These books educated women how they out to behave in family and the public sphere, how to manage and resolve household problems and how to think, act and feel.[14] In these books, women of the upper and middle strata of society, frequently taught to be *pativrata* (loyal and dutiful wife), religious, obedient, and proficient in household management. They were told how to behave with other subordinate social groups, who often worked in their home as domestic servants, and which became a marker to articulate their upper and middle class identity.[15] Women's roles affected the status of castes, various caste associations,

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[10] Francesca Orsini, *The Hindi Public Sphere 1920-1940: Language and Literature in the Age of Nationalism,* Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2002, pp. 243-308.
[11] Charu Gupta, ed, *Gendering Colonial India,* p. 21.
[12] *Dnyanodaya*, 24 June 1886, p. 382.
[13] *Ibid.*
[14] *Stri-Sadoshamala,* Hindustan Printing Press, Mumbai, 1886.
[15] Parvatibai Athavale, *My Story: The Autobiography of a Hindu Widow*; Charu Gupta, ed, *Gendering Colonial India*, p. 22.

including intermediate and lower castes, and these social organisations instructed their women for reforms in multiple ways, which were often reflected in print. These revealed a complex way, anxieties over social status, claimed upward mobility, assertions of masculinity and patriarchal control, the politicisation of caste identities and defence of community honour.[16]

4. 2. Household Management as New Role for Women

Parvati Athavale, in her autobiography, writes that the Indian joint family system seems to be scattering to the winds due to the emergence of modern lifestyle and new family system in society. The structure of large and joint families of pre-colonial Maharashtra changed in the late nineteenth and the early twentieth century. The husband, his wife, and their children became a family. The joint family system, once was everywhere, started to disappear in urban as well in rural areas. In the western world with the rise and growth of industrialisation, Parvati Athavale writes, the social life of the joint family system became almost extinct, and the growth and culture of the hotels were on proliferation. In western society, she writes, the number of unmarried men and women were exceeding the married men and women. She questions, "are we going to learn a lesson from this condition in the west, or are we going to follow it?"[17] In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, Maharashtrian social life was at a transformative position where one finds that the families living half like European and half like Indian. Under these conditions, it was a matter of much concern for Parvati Athavale that what would happen to Maharashtrian family institution.[18]

In 1908, a cartoon of a well-dressed and modern-looking young Parsi couple carried a loaded parcel of purchased goods from the clearance sale as indicated in the title of the cartoon. The man turned slightly towards the woman and leaned to

[16] Charu Gupta, ed, *Gendering Colonial India*, p. 22.
[17] Parvati Athavale, *My Story: The Autobiography of a Hindu Widow,* p. 136.
[18] *Ibid*.

ask a question as she walks straight ahead, not meeting his gaze. Frame the caption; we learn the substance of his question, as well as her response.

> ADI—But if you say that they won't be much use, why waste of money over them? Why take the trouble of carrying them home?
>
> ALOO—How else can I know whether the things are good or bad? I must take them home anyhow. O, you men—you can't understand these little matters. You must only stand by with your purse open, that's all![19]

The conversation between Adi and Aloo in the present cartoon portrays shopping as a social expression and emphasises shopping to be a gendered experience in which men provide money which women spend it. In this cartoon, according to Aloo, a modern Parsi woman, men do not understand shopping, and they are confused spectators. This cartoon portrays shopping is essentially a feminine activity. Here nor does Aloo see any point in explaining it to Adi; instead she marches ahead, telling him to be content with his role as passive money provider. Apparently, Adi has followed that advice since they carry packages full of purchased goods from a clearance sale. In this cartoon, Adi as passive purse-holder look perplexed and but he was unable to avoid Aloo's choice in the shopping.[20]

Acceptability in levels of consumption or styles was not merely a question of adequate finances or comprehensive knowledge about it. It also worked through gender, creating separate boundaries around the proper feminine and masculine consumption. For men, proper heterosexual masculinity by the end of the nineteenth century permitted only limited time and expenditure on personal adornment. In August 1881, a *Stri Bodh* magazine's article on men's hair, the author noted that fashionable men in Bombay were visiting hair salons to get their hair style done, and spending extra times at home cleaning, perfuming, oiling, combing, and parting their hair. The judgement offered is harsh:

> Those who keep a comb or a brush with them day and night and think it their duty to comb the hair at least three to four times…

[19] *Hindi Punch*, 2 August 1908, p. 12; quoted in Abigail McGowan, "Consuming families," p. 155.
[20] Abigail McGowan, "Consuming families," p. 155.

> forget that the great care they bestow on a small thing like hair merely shows them to be useless and pests on this Earth… the care and beauty of hair is more important for ladies, and by giving such time to their hair, even the boys seem to turn into feminine species, and men into women![21]

Rather than spending hours on hair priming and preening which made the men "forget that they are men", the article's author suggested that men save that time for use "in some better work."[22] Women, by contrast, were right to primp and preen. Indeed, the very next article in the series argued that "it is natural for women to take great care of their hair"[23] because it is one of the special features of their beauty.[24] Whereas men should use their time for other, more useful things, women should still do fashion, just properly, tastefully, and beautifully. It was not that middle-class men should pay no attention to how they dressed. Like women, men had to keep up with the times and be presentable before society (see figure 4.1). It was just that they should not be much concerned with their physical appearance, directing their attention instead towards bodily abilities, rendering the body useful, efficient and productive, in line with a wide range of projects to reform the bodies of native into virile subjects of a modernise state.[25]

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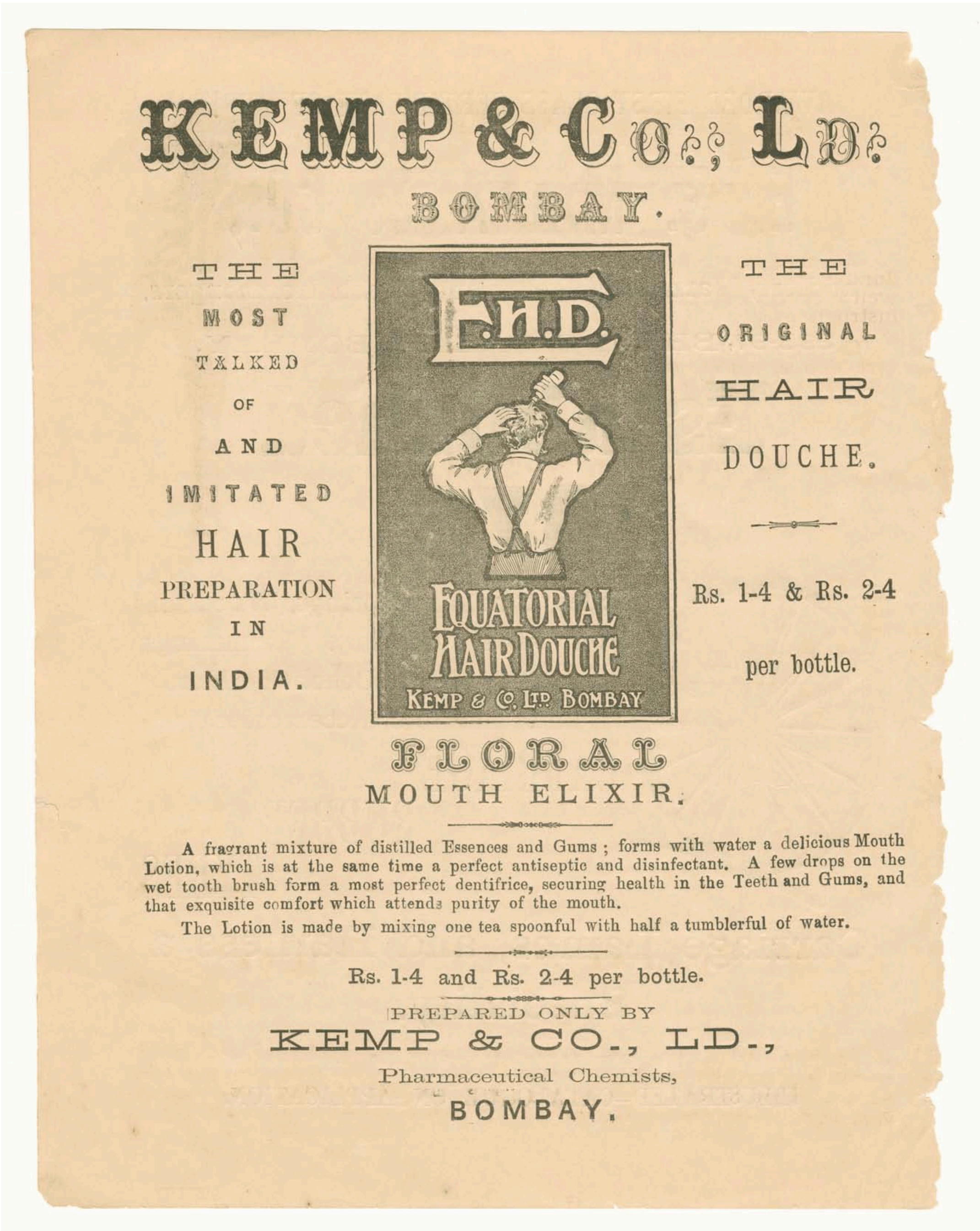
[21] "Navi Navi Fashiono: Payjama Payposh," *Stri Bodh,* Vol. 25, No. 6, 1881, p. 217.
[22] "Navi Navi Fashiono: Dadhi Much ane Thabhiya," *Stri Bodh,* Vol. 25, No. 7, 1881, p. 51.
[23] "Navi Navi fashiono: Mathana Bal Strina," *Stri Bodh,* Vol. 25, No. 9, 1881, p. 195.
[24] *Ibid.*
[25] Abigail McGowan, "Consuming families," p. 164.

