

Order, Cleanliness, and "a Building of Some Architectural Pretensions":  
Arthur Crawford and Market Reform in Victorian Bombay

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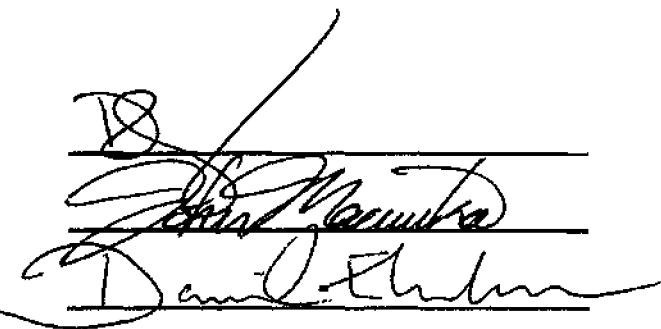
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## Introduction

The Crawford Market is one of the sights of Bombay. Outside, with its steep roofs, belfry and projecting eaves, it has a rather English Gothic look, but inside the scene is entirely oriental, crowded with natives in all sorts of colours, moving among fish, fruit, grain, and provisions of all kinds, buying and selling amid a clamour of tongues—a busy scene of colour and variety, in a symphony of smells, dominated by that of the smoke of joss-sticks kept burning at some of the stalls as well as a suspicion of opium, which pervades all the native quarters in Indian cities.

--Walter Crane, *Indian Impressions*, 1907

[The Crawford Market] stands on a corner site, and like some English country market buildings it has a prominent clock tower crowned by a cupola, with a gable to each frontage and open timber galleries beneath...A visit to the markets is one of the most compelling experiences in India. The noise is deadening, the crowd suffocating and the senses are assaulted by such an array of sights and smells that the unprepared visitor fresh from the order and calm of a European city emerges reeling.

--Philip Davies, *Splendours of the Raj*, 1985<sup>1</sup>

Nearly eighty years separate the two commentators above, yet the treatment of their subject, the Arthur Crawford Markets in Bombay, designed and built between 1866 and 1869, is nearly identical. (fig. 1) Both present the Crawford Market as a contradictory building by contrasting the staid, English appearance of the exterior, expressed by the style of the building, with the “oriental” activity of the people on the interior: a chaotic sea of life that assaults the senses. In the commentators’ eyes, the building becomes a symbol of British rule: a genteel, taming structure attempting to contain a wild and exotic country.

In characterizing the market this way, both succumb to the orientalizing impulse that Edward Said drew attention to in his seminal theoretical work *Orientalism*.<sup>2</sup> There,

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<sup>1</sup> Quotes taken from Walter Crane, “Crawford Market,” *The Charm of Bombay: An Anthology of Writings in Praise of the First City in India*, ed. R. P. Karkaria (Bombay: D.P. Taraporevala, Sons, & Co., 1915), 304; Philip Davies, *Splendours of the Raj: British Architecture in India, 1660 to 1947* (London: John Murray, 1985), 166.

Said argued that European writers who turned their gaze to the East, whether they were travel writers or academic writers, tended to essentialize their subjects as an Other, assigning them certain fixed characteristics that stood in opposition to more favorable European characteristics. At the Crawford Market, the chaotic, irrational India is contrasted with an ordered, calm West. Such a formulation served to justify the colonial enterprise, because the essential characteristics assigned to the Orient and its citizens placed them in an inferior position to the West and made them incapable of ruling themselves. That Philip Davies echoes orientalist rhetoric forty years after India's independence and four years after the publication of Said's book suggests the degree to which constructed east-west dichotomies have permeated popular consciousness.

A more thorough investigation of the history of the Crawford Market reveals a much more complicated picture than our commentators gleaned from their visit. Such an investigation requires looking at the building not as an isolated artifact, but as the culmination in a host of market reforms enacted throughout the 1860s by Arthur Crawford, Bombay's municipal commissioner from 1865-1871. It further requires a comparative approach that examines the problems and solutions that prompted market reform in Bombay and other cities throughout the nineteenth-century and a more nuanced understanding of colonial power relationships.

From such an examination, a more subtle thesis emerges. While the impulse for market reform in Bombay reflected concerns about sanitation, congestion, and immorality in the marketplace that were common in many nineteenth-century cities, in Bombay the solutions to these problems, culminating in the Arthur Crawford Market,

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<sup>2</sup> Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1988).

reflected the local context of both the continuing process of creating a colonial identity and the combat and compromise of a variety of groups that cut across the lines of the colonizer/colonized dichotomy. Such a statement reflects two central tensions: the tension between global and local and the tension between colonial power relationships and more fragmented power relationships in Bombay.

The Crawford Market was the singular vision of Arthur Crawford, its namesake. Crawford worked with his municipal engineer, Russell Aitken, and William Emerson, a twenty-three-year-old architect fresh from London who would go onto design some of the Raj's most significant buildings including the Victoria Memorial in Calcutta. Together, they conceived of the Crawford Market as a colonial project, one through which they could control, monitor, and morally reform their Indian subjects. Indeed, the Market was the centerpiece of a larger project of market reform in Bombay in the 1860s. The goal was to sanitize, rationalize, and architecturally embellish the markets of Bombay. Crawford cast this project as a Europeanization of the markets, one that appropriated techniques from the global trend of market reform and recast them in a colonial light. To do so, it was necessary to essentialize European and native communities in words, in space, and in the buildings' decoration and to designate the buildings as European through choice of style and materials.

Nevertheless, despite Crawford and his designers' attempt to cast it as such, market reform never fit the model of imposition of European reforms on an indigenous system. In the first place, the older markets were a joint creation of Indian and British communities over the previous eighty years. Further, in designing the markets, Crawford, Emerson, and Aitken were forced to confront certain Indian realities, such as

climate, Hindu and Muslim religious codes, and local building practices and forms that reconfigured their designs in surprising ways.

The reform of the markets affected large portions of the city of Bombay, and some groups supported the reforms, while others sought to undermine them. If Crawford and his designers took up the “colonizer” mantle as the major forces in the design of the markets, these affected groups did not fall as easily into the “colonizer” and “colonized” category. Some members of the British community spoke out against the markets, as did the vendors, butchers, and indigenous community members who attempted to derail reform. On the other side, a number of indigenous community members, particularly the wealthy native merchants, known as shetias, who had begun to see urban reform as a matter of civic pride, expressed their support for Crawford’s schemes.

### *Survey of the Existing Literature*

If the reform of Bombay’s markets took place within a larger trend of market reform in the nineteenth-century, that trend has largely been ignored by scholars. Only two significant studies have focused on market reform from a broad perspective, while a third has taken a single city’s markets as a case study.<sup>3</sup> In the most relevant of these to the current study, James Schmiechen and Kenneth Carls have examined the rise of the centralized market hall in England as a solution to problems in markets ranging from congestion to filth to unruly behavior. These markets engaged in social programming

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<sup>3</sup> The first two are James Schmiechen and Kenneth Carls, *The British Market Hall: A Social and Architectural History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999) and Helen Tangiers, *Public Markets and Civic Culture in Nineteenth Century America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 2003). The case study is Roger Scola, *Feeding the Victorian City: The Food Supply of Manchester, 1770-1870* (New York: Manchester University Press, 1992).

and moral reform through architectural ornament, rigid planning, and the mixing of social classes. Only one study by Anand Yang has looked at markets in an Indian colonial context, and he treats markets as an indigenous creation with more concern for their social and economic history than for their spatial and architectural history.<sup>4</sup>

If there is a paucity of literature on markets, the same cannot be said about architecture and urbanism in colonial India, particularly since the early 1980s. While the early literature tended to examine the buildings from the perspective of simple east-west dichotomies, scholars soon attempted to wrestle with a more complex understanding of the Raj's architecture that reflected emerging theories about the relationship between colonial power and colonial culture and between colonial power and systems of knowledge and representation that colonial regimes imposed on colonized subjects.<sup>5</sup>

Thomas Metcalf took the latter approach in *An Imperial Vision: Indian Architecture and Britain's Raj*.<sup>6</sup> Here, he applied the framework of orientalism to colonial buildings themselves, showing how British architects used their buildings to legitimize and expand colonial rule. Rather than seeing colonial architecture as a set of buildings from one culture with essential characteristics imposed on another culture with opposite essential characteristics, Metcalf showed that the buildings themselves created and reinforced preconceived notions of British superiority and legitimacy.

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<sup>4</sup> Anand Yang, *Bazaar India: Markets, Society, and the Colonial State in Bihar* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988).

<sup>5</sup> For simpler readings of British architecture in India, see not only Davies, but also Jan Morris and Simon Winchester, *Stones of Empire: The Buildings of the Raj* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983). For emerging theories about colonial power, knowledge, and culture, see Bernard Cohn, *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).

<sup>6</sup> Thomas R. Metcalf, *An Imperial Vision: Indian Architecture and Britain's Raj*, (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2002).

Yet, as Metcalf admitted in a preface to the paperback edition, his approach has its own methodological flaws.<sup>7</sup> It privileges the question of architectural style over other questions. More dangerously, it divorces the buildings from their local contexts. In doing so, Metcalf tended to see the buildings as expressing broad messages about the British in India without examining more particular, localized messages having to do with the building's place in its urban context.

For the most part, previous works that have examined the Crawford Market tend to divorce them from their status as a solution to an urban problem, as Metcalf does. Early examinations of British Colonial architecture, like those of Philip Davies and Jan Morris focus almost exclusively on the building as an aesthetic object and tend to rely on orientalist dichotomies in their explications.<sup>8</sup> Metcalf, meanwhile, touches on the Crawford Markets briefly to examine the way they represent British imperial aspirations through their style and sculptural motifs. In doing so, he casts the building as part of a Bombay Gothic style that contrasts with the Indo-Saracenic styles employed elsewhere.<sup>9</sup> The most intensive research on the Crawford Market was done by Christopher London, but like his predecessors his focus is on the aesthetics and style of the building, and its place in a larger Bombay Gothic style.<sup>10</sup>

If most architectural studies of the Crawford Market ignore urban context, plenty of other scholars over the past twenty years have turned their eyes to the question of

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., xii-xiv.

<sup>8</sup> Philip Davies, 165-166; Jan Morris, 142-143. Morris, while focusing on aesthetics, acknowledges the control that the British hoped to exert over indigenous populations through market halls, but accepts the Orientalist dichotomy that contrasts a "rationally planned" market hall with the chaos of the Oriental market.

<sup>9</sup> Metcalf, 94.

<sup>10</sup> Christopher London, *Bombay Gothic* (Mumbai: India Book House, 2002), 62-66; "British Architecture in Victorian Bombay" (Oxford, 1986), 222-230. London overemphasizes Emerson's role in the building's design, and in doing so makes some factual errors.

colonial urbanism. Anthony King laid out the paradigmatic study in his *Colonial Urban Development*, in which he postulated the concept of the dual city, where colonizer and colonized lived in spatially separate enclaves with separate cultures and rarely interacted with one another.<sup>11</sup> One reason that such a model gained currency as a way to describe colonial cities in India is that the British elite themselves often described the city in precisely those terms. Yet, recent work by architectural and urban historians like Swati Chattopadhyay, has suggested that such a clean division was as much of a created illusion by and for the British as the concept of the Orient.<sup>12</sup> In fact, the idea of separate spatial spheres served the same function as the orientalizing narrative. It justified the colonial enterprise by positing a British space that could be contrasted favorably with an inferior indigenous space.

Mariam Dossal has examined the Crawford Markets as an urban development scheme in *Imperial Designs and Indian Realities*, but her treatment is merely part of a brisk list of projects initiated by the municipal government in the 1860s.<sup>13</sup> Further, Dossal tends to accept without challenge the idea that the urban patterns in Bombay rise out of the interactions of two essentialized groups: colonizer and colonized. A more recent study of Bombay's urbanism by Preeti Chopra has argued for a more sophisticated approach that recognizes that members of both the Indian and British communities created their identities through a number of fragmented allegiances that extended beyond

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<sup>11</sup> Anthony King, *Colonial Urban Development* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1976).

<sup>12</sup> Swati Chattopadhyay, "Blurring Boundaries: The Limits of 'White Town' in Colonial Calcutta," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 59, no. 2 (June 2000), 154-179.

<sup>13</sup> Mariam Dossal, *Imperial Designs and Indian Realities: The Planning of Bombay City, 1845-1885*, (Oxford, 1991), 204-207.

colonizer and colonized. Certain situations call for actors to adopt the roles of colonizer and colonized, but those roles could be shed in other situations.<sup>14</sup>

The Crawford Market, then, remains a largely unexamined terrain in which to explore questions about the ways that the British sought to create a colonial identity and a colonized subject in Indians, and the way that those attempts were undermined and resisted by a variety of groups.

The thesis is divided into two parts, “Panorama” and “Focus”, and five chapters. The first chapter sets the stage for market reform by placing it in the broader context of market reform in the nineteenth-century and the more local context of 1860s Bombay, which can be seen as a sort of urban and civic revolution for the city. The second chapter continues an exploration of the context of market reform by examining the evolution of Bombay’s markets prior to the 1860s.

The third chapter describes Crawford’s reasons for reforming the markets and outlines his basic ideas for reform, comparing and contrasting these reforms with contemporaneous market reforms in Great Britain. In doing so, it shows that rather than imposing a fixed, modern British system of market design on Bombay, Crawford adapted a British system of market design that was still in flux and in many ways was still dealing with precisely the same issues faced in Bombay’s markets.

The fourth chapter then delves into the details of some of the reforms of the Crawford regime, focusing on the markets in Null Bazaar and slaughterhouse reform. In addition to sanitary measures, it examines strategies for exerting colonial governmental

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<sup>14</sup> Preeti Chopra, *The City and its Fragments: Colonial Bombay, 1854*, (Berkeley, 2003), xxxii.

control over merchants, butchers, and customers, and it examines ways that these reforms were cast as a reflection of superior “European” values while simultaneously adapting to certain Indian realities.

The final chapter focuses on the Crawford Markets, the central, most lavish market design in Crawford’s system of reforms. The chapter explores the spatial and architectural techniques of moral reform, as well as the way that the market form evolved to meet the requirements of Hindu and Muslim religions. Finally, it traces the history of the building’s design from an ineffectual design competition in London to massive budget overruns. In doing so, it also examines the way that the building furthers an agenda of colonizing power and manifests an inherent contradiction in the colonial project.

# **Part I**

panorama

## ***Chapter 1- Context: Global and Local***

### *From the Global to the Local*

The reform of the public markets in Bombay did not take place in isolation. Rather, it should be understood within a context of urban reform that was taking place on both a global and a local scale. In the nineteenth century, many cities throughout the world experienced huge population growths, often spurred by rapid industrialization. This rapid influx of people into cities without the infrastructure to handle their large numbers led to a host of social problems that included overcrowding, pollution, crime, and disease.<sup>15</sup> Cities' urban markets, which were often integrated into city streets became a locus for these problems. As the public place for the buying and selling of food, goods, and livestock imported from the hinterland, they were a place where town and country, as well as the cities' increasingly diverse and socially and economically stratified communities, were forced to meet and mingle. The increasing population put a strain on market arrangements, and commentators in many cities began to see markets as dangerously under-regulated, leading to problems associated with the gathering of large crowds: disease, congestion, and civil unrest. Thus, market reform became one of the central lynchpins in larger movements for urban reform that sought to exert tighter governmental control over cities that were increasingly thought to be spiraling out of control.

Despite its nearly universal appeal as a partial solution to urban problems, in practice, market reform took on various guises that often reflected local realities and a

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<sup>15</sup> For a general discussion of these problems in English cities, see Asa Briggs, *Victorian Cities* (New York: Penguin Books, 1963), 11-55.

constantly evolving system of knowledge for the best way to solve the markets' problems. Elites in cities attempting to control the markets often did so through widely varying structures. For example, while England's market reforms were often spurred by nascent municipal governments that wrested power over markets from aristocratic control, many cities in America, Philadelphia in particular, experimented with privatization schemes before the municipalities reasserted themselves in the last couple of decades of the nineteenth century.<sup>16</sup>

Bombay fit this larger trend of market reform; its old markets were considered to be crowded, dirty, and a public nuisance. Yet, while the general trends that led to market reform in Bombay were similar to other cities throughout the world, the city's status as a colonial port, as well as particular local social and political realities meant that the problems became framed in unique ways. And just as the problems became framed uniquely, the solutions to these problems, while drawing from the general solutions applied in Europe and America, had to be adapted to local conditions.