Figure 4.1: Advertisement for Hair Douche



Source: *Hindu Punch,* December 1904, p. 13.

If men had to foreswear adornment to preserve their masculinity, they also had to give up actual control over purchases. In this period, household management guides and women's magazines urged women to take charge of the family purse in both

budgeting expenditure and managing actual provisioning; either in person through carefully supervised intermediaries.[26] As in other parts of the world, this offered one of the basic contradictions in the divided world of middle-class Indian domesticity where the private and public, spiritual and material, tradition and modernity pairs naturalised opposition between men earning money and women spending it. It was the women's duty to ensure the material comforts of home. As Parvati Athavale put in her autobiography:

> Our children and the man of the house must consider the home as his place of joy and comfort. And that this may be so must come from the efforts of the women. Every mistress of a home should know how to beautify the home, and how to make the home more healthy. To this end there should be instruction given in all girls' school on the management of the home.[27]

For Parvati Athavale and others, making a home into a 'place of joy' involved not just the disposition of goods already within the household, but careful selection of those things which entered into the home from outside.

In *Stri Dharma Niti* (1882), written by Pandita Ramabai,[28] The prominent social reformer who worked to improve the status of widows, offered following warning to women, managing consumption appeared as one of women's 'domestic duties' alongside praying daily, sweeping the house, overseeing servants, storing foodstuffs, and bathing regularly. "The appearance of the house is the test of a housewife. If a house has everything in its proper place and looks pleasant,

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[26] *Stri-Sadoshmala,* The Hindustan Printing Press, Bombay, 1886.

[27] Parvati Athavale, *My Story: The Autobiography of a Hindu Widow,* p. 137.

[28] Pandita Ramabai (1858-1922) was a remarkable woman of her times in Maharashtra. She first created a stir in 1880 by marrying out of caste to Bengali Sudra. She became a widow at an early age and was shunned by her community. Shortly afterwards, she converted to Christianity. She was determined to learn English and medicine and travelled to England to do so. In 1882, she started Arya Mahila Samaj for the cause of women's education. She also wrote two books: *Stri Dharma Niti* (Morals for Women) in 1882 and *The High Caste Hindu Women* in 1887. The former representing a reformist approach to Hindu womanhood and the latter critiquing the deplorable condition of Hindu widows. Pandita Ramabai was one of the most radical nineteenth century figures. She was a pioneer in women's education and a rebel champion of women's right in Maharashtra.

everybody immediately knows that the mistress of the house is clever."[29] This was not just a question of cleanliness and order was revealed in instruction on the needs for moderation in purchases. Parvati Athavale wrote that western women make the most strenuous efforts to keep their houses clean. The arrangements are for peace and comfort in a home. The very opposite of this is often to be found in India, even in the homes of the rich, wherein various corners are to be found the dirt of many years, cobwebs, and old tea leaves. In very few places are the window-panes ever washed, or the woodwork of the house wiped. In some cases, food is not adequately covered, resulting in unsanitary conditions.[30]

> A complete account of income and expenditure should be kept. Expenditure should never exceed income. One should not waste money by squandering it needlessly. …only that which is indispensable should be bought… money should not be wasted unnecessarily on expensive clothes or other such things.[31]

Proper wives, in other words, should not only choose goods carefully but manage household money carefully as well by keeping strict accounts of family finances. The late nineteenth century and early twentieth century was a period of global concerns about household consumption, and it was also a time in which concerns often focused especially on women because of the growing consumption practices and identification of shopping as a particularly feminine activity.[32] According to Abigail McGowan, the consumption was increasingly feminised among upper and middle classes in this period, which offered women new freedom of mobility, sociability, and control over the finances of the house. At the same time, however, those freedoms offset by expectations that women subordinate their desires to the needs of the family. This meant limitations on choice as women charged with the management of household purchasing had to accept oversight from husbands.[33]

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[29] Pandita Ramabai, *Stri Dharma Niti,* in Meera Kosambi (trans. and ed.), *Pandita Ramabai through Her Own Words: Selected Works,* New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2000, p. 84.
[30] Parvati Athavale, *My Story: The Autobiography of a Hindu Widow,* pp. 138-139.
[31] *Stri Dharma Niti,* p. 87.
[32] Peter Stearns, "Stages of Consumerism", pp. 102- 117.
[33] Abigail McGowan, "Consuming families", p. 160.

After returning from America and Europe in 1920, Parvati Athavale, Maharashtrian widow reformer, writes in her autobiography:

> The life of women is in two forms. There are bound to be more married women than unmarried. Men have to work outside of the home to procure the money for the running of the home, and the women have to remain in the home for its protection. On account of the present increase in the expense of living, men have to work harder than formerly, and so even more of their time is spent outside of the home. Men in business are now less able to command their own time, and that means that they are less at home. Under these conditions all the burden of the home and the care of children fall on the women.[34]

Parvati Athavale complains that Indian homes had not taken enough efforts to teach their children 'good manner' and men had little concern with their home other than to bring money to it and they lacked building relations with their children and teaching them the manner. While describing the relationship with women and her servants in America, she writes, although Athavale was a servant in the American family, yet the arrangements for her living were as luxuries as those of a high official in India, and her employer treated her as a companion and with love.[35] She believes that the primary responsibility for the good conducts of the family in this period falls on the women. She believes that women, therefore, were the mother-to-be of this country it was necessary to educate them about their special duties in day to day domestic life such as the care of children, cooking, health care, how to keep the house clean, the purchase and care of food, religious and moral instruction along with many other responsibilities.[36] She believes that the house is the first school where the women and men of the house are the principal teachers whose primary duty is to teach their children how the home's life should be. If the principal teacher of the home failed to teach their children, then that home would become the

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[34] Parvati Athavale, *My Story: The Autobiography of a Hindu Widow,* pp. 133-34.
[35] *Ibid.,* p. 102
[36] *Ibid.,* p. 134.

'scene of wild strife'. Fifty years ago, she writes, women were taught in their home's tidy habits, but she sees very little of that in her modern homes.[37]

Parvati Athavale was in the opinion that Indian women, generally, lacked in the sense of beauty and the sense of beauty among women, according to her, is a significant part of women's life. In this context she writes, "[Indian] women can learn much from the women of the West".[38] She explains that

> in the West, the bride and the bridegroom take as much pains with their clothes and other adornments five or ten years after marriage as they do the first few days after the marriage. A wife feels that she should look well, and dress neatly to keep her husband's affection drawn to her. The husband is no less careful to hold his wife's affection long after marriage than he was to draw her affection before marriage.[39]

She saw completely just the opposite in India where women, generally, dressed in such clothes that are old and outdated and mostly shabby. If, for a short period, an occasion aroused for them to wear a neat and proper dress, although they think, "why should I care how I look? Is there anything I want to go and see, or is there anyone coming? I have seen all there is to see."[40] In India, neither husband nor wife took the same interest as they took at the time of their marriage, and the gay display of their processions. When reproached, their answer is, "what is the use now? The marriage has taken place." Athavale believes that if wives gave important to personal care and consider attractiveness in their everyday life of dressing and appearance, husbands would be pleased. If husbands also, after marriage, do the same and try to please their wives, they would have a better hold on their affection to each other in domestic life. In the Western countries, she advices to Indian men and women, partner were much more than husband and wife and Indians might

[37] *Ibid.,* p. 135.
[38] *Ibid.,* p. 138.
[39] *Ibid.*
[40] *Ibid.*

follow them in their married life. Their married life would be filled with love and joy, and society would be happier.[41]

4.3. Consumption as Opportunity, Consumption as a Threat

Gender was one of the crucial parts through which colonial society saw their populations. In this society, patriarchy worked in discursive and pragmatic forms, standardising specific social customs, cultural practices, and everyday life as 'natural' and 'true'.[42] In these colonial societies, women were in two ways colonised one in the experience of patriarchy and others in the experience of colonialism.[43] Colonial accounts and discourse celebrated male-centric values, and in that discourse, women were in two way demoted to margins by patriarchy and colonial discourse. In this discourse, women were seen and categorised as 'mothers of nations', and the transmitter of its cultures.[44] In the colonial context, women were portrayed as both submissive, promiscuous and lascivious and in need of rescue. Therefore, the status of women generally marked with the social status of the male so that their behaviour had to be managed, controlled and supervised according to existing social and cultural norms and orthodoxy. Significantly, the separation and distinction between the public and private sphere, one of the transformative features of the Enlightenment philosophy, was not internalised in Indian colonial society in the early phase of colonialism. In India, domestic life as the private sphere was not seen as separate from social life as the public sphere. Even, Indian society saw and considered domestic life as the private sphere as a marker of its cultural superiority. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the colonial rulers started to consolidate their rule in India by entering themselves into the domestic sphere of Indian people in order to make appropriate social and cultural justification for their colonial project of rule. One crucial aspect of this

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[41] *Ibid*.
[42] Paul Gillen and Devleena Ghosh, *Colonialism and Modernity*, p.179.
[43] Kirsten Holst Peterson & Anna Rutherford, eds., *A Double Colonization: Colonial and Post-Colonial Women*, Dangaroo Press, Denmark and England, 1986.
[44] Nira Yuval-Davis and Floya Anthias, *Women–Nation–State*, Macmillan, London, 1989, p. 7.

project was the ‘women’s question’, which debated and discussed such reforms as education for women, widow remarriage, the prohibition of child marriage.[45]

The public and private separation are often associated with certain notions of masculinity and femininity. The public sphere embodies rationality, logic and objective qualities that are identified as being inherently male. On the contrary, the private sphere is emotional and subjective, which are intrinsically female in nature. Thus, assimilating the public and private sphere in such a manner that the public then becomes the domain of the men and the private naturally that of the women and the presence of women in public being regarded as out of place. In the Indian context, while describing the public and private, both Arjun Appadurai and Dipesh Chakrabarty argue that the distinction between the two are not only indistinct but is a more recent phenomenon.[46] Interestingly, Partha Chatterjee writes that these western distinctions of the public and the private were appropriated and reproduced in the Indian nationalistic project while fighting for freedom against the British Colonisers.[47] The street was, according to Appadurai and Chakraborty, central to India's cultural and social life where almost every aspect of one’s private life is played out from eating to washing clothes, sleeping and celebrating. The Indian street contested the western conception and tradition of the public and the private. Though women are a part of the street yet there are certain moral and cultural underpinnings to their presence and, as Dipesh Chakrabarty notes, are often referred to as women of the bazaar.[48] Often, a woman of the bazaar is popularly imagined as brash, loud and uncultured but by being located in the market, where

[45] Paul Gillen and Devleena Ghosh, *Colonialism and Modernity*, p. 182.
[46] Arjun Appadurai, “Street Culture”, *The Indian Magazine,* Vol. 8, December 1987, pp. 2-23; Arjun Appadurai and Carol Breckenridge, “Why Public Culture”, *Public Culture,* Vol. 1, 1988, pp. 5-9.
[47] It has been argued that women became equated with the nation, and its distinctive values and traditions. Women had to be confined to the private to protect her virtue and purity from violating and corrupting influence of the coloniser. Thus, protecting women ensured the protection of the nation. See Parth Chatterjee, “The Nation and Its Women”, in *Subaltern Studies Reader,* Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1997, pp. 240-262;
[48] Dipesh Chakrabarty, “Open Space/Public Space: Garbage, Modernity and India”, *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies,* Vol. 14, No. 1, 1991, pp. 15-31.

commodities are bought and sold. It is evident that the visibility of women in the public arena is condemned and that they are perceived as women low morals.

As many scholars noted that the emergence of a new culture of consumption provided women with a range of new opportunities in the late colonial period.[49] In the late nineteenth century, the most basic power was a chance to control their own material environment, a power traditionally unavailable to many Indian women who not able to go to the bazaars or the markets for necessary purchases. They, for most of their adult lives, had to depend on their mothers-in-law or other senior women and men of the family for even basic purchases.[50] Lakshmibai Tilak (1868-1936)[51] in her memoir, *Smritichitre* offers poignant examples of the problems that women faced when they lacked control over purchasing power and consumption. In the early years of her marriage to Narayan Tilak, Lakshmi was under the authority of her father-in-law who controlled the family finances, and who would not buy new sarees, soap or oil for her.[52] Her husband assured her more independence when they set up their own household. However, he also imposed his priorities on house expenses. On one occasion when they were living in Nagpur, Lakshmi found that there was no rice in the house and she asked Tilak to go to the market to buy some rice, he agreed, saying good-humouredly, "The money is yours. You are the mistress, I am a servant."[53] When he returns after sometimes, however, he carried a glass inkwell instead of a bag of rice. At this point, Lakshmi lost her

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[49] See for details, Abigail McGowan, "Consuming Families"; Abigail McGowan, "An All-Consuming Subjects"; Michelle Maskiell, "Honour, Desire, Fashion: Textile Consumption in Northwest India and Pakistan"; Harminder Kaur, "Of soaps and Scents: Corporeal Cleanliness in Urban Colonial India"

[50] Judith E. Walsh, *Domesticity in Colonial India: What Women Learned When Men Gave Them Advice,* Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2004, pp. 63-85.

[51] Lakshmibai Tilak (1868-1936) was born and brought up in conservative Chitapavan Brahmin family and married at the age of eleven to Narayan Waman Tilak (1861-1919), a prominent poet and literary figure in Marathi literature of late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Lakshmibai Tilak's autobiography, *Smritichitre,* written in Marathi. It was published in four parts between 1934 to 1937 and became popular in Marathi literature. *I Follow After: An Autobiography,* the English translation of the first three parts of *Smritichitre,* translated by E. Josephine Inkster, was first published in 1950.

[52] Lakshmibai Tilak, *I follow After: An Autobiography,* E. Josephine Inkster (trans.), Madras: Oxford University Press, 1950, pp. 31.

[53] *Ibid,* p. 70.

temper and demanding "and how can I put in an inkpot to stew? What am I to do?"[54] For Lakshmibai, control over consumption and household management was a radical step forward, allowing her to only more choice over what to buy, but also more power to reign in her flighty, profligate husband who kept the family forever teetering on the brink of bankruptcy.[55] Compared to Lakshmi's struggle to control over her material environment, Ramabai Ranade (1863-1924),[56] had unquestioned authority over hers. The very source of anxiety for Laxmibai was a source of pride for Ramabai. Ramabai took charge of household expenditure and financial management early on in her marriage to Justice Mahadev Govind Ranade, one of the most prominent reformers of the nineteenth century Maharashtra and herself a model of upper caste reformed womanhood, Ramabai Ranade was able to put into practice in many of the contemporary ideals of household management. Her husband turned his entire salary over to her, leaving it up to her to manage all provisions and bills in the household.[57] But she was hardly alone among the upper-class women in utilising power over consumption as a source of new Identity. Anandibai Karve (1865-1950),[58] the wife of another prominent social reformer Dhondo Keshav Karve (1858-1962), took a similar charge of family finances. Like Ranade, Karve neither bought things himself or nor managed family accounts;

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[54] *Ibid.*

[55] Abigail McGowan, "Consuming families," pp. 165-66.

[56] Ramabai Ranade (1863-1924), wife of Justice Mahadev Govind Ranade, was an Indian social worker and one of the first women rights activists in the late nineteenth and the early twentieth century Maharashtra. She was born in a small village in Western Maharashtra. At the age of 11, she was married to Justice M.G. Ranade. In that era of social inequality, women were not allowed to go to school and become literate. Ramabai, soon after her marriage, started to learn reading and writing with the support of M.G. Ranade. She learned Marathi, English and Bengali language and became master in public speaking. She, along with her husband, established the first girls' school in Pune. After her husband's death in 1901, she involved in many progressive societies that working for the empowerment of women. She founded women's institute called Seva Sadan in Bombay and Poona. She was also the chairperson of a conference by the women welfare society held in 1904 at Bombay. Ramabai Ranade is written her autobiography, *Amachya Ayushyatil Kahi Athavani* in 1910. Its English version, *Ranade- His Wife's Reminiscences,* translated by Kusumavati Deshpande which was published in 1960.

[57] Ramabai Ranade, *Ranade: His wife's Reminiscences,* trans., Kusumavati Deshpande, 1910; reprinted, New Delhi: Publications Division: Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 1963, p. 61.