### *Bombay in the 1860s*

In the 1860s, these local conditions were in a state of flux. Bombay was experiencing a number of civic improvements instigated by a host of actors. Many were initiated by the British government, but others were created by partnerships between the government and the city's wealthy indigenous merchants, known as the shetias. Among the urban projects initiated in the 1860s were land-reclamation projects to expand docks and harbors, the removal of the walls of the old fort and the erection of a bureaucratic

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<sup>16</sup> Tangires, 95-118; Schmeichen and Carls, 35-47.

center, the expansion and improvement of roads, the continuing improvement of railway service, the erection of a number of fountains to better distribute the city's water supply and ornament the town, and a host of sanitary reforms, including drainage projects and regulations concerning the safety of house construction.<sup>17</sup>

The impetuses for urban reform were as varied as the projects taken up under its mantle. However, they can be lumped into two general categories. For the British government, an active interest in the urban development of the city coincided with the establishment of crown rule in India following the so-called Mutiny of 1857 and the changing policies that accompanied the shift. For the shetias, who had long inscribed the city with their presence through works of philanthropy, a cotton boom in the early 1860s spurred a sudden rush of land speculation and urban projects that reshaped the city.

The “Mutiny” of 1857, which grew out of a variety of circumstances in various northern provinces, nearly toppled British rule there. While the inhabitants of Bombay mostly remained “loyal,” the uprisings’ ramifications were still felt there in the form of heightened British paranoia and harsh police tactics.<sup>18</sup> In the aftermath of the rebellion, the British Parliament passed the Government of India Act, which formally transferred power from the East India Company to the Crown. This transfer was mostly a symbolic gesture, as the government had been steadily usurping power from the East India Company over the previous few decades. Nevertheless, the Act signaled a more active governmental and administrative interest in regulating the lives of “natives.”

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<sup>17</sup> For a comprehensive assessment of the reforms initiated by the British government, see Mariam Dossal (1991), particularly Section II. For an assessment that reads some of these reforms as more of a partnership between the British and the Shetias and chronicles other urban transformations initiated solely by indigenous groups, see Chopra.

<sup>18</sup> S.M. Edwardes, *Bombay Gazetteer*, II, 157-159 documents false accusations against prominent members of the native community, threats of hanging made against Sepoy regiments, and the “blowing” of suspected conspirators from cannons.

In the eyes of the British, the lesson of the “Mutiny” was that it was no longer enough merely to maintain conditions favorable to trade with indigenous Indians. It was necessary to initiate expanded regimes of administrative control with the hope of uplifting and morally reforming the populations of India. Bombay was the seat of the government of the Bombay presidency, Britain’s western holdings in India, and the shift in policy had a direct influence on the spatial dynamics of the city.

Prior to the 1860s, the British conceived of central Bombay as divided into three parts: the original British settlement in the Fort, the “Native Town”, a densely packed settlement to the north that had grown to where, as the name suggests the “Natives” lived, and European suburbs on Malabar Hill and in Byculla, where a number of the British built bungalows in large garden plots to escape the density of the Fort (figs. 2 and 3). Buffers between the Fort and Native Town were provided by the fort walls and by the Esplanade, a swath of green between the two settlements, used by the military for marching and housing of troops and by Parsees and the British for recreation during the cooler months.

Such a clean division between the British and the rest of Bombay’s population was something of an illusion, even if it affected the spatial layout of the city. As Swati Chattopadhyay has argued with regard to Calcutta, “the economic, political, and social conditions of colonial culture penetrated the insularity of both towns, although at different levels and varying degrees.”<sup>19</sup> This was even truer of Bombay.

In the first place, before the nineteenth-century, there was no Native Town. Indians lived in the fort, along with the British, although British dominated the southern

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<sup>19</sup> Chattopadhyay, 154.

half of the fort, while Indians lived in the north. Only after the British saw similar arrangements in Calcutta and Madras did they actively encourage indigenous populations to settle outside the fort.<sup>20</sup> Even after the establishment of Native Town, Indians continued to hold onto their community in the fort. In the suburbs, rich indigenous merchants, particularly Parsis, often lived side-by-side with the British, particularly in the suburbs of Malabar Hill where the lavish splendor of their homes drew the envy of their British neighbors.<sup>21</sup> Nevertheless, in the minds of the British, they had created a segregated society, with the Esplanade as a buffer.

By the 1860s, however, such an urban layout was inadequate for the Crown's administrative rule and the buildings needed to support an expanded bureaucracy. Bombay needed new buildings to serve not just the local population, but the entire presidency as well. For Bartle Frere, the Governor of the Bombay Presidency from 1862-1867, the open space of the Esplanade provided the perfect space for this expansion. First, however, it was necessary to tear down the fort's ramparts, which constrained growth and provided little actual protection.

At the ceremony to commence rampart removal, Frere announced his grand vision for a modernized Bombay. He listed fourteen buildings necessary for modern Bombay, including government offices, schools and a college, courts, a railway station, a hospital, and a post office. Some of these institutions had existed in Bombay before this renewed interest in administrative control, particularly educational institutions such as colleges,

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<sup>20</sup> Meera Kosambi, *Bombay in Transition: The Growth and Social Ecology of a Colonial City, 1880-1980* (Stockholm: 1986), 43.

<sup>21</sup> For a description of the homes of the wealthy shetias in European communities, see Norma Evanson, *The Indian Metropolis, a View to the West*, (New Haven, 1989), 78-81; Sharada Diwivedi, "Homes in the Nineteenth Century," *Bombay to Mumbai: Changing Perspectives*, Pauline Rohatgi, Pheroza Godrej, and Rahul Mehrotra eds., (Mumbai, 1997), 160-162.

but their development had been slow. Frere not only planned to expand these institutions, but to make their presence felt through the erection of massive monumental buildings.

As Christopher London succinctly puts it, his goal was to “enhance the government’s image and enable it to expand its services and rule more effectively.”<sup>22</sup> The buildings were to be laid on a long north-south axis on the esplanade facing west towards the coast, and the area of the Esplanade became known as “Frere town.”<sup>23</sup>

Along with the British government’s reordering of the urban landscape, a financial boom in the early 1860s facilitated the transformation of the landscape by private interests through land speculation and building projects. The American Civil War disrupted the American South’s cotton production, driving up prices on the worldwide market, and Bombay’s cotton industry became a major beneficiary of the situation. The conclusion of the Civil War in 1865 resulted in a bust that saw fortunes disappear as quickly as they had been made. Still, the flush of the previous five years resulted in a rapidly transformed Bombay, as government land on the Esplanade, along the coast, and other locations throughout the city, was sold-off for development of docks, warehouses, and offices.<sup>24</sup>

#### *Andrew Leith, Sanitation, and Municipal Reform*

While the British government released its grip on some of its land, it tightened its administrative grip by systematically surveying the population, the land, and the city in

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<sup>22</sup> London (2002), 28.

<sup>23</sup> For a more thorough discussion of Frere Town, see Dossal, 192-202; London (2002) 25-29, 35-54; London, (1986) 78-84.

<sup>24</sup> D. E. Wacha, *The Rise of the Municipal Corporation* (Madras: Nateson & Co., 1913), 64-66; Dossal, 200-201.

order to accumulate bodies of information from which administrative decisions could be made. One significant area that the government examined was sanitation, through Dr. Andrew H. Leith's 1864 report on *The Sanitary State of the Island of Bombay*.

Concern about sanitation in English cities had grown steadily since the 1840s, when Edwin Chadwick called attention to the unhygienic condition of much of Britain's working population. Over the next twenty-five years, local and national governments established a number of commissions to oversee reforms to improve the cleanliness in cities in England. This sanitary zeal, combined with worry about the health of British troops in India led to the formation of a sanitary branch in the government of India. As the Raj became more interested in reordering everyday Indians' lives, inquiries into sanitation in India soon spread beyond the military camps, as the commission of Leith's report attests.<sup>25</sup>

Leith's forty-six-page report detailed sanitary problems that ranged from increased disease due to overcrowding, inadequate drainage in most of the city, dangerously unstable houses, and inadequate infrastructure to handle human wastes. The report was released on February 29, 1864, and its most immediate impact was to force the presidency government to restructure and strengthen Bombay's local Municipal government to instill in it the power to enact Leith's proposed sanitary reforms. Still, it took over a year of political wrangling before Act II 1865 was finally passed on July 1, 1865, installing the first Municipal Corporation of Bombay, a body with the power to

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<sup>25</sup> J.B. Harrison, "Allahabad: A Sanitary history", *The City in South Asia: Premodern and Modern*, eds. Kenneth Ballhatchet and John Harrison (London: Curzon Press, 1980) 168-172.

levy taxes, borrow money, and enact the sweeping measures thought necessary for sanitary reform.<sup>26</sup>

At first glance, the formation of the municipal corporation may appear as though the colonial government ceded power to a more local, Indian form of government. This is true to a certain extent, although the resulting government was neither representative nor democratic. Act II simply elevated the Justices of the Peace to the title and power of the Municipal Corporation. The justices were a non-elected group of city elites, who had previously had more of a symbolic than functional role in city planning. While there were Indians on the justices, the board was still controlled by the British, who had only allowed Indians on the board in limited numbers beginning in 1834. Those natives who were on the board came from the ranks of the shetias, the wealthy merchants whose fortunes were bound up with trade with the British. The majority of the shetias were Parsis, Zoroastrian immigrants from Persia who had amassed large fortunes through economic partnerships with the British, despite the fact that combined with the British, they made up less than five percent of the population.<sup>27</sup>

Further, this group's main responsibility was to appoint a Municipal Commissioner and to meet four times a year to keep tabs on the Commissioner's activities. Many of the justices did not even bother to show up for those meetings, and the body of over a hundred members needed only seven people for a quorum.<sup>28</sup> The end result of Act II, then, was to endow a single Commissioner with almost unlimited power to enact his own conception of municipal reform zealously. The first commissioner

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<sup>26</sup> L.W. Michael, *The History of the Municipal Corporation of the City of Bombay*, (Bombay, 1902) 15.

<sup>27</sup> Michael, 14; D. E. Wacha, (1913) 17; Christine Dobbin, *Urban Leadership in Western India*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972), 3-4, 24-26.

<sup>28</sup> Wacha (1913), 20.h

appointed turned out to be British, not surprisingly. He was a thirty-year-old police officer named Arthur Travers Crawford.

### *Introducing Arthur Crawford*

As Municipal Commissioner, Crawford was something of petty dictator who saw his duties as an extension of the colonial enterprise. He has been described as a “man with grand ideas,” but one whose “finances were a chronic embarrassment.”<sup>29</sup> He zealously pursued his goals and demeaned and bullied those who got in his way. The justices appointed an accountant to oversee Crawford’s expenditures, but he was “so much in hot-water with [Crawford] that he resigned his post at the end of the first three years.”<sup>30</sup> His replacement fared little better. Crawford’s dismissive treatment of those he considered opponents extended to his attempts to reform the markets in Bombay, where he often ran up against opposition from a number of groups most affected, particularly the butchers and vendors.

Part of the casual disdain with which he treated some indigenous critics rose from Crawford’s attitude towards the various Indian populations, which can be described as paternalistic at best and condescending and racist at worst. He made this attitude explicit in his *Reminiscences of an Indian Police Official*, a pulpy series of true-crime vignettes meant to shock and titillate an English readership hungering for tales of exoticism and savagery from the remote colonies. The more bizarre the story was, the more likely Crawford was to describe it in its lurid details. In addition to run-of-the-mill tales of riots and thuggees, the book includes the story of a father who kills his son in order to frame a

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<sup>29</sup> Karkaria, 570; Wacha (1913), 21.

<sup>30</sup> Wacha (1913), 36.

neighbor he is quarreling with and an old man who kills a child impulsively for a worthless necklace and then buries the child in shame.<sup>31</sup> Crawford pinned the motives on the peculiar, yet essentialized psychology of the indigenous population, implicitly contrasting the impulsive irrational Indians with a rational orderly British population.

In order to mitigate the relentlessly negative portrayal of Indians, Crawford began the book with a disclaimer in which he describes Indians' finer qualities. Crawford condescendingly claimed that

No one can live for thirty-five years in India without being drawn into deep sympathy with the people, without recognizing the many virtues they possess, and the numerous good qualities which have survived the ages of anarchy and persecution. It is in no hostile spirit, therefore, that allusion will hereafter be made to certain weaknesses, certain conspicuous failings of character, which force themselves to the front. They are largely compensated for by good traits; such as unbounded hospitality, kindness of disposition, the rugged fidelity of the servant to his master, which come back to our minds in very practical form when we have left India for good. It is my earnest hope that in bringing out the darker side of Indian character I may also have thrown light on some of the better qualities of the people among whom I have lived for so long...On the other hand, I trust I may have sown the need for incessant watchfulness in the administration of a conglomeration of nationalities, creeds and castes such as exist in India.<sup>32</sup>

Crawford's attitude towards the population was in-step with the Raj's larger attitude towards its Indian subjects.<sup>33</sup> One can see in it a couple of fundamental contradictions. On the one hand, Crawford saw Indians as a unified whole, with essential, defined traits such as "the rugged fidelity of a servant to his master." On the other hand, he saw India as a fractured community of "nationalities, creeds, and castes," which requires the "incessant watchfulness" of the British to keep it from ripping apart. Further, this

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<sup>31</sup> Arthur Crawford (T.C. Arthur), *Reminiscences of an Indian Police Official*, (London: Sampson Low, Marston, and Co., 1894) 52-64, 89-94.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., v.

<sup>33</sup> For a general description of the Raj's attitudes towards its Indian subjects in both actions and words, see David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw Their Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 41-57.

tendency to speak about essential character traits, as well as the call for incessant “watchfulness” contradicted the impulse for reform that sought to morally uplift the population. On the one hand, the British claim that certain traits were an essential part of the native character was essential to maintain their sense of superiority. On the other, if these character traits were essential, then the many projects aimed at moral improvement were logically doomed to fail. This contradiction of simultaneously essentializing all Indians and pointing out the fractured nature of their community while attempting to morally uplift the populace extended to Crawford’s plans for new markets.

## ***Chapter 2- A Survey of the Markets in Bombay Up to 1865***

### *General State of the Markets*

Shortly after seizing the reins of the city's nascent Municipal Government in 1865, Arthur Crawford surveyed the city and came to the conclusion that "reform of the Markets and Slaughterhouses was the most pressing duty to be undertaken."<sup>34</sup> What were these markets like, and what did Crawford see in them that led to this conclusion?

Bombay's public market system was not an indigenous system that the British had tolerated and suddenly decided to replace in the 1860s. Instead, the markets had long been a project of cooperation between members of the indigenous community and the presidency government, which ceded land for public markets piecemeal as the city's growth demanded it. Often, the markets were set up near prominent landmarks, such as mosques in the Native Town or the mint in the fort, because they served as easy ways to locate the market and were some of the few buildings that had enough open space around them to accommodate the markets. Occasionally the Government also provided shelter, as it did in 1803, when it converted an old horse stable in the fort into a market.<sup>35</sup> More often, though, it was left to the vendors to provide shelters for the markets. The result was that many of the markets were lined with "either [with] shanties or congeries of mean lowly huts or sheds, exceedingly insanitary, and every way unworthy of Bombay," as Sir Dinesh E. Wacha, a prominent Parsi, recalled in his memoirs.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>34</sup>Crawford, *Annual Report of the Municipal Commissioner of Bombay for the Year 1867(RMC)*, (Bombay, 1868), 7.

<sup>35</sup> Wacha, *Shells*, 334; Edwardes, *Gazetteer of Bombay*, III, (Bombay, 1902), 53.

<sup>36</sup> Wacha, *Shells*, 330.

Over the previous century, the government's attitude towards the markets had cycled between a laissez-faire approach and attempts to bring the markets under more direct control. The former approach was commensurate with the decision to encourage the growth of Native Town as a culturally and politically autonomous community set apart from the fort. At the founding of the Duncan markets in Sheik Memon Street on May 5, 1809, John Duncan the governor of Bombay announced that "This market is appropriated solely for the sale of vegetables, fruits, and flowers, open to all description of persons dealing in those articles free from all tax, fee, dustoor or other emolument whatever."<sup>37</sup> The decision not to use the market as a source of revenue set the tone for a hands-off approach that endured until 1837, when, along with the founding of the markets in Khara Tulao, a clerk of the markets was appointed to enforce standards of quality and to crackdown on the sale of fruits and vegetables by street vendors outside of the markets.<sup>38</sup> Nevertheless, by the 1860s, the clerk had become largely ineffectual at both tasks. In 1863, for example, G. N. Madgaokar, a Marathi writer, reported the variety of calls of the street vendors or *wallas* he heard from his balcony throughout the day.<sup>39</sup> Clearly, they had not been stamped out.

Few surviving accounts from contemporaries give more than a cursory description of the various markets' layouts and most who bothered to comment did so to complain about their state. Crawford's description of the Duncan Market provided a representative example of the state of most markets. He described it as "a few ranges of low-tiled open sheds, indifferently paved and drained, very crowded and hot, and dirty to a degree,

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<sup>37</sup> Duncan quoted in Michael, 478.

<sup>38</sup> Edwardes, III, 55.