[58] Anandibai Karve (1865-1950), who first set down her reminiscences in disconnected episodes which were edited by her youngest daughter-in-law, Kaveri Karve, into an Autobiography *Mazhe Puran* (My Story) which first appeared in 1944.

Anandibai did all of that and more, managing a growing family even during the long periods of when her husband was away on work.[59]

If control over consumption was a source of power for women within the household, it also enabled them to come out from the house into the public sphere as well (see figure 1 and 2). Availability of new kinds of material goods in the bazaar made that possible. Lilabai Patwardhan, the wife of prominent Marathi poet Madhav Tryambak Patwardhan, writes in her autobiography:

> In Kolhapur, we made history by going for walks together, going to cinema shows in each other's company, and attending public meeting together. Also, when I began to wear a raincoat and slippers, people stare at us in the streets, but I ignored them. In the cinema theatres (there were only silent films in those days), women used to sit apart from men behind some thin curtains. But I always went and sat by husband in the men's part, to everyone's surprise. Usually, a couple of seats near me were left vacant, and people would stare at us before the film started and during the intermissions.[60]

She also wrote;

> Madhavrao was very particular about money matters. He disliked having to buy groceries for me twice during the month. Also, he was insistent on saving something every month and paying the instalment on his insurance regularly. He never spent much on his clothes, but allowed me a liberal amount for my clothes and the expenses of the household, insisting that I had to manage on that. [61]

The independence that consumption allowed women did not just mean control over purchases or the ability to move outside the house, but it also meant control over sociability itself, permitting women to forge new relationship on their own, free from family or other oversight.

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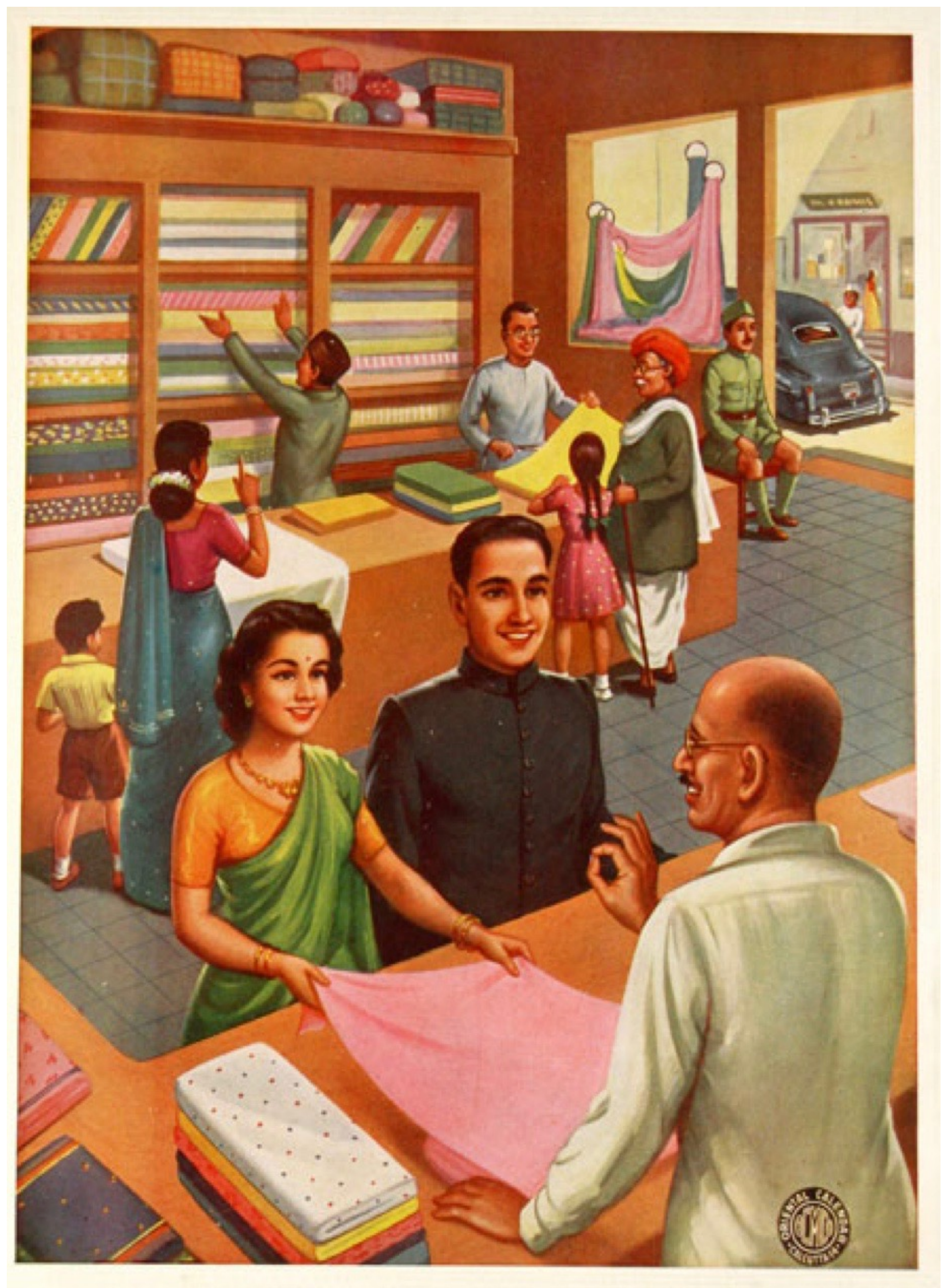
[59] D. D. Karve, trans. and ed., *The New Brahmans; Five Maharashtrian Families,* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963, pp. 82-84.

[60] Lilabai Patwardhan,"Our Eleven Years" (Amchi Akara Varshe), in D. D. Karve, trans. and ed., *The New Brahmans; Five Maharashtrian Families,* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963, pp.298-299.

[61] Lilabai Patwardhan, *Our Eleven Years,* p. 299.

Figure 4.2: Family at Textile Shop



Family at Textile Shop, Chromolithograph, 270 x 360, circa 1930-1940. Source: Tasveer Ghar: A Digital Archive of South Asian Popular Visual Culture

Figure 4.3: Women at clothing Shop

Women at Clothing Shop, Lithographic Picture, circa 1930-1940. Source: Tasveer Ghar: A Digital Archive of South Asian Popular Visual Culture.

Figure 4.4: Woman Adjusting Her Shoes

Woman Wearing or Adjusting Shoes in a Shop. Phoenix P. Works, Ahmedabad, circa 1930s; Source: Tasveer Ghar: A Digital Archive of South Asian Popular Visual Culture.

Figure 4.5: Appeal to Women for Buying Furniture

PERSONAL

—to a lady

This evening when your husband comes home, what would he think if you greeted him in a dress you wore many years ago? One thing is certain—he would wonder how you could have seemed so lovely ***then*** in a dress that looks so old-fashioned ***now.***

We wonder if he realises that there has been as much change in furniture as in fashion?

There is no better time than now, with the long stay-at-home evenings and week-ends of the monsoon ahead, to greet him in that old-fashioned dress—and then show him these two pages! To-day you can read about the furniture you want and even go and see it in the dealers' showrooms; and to-morrow you can tell him your plans for a beautiful home. ***Now*** is the time to refurnish; and now is the time to get your husband to say "Yes" to your plans. They need not be expensive with so much to choose from.

Source: Appeal to Women, *The Times of India,* 11 June 1934, p. 13

Parvati Athavale in her autobiography, urges that the women to pay close attention to the purchase and disposition of goods, to keep in mind beauty, frugality, and modesty as they did so. Within that general message of restraint, Athavale wanted women to take particular care to avoid extravagance in their adornment,

asked them “not to blindly follow the fashions of the west”. She also said that "women who were poor should dress very simple, and take pains that their clothes did not indicate frivolity."[62] She argued that it would be harmful if Indian woman would completely imitate European lifestyle in the Indian tropical climate where poverty was extreme, and people had a lack of health awareness. She pointed out that instead of imitating the good points in European homes, that of cleanliness, neatness, home-teaching, dignity and the like, Indians seem to be imitating only the outer fashions of Europeans.[63] Sir Narayan Chandavarkar urges to the modern educated middle classes to “assimilate [with] the valuable qualities of the European people instead of merely imitating their external fashions.”[64]

After her visit to America and Europe, Parvati Athavale compares social life between India and America and Europe. She writes that the life of women is in two forms. First is that men were working outside of the home to earn money for the running of the home properly, and the women were remaining in the home for its protection. Second is in the later period, to fulfil the increase in the expense of living, men were working harder than formerly, and even they were spending more time outside of the home. In this transformative period, working men were now less able to command their own time, which means that they were spending less time at home. Under these conditions, all burden of the home, the care of children and household management fall on the women.[65] In Bombay and Poona married women for one reason or another were always complaining that their educated husbands and the sons spent their spare time at a club instead of at home. They preferred to take the midday tea at some other place rather than at home, even though their homes may be near. In many places, the home was merely a place to eat for the men. This was a period in which, Parvatibai advises, men should feel an attraction for their homes as they do in the Western countries.[66]