<sup>39</sup> As quoted in Diwedi and Mehrota, 60.

containing about 1300 square yards.”<sup>40</sup> An 1810 watercolor by Robert Temple gives a fair conception of what a market shed may have looked like. The roof was tiled and the vendor sat next to his wares on a raised platform with storage underneath. (fig. 6) Given the sparse regulation, in addition to the vendors who had their own sheds, squatters crowded into the circulation spaces around the sheds, laying out their goods on a cloth in front of them.

If the markets had several general characteristics that united them, they also took on unique characteristics that matched their location and the population they served. According to Andrew Leith’s sanitary report, by 1864 there were ten public markets and ten private markets in the city of Bombay.<sup>41</sup> (figs. 3 and 4) Three of the public markets were located on the southern edge of Native Town, near the border with the Esplanade, including the Green or Duncan market, a beef market attached to the slaughter-houses on Butcher Street, and a fish and mutton market attached to slaughter-houses at Borree Bunder. These markets, along with the two other public markets in Khara Tulao and the handful of private markets served the entire population of Native Town, which had reached 449,891 by 1864. Four of the remaining markets were in the fort, and served a much smaller population of 46,000 residents.<sup>42</sup> The last market was a small one in Sonapur attached to a pig slaughterhouse that provided pork for the small community of native Christians and Chinese.<sup>43</sup>

Spatially, the markets on the northern border of the Esplanade were all located within a quarter of a mile of each other, but their separate locations reveal that they were

<sup>40</sup> RMC 1867, 10.

<sup>41</sup> Leith, “Report on the Sanitary State of the Island of Bombay”, (Bombay, 1864),

<sup>42</sup> Population figure is from the 1864 census, quoted in Dossal, 197.

<sup>43</sup> Leith, 2; Edwardes, III, 58.

considered distinct sorts of markets. Indeed, their locations were integral to the ways they functioned and the goods they sold.

#### *Duncan Market and Sheik Memon Street*

The largest of the markets, the Duncan or Green Market, was located a few hundred feet north of the Esplanade on Sheik Memon Street and was dedicated exclusively to non-meat products (fig. 5). The market had been established during the 1770s and was originally known as Mahomed's market, a name that may have been suggested by its proximity to the Jama Masjid, or Friday mosque, whose construction began during the same decade. The market subsequently burned in the early nineteenth-century. Jonathan Duncan provided government money for the rebuilding of the market, and it was renamed after him.<sup>44</sup>

The market's location at Sheik Memon Street was significant for a number of reasons. For one, it placed the city's largest food market in the heart of its retail district, integrating it into a larger system for the buying and selling of goods. When the Municipal Government divided the city into wards to keep more comprehensive statistical data on the city, this section of Bombay became officially known as Market, which S. M. Edwardes claimed derives from "the three great cloth markets which fringe Sheik Memon Street, its main central thoroughfare."<sup>45</sup> All of this prominent retail activity meant that Sheik Memon Street was one of the richest streets in the city, lined

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<sup>44</sup> Edwaerdes, III, 53.

<sup>45</sup> Edwardes, I. 37.

with the shops and houses of prominent cloth and jewelry merchants even if “outwardly its appearance belies its wealth.”<sup>46</sup>

It was also one of the most densely packed parts of the city, as the 1864 census revealed. There were just 5.4 square yards per person in Market, the least in the city. By way of comparison, the northern section of the fort had nearly twice as much space per person, and the British section of the fort had nearly 40 times as much space.<sup>47</sup>

Given its function as a retail center for the city, Sheik Memon Street was also one of the most diverse areas of the city, a place where despite differences in religion, ethnic origin, and custom, all citizens of Bombay could gather for the common ritual of the buying and selling of goods. That the street served as a mingling place for many communities is also reinforced by the fact that two important religious landmarks anchor the street: the Jama Masjid, the most important mosque in the city, and the temple and tank of Mumbadevi, a prominent Hindu site. This diversity helps explain the Green Market’s ban on the sale of meat, which was considered polluting by most Hindus. Its presence would have tainted the other food in their eyes.

If a variety of ethnic and religious communities mingled in Sheik Memon Street, as they shopped and sought out places to worship, the British, particularly the wealthy British, were an exception, preferring to do most of their shopping at European and Parsi owned shops in the fort. *Maclean’s Guide to Bombay*, for example, suggested that only “ladies who do not object to a native crowd and who know something of Hindustani”

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<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> Census statistics from Dossal, 198.

should be willing to venture to the cloth markets where one could “make good bargains sometimes.”<sup>48</sup>

When the British did venture into the “Native Town,” they did so more as tourists, interested in experiencing the diversity of people buying and selling goods as an exotic phenomenon, rather than as a practical necessity. In doing so, they framed what they saw in terms of the “bazaar” or what Ananda Yang calls the “Oriental Market”, that exoticized Other place of Western imagination.<sup>49</sup> For many British, the Bazaar was the predominant urban feature of “Native Town,” encompassing not only Sheik Memon Street, but Syed Abdool Memon Street to the east, and extending north on Bhendy Bazar Road.

Viscountess Falkland’s description of “Native Town” in her memoir *Chow Chow* perhaps best exemplifies this exoticizing narrative. The description is quite long, but it is useful to quote some passages that both show her orientalizing tendencies, but also yield information about the vicinity that shed some light on the nature of the food market. She observed that, during her drive, she was “bewildered with the novelty of the scene around me—too much so...to note separately the endless variety of groups and pictures that presented themselves in all directions.”<sup>50</sup> Her description of the scene as a series of “pictures” suggests a detached view that allowed her to observe the scene without participating, as if she were looking at pictures in a gallery. Of particular interest to her were the throngs of people:

Hindoo women of various castes, clothed in jackets and sarees of divers colours....On their heads they bear large copper water-pots, and they walk with a

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<sup>48</sup> James Maclean, *A Guide to Bombay: Historical, Statistical, and Descriptive*, (Bombay, 1880), 188-273.

<sup>49</sup> Yang, 2.

<sup>50</sup> Viscountess Falkland, *Chow Chow* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1857), 5.

stately and measured step, though the crowd presses them. . . On all sides jostling and passing each other are seen Persian dyers; Bannian shop-keepers; Chinese with long tails; Arab horse-dealers; Absynnian youths. . . Aremenian priests with flowing robes and beards; Jews in long tunics and mantle; Portuguese, small under-sized men, clad in scanty short trousers, white jackets and frequently wearing white linen caps. Then we meet the Parsee priest, all in white from top to toe, except his dark face and black beard; Hindoo, Mussman, and Portuguese nurses. . . What bits to sketch! What effects here! What colouring there!<sup>51</sup>

Rhetoric that cast marketplaces as scenes of chaotic diversity was not limited to British commentators in India. In New Orleans, Benjamin Latrobe commented on the diversity in the marketplace in similar terms and Henry Mayhew spilled a great deal of ink in describing the exotic diversity of the lower classes who attended the Saturday evening markets in London.<sup>52</sup> What these writers all share in common, though, is a narrative technique that keeps a distance from the crowds. They did not participate, but only observed. For Latrobe, this distance lay in the fact that he was a newcomer to New Orleans. For Mayhew, the distance was based on class.

For Viscountess Falkland, the distance was a distance between the Orient and the west, and it was one that the British relied on both to maintain a sense of superiority and justify their rule. As we saw from the preface to Crawford's book, the British impression of Bombay, and indeed India, as a mélange of colorful and diverse groups of people was used to justify the British presence to keep society from descending into chaos.

More relevant to our current interest is her description of the shops, "where the sellers sit squatting and waiting for the purchasers. In the east, it is usual for all the members of a trade to live in the same vicinity...each having their proper *locale*...There

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<sup>51</sup> Ibid. 8, 9.

<sup>52</sup> For an account of Latrobe's description, see Tangieres, 56, 57. For Henry Mayhew's, see *London Labour and the London Poor*, I, 9.

are sellers of flowers; shops where rice, split-peas, salt, oil, vinegar, ghee..., betel-nuts, pawn-leaves, and fruits are retailed.”<sup>53</sup>

Here, we see the way that the Green Market fit into the larger pattern of retail of the city. Just as various other trades were gathered together in distinct areas, vegetable and flower sellers gathered together in the Green Market. Yet, if the Green Market was part of a larger commercial section of the city, it was also distinct from most of the shops in the neighborhood. While most were integrated into the shopkeepers’ homes, the market buildings were a separate commercial realm on municipal, rather than private property. Nevertheless, even on walled off municipal property, the market took on the life of the retail activity around it.

#### *The Slaughterhouses and their Markets*

The other two markets on the fringe of Native Town and the Esplanade were dedicated to the sale of meat, and both were attached to slaughterhouses. A fish and mutton market stood on the northeast corner of the Esplanade at Borree Bunder, the docking area on Bombay peninsula’s east coast about a quarter mile from the Green Market. About half-way between these two markets, the beef market stood on Butcher Street where a number of the mostly Muslim butchers lived (figs. 3, 4).

Like the location of the Duncan Market, there was logic to the placement of each of these markets. The fish and mutton market benefited from its proximity to the sea and to the Esplanade. Proximity to the sea obviously allowed transfer of the fish from boats to the market to occur more efficiently. The sea also aided in the cleansing of the

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<sup>53</sup> Falkland, 9, 10.

slaughterhouses; their floors were set just below the high-water mark, in order to take advantage of the natural tides as a method for cleaning them.<sup>54</sup>

Nevertheless, the slaughterhouses and their adjoining markets were criticized by both Leith and Crawford primarily on sanitary grounds. The relative infrequency of high tide meant that for a large part of the day, “blood and offal...was left to putrify for several hours.”<sup>55</sup> Further, Leith complained that “the operations of the butcher are imperfectly screened from public view, and the offensive putrid mud around them cannot but be very unwholesome,” while Crawford complained that the “low-tiled pent houses” of the market next door “provided no shelter whatever to either vendor or purchaser, the whole being unpaved.”<sup>56</sup>

British officials were not the only people who complained about the Borree Bunder slaughterhouses and their markets. Sir Dinshaw E. Wacha, a wealthy Parsi who was educated in England, recalled in his memoirs that the slaughter houses and their adjacent markets were “bloody, reeking, stinking, abominable...the very sight of [them] used to give us a shock.”<sup>57</sup>

The slaughterhouses’ location on the Esplanade also placed them in close proximity to the sheep market, where sheep herders from the surrounding areas would drive their sheep to sell to the butchers at the slaughterhouses. As a large verdant green, the Esplanade provided the ideal location for this market.

The beef market and slaughterhouses’ location in Butcher Street had to do with convenience for the butchers, who lived nearby, and their proximity to one of the larger

<sup>54</sup> Leith, 26.

<sup>55</sup> Edwardes,, III, 55.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid; RMC, 1867, 9.

<sup>57</sup> Wacha, *Shells*, 335.

enclaves of the Muslim community, who other than the British were the only beef consumers in Bombay. From a sanitary perspective, Leith found the slaughterhouses to be in better shape than their counterparts at Boree Bunder. The slaughterhouse was walled, paved, and drained, although “the inner walls of [the] house were crusted with blood.”<sup>58</sup>

### *Markets in Khara Tulao and the Fort*

The markets in Khara Tulao and the Fort served widely divergent populations. While the families who lived in the fort were some of the oldest and wealthiest in Bombay, Khara Tulao became a hotbed of poor immigrants from the hinterlands who came to Bombay looking for work in the cotton mills. As the markets in the fort served the wealthy British and Indian populations, they were considered by those upper classes to be cleaner than the markets throughout the rest of the city, if only marginally so.

The central market for the fort area was located near the Mint on a fairly open space. K. N. Kabraji recalled in 1901 that it “consisted of a range of low shops in rows, the intervening open space being utilized by squatters retailing fish and vegetables...It was clean and well kept.”<sup>59</sup> The market had a superintendent who was paid a “modest salary” to ensure this cleanliness. Wacha described this market as “the only market approaching to the rudimentary conception of a market of the mid-Victorian age.”<sup>60</sup>

A “bread market” was located on Bazaar Gate Street and was connected to the main market by Bread Market Street. It did not quite have the reputation for cleanliness

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<sup>58</sup> Leith, 26.

<sup>59</sup> Quoted in Edwardes, III 54-55n.5.

<sup>60</sup> Wacha, *Shells*, 330.

that the central fort market did. Kabraji suggested that it "might have been more appropriately named 'Breakfast Bazar,' as here were sold not only bread, but all the other ordinary requisites of the breakfast table, such as butter, sugar, and eggs. The Bread market was so close, ill-paved and dirty, that the Municipality of the present day would not tolerate it for the present moment."<sup>61</sup>

The most recently built markets were the Null Bazaar markets just north of Erskine Road in Khara Talao, built in 1837. These markets took advantage of space to the east and west of a neighborhood mosque. Fruits and vegetables were sold separately from meats, and the mosque acted as a buffer between the two markets. Neither market was paved, and similar to other markets, the sheds were make-shift and spread in narrow rows. In a space of roughly 3000 square yards between the two, the markets provided the food stuffs for roughly 300,000 people.<sup>62</sup>

In contrast to the new building projects proposed by Sir Bartle Frere and many of the land speculators, the markets as just described certainly must have looked antiquated. Crowded rows of make-shift sheds interspersed with squatters do not seem appropriate for a city awash in cash and planning to build a number of massive public structures. As Wacha commented, "To visitors coming to the city for the first time and viewing other public edifices, such as were then to be witnessed, it was a matter of astonishment that we had not a single place where a lady or gentleman could resort to with comfort and convenience for the purpose of making purchases of daily food, specially meat, vegetables, and fruit."<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> Quoted in Edwardes, III 54-55n.5.

<sup>62</sup> *RMC*, 1867, 12,

<sup>63</sup> Wacha, *Shells*, 330.

Yet, Wacha fundamentally misrepresented the situation. The markets in Bombay were not frequented by “ladies and gentlemen.” In Null bazaar, they were frequented by laborers, while at the other markets, “ladies and gentlemen” sent their servants to do their shopping for them. Indeed, at the Crawford Market, which eventually replaced the Duncan market, The British certainly stayed away from the markets, sending their servants for certain necessities like meat, but often avoiding most other foodstuffs sold in the market altogether.<sup>64</sup> The British not only had separate shops for their own food, they relied largely on imported canned foods as many attempted to maintain an exclusively English diet.<sup>65</sup>

Such a remove from the markets may have been one of the reasons that their conditions had been ignored for so long. Nevertheless, Crawford had noticed them, and he was determined to make their reform his top priority.

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<sup>64</sup> Lady Viscountess discussed the intricacies of relaying messages to her butcher through her servant in order to highlight her butcher’s broken attempts at written English in Falkland, 33-35.

<sup>65</sup> For a discussion of typical British dietary habits in India, see E.M. Collingham, *Imperial Bodies: the Physical Experience of the Raj* (Cambridge, 2001) 155-157.

### ***Chapter 3- Market Reform: The British Model and Its Adaptation to Bombay***

#### *A Call for Market Reform*

In the very nature of Crawford's description of the markets of the 1860s, we can see some of the motivations for his call for market reform. In his eyes, the markets were dirty, crowded, and the stalls were ramshackle. His summary judgment of the markets was that they were "places the very sight of which was loathsome and disgusting, and to which no one would resort if he could possibly help it."<sup>66</sup> In addition to worries about overcrowding and sanitation, Crawford wanted to make the markets profitable for the municipality, put some of the market land to other uses, tighten the regimes of inspection and control over the markets, and leave a personal legacy in Bombay.

While the concern over sanitation and crowding was largely altruistic, a less public-spirited concern was the fact that the markets provided virtually no revenue to the government.<sup>67</sup> In providing more orderly, cleaner markets, Crawford also hoped to bring them under municipal control, not only to monitor them, but also to maximize their potential as a source of revenue. Indeed, heavy taxation and municipal fees, in combination with a lavish expenditure on projects such as the markets were a hallmark of Crawford's reign as Municipal Commissioner and eventually led to his impeachment in 1872.

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<sup>66</sup> RMC, 1867, 9.

<sup>67</sup> Crawford complained that the markets "yielded no revenues whatsoever, with the exception of the rents of a few shops near the Green Market." (RMC, 1867, 9). In fact, though, D.E. Wacha reports in *History of the Municipal Corporation* that the markets, as late as 1852 were pulling in 64,000 rupees in fees annually, although enforcement of market tolls was fairly lax.

Another issue was the fact that some of the markets stood in the way of other civic improvements. When Frere pulled the ramparts of the fort down, the spaces where the walls formerly stood became ideal places to build broad boulevards that would ease congestion in the fort and, when extended across the Esplanade, provide vital thoroughfares between the Fort and Native Town. The Eastern Boulevard took the place of the ramparts along the Harbor and was to be a vital connection between the harbor's docks, which catered to the trade vessels of the city's wealthy merchants and the administrative center of the Fort that included Town Hall. Unfortunately, the Fort market stood on the direct line of the new boulevard.<sup>68</sup> In addition, the slaughterhouse on Boree Bunder stood in the way of a planned extension of those docks. In both cases, the public markets stood in the way of civic improvements that would benefit the wealthy elite.

Perhaps the least publicized of Crawford's reasons have to do with his desire to create a personal legacy for himself. If Crawford saw market reform as the most pressing of Bombay's problems, few others did. Bartle Frere did not include a market hall in his list of fourteen buildings that would "meet the most pressing wants of the military and civil administration."<sup>69</sup> Nor did market reform appear among Dr. Leith's fifty recommendations for making Bombay cleaner. The zealous pursuit of market reform, then, was largely Crawford's idea, allowing him to claim full credit for its success, and it is not too hard to imagine, given Crawford's megalomaniacal personality, that he hoped that their construction would catapult him to the legendary status of Frere, one of Bombay's visionaries.

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<sup>68</sup> Proceedings of the Bombay Presidency, Public Works Department, 2365 (1865).

<sup>69</sup> London (2002), 28.

*The British Model for Market Reform*

In seeking to reform the markets, Crawford initially turned to examples in England for guidance. He hoped to appropriate the centralized market hall of Britain's industrialized cities as a model for Bombay's new markets, and he hoped to employ British designers and materials. Such aspirations would fit a model of colonial architecture that sees it merely as the transplantation of the system of the colonizer onto the colonized. Given the collaborative nature between the British government and Indians in the formation of Bombay's old markets, however, such a model holds little weight.

A model that casts a more formal, architecturally permanent British market hall as an antithesis to chaotic, crowded, ramshackle indigenous markets also misconstrues the British market hall as some sort of essential and fixed solution to the planning problem of urban markets. In fact, the large, centralized market hall was a relatively recent solution to problems that plagued English markets throughout the nineteenth-century.

As in Bombay, the central problems in the markets of English cities were problems of sanitation and overcrowding. The traditional markets of most English cities were located near town centers, at the town-crossing, the intersection of the city's major roads. As cities grew in both land area and population, there was a growing push to decentralize these markets, to spread them through various neighborhoods in the city, in the hopes of alleviating the crowding and congestion that occurred in the center of town as market traffic spilled into the adjoining streets. Such a solution merely shifted the problem to various neighborhoods, and by mid-century there was a growing push in a number of cities to recentralize the markets in a separate market-hall that removed trade

from the streets. As in Bombay, these changes often coincided with the strengthening of municipal governments, who wrested power over the markets from the lords of the manor, the patriarchs of the aristocratic families who owned the land surrounding the cities.<sup>70</sup>

Nineteenth-century Manchester provides a representative example. By the nineteenth-century, the traditional marketplace had reached its capacity and both townspeople and vendors had petitioned for additional local markets in neighborhoods. In 1798, Sir Oswald became Lord of the Manor, and immediately set about opening new, smaller markets throughout the town. Yet, as Manchester's population continued to explode, this did little to alleviate the market's problems, leading to market riots in 1812 and 1817.

By the 1840s, it became clear that a reform of the markets would require not simply moving, them, but a substantial investment in the improvement of their dilapidated facilities to alleviate sanitary problems. Equally problematic was the fact that the markets were under-regulated, resulting in the influx of hucksters and vendors who sold items other than foodstuffs. It was also clear that such improvements would not occur under the Lord of the Manor who had no incentive to do so. Thus, the municipality purchased the market rights in 1848, and began a process of closing the smaller markets and funneling vendors into a large, centralized open-walled market hall at the Smithfield market site in Shudehill (fig. 7). Those markets outside of Smithfield that did remain open were covered and paved.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> Schmeichen and Carls, 22-44.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid. 22, 279; Scola, 150-178.

While Manchester's Smithfield Market opened with much fanfare, it was not as elaborate as many of the fully enclosed market halls built in England in the middle of the nineteenth-century. Many of these markets were fully enclosed, elaborately decorated with Gothic or Classical detailing, and announced their presence with magnificent clock-towers. The apotheosis of this penchant for elaborate markets occurred in the Colombia Market, in Bethnal Green, London, built in the same years as the reform of Bombay's markets. Since London lacked the organized municipality of other English towns, or even Bombay, the Columbia Market was built and promoted by Baroness Burdett-Cutts, a wealthy philanthropist who sought to intervene in and improve the lives of east London's poor. The elaborately detailed Gothic structure cost over £200,000 and included a vaulted ceiling at a time when most municipalities turned to iron shed-roofs as a relatively inexpensive way to span the large open interior of the market-hall (figs. 8 and 9).<sup>72</sup>

There were several interrelated aims in providing a large, centralized decorated enclosure to contain marketing activities. The improvements in sanitation and street congestion that came from bringing markets indoors were at the forefront. At the same time, the markets became a rallying point for civic pride, a relatively new feeling of community and competition that corresponded with the empowerment of collective municipal governments. Most importantly, it was hoped that the market halls would have a moralizing effect on the poorer classes in England.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> Francesca M. Wilson, "Ypres at Bethnal Green," *The Architectural Review* 96 (1944), 131-135; *The Builder* (Oct. 27, 1866) 795, 796.

<sup>73</sup> Schmiechen and Carls, 47-60.

Markets had long been seen as places where the lawlessness and uncouth behavior of England's poorer classes went unchecked. The new market-halls were structures for reforming the habits and dispositions of these classes through a variety of means. First, the enclosed space and regulated entrances to the markets allowed for easier surveillance by authorities than the outdoor markets where boundaries blurred with the streets. Further, as the market halls were centrally located, they were frequented by both the emerging middle class and the poorer classes, and it was hoped that the chance to mingle with their social betters would have a positive moral effect. In addition, the rational, orderly arrangement of the stalls, in combination with the elaborate ornament, which often included inscribed moral dictums such as the Ten Commandments, was meant to induce dignified patterns of behavior. Thus, in the Victorian mind, the architecture style, rational plan, and chance to mingle with social betters all worked together to create a shopping setting that would mold and reshape the poor city-dweller.<sup>74</sup>

#### *Crawford's Centralized Market Hall*

Initially, the crux of Crawford's plan to reform the markets was to follow the lead of many British towns by building a centralized market hall, bringing several markets from disparate areas of Bombay under a single roof. That he was both aware of British market halls and in competition with them is evident from his frequent reference to them as a point of comparison.<sup>75</sup> Crawford shared many of the aims of the municipal governments in England, including the desire to create a rallying point for civic pride,

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<sup>74</sup> Ibid.

<sup>75</sup> *Bombay Municipal Record for the Year 1868*. (Bombay, 1869), April 1868, 101.

and many of the problems that the centralized market hall was designed to solve were problems that Bombay's markets faced.

Nevertheless, there were some subtle distinctions. If British market halls provided a solution to urban congestion by removing buying and selling from the street, Crawford knew that urban congestion in the streets of Native Town could not be solved through removal of the food markets alone, since shops and shopping were such an integral part of the urban fabric. Nor is it clear that Crawford wished to solve the problem of congestion at all, other than tackling the specific problem of congestion *inside* the markets.

Further, if the design of market halls in England was a moralizing project aimed at lower classes, in the colonial setting of Bombay, the project was aimed at the entire Indian population. As Metcalf has pointed out with regard to other kinds of urban reform, negative judgments about the lower classes by civil administrators in England were mapped onto race by the civil administrators in India.<sup>76</sup> Russell Aitken, Crawford's municipal engineer, captured this sentiment when he happily reported shortly after the completion of part of Crawford's market scheme, "Having frequently visited these markets since their completion, I cannot help thinking but that the order and cleanliness which there prevails when compared with the former inconvenient markets must exercise a powerful moral effect for good on the minds of the native community frequenting them."<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> Barbara and Thomas Metcalf, 107.

<sup>77</sup> Russell Aitken, *Annual Report of the Municipal Engineer of Bombay for the Year 1867*, 12.

*Placing the Central Market Hall on the Esplanade*

Yet from an urban perspective, while a market scheme that focused on a central market hall made sense in British cities, given that most had a definable town center, the scheme made less sense in Bombay. In the first place, by the 1860s, Bombay's population was larger than every English city save London. Further, the city had no single town center, as it was made up of two separate urban districts by the Esplanade. The fort was designed with a focus around the Bombay Green, but the Native Town had no clear form that could be read as center and periphery.

With no discernable urban center, Crawford turned his focus to the Esplanade as a potential space for the centralized market hall and the city's future town center. In certain ways, even if the Esplanade could not be considered an urban center, its choice as a place for a market hall showed foresight.

Under Frere's vision, the Esplanade was transforming into an urban center of sorts as the site of most of the government administration buildings, as well as the terminus for the Great Indian Peninsula Railway. Symbolically and practically, then, removing the markets from their locations in native town, where the chaotic flow of people and the less ordered urban fabric denied control and oversight, and moving them onto the Esplanade, where massive government administration buildings were under construction, allowed a mostly British government to claim tighter control of the markets.

Tied to this reasoning was the fact that Sir Bartle Frere was insistent that his new administrative buildings become an ornament for the city by adopting the latest architectural fashions in England, the Gothic style. Since it was assumed that the best architects were in England, the way to ensure that the buildings lived up to these

aspirations was to petition England's star architects for designs. In the early 1860s, with the influx of money from the cotton boom, the money required to pay these architects was readily available. George Gilbert Scott was commissioned to design University buildings, and William Burges was commissioned to design a building for the Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy School of Art, named after the venerable shetia who funded the school (figs. 10, and 11). After the inevitable bust in 1865, the money for commissioning the stars dried up, but the design of the buildings on the Esplanade in a Gothic style was continued by the Public Works Department (fig. 12).<sup>78</sup>

In placing the central market hall near the new government buildings, Crawford "was bound, as well for the appearance of the town as by the government grant, to erect a building with some architectural pretensions."<sup>79</sup> Crawford knew this would elevate the status of the market from mere public utility to an architectural landmark for the city, increasing its importance and Crawford's as well.

Crawford was also prescient enough to recognize that the terminus of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway was going to transform the Esplanade into a transportation center. Land for the terminus had been ceded in 1861, and a somewhat makeshift wooden structure served as the terminus until a more permanent one could be designed. Further, he knew that the railway was transforming the public markets. The railway expanded the radius of Bombay's hinterland, changing how foodstuffs were transported and the distances from which foodstuffs came. Consequently, fruits and vegetables were available for longer seasons, since they were imported from more ideal climates. Like Smithfield market in Manchester, Crawford's central market hall would serve not only as

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<sup>78</sup> London (1986), 91.

<sup>79</sup> RMC, 1867, 7.

a retail market, but also the city's primary wholesale market. Thus, its proximity to the railroad was important, because it would also serve as a place where large quantities of goods could be distributed to vendors all over the city.<sup>80</sup>

On November 17, 1865 Crawford petitioned the presidency government for a plot of land adjacent to the railway terminus for the construction of a public market hall. As the reason for a new space for markets, Crawford cited the removal of the markets in the Fort due to the construction of the Eastern Boulevard, a large highway that would connect the expanding docks of the eastern bay directly to the fort. The government responded approvingly, noting that the Municipal corporation would not have to rent the land, since the proposed markets would "be...for the benefit of the whole community."<sup>81</sup>

Thus, although the removal of the fort markets was the impetus for claiming the land on the Esplanade, it gave Crawford the chance to unite all of the markets there. In doing so, the centralized market would bring together the disparate populations of a generally wealthy population of Parsis in the fort and the panoply of communities in Native Town. No doubt Crawford hoped that the experience of shopping with groups from the Fort might have the same moralizing effect for people from native town that shopping with the middle classes in a centralized market hall was supposed to have on the poor in Britain.

Nevertheless, if Crawford saw the Esplanade as an emerging city center, others continued to see it as an inconvenient, open space too disjoined from their community to serve as a location for a convenient market. They reacted to the plan to remove the markets from the fort with immediate hostility. K. N. Kabraji recalled that, "the question

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<sup>80</sup> Ibid.

<sup>81</sup> *Proceedings of the Public Works Department, (PPWD) 1865, No. 2365.*

of its removal was a vexed one. . . But the central situation was so very convenient to the inhabitants of the Fort that they sent a deputation, myself being one of the number, to the Governor appealing against its removal.<sup>82</sup> In focusing on the “central situation”, Kabraji contrasted his conception of “central”, one focused on neighborhood and convenience, with Crawford’s conception, focused on the rubric of native town and fort. The Fort community had political clout, and Crawford was forced to move the fort markets a few dozen feet to the north of the Eastern Boulevard, rather than out to the Esplanade as he had hoped.

By the time Crawford officially announced his comprehensive scheme for the markets in his 1867 Municipal Report, he had given up on the plan of creating a central market hall that united native town and fort markets. Instead, he now imposed a hierarchy on the markets, distinguishing “first class” markets in the southern portion of native town, which included the beef market, mutton market and Duncan market from the “second class” markets in the Null Bazaar.<sup>83</sup> The distinction was based on class and on location. In Crawford’s new scheme, the central market hall on the Esplanade became a local market hall. It was now exclusively for the new first class markets, since they were closest to the site. Crawford still praised the Esplanade site for its proximity to the railroad, but he also now argued that it was close enough to the old markets in southern native town to remain convenient for the community, while far enough outside the “crowded locality” to “provide adequate accommodation.”<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> Quoted in Edwardes, III, 55fn5.

<sup>83</sup> RMC 1867, 7.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid.

In recasting the central market hall on the Esplanade as a local market hall, Crawford undercut one of the central tenets behind the central-market-hall type in England: its use as an instrument of moral reform for the lower classes through the experience of shopping with one's social betters. For Crawford, looking through the prism of a colonial context, the markets could still be put to that purpose, since, in his eyes, moral failings belonged to the Indian population as a whole.

Before delving further into the market hall on the Esplanade, which became known as the Arthur Crawford Market, it will be useful to look at the reforms that accompanied this major gesture. These included the modification of markets in Null Bazaar and the fort and the construction of new slaughterhouses outside the city limits.

## **Part II**

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## ***Chapter 4- Null Bazaar, Fort Markets, and the Bandora Slaughterhouse***

### *Null Bazaar and the Fort Markets: Market Reform on the Periphery*

In casting the Esplanade as the new urban center of Bombay, Crawford ignored the major immigration trends that suggested that a new emerging center was actually growing around the Null Bazaar in Erskine Road, as laborers for the cotton mills streamed into the city and found the only available space in the northern sections of Bombay. That Crawford miscalculated can be seen in the fact that by 1880, ten years after its completion, his grand market hall on the Esplalande accommodated approximately a third of the population, while the Null Bazaar accommodated nearly half.<sup>85</sup>

Nevertheless, while Crawford pursued a grandiose building scheme on the Esplanade, his approach to the Null Bazaar markets was much more practical. Unlike other sites that were either too densely packed or in the way of municipal projects, at Null Bazaar, Crawford found that “the two sites [were] very convenient, and that it would be sufficient to cover them with iron buildings.”<sup>86</sup>

These sheds were purchased from the Elphinstone Reclamation Company, a group of private shareholders who developed dockland and sold it for profit (fig. 13). The burst of the cotton bubble had decimated the company’s finances, and in the 1860s, they were forced to sell off a large amount of their assets in order to remain solvent. The sheds were meant to be used as storage facilities along the docks, and additional ironwork, including the fencing had to be ordered from England in order to accommodate

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<sup>85</sup> Maclean, 223.

<sup>86</sup> RMC 1867, 11.

them to their new purpose. In addition to this covering, the markets were paved with Yorkshire flags, a fine-grained stone imported from England praised for its durability and suitability as paving material.

The choice of iron as the material for the market shed was significant. In the first place, it had a permanence that automatically conferred on the markets a more elevated status than the wooden, tile-roofed buildings and lattice fence that previously stood on the ground. Practically, the wide span of the iron roof provided protection from the elements far beyond the previous structures, which generally left both vendor and buyer exposed.

Symbolically, the use of iron and Yorkshire flags, both materials that needed to be imported from Europe, reinforced the idea that civic and sanitary reforms were European in nature, and required the oversight of the British to be carried out. Iron's status as a modern, western technology automatically infused it with a superiority in the minds of many of the engineers who employed it, even if this superiority was exaggerated. For example, T. Roger Smith, an architect who worked in Bombay in the early 1860s and consulted with Frere on his grand architectural vision, contrasted iron favorably with native tiles, which he considered "an extremely bad roof covering."<sup>87</sup> Even as Smith admitted that iron conducted heat easily, making it "not altogether well suited to the climate...it is still an improvement on the tiles."<sup>88</sup> Smith argued that a double-tiered roof structure could mitigate iron's climate problem, while its durability and impermeability made it a superior material to native tile.

Further, as the relatively simple transition from warehouse shed to market shed showed, iron was a flexible material. Its tensile strength enabled it to span wide spaces

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<sup>87</sup> T. Roger Smith, "On Buildings for European Occupation", *TRIBA*, 18, (1867-1868), 204.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*

with a minimal amount of vertical supports, and as a prefabricated material, it could be shipped to different locations with ease. This made it an essential material for the colonial enterprise, since it could easily be transported from the metropole and was the ideal covering for the variety of large, undifferentiated spaces of facilities, such as warehouses and dock coverings, that were so essential to the success of the large scale commercial enterprise of the colonial powers.