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[62] Parvati Athavale, *My Story: Autobiography of A Hindu Widow,* pp. 40-41
[63] *Ibid.,* p. 136.
[64] *The Times of India,* 18 April 1913, p. 6
[65] Parvati Athavale, *My Story: The Autobiography of a Hindu Widow,* pp. 133-34.
[66] *Ibid.,* p. 137.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, according to Prashant Kidambi, men and women also worried about maintaining the proper balance between 'fiscal propriety' and 'material respectability'.[67] If consumption of material and cultural goods fell below a specific level and a family did not have a proper cloth to wear, or not living in the appropriate locality, or not maintaining certain social engagements, the status of the family would slip. At the same time, if that same family overspent on clothes, house and appearance, it would become quickly bankrupt, then status might fall another way.[68] This was period where men and women worried further about each other, arguing over who had the right to spend money, which also stood for power within the family, and whether consumption should prioritise individual or family needs. Finally, at least some of women worried about the nation, asking if consumers spent money in ways that built up the Indian economy, or further rendered the country dependent on its colonial rulers.[69] Such concerns reveal this to have been a fraught time for consumption. When new goods and opportunities to access them came with real anxiety about the role of consumption played in individual identity, class status, gender relations, and national productivity.

In colonial Maharashtra, the reaction to the entry of young women into the public sphere was markedly ambiguous.[70] On the one hand, reform required the emancipation of women; on the other hand, their presence in public spaces caused acute discomfort to observers. Above all, their role as consumers of fashion was derided repeatedly in the prose and poetry of the times.[71] Satirical poetry against

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[67] Prashant Kidambi, "Consumption, Domestic Economy", p. 158
[68] *Ibid.*
[69] Abigail McGowan, "Consuming families", p. 157
[70] *The Rast Goftar,* a newspaper in Bombay in 1870, while describing the public examination and the fancy Bazaar held in the Alexandra Girls School's aid, observes that the *Jame-e-Jamseed* of 19th March 1870 was quite wrong in stating and misinterpreting that the young student of this institution was appointed sales-women at the bazaar. European and *Parsi* ladies of Middle age and high family undertook the work of selling articles, and a few students of the institution assisted them in the work. The ladies who voluntarily undertook to perform the work of sales-women deserve praise and thanks from the community. The writer in *Rast Goftar* condemned the misrepresentation and remark of the *Jame-e-Jamseed. The Rast Goftar,* 27 March 1870, pp. 9-10.
[71] Tarabai Shine, *Stri-Purush Tulna ,* ed, S.G. Malase, Mumbai Marathi Granthalay, Mumbai, [1882] 1975; Pandita Ramabai, "Balakache Palan va Shikashan", in *Str-Dharmaniti ,* Sadhana

the growing taste for fashionable clothes amongst women was published in increasing numbers through the 1920s. Orthodox and conservative section of society viewed the traditional value system, and Indian family order was threatened by the temptations of fashionable young women posed for young men, luring them away from their families and leading to financial distress.[72] In the colonial period, the public sphere that was not only male-dominated but was considered to be inappropriate and unsafe for women as they lay themselves bear to the voyeuristic and scopophilic male gaze.[73] Thus, women in public had often been understood as transgressors who had threatened the traditional lines of separation. Not surprisingly, they had become the discursive sites through which the meanings, values and borders of the public sphere vis-à-vis the private sphere are produced and reproduced, contested and simultaneously reinforced.

In the 1890s, shops were emerging outside the traditional bazaar and weekly *haat* selling several material goods mostly unknown even a generation before such as: "suit jackets, colourful cotton mill saris, expensive French satins, pocket watches, shoes, children's toys, cricket bats, European-made hardware, knives and scissors, machine-made paper, china teacups, eggbeaters, kerosene lanterns, candles, and mass printed books."[74] These newly emerging material goods in Maharashtrian household represented new notions of taste and marginalised traditional attires and material goods such as trousers in place of *dhotis*, replacement of breakable earthenware with the brass utensils which improved the kitchen function, and expansion of recreations activities such as tennis racquets, and sports items for the outdoor sports, novels, newspapers, and periodical for the

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Prakashan, Pune, [1882], third edition, 1967; Kashibai Kanitkar, *Dr. Anandibai Joshi hyanche Charitra,* Sevasadan, Pune, [first edition, 1989], 1912; Anandibai Lad, "Lagnachya Chali [1886]", ed., Swati Karve, *Marathi Paulkhuna,* Pratima Prakashan, Pune, 2003; Malati Bedekar, "Panchechalis Varshyapurvichya Gosthi", eds., *Kalyanche Nishwas,* Popular Prakashan, Mumbai, 1983

[72] Kaushik Bhaumik, "At Home in the World" p. 142.

[73] Lilabai Patwardhan, *Our Eleven Years,* pp. 288- 299.

[74] Abigail McGowan's citation of an 1893 article in Gujarati journal; Abigail McGowan, "Consuming Families: Negotiating Women's shopping in Early Twentieth Century Western India," p. 157; 'Kala Kaushalya: Udhyamano Kelvani' (Artistic Skill: Training for Industry), *Budhiprakash,* Vol. 40, No. 3, 1893, p. 12.

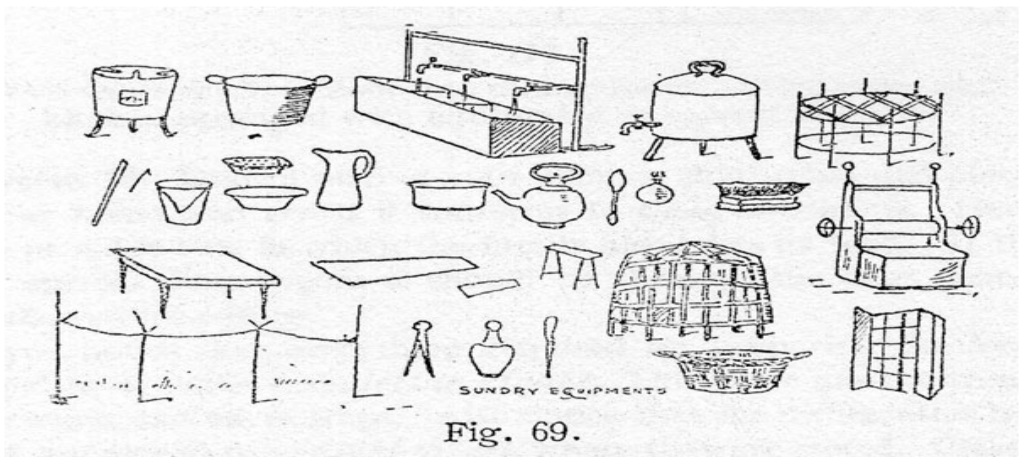
indoors, all these materials goods/things not only transformed 'methods of living', but also increased the 'comfort' of consumers.[75] While purchasing material goods, consumers were also increasing their comforts in how they accessed goods. By the early twentieth century, several fashionable retail stores were opening formal showrooms which isolated from their workshops. They were distributing printed catalogues to publicise their goods and wares, and advertising in newspapers, journals, annual yearbooks, and directory to reach maximum consumers and to increase the orders.[76] In this period, the choices of whether to buy Indian or foreign manufactured goods was only one of the many worries men and women had. Several other concerns about family budgets, shifting fashions, limited product knowledge and power over spending were played an important role while consuming the Indian and foreign manufactured products. At same time anti-colonial movement was spreading among the masses, and activists of *Swadeshi* and national movements tried to overcome resistance to *Swadeshi* or national goods, they were only part of a much larger struggle over the content and expression of consumption which playing out in families where men and women, older and younger generations had different ideas of appropriate choices on different consumptions.[77] Many saw expanding consumption as not only increasing personal comfort but also revealing general social progress in society.

[75] 'Kala Kaushalya: Udhyamano Kelvani' (Artistic Skill: Training for Industry), *Budhiprakash,* vol. 40, no. 3, 1893, p. 12.
[76] Abigail McGowan, "Consuming Families: Negotiating Women's shopping in Early Twentieth Century Western India," p. 157
[77] Abigail McGowan, "Consuming Families," p. 159.