From an aesthetic perspective, the market sheds were utilitarian in character, lacking ornamental detail. Even as engineers in Bombay praised iron, other members of the British community found it aesthetically suspect, representing the worst of England.

Simultaneous to the erection of the market sheds at Null Bazaar, a much larger and more visible cast-iron project was in the course of construction on the Esplanade: Watson's Hotel, designed by Rowland Mason Ordish, a British engineer who had worked on John Paxton's Crystal Palace in London (fig. 14).<sup>89</sup> Structurally, the building took advantage of the strength of iron; it was essentially a cast-iron frame with non-load bearing brick infill walls to differentiate spaces and provide screen from the elements and privacy. While the hotel's first-floor dining room eventually would became a popular leisure space for the city's elite, during its construction the building had its share of virulent detractors. A September 5, 1867 letter to the editor of *The Bombay Builder*, a short-lived building arts publication that sprang up in the late 1860s, wondered "why is it that the ugliest of all ugly and ill-conceived buildings should be allowed to push its misbegotten meaningless front (in which the only thought displayed in the construction and connexion of cast iron work) far in advance of all its neighbours?" In the anonymous

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<sup>89</sup> London (2001), 32.

curmudgeon's eyes, iron construction could not help looking like "a temporary makeshift, without the one advantage of its being so."<sup>90</sup>

From the perspective of our anonymous critic in *Bombay Builder*, the market stalls in iron would hardly be an aesthetic upgrade for the Null Bazaars. They would merely place buildings that looked and were makeshift with a permanent shed that still looked makeshift. The location of the Null Bazaars, though, certainly made them less of a target than the Watson Hotel, since the Esplanade was seen by the British in the late 1860s and 70s as the place for them to leave an architectural legacy. If the utilitarian aesthetic of cast-iron structure did not fit the grand architectural vision of the Esplanade, it made more sense as a relatively inexpensive way to keep native markets clean and orderly, without wasting money on architectural pretensions for them.

In addition to the iron sheds and paving, Crawford designed more permanent stalls laid out on a rational grid. In the vegetable market, long rows of back-to-back stalls ran in a north-south direction, with six ten-foot aisles between them. On a central east-west axis, a large twenty-foot aisle bisected the rows of stalls. Entrance and exit to the market was made here, as fencing surrounded the rest of the shed. By controlling and limiting the point of access to the market, Crawford's scheme made it easier for market officials and police to monitor the markets (fig. 15).

The plan of the meat and fish market was a little more flexible and accommodated the vendors' traditional retail patterns. Most fish sellers did not require stalls, but simply benches, so that they could lay their goods on a blanket on the ground. They were provided with 125 stools in the center of the shed, while mutton sellers, who required

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<sup>90</sup> *Bombay Builder (BB)*, III, (Sept. 5, 1867) 91.

separate stalls for the hanging and storage of their meat, lined the outside of the shed.

Circulation space was adequate and separation between mutton and fish sellers was managed deftly.

If Crawford was able to give the markets a sense of order and cleanliness, the market sheds did little to alleviate the market's central problem—overcrowding—as Crawford himself admitted in 1867.<sup>91</sup> Indeed, the *Bombay Builder* castigated the market improvements as “municipal novelties in the shape of wasteful iron sheds,” largely because they failed to answer this central problem.<sup>92</sup>

Crawford hoped to remedy this by extending the vegetable markets to the south, but several houses stood in his way. In his plan of the Null Bazaars, Crawford marked the houses he hoped to remove, but he could only garner the funds to buy some of the properties directly in front of the mosque and one of the three houses directly to the south of the market. Nor could he garner the authority to condemn the remaining properties. The houses that were removed allowed for alternative paths of access to the markets, but this did not alleviate the crowding in the markets itself. According to the Municipal Act, Crawford technically had the authority to remove the properties, but as Mariam Dossal has pointed out, litigation and public outcry limited his ability to exercise that authority in reality.<sup>93</sup> Despite all of the imperial zeal Crawford brought to his job, in this case, he was unable to harness his power against private Indian landowners. Indeed, Crawford was unable to complete his planned expansion while Municipal Commissioner, and the much needed expansion of the Null Bazaar markets did not take place until 1886.

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<sup>91</sup> RMC 1867, 11

<sup>92</sup> BB, II, (June 5, 1867), 271.

<sup>93</sup> Dossal, 205.

If the Null Bazaar market sheds were not completely successful as a reform scheme, they were adequate enough to serve as a model for the design of future markets. The new markets in the fort replacing the markets that had been sacrificed to the Eastern Boulevard were designed in 1867 according a similar paradigm.<sup>94</sup> This may initially seem odd, given that the Null Bazaar's status as a "second class" market had informed its lack of architectural pretension, while the Fort market was in one of the city's wealthiest areas, where architectural pretension already abounded. By the time he turned his attention to the fort, however, Crawford had sunk so much money into the Esplanade market, to the consternation of much of the general public, that he could not afford any reform other than the most utilitarian.<sup>95</sup>

Further, by 1868, Crawford had fully converted to a system of small neighborhood markets, rather than a centralized market system. He recognized that as the population continued to grow, and urbanization expanded northward across Bombay Island, markets would be necessary in new neighborhoods. In that vein, he began to purchase private markets and subject them to reform modeled on the Null Bazaars. In April 1868, he purchased the land of a private market in Bhuleshwar market that had burned to the ground earlier in the year. Here, the market followed a similar scheme of pavement, iron shed, and regimented stalls.<sup>96</sup> Indeed, even after Crawford stepped down as commissioner in 1871, the simple solution of the Null Bazaar continued to be applied. In the late 1870s, the Pedder Markets, named after the current municipal commissioner, were erected in Mazagon for its largely Christian inhabitants. As they required a separate

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<sup>94</sup> *BB*, III, (May 5, 1868), 383.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*; *RMC*, 1868, 14.

<sup>96</sup> Michael, 482.

pork market, as well, three sheds were built, and utility, airiness, and cleanliness were stressed. As Maclean put it, "No pretensions at architecture have been aimed at; but the buildings are in every way well suited for their purpose."<sup>97</sup>

### *The Bandora Slaughter Houses*

An essential part of Crawford's plan to reform the markets in Bombay involved relocating the slaughterhouses, which had been relentlessly attacked as an unsanitary eyesore by British officials and Indian citizens alike. Particularly troublesome were the mutton slaughterhouses on Boree Bunder. Not only were their sheds a major source of pollution, open to public view, and sitting on a prime site for the development of the docks along the inner harbor, their location on the Esplanade encouraged the nearby cattle market, which was beneath the dignity of the Esplanade's developing administrative core.

The conception of the city as a zone that excluded cattle and livestock had only recently developed in Britain in conjunction to the sanitary movement and the developing conception of the city as a monument for rallying civic pride. In Glasgow, for example, prior to the removal of the slaughterhouses to the outskirts of town in the 1840s, cattle were routinely run through the streets, and in the 1860s, a commentator noted that there were more pigs in the streets than houses.<sup>98</sup>

In Bombay, officials were not concerned only with the manure produced by animals run through the street, they were also worried about animals kept in private residences. Leith complained in his 1864 report that animals were kept "in the midst of

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<sup>97</sup> Maclean, 223.

<sup>98</sup> Schmiechen and Carls, 15.

the densest part of the population" and described the typical cow-house as "rows of thatched sheds, each with a flooring raised a foot or two above the mud that surrounds it, and that results from the excreta of the animals that are closely packed in them, there being no attempt at drainage."<sup>99</sup> He went on to recommend that the Municipal government, "bring cow-houses and stables more under their control."<sup>100</sup> The removal of the slaughterhouses and their adjoining markets were meant to help accomplish this.

In choosing a location for the new slaughterhouse, Crawford was bound by a number of constraints. For Crawford, railways were essential for the separation of the markets from slaughterhouses, because they provided an efficient means to transport meat from the slaughterhouses to the markets. This meant that the new slaughterhouses had to be located near the railway lines. In addition, the slaughterhouses had to be far enough from the city to not act as a nuisance to residents, but close enough so that the fresh meat could reach vendors in the center of the city before it spoiled on the trains.

Negotiating the best place for the slaughterhouses was not easy, since opposition from residents who lived near the planned site was inevitable, given the activities that take place in a slaughterhouse. In 1866, Crawford announced that he planned to move the slaughterhouses to Mahim, a largely Portuguese neighborhood in northwest Bombay, claiming that there was no other suitable area on Bombay Island.<sup>101</sup> The Government of the Bombay Presidency, however, balked at this suggestion, considering the slaughterhouses too great nuisance for the residents. A petition headed by Gabriel Francisco Dias, a neighborhood leader in Mahim, reinforced that opinion, and the

<sup>99</sup> Leith, 27.

<sup>100</sup> Leith, 43.

<sup>101</sup> *Proceedings of the Bombay Presidency, General Department*, 1<sup>st</sup> February 1866.

Presidency Government suggested moving the slaughterhouses further outside the city. A new site was chosen north of Mahim adjacent to the Baroda Railway on the Bandora peninsula, on the ruins of an old Jesuit college established by the first Portuguese settlers.<sup>102</sup> Portuguese fishermen, who feared that runoff from the slaughterhouses would pollute the nearby coastline, petitioned against this site to no avail.

Portuguese neighbors were not the only group to protest the removal of the slaughterhouses from the town center. For the city's butchers, the removal of the slaughterhouses meant a tremendous upheaval in their way of life, added inconvenience and greater costs to endure in plying their trade. The link between the butchers and their old location in native town was enshrined in the name of the street (Butcher Street), and they had been there since native town had begun to develop in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth-centuries. The new slaughterhouses were located eight miles outside of town, a distance too long to commute, so most butchers had to take up residence in government provided housing in Bandora. In addition, they had to pay a five rupee license fee to use the government slaughterhouses, as well as rail fares for themselves, their workers, cattle, and meat.<sup>103</sup>

The butchers, hoping to contest the municipal government's attempts to radically reorganize their space, went on strike in March of 1866. Word had leaked to the government, though, and they imported meat from Poona and Ahmedabad. Bested by the government, the butchers went back to work temporarily, but they continued to agitate. Rumors began to spread through the Hindu community that the mutton was slaughtered in the same houses as beef and transported in the same railway cars. Crawford suspected

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<sup>102</sup> T. Hewlett, Annual Report of the Municipal Health Officer for the Year 1867, 5.

<sup>103</sup> *Bombay Municipal Record*, 4; RMC 1867, 16.

that the butchers were behind the gossip. The rumors, however, only further hurt the butchers' cause, as large portions of the Hindu community began abstaining from meat altogether.<sup>104</sup>

In November of 1866, the butchers attempted to supersede Crawford and appealed directly to the government of the Bombay Presidency. The government replied that "the measure against which they complain is necessary to the Health and Comfort of the Inhabitants of the City of Bombay."<sup>105</sup> With no other alternative, they attempted one final strike on January 1, 1867. Once again, the municipal government acted quickly; this time they brought men in from the hinterlands to take the butchers' jobs and began to make plans to bring sheep from as far away as Australia. When this strike failed, it was clear that the Municipal Government had the upper hand. Crawford forced the butchers to sign a "substantial guarantee for their future good behavior" in which they promised not to strike and to abide by the fee structure set up by the municipality.<sup>106</sup>

If Crawford was relentless in bending the butchers to his will, he knew that he would have to work with other members of the Indian community to ensure the slaughterhouses' success. Crawford consulted with religious leaders from the Hindu and Muslim communities to ensure that he and his municipal engineer, Russell Aitken, designed and arranged the slaughterhouses in ways that were compatible to the precepts of each religion. Such consultations were frustrating for Crawford, who casually dismissed these beliefs as "prejudices," and complained that they "showed themselves at

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<sup>104</sup>Ibid.

<sup>105</sup>Proceedings of the Bombay Presidency, General Department, November, 17 1866.

<sup>106</sup>*Bombay Municipal Record*, 4.

every step and in the most trivial detail.”<sup>107</sup> Nevertheless, these requests were honored, because Crawford recognized he had to abide by them in order to ensure the scheme’s success.<sup>108</sup>

For the Hindu leaders, the primary concern was that the mutton remain free of contact with beef, because while mutton was sanctioned by certain Hindu sects, beef was forbidden by all. Thus it was necessary that the sheep and cattle slaughterhouses not only be separate, but that the interior of the cattle slaughterhouse not even be visible from the sheep slaughterhouse. Nor could the runoff from the cattle slaughterhouse be drained through pipes that connected to the sheep slaughterhouse.

Meanwhile, Muslims needed separate slaughterhouses from European ones, because halaal, Muslim dietary law, required that the animals be slaughtered in a particular manner. Further, Muslims were worried about contamination with pork, which was forbidden by Islam. Once again, municipal leaders showed their frustration with these requests in their reports. Dr. Hewlett noted with astonishment that “It may appear ludicrous to European readers that some of the Mussulman butchers objected to use the Slaughterhouse for oxen because it was next to the Commissariat Slaughterhouse, on the spouts of which they saw the head of an animal which, in their imagination, bore some faint resemblance to a Pig!”<sup>109</sup>

In registering their complaints, Europeans overlooked the fact that they had their own prejudices about meat, dictated by taste rather than religion. In general, Europeans

<sup>107</sup> RMC 1867, 12.

<sup>108</sup> The 1857 Rebellion provided a ready lesson of what could happen if religious concerns about diet were ignored. One of the animating causes of the Revolt was the controversy over the Lee Enfield rifle, whose cartridges were allegedly greased with pig and cow fat and the harsh punishment meted out to the soldiers who refused to use the rifles for religious reasons. (Metcalf and Metcalf, *Concise History of India*, 100.)

<sup>109</sup> Hewlett, (1867), 5.

preferred fatter sheep and cattle than those typically slaughtered for native consumption and preferred to have their meat salted and preserved.<sup>110</sup>

While the slaughterhouses had to be separate from each other, they all had to be close enough to the train tracks to ensure easy transfer of the meat. Russell Aitken, the Municipal Engineer who Crawford assigned to design the slaughterhouses, balanced all of these criteria by laying out the slaughterhouses on a fan-shaped plan (fig. 16). The slaughterhouses lay in an arc along the railway tracks, and their yards converged on a single entrance from the road. A wall dividing the sheep slaughterhouse and its yard from the others split the fan down the middle. One could gain access to each yard through gates on either side of the wall.

The design of the slaughterhouses was as elegantly pragmatic as their plan (fig. 17). Material and form were dictated by concerns about ventilation, light, sanitation, and expense, much as they had been at the Null Bazaars. Random rubble was used for the walls and black basalt, a material that cleans easily, was set into cement with central drains for the floors<sup>111</sup>. Double-tiered iron roofs, similar to the ones on the Null Bazaar, provided ventilation and light, as did circular windows on the north and south facades and large arched openings that punctured the eastern and western facades. Each slaughterhouse's length and the number of arches on its facade was dictated by the size of the population it served and the number of animals to be slaughtered in it. Thus, the slaughterhouse for native Christians and Europeans was the smallest and had two

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<sup>110</sup> See Hewlett (1867) for comparisons between sheep consumed by Europeans and natives. Also see Collingham, 155-157.

<sup>111</sup> RMC (1867), 15.

openings on its facade, followed by the Muslim cattle slaughterhouse with three openings, and the mutton slaughterhouse with five openings.

Each slaughterhouse had quoins and voussoirs of Poreebunder, a light, local stone that contrasted nicely with the darker rubble. These features, along with the iron shed roof, also gave the buildings a distinctly European appearance that reinforced their status as a municipal improvement by a colonial government. In linking European details to sanitary improvements like the new slaughterhouses, the municipal government reinforced the notion that sanitation was inherently a western concept being imposed on a “backwards” East for its own good. Such rhetoric in the detailing masked the role played by religious consultants in ensuring that the buildings were not only physically sanitary, but spiritually sanitary as well.

The European detailing also makes sense when seen in conjunction with the placement of the slaughterhouses along the railroad. Convenience certainly played a role in the slaughterhouses’ position. Crawford hoped to harness the railroad’s technology to provide an efficient system of transport from the slaughterhouses to his markets. In doing so, he extended the spatial separation between mutton and beef from the slaughterhouse yards to the railroad cars of special meat trains that he commissioned. Cars were designated beef cars and mutton cars, with passenger cars for the butchers’ laborers between. The butchers would begin to slaughter their cattle in the early afternoon, and by midnight, the train would arrive, its cars immediately adjacent to their respective slaughterhouses for the efficient loading of the trains.<sup>112</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> RMC, 1867, 16. Edwardes, III, 57, ffn 1.

Yet, their location near the railway was also a way to show the slaughterhouses off to travelers along the Bandora railway, which linked Bombay to Gujarat. They even drew the attention of James Furneaux who in his popular illustrated guide, *Glimpses of India*, described Bandora as “a rather pleasant little place...[with] very fine slaughterhouses.”<sup>113</sup> For the municipal government, the slaughterhouses were a source of civic pride and a symbol of the modernization and sanitization of Bombay, placing it on a level comparable to Europe. Upon the slaughterhouses’ completion, Crawford bestowed on them the highest form of praise from an Anglo-Indian’s point of view when he proclaimed, “I doubt if many towns in Europe possess better abattoirs than these.”<sup>114</sup>

If the municipal government made concessions to the religious proclivities of indigenous groups in the plan of the slaughterhouses, the plan of the rest of the site was an essay in colonial power and control. In addition to the slaughterhouses, it was necessary to erect sheds for the cattle, provide a pen for the cattle market, and provide dwellings for the inspector, the butchers and their workers. The entire site was wedged between the main road from Bombay to Bandora on the west and the rail lines east, about a hundred yards south of the Bandora station.

The main entrance to the complex from the road was flanked on the south by the inspector’s bungalow and to the north by the police station. Thus, the main entrance was dominated by two buildings dedicated to order, control, and authority. Immediately behind the police station, the houses for the butchers and their workers stretched in three long, narrow buildings. The adjacency of these residences to the police station is

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<sup>113</sup> J. H. Furneaux, *Glimpses of India: A Grand Photographic History of India, The Greatest Empire of the East*, (London, 1896), 210.

<sup>114</sup> RMC (1867), 16.

revealing, as is the contrast between the European inspector's bungalow and the butchers' residences.

By the mid-nineteenth century, the bungalow had become the residential form of choice for the British in India.<sup>115</sup> They were low one-story buildings surrounded by a verandah and set in spacious grounds that reinforced the owner's sense of self as an autonomous landowner. The butchers' residences, meanwhile, were referred to by Aitken as chawls in his Municipal Report, the name commonly given to mill workers' tenements.<sup>116</sup> While the term chawl described a specific building form, its association with workers' tenements clearly placed the butchers in a subordinate position to the inspector in his bungalow. In this relationship, the butchers are no longer independent businessmen, but workers for the municipality, subject to its rules and regulations and dependent on it for housing.

The final components of the Bandora slaughterhouses were the sheds for sheep and cattle, as well as a large open space for a cattle market. It was Crawford's hope "that the meat will be much more wholesome if the animals have time to recover from the journey and be kept a while in roomy, cool sheds, with abundance of good water, instead of being huddled up, as heretofore, in dark sheds and in the ground-floor rooms of houses in the most densely populated quarters in Bombay."<sup>117</sup>

It was through this innovation that Crawford hoped to reconfigure the urban core of Bombay as a zone free of animals. By 1868, Crawford had forced the butchers to sign a petition that stated that cattle would only be bought and sold at the cattle market in

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<sup>115</sup> King, *Colonial Urban Development*, chapter 6 and *The Bungalow* 41-49.

<sup>116</sup> For an extended description of chawls, see Chopra, 287-29. Aitken, 1867, 7.

<sup>117</sup> RMC 1867, 14.

Bandora. Nevertheless, sheep herders continued to graze sheep on the Esplanade, and sheep continued to be bought and sold on a small scale throughout the city. Often these sheep were slaughtered in private homes. Crawford admitted that consigning all of these transactions to Bombay would be impossible.<sup>118</sup>

Further, even as Crawford attempted to transform the Esplanade into an urban core, many Europeans who represented the Crawford Market tended to continue to emphasize the pastoral nature of the Esplanade by setting the market in the background of herders of sheep and cattle. These included William Emerson's presentation watercolor and the drawing of the market in Maclean's *Guide to Bombay*, both intended for European audiences. (figs. 18 and 19). These drawings show a tension between a European desire to see India as a timeless, unchanging pastoral country, and the simultaneous desire to modernize and reform. Nevertheless, the images also reflect the reality of the situation. Despite the removal of the slaughterhouses, as late as 1880, animals were still driven through the streets, and the Esplanade was still a site for grazing.

On one hand, then, the removal of the slaughterhouses was part of an agenda that sought to reform the nature of Bombay radically, creating both a more sanitary city literally, through the removal of animals from its streets and the polluting runoff from its shores, and a figurative one, in which the messy realities of butchering were removed from the public eye and brought under greater scrutiny of the government's eye. Yet in doing so, Crawford did not merely flex colonial muscles, he also made adjustments to his scheme that were sensitive to the religious practices of indigenous Indian communities.

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<sup>118</sup> Michael, 483, 484.

## ***Chapter 5: A Closer Look at the Crawford Market***

### *The Design of the Arthur Crawford Market*

In the spring of 1866, Arthur Crawford advertised a competition for the design of the Esplanade market in London. The competition did not draw architects as acclaimed as William Burges or George Gilbert Scott, who were already designing buildings for the Esplanade, but fourteen designs were submitted.<sup>119</sup> The winner was a London-based architect named John Norton, who had not designed any market halls, but who built a career designing churches and country houses, including one for a maharajah in Suffolk.<sup>120</sup> The top three designs were sent to Bombay with William Emerson, an architect in William Burges' office, who came to Bombay to act as supervising architect for the Sir J.J. School of Art in August of the same year.

The pitfalls in commissioning a design in this manner soon became evident. Crawford found none of the designs suitable to Bombay. His engineer, Russell Aitken, found that “one at least if erected would have presented an imposing appearance externally,” but went on to add that none of the markets could have been constructed in India for less than “twice the amounts given in the estimates which accompanied them.” Worse, “the arrangements of the Markets, however suitable they may have been for European requirements, were not adapted for India, where caste prejudices and other circumstances necessitate peculiar arrangements to meet them.”<sup>121</sup>

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<sup>119</sup> *The Building News*, (June 22, 1866), 421.

<sup>120</sup> *JRIBA*, (1902), 63.

<sup>121</sup> Aitken, (1867), 7.

Unfortunately, the designs do not survive, as far as I know, so one can only speculate as to their appearance. In all likelihood, they called for a completely enclosed hall, which had become ubiquitous in England in the 1860s and had appeared as early as 1822 in markets like St. John's Market in Liverpool, where a large single enclosure provided for the rational arrangement of stalls in orderly groupings according to the type of food sold and larger stalls that required permanent storage could be grouped against the wall (fig. 20).<sup>122</sup>

Aitken did not elaborate on what precisely he meant by "caste prejudices and other circumstances," but one concern was certainly the concern about meat that motivated the arrangement of slaughterhouses at Bandora. All meat had to be separated from vegetables and grains, because Jains and certain Hindu sects found the presence of any meat to be polluting. Those who did eat mutton did not eat beef, necessitating a further separation between the meat sheds. Clearly, the single-roof market hall failed to meet those requirements. In addition, as at the Null Bazaar markets, different groups of retailers who were often divided by caste and religion preferred very specific stall accommodations.

One of the "other circumstances" that Aitken probably had in mind was the climate. In England, the complete enclosure had the advantage of full protection from wind and cold. In addition, a fully enclosed market with limited entrances could be more easily regulated. In Bombay, as T. Roger Smith wryly noted in offering advice on designing buildings in India, "the great peculiarity of a tropical climate is that it is very

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<sup>122</sup> Schmiechen and Carls, 146.

hot there...that [is] the one point an architect must never forget."<sup>123</sup> In such a condition, a fully enclosed market catering to throngs of people would have been brutally hot and would have contributed to the quick spoilage of food.

### *The Market's Arrangements*

Forced to abandon the English designs, Crawford decided to plan the markets himself, with the aid of Aitken (fig. 21). Aitken had recently completed his designs for the slaughterhouses and brought the same practical spirit to the layout of the markets. Four separate structures were required for the market: a wholesale storehouse, a fruit and vegetable market, a beef market and a mutton and fish market. The plot of land that Crawford had obtained from the presidency government bordered native town to the north, a connecting road between the fort and native town to the west, market road to the west, a blind alley to the south, and the railway station to the east. Crawford and Aitken spread the various structures around the edges of the plot, leaving the center open as a garden that they hoped would become a calming respite from the clamor and chaos of the market. In the original plan, intersecting plans cut across triangular garden plots. Wider paths connect the separate sheds directly, while narrower paths offer opportunity for wandering. The plan shows a number of central circular plots, presumably for fountains or statutes, although only one was erected.

The creation of a calming garden in the center of the market was certainly supposed to take on a moralizing role that promoted the virtues of orderliness, calmness, and introspection, contrasting with the disorder of the bazaar in Native Town. In doing

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<sup>123</sup> Smith, 198.

so, Crawford picked up on the same impulses guiding Baroness Burnadett-Couts who published the plans for her Columbia Market in the *Builder* at roughly the same time that Crawford and Aitken were laying out the markets. While the central market hall was a fully enclosed, vaulted space, wings containing extra shops formed a quadrangle around a central garden, which included a fountain. On a tower overlooking this garden, the words, "study to be quiet and to do your own business" were inscribed.<sup>124</sup> Such a motto would have been equally appropriate for the gardens at Crawford's market.

If the markets' arrangement appealed to civilizing British morals, it also respected Hindu moral codes. Separate beef and mutton sheds were erected along the eastern border of the land. The arrangement of the interior of the mutton market shed, meanwhile, was virtually identical to the mutton and fish shed at Null Bazaar, including the same distinction between retail patterns of fishmongers and mutton sellers.

The beef market shed was a Greek-cross shape, and like the mutton market, its eighty stalls were pushed to the edge of the structure, leaving the central space open. Because even the sight of beef was offensive to Hindus and Jains, the beef market had to be enclosed on all sides, with screen doors. The cross shape, with four short, equal sides, was a practical way to achieve this.<sup>125</sup> Such a complicated iron-shed had to be specially ordered from England, along with most of the iron-work for the market. J. McConnochie, a London-based engineer was commissioned to oversee the design, which included not only the difficultly constructed beef market shed, but intricately wrought

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<sup>124</sup> *The Builder*, (Oct 27, 1866), 796.

<sup>125</sup> C. Thwaites, *Annual Report of the Municipal Engineer of Bombay for the Year 1869*, 12.

details for fences and gasjets. McConnochie was a close friend of Burges and was likely hired through Emerson's connections to him.<sup>126</sup>

In placing the sheds on the eastern side of the market space, Crawford also placed the meat sheds next to the railway lines. He placed the mutton market to the north and the beef market to the south to mirror their arrangement at the slaughter houses, so that when the meat arrived it could efficiently be moved to the markets while remaining separate. Thus, the arrangements of the markets and slaughterhouses continued to affect each other, with the railway serving as a connector that negated their spatial separation. For Crawford, the efficient arrangement of the markets, meat train, and slaughterhouses showed that British technology was not antithetical to Indian society, but could be harnessed to efficiently work within the confines of Indian custom. Despite Crawford's careful planning, however, the meat trains were eventually abandoned as inefficient in the 1880s. In a decision that resonated with supreme irony, the trains were replaced with ox carts.<sup>127</sup>

On the southern side of the market, additional sheds purchased from the Esplanade Reclamation Company were erected as stores for the wholesalers. The market for fruit, grains, and vegetables was placed on the corner lot between the two main thoroughfares. Since the green market would serve as the public face of the building, marking the transitional space between Esplanade and Native Town, it was this section of the building that called architectural embellishment that went beyond iron sheds.

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<sup>126</sup> RMC 1869, 10; For the friendship between McConnochie and Burges, see Crook, 305-306.

<sup>127</sup> Edwardes, III, 55ffn1.

### *Emerson's Façade Design*

Aitken prepared a design for the facade, but he later admitted that, "I did my best to produce an architectural building which would be an ornament to Bombay; yet I found that architecture is not a science which comes kindly to an engineer, as he is usually brought up to consider questions of utility only."<sup>128</sup> Crawford, determined to create a building that aspired to the heights of architecture, turned to William Emerson, the assistant from Burges' office who had brought the competition designs.<sup>129</sup> Emerson was given the task of designing the building's street elevation and the ornamental work for the interiors, while Aitken designed the roof structure, using the same iron, double-tiered shed roof that he had employed at the slaughterhouses.

Aitken's deference to Emerson was no mere act of humility, but was in all likelihood a thinly veiled attack on the engineers in the Public Works Department who were commissioned by the Bombay Presidency to design many of Frere Town's new administrative buildings. Aitken's sentiments about engineers who aspired to create architecture was echoed by the editors of the *Bombay Builder*, who complained "A few [engineers] have made great pretensions to be architects, and some of the miserably weak productions about us testify to their imbecility. It is therefore to be regretted that Architectural designs and details are not committed to the care of those who have made the profession the study of their lives."<sup>130</sup>

<sup>128</sup> Aitken,(1867), 7.

<sup>129</sup> Christopher London has hypothesized that Emerson designed the markets on his own on the boat ride from England to Bombay as a sort of belated entry into the market competition. The municipal reports, however, clearly show that Emerson was called into the design process *after* he arrived in Bombay and after Crawford and Aitken had already laid the ground plan for the buildings. Further, as I argue later, many of the details of the façade, particularly the verandahs appear to be a response to local forms of architecture.

<sup>130</sup> BB, (August 5, 1868), IV, 62.

Such an attitude was not particular to English citizens in Bombay, but was based on a Victorian understanding of architecture that saw it as a distinctive activity from mere building. The roots of such thinking lay in the theory of critics such as John Ruskin and buildings such as St. Panacras Station. Ruskin argued that the addition of structurally extraneous ornament that contributed to the “mental health, power, and pleasure” of the viewer transformed a building into Architecture.<sup>131</sup> Architectural design, then, was about understanding the history of ornament, and knowing when and how to apply various ornamental motifs from history.

St. Panacras Station, designed by George Gilbert Scott in 1865, put the distinction between architecture and engineering on a large-scale display. The utilitarian train shed, a huge single-arched iron truss by the engineer W.H. Barlow, was masked from the street by Scott’s hotel, a fantastical amalgamation of gables, pointed arches, whose asymmetrical massings created a picturesque effect. St. Panacras became one of London’s most famous building projects, and articles on the station in *Bombay Builder* attest to its resonance among the British building community in Bombay.

Thus, it would have been natural for Aitken to assume that Emerson, fresh from one of the most stylish firms in London would have had a better understanding of how to transform the market’s façade into architecture than Aitken would have. The masterful control of Emerson’s earliest design, exhibited in Bombay in October of 1866 along with the rejected designs from England, gives credence to Aitken’s statement.<sup>132</sup> A watercolor survives from that exhibit, and while there were a few significant modifications made in

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<sup>131</sup> John Ruskin, *Seven Lamps of Architecture*, (Kent, 1880), 8.

<sup>132</sup> BB, II, (April 5, 1867), 224.

the building process, it shows a design remarkably similar to the finished product. (fig. 18).

In the watercolor, Emerson developed a tripartite scheme to enliven the façade of the market hall. A tall, curving central section with grand arched entrances connected the two wings of the market: the grain market on the west and the fruit and vegetable market on the northwest. The skyline of each section of the building follows a pattern of gabled ends connected by a horizontal middle to create the picturesque effect so prized by Victorian architects. In the central section, two projecting porches are covered by deep triangular eaves and are connected by a lower, curving horizontal section punctured by a massive clock tower. The façades of each wing consist of two pairs of double arches, each under a triangular gable, connected by a horizontal section with a rectangular end. This play with pointed and horizontal forms in masonry is echoed by the iron-shed roofs behind. The long middle roof is capped with a lantern and vane that provide a central vertical element that echoes the central tower on the middle section of the building. Each gable hides a roof that runs perpendicular to the roof over the horizontal central section.

#### *Gothic Details Meant to Evoke the “East”*

The ornamental detail of the façade was just as important as the building's massing in transforming it from mere building into architecture. Since Emerson was fresh from London, where the popularity of neo-Gothic was visible in George Gilbert Scott's design for St. Panacras Station and the imaginative schemes for the Law Court competition, with which Emerson was likely intimately familiar as a member of Burges' office, it is unsurprising that he chose the Gothic idiom for the ornamental detailing of the

markets. Yet this choice should not be understood simply as the bold, unsympathetic imposition of a colonizing British taste from the metropole onto a colonized, disempowered Indian populace.

It is certainly true that, for the casual observer, the choice of a Gothic idiom appeared to have its roots in British hegemony. Indeed, the choice of Gothic was most certainly supposed to have that effect on the layperson. T. Roger Smith, who helped convince Frere to enshrine the Gothic as Bombay's style, argued that colonial buildings "ought to be European, both as a rallying-point for ourselves, and as a raising a distinctive mark of our presence."<sup>133</sup> For the average Englishman, like Walter Crane the early twentieth century commentator we met in the introduction, the building could be quickly read as "English Gothic," clearly demarcating it as a structure designed and constructed by the powerful, yet munificent British. This allowed European visitors to reaffirm the belief that the clean, orderly, controlled market within was solely the creation of the British, something beyond the capacity of Indian subjects.