Figure 4.6: Advertisement of Utensils

Source: Advertisement of Utensils Manufactures, Bombay, Source: *Times of India Yearbook,* 1937,

Figure 4.7: Laundry Equipment Needed for the Modern Home



Source: Mabel A. Needham and Ann G. Strong, *Domestic Science for High Schools in India*, Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1929, p. 335

4. Women and the Age of Fashion

The predominance of the Hindu woman in the household was boundless. woman was the keeper of the social and religious consciences of the male members of the family. In the cases when the husband has emancipated himself from the thraldom of old customs and superstitions and wants to launch upon innovations which go against the system of traditional beliefs and manners, the wife tries to hold and control the family appropriately.[78] The majority of modern educated women in the early twentieth century, were using their self-consciousness to make family decision and resisting the dictated policies of the family in all matters. In this matter, many husbands indebted to their wives for their success in life, and their influence was uniformly steadying and generally wholesome. In the early twentieth century, women had shown remarkable adaptability to the changing conditions of modern life, and they were no longer the clogs on the wheels of progress they appeared to be at one time.[79]

The power of women was not defined to this or that section of society. On account of women's backwardness, the feminine influence was not perhaps invariably in favour of progress. However, the state of the things improved with the widespread of modern education among women. The modern education system was, consistently, developing a sense of fashion, and the idea of proper representation of self in the public sphere had changed women's traditional ways of wearing clothing, idea of beauty and usage of modern accessories for personal care and household management. Women were adapting themselves to the changing conditions of the times. The position was anomalous only in those families where a wide gap of educational and cultural difference appears between husband and wife.[80]

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[78] *The Times of India,* 18 April 1913, p. 6.
[79] *Ibid.*
[80] *Ibid.*

In the *The Time of India*'s column 'Safi', in an article entitled "Lovely Saris at The Races" writes "style in the saris do not change as often as European fashion do."[81] It is safe to go a step further and assert that fashions in saree did not change at all; though new ideas were often inspired, external contact that existing styles seldom disappear. That is why 'Safi' a Parsi friend was able to "keep a sari for several years and produce it again for use."[82] In India, a saree is a strip of unstitched cloth, five to nine yards (metres) in length that is draped over the body in various styles. A saree as a costume for women stood the test of ages. It survived the whims and fancies of Indian womanhood through several centuries and still retains its original form and simplicity. In spite of its uniformity, the vicissitudes of the saree were many. The women of Maharashtra, Bengal, Tamil Nadu, Punjab and other Indian regions, the Parsis and various sub-sects each distinctly wore the saree. Bengali style of wearing saree was most widely in vogue and eminently graceful in the first half of the twentieth century. The saree dress code has an ancient heritage associated with tradition and so-called feminine virtues like shame, introversion, decorum and respectability. Traditionally, Maharashtrian women used to wear only nine-yard saree called *Lugad* and *Patal,* a single piece of cloth without any undergarment. The impact of Islamic rule was also felt to have influenced the patterns of wearing clothes in Maharashtra. From the mid nineteenth century onwards, changing style of female dress became a part of larger socio-cultural transformation itself. The saree draped freely from the shoulder, and the end drawn over the head lends and an intriguing air of modesty, which is conformity with the spirit of the Indian women. The Parsi style, though daintier and neater, failed to set off the feminine figure to advantage. The fastening of the folds at the shoulder has, no doubt, a slimming effect, but it gave a rigid appearance. At the risk of provoking controversy, one may add that coiffure affected by the Parsi women only served to accentuate the slimness of the silhouette. Maharashtrian costume was very picturesque, with the saree drawn up between the legs (the trouser fashion) and the

[81] *The Times of India,* 22 October 1935, p.13.
[82] *Ibid.*

folds charmingly draped around the calves the women present a picture in harmony with the heroic spirit of the warrior women of old Maharashtra.[83] Whatever be the mode of dressing it was the truly oriental saree with its colourful woven-in border and edging in genuine Indian hues.[84] In the case of blouses, it is dubious whether western influence has not proved harmful. Frills and flares were all right for European dress, but when these have to be accommodated under the folds of the saree, they ruin the contour, and they prevented the saree from draping in graceful lines. A close-fitting bodice, with tiny fitting sleeves, no sleeves at all should be most suitable. It is fallacious to imagine that extravagance in a blouse added to the beauty of the get up except perhaps in the Parsi style in which case the saree covered very little of the blouse.[85] In the late colonial period, the saree was worn indiscriminately and without regard to the hour of the day or the spirit of the occasion. A simple cotton saree of light shade or preferably white with a neat woven-in border was ideal for home wear and for professional women who go to office or school choose the sober colours and material saree.[86]

Newly introduced sandals were gaining popularity among the European women as well as Indian women in Bombay and Poona as these sandals were ideal wear for coolness and comfort in a hot and tiring day. If one compared the 1890's sandal with 1930s footwear, the difference was the 1890s footwear were favourite among the women and women were more satisfied with plain, serviceable black or brown shoes which were worn almost indiscriminately with any outfit. In the 1930s, women had shoes to correspond with each toilette, and in the early 1930s, women could not help being struck by the variety of materials and styles in footwear.[87]

In the column for women, *The Times of India* writes, "fashion in dress move in cycles. Soon we shall have trained skirts or even crinolines back again. Women have always rushed after the fashion of the moment"[88] However, women also

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[83] *Ibid.*
[84] *Ibid.*
[85] *Ibid.*
[86] *Ibid.*
[87] *The Times of India,* 1 Oct 1935, p. 15.
[88] *The Times of India,* 23 October 1926, p. 19.

believed their own wisdom. The young women of the early twentieth century were peculiarly marked their difference from their predecessor in the field of fashion. For the first time, women had clear ideas about clothes and beauty. They knew which cloth was fitting for her, and neither conforms to conventionality and mode nor indulge in that other form of conformity which consisted of perverse opposition to conventionality and mode.[89] Stylising hair also became an indispensable part of women's fashion during this time. However, the traditional idea of considering hair as women's glory changed from twentieth century onwards. This change could also be seen in other accessories as well. *The Times of India* published such news in 1926 which says; "A women hair is her glory," quoted grandmother, but her granddaughter shakes her shorn head, smiled a dazzling smile, and failed to see why a hot and hirsute nuisance should be maintained for the sake of mythical glory which does not appeal to her. A bridesmaid of seventeen was asked to choose a gift for the bridegroom to give her. "Not jewels", she begged, they are hopelessly out of date. Soon they will only be found in museums."[90]

In Post-First World War, Indian women consumer, according to *The Times of India,* spend nearly sixteen crores of rupees on buying beauty products for a beautiful look. A journalist argued that it might costed nearly sixteen crores of rupees for the Indian people to look beautiful as a result of an investigation to ascertain whether India attached to the same important to good looks like the Western World and whether that gave the same amount of thought to beauty culture and beauty aids as Europe and America. To answer this question, a prominent Indian woman said;

> Our women have not gone so mad after European fashions as to adopt 'en mass' new-fangled theories of modern beauty culture and as a consequence, even in an ultra-modern town like Bombay there are no such places as beauty parlours. There are, of course, hairdressing and hair cutting saloons which to some extent serve the same purpose as beauty shops in Europe and America, but as their

[89] *Ibid.*
[90] *Ibid.*

> functions are mostly limited to hair dressing and hair trimming processes waves, these cannot be really called beauty shops.[91]

This change in the conventional thought of beauty brought more dimension in the consumer culture and one of them was spending money on the beauty product due to influence modernity and impact of capitalism.

While discussing the beauty products and beauty aids for women in Bombay in 1935, a prominent woman writes in *The Times of India,* "though very few Indian women, except the westernised ones go to skin specialists and beauty experts of use western beauty aids other than a little of cosmetics and powders. Nearly all of them patronise indigenous modes of beauty culture and the use of traditional indigenous beauty aids."[92] This system of beauty treatment, according to her, had the advantage of being cheap and easily available all over India. The price of these indigenous beauty products and aids suited the pockets of poor people and, therefore, Indian women could save nearly 14 crores out of 16 crores were being spent annually on these products.[93] What India and Indian women were actually paying to manufacturers of modern toilet requisites were unknown due to the absence of statistics of particularly these beauty products, but it was certain that Bombay and other large cities and towns were using more and more cosmetics, creams and powders every year. According to *The Times of India,* the total value of toilet requisites imported from foreign countries runs to well over a crore and a quarter of rupees in Bombay.[94] If it were possible to ascertain the amount that India paid to producers of soaps, cosmetics, powders, and perfumes in India, this bill would undoubtedly, became much more substantial. The share of expenditure between the urban and the rural population was naturally very uneven. Bombay, for example, was spending through its 653 hair-dressing and hair-cutting saloons nearly Rs. 3000 a day to have the hair of its citizen properly trimmed and dressed.[95]

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[91] *The Times of India,* 23 March 1935, p. 20.
[92] *Ibid.*
[93] *Ibid.*
[94] *Ibid.*
[95] *Ibid.*

The expenses on soap and other toilet goods could not be definitely as curtained, but it estimated that its beauty bill could not amount to less than twenty lakhs a year. A small village, however, did not usually spend more than an anna per month on toilet goods for an ever female member of the community. In spite of growing volume of trade from an increasing number of Indian factories, the import of toilet articles of foreign manufacture had not dropped to any appreciable extent.[96]

Conclusion

The state of the things improved with the widespread of modern education among women. The modern education system was, consistently, developing a sense of fashion, and the idea of proper representation of self in the public sphere had changed women's traditional ways of wearing clothing, idea of beauty and usage of modern accessories for personal care and household management. Women were adapting themselves to the changing conditions of the times. The position was anomalous only in those families where a wide gap of educational and cultural difference appears between husband and wife.

The emergence of a new culture of consumption provided women with a range of new opportunities in the late colonial period. The control over household consumption and household management was a source of power for women within the domestic space. It also enabled them to come out from the house into the public sphere, and the availability of new emerged material and cultural goods in the market and bazaar made that possible in the late nineteenth and second half of the twentieth century. The market, however, was beginning to become stratified enough to be providing goods signifying the modern and the new to consumers across the class spectrum.

The reaction to the entry of women into the public sphere was markedly ambiguous in colonial Maharashtra. On the one hand, social-religious reform, modern education system and the emergence of colonial public sphere were

[96] *Ibid.*

emancipating women and encouraging them to participate in the public sphere, and on the other, the presence of women in public spaces caused acute uneasiness to a traditional and conservative section of society. The traditional and conservative of society seen this transformation among the women, as the threaten male space and threat to the traditional Indian family order. However, the dynamics of consumption patterns emerged in the late nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century not only invaded the private sphere but also enabled women to enter the colonial public sphere and also encouraged them to negotiate with the public sphere which was dominated by the male. In the process of emancipating women, not only played a significant role by social-religious reform, modern education, colonial public sphere, anti-colonial movement and women's agencies but also by the dynamics of consumption patterns in the late colonial period.

Conclusion

The micro level study on the consumption patterns and socio-cultural transformation in colonial Maharashtra since the late nineteenth century to 1930s has shown that the relation between material life and social identity of the people of Maharashtra had gone through several changes. These changes were multi-dimensional as people's understanding of the existing consumption pattern and new up-coming consumption patterns were guided by the traditional values, nationalist ideology, the western modernity and the aggressive capitalism along with its apparatus. The cognition of consumers and clashes between guiding factors of consumption patterns created a new cultural space or a space of negotiation, and that led to emergenc of a new consumption pattern in Colonial Maharahshtra in the late nineteenth and first half of twentieth century.

The process of creating consumers and transforming consumption patterns in colonial Maharashtra in particular and colonial India in general in late nineteenth and early twentieth century was part of a long historical process in which various transforming factors/ agents played a crucial role. First, the Industrial Revolution in Western Europe renewed and redefined the structure of colonialism in late eighteenth and early nineteenth century to maintain its capitalist hegemony and dominance over colonised societies. In this process, the colonial administers, and orientalist scholars used the investigative modalities to study the colonial people, society, culture, and religion as part of cultural technology of rule. This cultural technology of rule created a new class of consumer for the industrially manufactured products of Britain in India. Second, the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 as a maritime highway connecting Mediterranean world to Eastern world substantially reduced voyage time that facilitated the British manufacture to import industrially manufactured products to India. The expansion of railway lines in different parts of Bombay Presidency accelerated the distribution process of these imported items. This entire process led to the destruction of the domestic industry. Since 1870 onward, the flow of the British manufactured products began to increase in the Indian market that created a class of consumers in

colonial India. In the colonial period, spread of aggressive capitalism and new marketing strategy to attract consumers through the use of capitalistic actors such as manufactures, merchants, advertisements and advertising agencies and print cultures created consumers and markets for their products by advertising and advertisements encouraged the middle class to consume advertised commodities. Thus, the emergence of new consumers and the modern culture of consumption were a result of capitalistic development in the colonial period; colonialism and capitalism spread its wings through consumers and a new culture of consumption. Third, the rise of the middle class and emergence of public sphere in colonial Maharashtra as product of modern education, the Enlightenment ideals and modernity that believed in new form of cultural etiquettes, and new value systems which defined themselves as modern and harbinger of modernity and rejected the traditional ways of lifestyle. Thus, the middle class became the torchbearer of a new pattern of consumption. The Indian national movement, under the leadership of Gandhi, discouraged consumption of foreign manufactured commodities and promoted the indigenously manufactured commodities and established several domestic industries to counter foreign manufactured commodities. The Swadeshi movement created consumers who were inspired by Indian nationalism ideals and consumed indigenously manufactured commodities to resist colonial rule. The Indian national movement created an alternative culture of consumption to counter the western way of lifestyle and modern consumption practices.

The consumption of food, cloths, and household articles and furnishing in colonial Maharashtra at the end of the nineteenth century had been largely influenced by religious idea, castes and communities' rules, and customs. Every community had a vivid and vibrant lifestyle which was different from other communities. This difference in lifestyle was reflected in their choice of food patterns; in clothes they wore; in furnishing and managing the household. The late nineteenth and early twentieth century was a transformative period in the consumption patterns of clothes, food and household articles and furnishing. In this transformative period, many commodities and goods, then in common usage, were unknown to a generation before. This period witnessed a constant struggle between private and public, spiritual and

material, tradition and modernity. The entry of new commodities and goods in the home were representing new notions of taste among the educated middle class. The growth of population and massive expansion of urbanisation in Bombay and Poona, spread of modern education, rise of middle class along with transformative nature of colonial rule, colonial economy and modernity played a crucial role in transformation of vivid and vibrant lifestyles of people, which was based on the religious, caste and community customs, and created new consumption patterns which were based on new value and cultural system which emerged in the post-World War I period.

The interwar period in colonial Maharashtra, i.e., between 1919 to 1939, witnessed the emergence of new working culture, the rise of a new economic system after the First World War, development of communication, establishment of new places of entertainment, like cinema hall, theatres, opening restaurant along with the coming of several pleasure activities, like growth of sports activities and horse races; and expansion of public places, like markets, educational institutions, offices, places of amusement and entertainment and the expanding network of public transformation in urban areas. These changes in public spaces and sphere enabled people to interact with each other. The interaction between people and newly established modern institutions in public spaces created a hyper-interactive culture in Bombay and Poona. Besides, the rise and growth of *Swadeshi* and anti-colonial movement, socio-religious reforms, and growth of print culture, and rise of the literary class in urban places shaped that incipient hyper-interactive culture. This hyper-interactive culture was driving force behind the transformation of consumption patterns in colonial Maharashtra.

The development of new technology in food processing and packaging changed the way Indian people consumed food in India; largely upper, and middle class became the major consumer of the processed and packaged food in this period. The changes in patterns of food consumption were, gradually, shifting people from consuming traditional food to technologically processed food. The emergence of hotel and restaurant culture became not only the place

for lodging and food, but also place for amusement and leisure where music, dance, and exotic food were served.

The change in domestic space also led to a shift in the consumption pattern, bigger houses were replaced with smaller apartments, and this affected the possession of asset in the household. Besides, the consumption pattern also changed the structure of the domestic space and emphasised the aesthetic sense and modern furnishing. The women's entry in the public sphere transformed the world of women, and women became the flagbearer of this change in consumption pattern. Change in the family structure made women independent than earlier time and encouraged them to enter into the public space. The women's entry in the colonial public sphere brought changes in the way women wore clothes and the way they managed the household.

The state of things improved with spread of modern education among women. The modern education system was, consistently, developing a sense of fashion, and the idea of proper representation of self in the public sphere changed women's traditional ways of wearing clothing, the idea of beauty and usage of modern accessories for personal care and household management. Women were adapting themselves to the changing conditions of the times. The position was unusual only in those families where a wide gap of educational and cultural difference appeared between husband and wife.

The emergence of a new culture of consumption provided women with a range of new opportunities in the late colonial period. The control over household consumption and household management was a source of power for women within the domestic space. It also enabled them to come out from the house into the public sphere, and the availability of new emerged material and cultural goods in the market and bazaar made that possible in the late nineteenth and second half of the twentieth century. The market, however, was beginning to become stratified enough to be providing goods signifying the modern and new to consumers across the class spectrum.

The reaction to the entry of women into the public sphere was markedly ambiguous in colonial Maharashtra. On the one hand, social-religious reform, modern education system and the emergence of colonial public sphere were emancipating women and encouraging them to participate in public sphere. On the other hand, the presence of women in public spaces caused acute uneasiness among the traditional and conservative sections of society. They saw this transformation among the women as a threat to male space and to the traditional Indian family order. However, these dynamics of consumption patterns not only invaded the private sphere but also enabled women to enter the colonial public sphere and also encouraged them to negotiate with the public sphere which was dominated by the male. The effect of consumption patterns should not be limited to economic aspects or consuming commodities alone. It also contributed significantly in empowering and emancipating women in late colonial India. It played a role comparable to the social-religious reform, modern education, colonial public sphere, and women's agencies in empowering and emancipating women.