Nevertheless, while the market's ornament may have given the impression to the casual observer that the building was an alien British form plopped on Indian soil, Emerson considered his choice of ornamental detail to be more subtle. Emerson did not simply choose a generic Gothic appliquéd for the Crawford Markets; he specifically chose forms he described as twelfth-century French Gothic, including the combination of rounded arches and heavy, slightly pointed arches, complex tracery in rounded windows and simpler, smaller quatrefoil windows.

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<sup>133</sup> Smith, 208.

Emerson's choice of early French Gothic shows that he was still under the spell of William Burges, his mentor, who advocated the use of early French Gothic both for building in the "East" and for new building types spurred by industrialization. Regarding the latter, in a speech reprinted in the August 1867 edition of *Bombay Builder*, likely provided by Emerson upon his arrival in Bombay, Burges argued that "As to early French art, I believe it to be more suited to the requirements of the present day than any other phase of Medieval architecture. We live under very different conditions to our ancestors. They delighted in small pretty buildings...In French art everything is upon a large scale, and it is unusually suited for our large warehouses."<sup>134</sup>

Further, Burges considered his design for the Sir JJ School of Art, which Emerson certainly worked on, to be the physical embodiment of his belief in the appropriateness of French Gothic forms for the "East." Regarding the design, he argued, "I was careful to select [a style] which, without entailing any difficult stone-cutting, would admit of much or little ornament, and, above all, present those broad masses and strong shadows which go so far to make up the charm of Eastern architecture. The style of the end of the twelfth century appeared to fulfill these conditions better than any other, and to assimilate more with Eastern architecture, while it still retained a well-defined character."<sup>135</sup> While Burges' apparent zeal for this style of architecture for nearly every kind of building might suggest that his reasoning was invented after the fact to justify a personal preference, it is nevertheless worthwhile to take his argument at face value.

Burges' argument was based on two claims: that British building in its Eastern colonies should balance Western and Eastern architecture, with Western taking

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<sup>134</sup> *BB*, III, (August 5, 1867), 68.

<sup>135</sup> Burges, *TRIBA*, 1867, 284.

precedence, and that the essence of Eastern buildings is rooted in its simple and primitive nature. This primitive nature was found not only in Eastern workers who were incapable of sophisticated stone-cutting, but also in Eastern architecture more generally, with its “broad masses and strong shadows.” Burges’ statement could serve as a textbook example of the inherent bias of British commentators in their construction of the East as exotic, primitive foil to the sophisticated West. His bias becomes all the more apparent when one realizes that Burges’ only direct experience of the “East” did not include India, but was confined to a visit to Istanbul associated with his design for the Crimean Memorial Church.<sup>136</sup>

Regardless of the dubious merits of Burges’ arguments, Emerson most certainly retained similar beliefs on his arrival in India. Emerson soon abandoned Gothic for the newly inaugurated “Indo-Saracenic style”, a pastiche of Muslim and Hindu motifs laid over buildings arranged according to British sensibilities. In 1882, regarding this conversion, Emerson said, “the idea I have had in later years (though I cannot say it was so when I first went to India) is that buildings erected under the British Raj for any purpose connected with the natives, whether for administrative education, or charity, should show a distinctive British character, at the same time adopting the details and feeling of the native architecture, and suiting it to the particular requirements of the case.”<sup>137</sup> While Emerson considered his later work to be a departure from his work at the

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<sup>136</sup> Burges had been exposed to Indian arts and architecture through the highly mediated World’s Fair at Crystal Palace, but the fact that he could lump Turkey and India into a single definable category of “East” should give one pause. Nevertheless, for an interesting discussion of Burges in Istanbul see Mark Crimson, *Empire Building: Orientalism and Victorian Architecture*, ( 145-158.

<sup>137</sup> Emerson, *TRIBA*, 1882, 152.

market hall, it was not as radical as he claimed, for his reasoning remained firmly rooted in Burges' call for a blending of East and West.

Thus, while the detailing of the market hall was certainly meant to evoke Western connotations, it was also meant to evoke the spirit of Eastern architecture. Emerson followed Burges very closely in this regard, designing stone lattice work in the wing's lunettes that recall *jalis* and mirror a similar treatment on the JJ School of Art. These were replaced in the final design by rosette windows, but even these, designed in monochrome, straddle the stylistic divide between Islamic and Gothic (fig. 22). While the reasoning behind such designs may rest on a fairly specious understanding of a broad, constructed understanding of what "Eastern" architecture was, Emerson's façade also shows a sophisticated, more locally grounded response to the architecture that Emerson had just begun to actually encounter in Bombay.

#### *Crawford Market's Verandahs*

This can be seen most clearly in the projected porches that marked each corner of the central section of the market hall. It is clear, first, that the porches have no precedents in England's market halls, where climate precluded the addition of porches. Architectural historians accustomed to analyze buildings by placing stylistic labels on them, have tended to look for European sources for the porches, leading to dubious connections, such as Jan Morris' claim that Emerson may have been influenced by Swiss architecture.<sup>138</sup> J. Moudrant Crook tried to find their source in Burges, using the eaves of

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<sup>138</sup> Morris, 142.

the porches and the round clock tower to draw a connection to Burges' design for Cardiff Castle stable, one unsupportable by chronology.<sup>139</sup>

Instead, the porches were, in all likelihood, inspired locally by the wooden, often ornately carved verandahs supported by brackets that projected from many of the tall houses lining the streets of “Native Town” to the north of the markets. The projecting porches provided shade for the street below, an open-air space to escape the often crowded houses, and a zone for ornate carving that could be read as a sign of conspicuous consumption by neighbors.

While ornamental motifs on individuals’ homes often reflected their particular regional and cultural origins, for British commentators who described the streets of Native Town, these porches often blended together and became reified as one of the essential characteristics of native dwellings in Bombay.<sup>140</sup> Louis Rouslett, for example, described houses with “fronts adorned with verandahs the pillars of which are delicately carved and painted in lively colours, afford[ing] a peculiarity of appearance altogether unknown in exclusively Mussulman countries.”<sup>141</sup> Indeed another commentator, a Mrs. Elwood, saw in these verandahs the same affinity with Swiss architecture that Jan Morris sees in the Bombay Market porches, describing the houses as “wooden houses with their wooden verandahs, Venetian blinds and heavy, sloping roofs covered with tiles, giving them a Swiss rather than Oriental appearance.”<sup>142</sup> (fig. 23) Europeans not only made sure to describe these verandahs, they often represented them visually, as William Carpenter

<sup>139</sup> J. Mourdant Crook, *William Burges and the High Victorian Dream* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1981), 82. Such a connection is dubious, since Burges did not begin designs for Cardiff Castle stables until 1868.

<sup>140</sup> Sharada Dwivedi, “Homes in the Nineteenth Century”, *Bombay to Mumbai: Changing Perspectives*, ed. Pauline Rohatgi, Pheroza Godrej, and Rahul Mehrotra, 154.

<sup>141</sup> Louis Rousselet, “Mixture of Types in the Bazaar” in *Bombay: An Anthology*, 291.

<sup>142</sup> Quoted in Dwivedi, 154.

did in an 1851 watercolor titled “a street in Native Town Bombay” showing a motley of houses with second and third storey porches on brackets projecting into the street (fig.24).

Not all of these commentators were as excited by the exotic, picturesque nature of these colorful porches. Andrew Leith took note of the houses and their verandahs in his sanitary report, complaining about their instability, and their encroachment on the street.<sup>143</sup> William Shepherd noted in 1857 that the “high irregular houses...contain[ed] projecting parts rudely, yet rather richly carved, some painted, all full of dirt and darkness and crowded with inhabitants. The lower story is usually devoted to the goods to be sold where the vendor sits.”<sup>144</sup>

If Emerson’s porches were derived from verandahs in Native Town, how and why did he adapt them to the Crawford Market? A possible answer lies in some of the changes that Emerson made in adapting them. Emerson abandoned the intricate carving common to the verandahs, and instead focused on tectonics and integrating the porches into the larger framework of the design. The corbels supporting the porches are massive, made of the same corbola stone as the rest of the wall, and run all the way up to the eaves, whose structure is also made readily apparent by the king-post truss supporting the upper porch. Gothic arches in the corbels tie them to the rest of the structure as do the Gothic portals that lead out to the porch (fig. 25).

This focus on solidity and integration would have contrasted favorably with Indian verandahs in the eyes of European critics such as Leith and Shepherd, who saw

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<sup>143</sup> Leith, 10. Although, Leith was quick to note that well enforced codes from the 1850s had put an end to new construction of projecting verandahs.

<sup>144</sup> William Shepherd in *Bombay, An Anthology*, 305.

verandahs in Native Town as tacked-on, too ornate, and insufficiently supported by over-carved brackets. Indeed, a drawing of the markets that appeared in the *Building News* in 1872 reinforced the contrast (fig. 26). While most early images of the market tended to show the building standing alone in the Esplanade, this drawing was made from the perspective of Sheik Memon Street, and shows a few rickety buildings from that street, shaded in the corner. It is clear that the market building, basking in the pure Bombay sun, is meant to stand in sharp, favorable contrast to those buildings, as it projects a more solid and unified appearance. Its verandahs are firmly supported by the stone corbelling, while one can make out thin, narrow brackets supporting the porches that appear to be on the verge of collapse on the buildings on the left.

Thus, the market's verandahs did not merely quote from the architecture of the Native Town, they were meant to stand as a clarification, rationalization, and improvement of their form, just as the market inside was considered a rationalization of the city's old food markets. This is reinforced when one remembers that, as William Shepherd pointed out above, the ground floors underneath the verandahs tended to serve as shops owned by the family who lived above. The verandahs on the market, then, could be read from a distance as signifiers of a place for shopping. Instead of finding a single shopkeeper seated next to his wares underneath the porch, the visitor found the entrance to a much larger, more spectacular shopping experience.

As Emerson's design evolved, it reinforced this reading of the façade of the market hall as a local merchant's house/store on a grand scale. Emerson's watercolor of his first design shows that he originally designed a somewhat fanciful house with several stories and a turret at the end of the grain and vegetable shed to serve as a dwelling for

the superintendent of the markets. As the building's cost was quickly spiraling out of control, the house was considered excessive, and the superintendent's quarters were moved to the top floor of the central section of the building. Just as the position of the inspector's bungalow at the entrance to the slaughterhouse compound in Bandora endowed him with a sense of ownership, power, and control of access to the space, the placement of the superintendent's quarters over the entrance to the markets had the same effect.

The second-floor verandahs, part of the inspector's quarters, became the equivalent of an Indian shopkeeper's verandah over his shop. On the floor below the superintendent's lodging, two rooms on the corners were connected by a central, open passage. One contained the superintendent's office and waiting room, the other an exchange room for the vendors.<sup>145</sup> Seen in connection with the living quarters on the second floor, the office and waiting room become more of an audience hall. With a permanent residence at the center of the markets, the superintendent was charged with a sort of eternal vigilance over the building.

#### *Interior Arrangements and Detailing*

The drawing in *The Building News* featured a second major shift in the building's design since Emerson's early watercolor. This was the transformation of the fruit and vegetable wing from a repetition of the masonry wing on the west to a long open arcade supported by elaborately decorated wrought iron posts. In opening the market to the Esplanade Cross Road, the design encouraged passers-by to pause and browse the wares

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<sup>145</sup> RMC 1869, 18.

of the stall-holders fortunate enough to have one of the stalls that double-fronted the street and the interior of the market hall. Such an arrangement ran against the purpose of the English market hall, which was to clear congestion by moving the buying and selling out of the street. In opening this arcade, however, the market treated the street the same way that the open-shops of the Bazaar treated the street. The effect, then, was to encourage street traffic, rather than discourage it and to replicate the patterns of Sheik Memon Street. Esplanade Cross Road had long served as the border between the Esplanade and the Native Town. In opening the arcade, Emerson sought to erase that stigma, creating a bridge between the two spaces, rather than a border.

The elaborate detailing of the iron supports, with dragon-shaped gas jets designed by Emerson that matched the detail of the interior, was also meant to draw passers-by into the market.(fig. 28, 29) The decorative detailing also contrasted with the regimented arrangement of the interior, which followed the pattern of the Null Bazaar. The plan consisted of five long rows of back-to-back stalls with ten-foot aisles between them. While the grid was meant to both order the flow of shoppers and subliminally uplift them through the subjection to its rational plan, the arrangement was not meant to be draconian, however, and just as the playful curls of ornament off-set the plan's rigidity, the elaborate and commodious stalls softened the linearity of their plan. Made of rich teak, they contained iron shelves and lockboxes under their counter. Indeed, the fanciful detailing extended to the market's fences and gates, disguising elements of control with whimsy (fig. 25). If the visitors were being subjected to an increased administrative and spatial control, it was one offset and disguised by ornament.

### *The Clock Tower*

Yet, in the façade's clock tower, the building radically asserted its status as a mechanism for regimentation and orderliness. The first clock towers attached to market halls began to appear in the late 1840s and early 1850s in small towns like Blackburn and Devonport.<sup>146</sup> (figs.30, 31, and 32) The tower not only became a marker on the skyline, guiding patrons to the market, it also served as an ornament to the town, and a rallying point for civic pride. On the market hall in Darlington, the clock tower became a zone for elaborate gothic detail and expensive masonry construction, while the rest of the market was made up of repetitive utilitarian cast-iron modules.

Also of significance was the function of the clock itself. In his famous article "Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism," E. P. Thompson drew attention to the correlation between the proliferation of clocks and time-pieces in England and the process of industrialization. Thompson argued that the link between the two lay in a shift in the perception of time from a task-oriented perception based around the natural rhythms of the day, where one did not distinguish between work-time and leisure-time, to one based around the abstract measure of the hours of the clock, in which time became a consumable commodity, governed the industrial workplace, and became abstracted from its relation to the movement of the sun. This was accompanied by a separation between work time and leisure time and a moralizing agenda that promoted time-thrift, punctuality, and efficiency.<sup>147</sup>

The market hall and its clock-tower became a part of this industrializing agenda. The market hall itself separated the sale of food stuffs from the everyday life of the

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<sup>146</sup> Schmiechen and Carls, 77.

<sup>147</sup> See E.P. Thompson, "Work, Time, and Industrial Capitalism," *Past and Present* 38 (1965), 56-96.

streets, rupturing the connection between work and everyday life for the merchants, just as the rigid schedule of the market enforced a separation of work-time and leisure-time for the merchant. As the market hall was also seen as a zone to instill moral values, the clock served as a reminder of the new morals of the industrial age and reminded the shoppers as well as the merchants to make the most of their time while at the market.

While Crawford Market's clock-tower certainly took on the same significance that its counterparts in England had, this significance morphed and was joined by new meanings in the colonial setting of Bombay (fig. 33). One practical function that the clock tower took on specifically in Bombay was as the building's source of vertical circulation. (fig. 34) The centralized, dominant stair-tower was a motif that Crawford borrowed directly from Burges' JJ School of Art design, fusing it to the market-hall clock tower trope. The stair also led to an outlook platform that was touted by James Maclean as a great vantage point for "persons curious to get a good bird's eye view of Bombay...[to] command the whole city."<sup>148</sup> The use of the word "command" is striking, as it points to the power in the observational gaze form above.

While market hall towers were often placed at oblique angles on of market structures, the centralized location of the clock-tower on the façade of the Crawford Market took on added significance given the market's site in relation to the rest of the city. Standing on the corner of the entrance to Sheik Memon Street from the Esplanade, the tower served as a dramatic punctuation to the end of the street, allowing it to serve its function as a beacon for patrons in the "Native Town." Further, as C. Thwaites, who replaced Russell Aitkens as municipal engineer in 1869, noted from this "commanding

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<sup>148</sup> Maclean, 208.

situation” on the edge of Native Town, “it...[would] be the standard clock for the city of Bombay.”<sup>149</sup> The market clock, then, was to serve as the city’s timepiece and regulator.

More interestingly, as the *Bombay Builder* made sure to note, the Crawford Market faced off with the Jama Masjid further down the street, where the old Duncan market had likely been located (fig. 35).<sup>150</sup> In fact, a photograph from the late nineteenth-century taken near Crawford Market facing north shows the Jama Masjid, its minaret visually anchoring the street, just as the Crawford Market tower does on the southern edge of the street (fig. 5).

The significance of these competing towers extends further, when one recalls the clock-tower’s function to introduce a more mechanical, abstract notion of work time to an industrializing society. Like the clock tower, the minaret’s function was to serve as a source for the demarking of time across the city, becoming a powerful source for the way that Muslims ordered their daily lives. The minaret, however, organized time religiously, based around the call to prayer that occurs five times a day from its balcony. On a direct north-south axis with the Jama Masjid’s minaret, the Crawford Market tower presented a challenge to the mosque’s power to structure individuals’ days religiously with the alternative secular structure of an abstract, rationalized system of hours. The clock tower not only symbolically promoted values like punctuality and time efficiency, its direct juxtaposition with the Jama Masjid’s minaret obliquely suggested that Islam failed to promote those same values.