It can be said, that the changing consumption pattern of late nineteenth and early twentieth century had not only influenced the every day economy of home and the monthly family budget but also influenced the understanding and representation of the 'self' in the capitalist and colonial milieu. This constantly changing 'self' of the colonised consumers and their negotiation along with the confrontation with the colonial space led to the emergence of a new consumer culture and changes in the consumption pattern in colonial Maharashtra. Thus, the dynamics of consumption pattern which emerged with colonialism played a crucial role in the social and cultural transformation of colonial Maharashtra in the late nineteenth and first half of twentieth century.

Appendices:

British Exports of Cotton Goods to India

1. Exports of Cotton Yarn from Britain to India –in Value (£' 000)

Year	Total Exports of Britain	Exports to India
1871	15061	1525
1872	16697	1738
1873	15895	1911
1874	14517	2501
1875	13173	2147
1876	12782	2062
1877	12193	2256
1878	13017	2107
1879	12107	1846
1880	11902	2833
1881	13165	2518
1882	12865	2625
1883	13510	2555
1884	13813	2796
1885	11865	2278
1886	11487	2471
1887	11379	2517
1888	11657	2712
1889	11712	2250
1890	12341	2564
1891	11177	2399
1892	9693	1755
1893	9056	1733
1894	9286	1643
1895	9291	1627
1896	10045	2061
1897	9930	1958
1898	8923	1595
1899	8059	1444
1900	7741	1485

Source: *Annual Statement of the United Kingdom with Foreign Countries and Possessions for each year*

2. Export of Cotton Cloth- Plain- From Britain to India (In value £' 000)

Year	Total Exports of Britain	Exports to India
1871	33303	9825
1872	34843	9413
1873	34273	11187
1874	34741	11613
1875	33255	10920
1876	31454	10371
1877	31810	11962
1878	29169	10374
1879	29254	10029
1880	34755	13786
1881	37170	14298
1882	33470	12955
1883	34151	12689
1884	31850	12342
1885	30565	11736
1886	32238	14177
1887	32814	12983
1888	34198	14769
1889	32348	13589
1890	34327	14727
1891	33014	13473
1892	29597	12277
1893	26979	12243
1894	30614	14267
1895	27341	10121
1896	29301	12635
1897	27408	11190
1898	28576	12252
1899	28830	12364
1900	29421	12261

Source: *Annual Statement of the United Kingdom with Foreign Countries and Possessions for each year*

3. Export of Cotton Cloth - Printed- From Britain to India, (In value £' 000)

Year	Total Exports of Britain	Exports to India
1871	19564	1642
1872	23361	1808
1873	21581	1812
1874	19603	1956
1875	19901	2459
1876	18494	2371
1877	20219	2288
1878	18578	2430
1879	17253	2375
1880	22377	4236
1881	21235	3159
1882	21006	3721
1883	20831	3771
1884	19806	3777
1885	17706	3741
1886	17922	4311
1887	18924	3473
1888	18381	3463
1889	19036	3811
1890	19830	3555
1891	19417	3266
1892	19166	3025
1893	20302	3537
1894	19602	3727
1895	19417	2486
1896	21879	3427
1897	18395	2283
1898	19332	2463
1899	22029	4148
1900	22961	3372

Source: *Annual Statement of the United Kingdom with Foreign Countries and Possessions for each year*

4. Exports of Cotton yarn from Britain to India (in Volume ('000 Ibs)

Year	Total Exports of Britain	Exports to India
1871	193695	21892
1872	212328	22620
1873	214779	25971
1874	220683	35340
1875	215610	30352
1876	232555	31663
1877	227651	36330
1878	250632	33392
1879	235626	29363
1880	215545	44098
1881	254940	40183
1882	238255	42082
1883	264772	42172
1884	270905	45585
1885	245810	41421
1886	245331	46606
1887	251026	48852
1888	255846	54069
1889	252436	45354
1890	258291	49734
1891	245259	49991
1892	233224	39505
1893	206546	38538
1894	236121	39994
1895	251989	41071
1896	246433	49166
1897	252547	47693
1898	246663	42673
1899	213125	39015
1900	158273	32155

Source: *Annual Statement of the United Kingdom with Foreign Countries and Possessions for each year*

5. Exports of Cotton Cloth --Plain - From Britain to India (in Volume (' 000 yds.)

Year	Total Exports of Britain	Exports to India
1871	2399227	818857
1872	2379968	749687
1873	2384174	881132
1874	2586710	998427
1875	2549146	970156
1876	2667423	1017594
1877	2699282	1155340
1878	2539166	1028660
1879	2652441	1032092
1880	3057966	1361256
1881	3361299	1407540
1882	2959883	1245171
1883	3136180	1360593
1884	3095354	1335083
1885	3149906	1339371
1886	3497866	1712058
1887	3473308	1494521
1888	3607991	1694319
1889	3465464	1607673
1890	3581715	1675333
1891	3433424	1527587
1892	3329037	1527993
1893	3038206	1524181
1894	3668386	1863128
1895	3386769	1439628
1896	3403843	1665390
1897	3284150	1514103
1898	3547874	1720670
1899	3519332	1718507
1900	3233126	1548664

Source: *Annual Statement of the United Kingdom with Foreign Countries and Possessions for each year*

6. Exports of Cotton Cloth --Printed - from Britain to India (in Volume (' 000 yds.))

Year	Total Exports of Britain	Exports to India
1871	995947	101108
1872	1137626	111376
1873	1083306	108658
1874	1003101	120571
1875	1001036	144087
1876	990147	148098
1877	1125255	149229
1878	1067298	159552
1879	1057727	172915
1880	1416348	308406
1881	1386338	231391
1882	1349875	276306
1883	1379932	291923
1884	1321646	307639
1885	1224424	325253
1886	1351977	406758
1887	1430610	317435
1888	1430249	340820
1889	1535687	393481
1890	1543206	345696
1891	1479009	308805
1892	1543965	322879
1893	1613991	364103
1894	1553843	413096
1895	1645698	278480
1896	1813748	372357
1897	1507776	244924
1898	1668060	363022
1899	1919505	462367
1900	1798518	329142

Source: *Annual Statement of the United Kingdom with Foreign Countries and Possessions for each year*

7. Imports of Cotton Yarn into British India, 1871-1910

Year	Quantity (*Ibs*)	Year	Quantity (*Ibs*)
1871	39993582	**1891**	50970950
1872	28379619	**1892**	50404318
1873	31689441	**1893**	38276545
1874	30578815	**1894**	42806991
1875	37097260	**1895**	41482747
1876	31972340	**1896**	46354766
1877	33270208	**1897**	50173890
1878	36194125	**1898**	58290717
1879	33145651	**1899**	45545668
1880	33212952	**1900**	42621854
1871-80 Average	33548899	**1891-1900 Average**	46692845
1881	45876575	**1901**	34803334
1882	40761751	**1902**	38299409
1883	44859175	**1903**	33681300
1884	45378956	**1904**	28016565
1885	44799637	**1905**	30575855
1886	45915123	**1906**	45776742
1887	49013979	**1907**	37673288
1888	51542459	**1908**	37315737
1889	52587181	**1909**	29782373
1890	46382525	**1910**	30032457
1881-91 Average	46711745	**1901-10 Average**	34595706

Source: *Parliamentary* (hereafter *Parl.*) *Papers 1881,* XCIII (c.2976), *Parl. Papers 1890-91,* LXXXIX (c.6502), *Parl. Papers1902,* CXII (cd. 802): Statistical Abstract relating to British India from 1870/71 to 1879/80, pp. 62-63 for 1871 to 1880; Statistical Abstract relating to British India from 1880/81 to 1889/90, pp. 214-215 for 1881 to 1890; Statistical Abstract relating to British India from 1890/91 to 1899/1900, pp. 210-211 for 1891 to 1900; *Parl. Papers 1904,* LXVII (cd. 1915): Tables relating to the Trade of British India with British Possessions and Foreign Countries 1898/9 to 1902/3, p. 16 for 1901 to 1903; *Parl. Papers 1909,* LXIV (cd.4595): Tables relating to the Trade of British India with British Possessions and Foreign Countries 1903/4 to 1907/8, p. 13 for 1904 to 1908; *Parl. Papers* 1914, LXIII (cd. 7750): Tables relating to the Trade of British India with British Possessions and Foreign Countries1908/9 to 1912/13, p. 7 for 1909 to 1910.

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