The perception among some of the British that Islam and its mosques reinforced laziness and indolence that needed to be countered by a secularized, abstract time that

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<sup>149</sup> Thwaites (1869), 13.

<sup>150</sup> *BB*, II, (April 5, 1867), 225.

promoted efficiency and punctuality can be seen in James Maclean's *Guide to Bombay*, in which he described another mosque "with its fringe of unwashed, evil-looking Arab and African ruffians who constantly lie about the doorsteps and outer wall and seem to do nothing but beg, drink coffee, and smoke opium."<sup>151</sup> While the mosque served as a setting for vice-ridden lay-about, Maclean found the Arthur Crawford Markets to be the "noblest and most useful of all public improvements executed in Bombay...form[ing] a grand monument to the energy and administrative capacity of the gentleman whose name they bear."<sup>152</sup> For Maclean, who was a friend and supporter of Crawford during his years as commissioner, the market was a symbol of the energy and effectiveness of a British civil servant, while the mosque was a place where idle ruffians wasted their days.

The association of Crawford Market's clock tower with a moralizing agenda that was laced with presumed British superiority can be seen in its relationship to two other clock-towers: Big Ben on the Houses of Parliament in England and the Rabajai clock tower at the University Buildings in Bombay (fig. 10). The connection with the former, as C. Thwaites enthusiastically pointed out, was that the clock was designed by Messrs. Dent of London, the same company that designed Parliament's clock.<sup>153</sup> Such a detail, although seemingly incidental, connected the building to the center of government, the wellspring of colonial power.

Upon completion in 1869, the Arthur Crawford clock tower was the tallest structure in Bombay, at 128 feet. This distinction did not last long, as many of the administrative buildings promoted by Frere began to be constructed. By 1880 the

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<sup>151</sup> McLean, 1880, 172-173.

<sup>152</sup> Ibid., 213.

<sup>153</sup> Thwaites, 14.

distinction of tallest building in Bombay had been usurped by the recently completed Rabajai clock tower at 280 feet. The tower had been designed by George Gilbert Scott in the early 1860s, but had taken nearly twelve years to construct after the Scott's designs were adapted to India by engineers in the public works department.<sup>154</sup> Like the tower at Crawford Market, the Rabajai tower was attached to a building whose chief function was to morally uplift and modernize the Indian populace, although at the university, such goals were made much more explicit. As at Crawford Market, the tower was a giant monument to the values of punctuality and time-management.

Despite the overt association of the Rabajai tower with a British agenda of moral reform, particularly in its elaborate Gothic detailing by one of England's star architects, the Rabajai clock tower was not exclusively a British project, nor did it trade in exclusively English imagery. The tower was funded by a Jain cotton broker, Premchand Roychund, who named the tower for his mother, and whose 839,000 rupee donation paid for the tower and the university's library.<sup>155</sup> As a shetia, though, Roychund certainly would have respected and supported institutions that instilled a work ethic in India's populace. Further, the clock-tower's sculptural program reified the "caste" system by representing twenty-four of the castes as life-size figural sculptures in niches around the tower. Such symbolism placed a limit on the tower's reformatory purposes by simultaneously essentializing and reinforcing Indian's class structure as permanent and unchanging. Such a tension between the purpose of the building and its decorative motifs also occurred at the Crawford Markets, though not specifically on its clock-tower. Nevertheless, the adoption of large clock towers for both the Crawford Markets and the

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<sup>154</sup> London (2002), 41.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid., 40

University connected the structures as British interventions that promoted moral reform of the natives, a connection that could be read on the skyline of Bombay.

Finally, the clock-tower announced itself not just as the promoter of a British agenda, but as the promoter of Crawford's agenda specifically. This can be seen if one peers closely at the ironwork of the observation windows at the top of the tower. The detailing is no mere abstract design, but forms an interlocking A, T, and C, the initials of Arthur Travers Crawford (fig. 33). This reminds us that behind Crawford's lavish expenditure and rhetoric about sanitation and reform was an egocentric drive for self-promotion that fueled his "energy" and "administrative capacity" as much as any altruistic goal. Thus, Crawford used the tower, like the rest of the market, to permanently inscribe his name on the city.

#### *Representing Indianness to Indians: The Entrance Tympani and the Market Fountain*

Two contradictory impulses were written across the Rabajai clock-tower: the social reform embodied in the tower's form and the reification of the caste system as an unchanging and essentialized social truth about India found in the building's sculptural detail. A similar contradiction can be found at Crawford Market if one looks at the tympanum sculptures, designed by John Lockwood Kipling, over the central entrances to the market (figs. 36 and 37).

On the one hand, then, the Crawford Market was to offer a new commercial setting that morally uplifted its patrons by providing a rational, clean space, tightly controlled by the superintendent, as opposed to the former markets in the streaming chaos

of the "Oriental bazaar." Yet Kipling's sculptures simultaneously reinforced the Oriental bazaar as the essential form of Indian commerce.

Most commentators describe these scenes as idealized representations of a market scene, in which the produce is bountiful and the natives are healthy and industrious. This can hardly be denied. At the same time, these scenes do not represent, as Jan Morris claims, "a paradigm of what a market ought to look like, in the dreams...of the Imperial British."<sup>156</sup> In fact, the British are nowhere to be found in either sculpture.

Instead, a strange tension can be seen in the sculptures between order and chaos. The right hand scene depicts individuals engaged in the variety of activities and occupations associated with agriculture, from the cultivation of crop to the sale of food in the market. In terms of bilateral symmetry, the sculpture balances itself. Cultivation and selling anchor the corners of the site and a female figure and male figure carrying jugs balance each other in a more central position, this balance is offset by a chaos of movement in the depth of the sculpture. Figures do not follow the path from cultivation to shopkeeper. Instead, each figure moves in different directions, stuck in its own psychological space. Two dogs, a crouching child, and a small girl wander through the scene. There is no logical progression from the farmer on the right to the vendor on the left. Nor is there any sign of the involvement of technology. The idealized Indian society is pre-industrial.

The left hand scene depicts a market scene and displays the same tension between bilateral symmetry and a fairly chaotic background scene. Each vendor has a different container from which she sells her wares: baskets, barrels, and carts, and they are strewn

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<sup>156</sup> Morris, 142.

about the composition haphazardly. The giant wheel of the cart on the left has nothing to balance it. Like its companion, the sculpture makes no reference to either the presence of the British or the technology that ordered and influenced the design of the market.

In short, even as the sculptures idealize their subjects, they are the stone equivalents of an orientalizing narrative of agriculture and market activity in India. Even as the building attempts to control and order Indian society in order to produce reformed, modern subjects, the building contains sculpture that reinforces India as pre-industrial and unchanging.

This orientalizing narrative is extended to the central fountain in the market's gardens. This fountain, designed by Emerson and Kipling in the early 1870s took its form from a medieval fountain that Emerson's mentor William Burges designed for Gloucester. The sculptural motif of Burges' fountain was derived from the legend of Sabrina and was meant to tie Gloucester to a mythical medieval past. In Burges' rendering, he even set the fountain in what he imagined Gloucester must have looked like during the medieval period and placed residents in thirteenth century garb in the foreground (fig. 8).<sup>157</sup>

The fountain was never built, but Emerson must have known the design, because his fountain closely matches it.<sup>158</sup> Structurally, the market fountain follows the Sabrina fountain by layering three tiers of grouped, stout medieval columns on top of each other. On the lower two levels, the columns support basins, while the top-most column supported the fountain's crowning feature, from which the water was pumped. The

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<sup>157</sup> Crook, 67-69.

<sup>158</sup> London makes a similar connection, (2002) 64, 65 and (1986) 228-230. Nevertheless, London stops at a formal comparison without asking questions about what happens when the narrative scheme of the Sabrina fountain is mapped to the Bombay fountain.

Crawford market's fountain even appropriated the sculptural motifs of the fountain and recast them for an Indian setting. The animals covering the Sabrina fountain were replaced with Indian animals. On bas-reliefs surrounding the fountain, Crawford took the nude, reclining beauties who represented the water spirits that greeted the drowned Sabrina on the Gloucester fountain and clothed them in sarees as representatives of the four rivers of India. In taking the elements of a Gothic fountain intended for a city in England and reworking them for a market in India, Emerson's fountain became fraught with contradictions.

In England, Burges used the Gothic, as well as the sculptural narrative, to create and celebrate a mythical history for Gloucester while promoting the values of a pre-industrial, medieval past. In Bombay, the fountain's Gothic elements, like the garden surrounding it, became a progressive promoter of British virtues over indigenous ones. Nevertheless, the decision to also inscribe the fountain with representations of India's rivers reinforced the idea of a traditional, unchanging India. Like Burges, Emerson included figures visiting the fountain in his rendering of the fountain. Emerson's figures look as if they came off of Kipling's tympani, further reinforcing this essentializing narrative.

Such contradictions are inherent in the attitudes of its creators. Aitken, Emerson, and Crawford all saw essential distinctions between the British and Indian populations that in turn justified colonial rule. Emerson, for example, complained of the "habits of the Oriental, which make it difficult for him to work, except in the accustomed grooves of his ancestors which was the plight of the "conservative Hindoo and his caste

prejudices.”<sup>159</sup> Colonial rule involved institutions that sought to morally reform the Indian population. At the same time, these institutions had to reinforce the notion of an essential Indian character, because real moral reform would eventually mean that the colonized subject had transcended his old “habits” and no longer needed the munificence of colonial rule.

#### *Reaction to the Crawford Market*

So far a careful reading of the form of the Crawford Markets and its accompanying drawings has shown the complex and contradictory impulses and influences on the form that the design took. The focus has been on the motivations and underlying ideologies of its designers, as well as the various roles that they envisioned the market taking on in reorganizing the city. The question that naturally arises is how successful were these markets in achieving these goals in practice? What were the reactions of people outside the building’s circle of designers, and how did those reactions reshape the place of the building in the history of the city?

We have already seen some resistance to Crawford’s grand scheme in the resistance of the fort communities to the removal of their market, as well as resistance by butchers at the closing of their market and slaughterhouses, with radically divergent success. Merchants and consumers at the Duncan market were also resistant to change; without the political clout of the community in the fort, however, their protests fared little better than the butchers’.

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<sup>159</sup> Emerson, 156.

Before the removal of the markets from Sheik Memon Street, Crawford had already alienated the local merchants by distributing places in the old markets through an auction in order to maximize revenue. For the merchants who had occupied the stalls without charge since the founding of the market in 1810, the system smacked of blatant exploitation. They attempted to supercede Crawford by going directly to the Government of the Presidency who sent them to the board of justices as the appropriate authority, while privately intimating to Crawford that it might be more appropriate to sell space at a fixed rate.<sup>160</sup>

Thus, when Crawford announced that he was closing the Green market and relocating it to the Esplanade, the merchants reacted with anger and suspicion. By January of 1867, the store-sheds on the southern side of the market had been erected, and Crawford decided to temporarily move the fruit and vegetable merchants there while completing the rest of the market complex. Despite the fact that the temporary sheds were nearly 6000 square feet larger than their old market, many of the merchants failed to see the move as an improvement and worried that their customers would be unwilling to venture out to their new location, particularly with a construction site in close proximity. In addition, Crawford, while abandoning an auction, continued to charge extremely high stall fees to offset the costs of the markets.

Sensing that he needed to placate the merchants' anxiety about a potential loss of customers, Crawford accompanied the opening of the new markets with a lavish flower show, attended by Sir Bartle Frere himself, as well as nearly 4500 other visitors, among whom Crawford estimated nearly 900 "native ladies," whose interest Crawford

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<sup>160</sup> *Proceedings of the Bombay Presidency, General Department*, (19 Nov 1865), 1164.

considered crucial for the market's success.<sup>161</sup> Nevertheless, the flower show required an admission fee, and it is unclear whether the merchants' core customers would have been willing or able to pay to attend the show. Those who could afford it most likely would have sent their servants to the markets under normal circumstances, and likely would not have normally attended the markets. Thus whether one can truly gauge the flower market a success is a murky question.

As an attempt to placate the merchants, it certainly failed. They continued to simmer for several months, until they took action in August of 1867, once again superceding Crawford by sending a petition to the presidency government protesting the "inconvenience and loss suffered by them in consequence of the removal of their shops from the place styled the 'Green Market' to the new Market on the Esplanade." The government responded with a bureaucratic diversionary tactic, claiming that it could not verify that the signatures on the petition were authentic.<sup>162</sup> Faced with no alternative, some members of the merchant community attempted to set up a rival private market. By 1869, however, it was clear that this market could not stem the tide for the demand of space in the Crawford Market.

Meanwhile, the markets were receiving negative attention from some members of the British community as well. While many were impressed and excited by the sophisticated and lavish design submitted by William Emerson, they questioned whether the markets really deserved such elaborate treatment and the large sums of money that such treatment required. This ambivalence was best expressed in the many contradictory articles published about the markets in the *Bombay Builder*. After reviewing Emerson's

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<sup>161</sup> RMC 1867, 8.

<sup>162</sup> *Proceedings of the Bombay Presidency, General Department* (August 30, 1867), 1020.

early watercolor quite favorably from an aesthetic perspective, they later lamented that “the weakness of the Commissioner for splendid markets continues; and from the plans and sections of the new general markets which are in course of erection on the esplanade, we perceive that this building will throw the now notorious Bombay Cathedral quite into the shade in point of architectural pretensions and beauty.”<sup>163</sup>

Implicit in this comparison was not only the assumption that lavish detail was more appropriate for high-end buildings such as cathedrals than for lowly markets, but also that such elaborate detail was excessive for buildings that would be used almost exclusively by a non-British population. In addition, the *Bombay Builder* also put forward arguments against the excessive character of the markets’ architecture based on concern that the amount of revenue it would be necessary to generate to cover the cost of the market construction would be “exorbitant” for both merchants and other native rate-payers in the town.<sup>164</sup>

Crawford did have his supporters. Chief among them were the shetias serving on the municipal board, many of them Parsis. While they themselves would never have deigned to shop at the markets, they were excited by the way that the market hall elevated Bombay’s status on the world’s stage. As participants in the global economy, they were sensitive about the perception of inferiority towards Europe and considered the design of lavish public markets to be one of the staples of European cities. Thus, in municipal meeting in April of 1868, Dosabhoy Framjee moved that the markets officially take the name of Arthur Crawford, arguing that the European justices, as well as his native friends

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<sup>163</sup> *BB*, III, May 5, 1868, 383.

<sup>164</sup> Ibid.

who had been to Europe would agree that the markets could be favorably compared to “some of the best public markets in Europe.”<sup>165</sup>

Despite this support, the *Bombay Builder*'s concern about overburdening ratepayers proved prescient. In 1871, a massive demonstration against Arthur Crawford, that cut across colonial lines, including both native and English rate-payers, forced him from his position as municipal commissioner. Their concerns were expressed quite succinctly by Sir James Jeejeebhoy: excessive taxes and excessive expenditure. Crawford Market came to serve as a symbol for the latter. Seizing on the ambivalence that many felt for the markets, both praising their appearance and lamenting the cost, Crawford supporters lamented that

[I]t is not more than a year or two ago since the Bench requested Mr. Crawford to allow his name to be applied to the new markets. “Do allow us to do that,” they said, “and we will think of you for ever as being the great patron and benefactor of Bombay.” Now there is no difference whatever between Mr. Crawford’s actions at that time and now; he has not become more extravagant latterly, and yet you now say, “We cannot afford to have this man any longer. We do not want either Mr. Crawford or his markets any longer’ we will have a new regime.<sup>166</sup>

Despite or, perhaps in part because of, condescending pleas such as these from Crawford’s supporters, he was ousted as commissioner, and the municipal government was ultimately transformed into a limited democracy in which a percentage of the board’s members were elected by the rate-payers.

If much of the city now seemed ungrateful for the markets, in Crawford’s mind, the city’s vendors, formerly skeptical, had become the building’s most ardent supporters. In his *Reminiscences of an Indian Police Official*, he describes his triumphant return to the market five years after leaving his job as Municipal Commissioner:

<sup>165</sup> *Bombay Municipal Record* 1867, 101.

<sup>166</sup> *Reform of the Bombay Municipality* (1871), 36.

Among the political agents...was Mr. C—, the gentleman who, I believe was the first Municipal Commissioner of Bombay, the man who built the Markets called after his name. It was fully five years since his connection with the City had ceased, and certainly neither market-dealers nor stall-holders had the remotest expectation that he could ever do anything for them again. It was notorious, however, that they had on more than one occasion when he visited the markets given him quite an ovation...To show, therefore, their gratitude to Mr. C—in a way that he might accept, and that would be specially acceptable to him, they had determined...to give a good square meal to all the poor whites in Bombay. Details were left to Mr. C—, and they bound themselves to comply with any indents for meat, vegetables, bread, and groceries.<sup>167</sup>

Thus, in Crawford's mind his saga of market reform ended in redemption, as he triumphantly returned to the grateful vendors in his market kingdom who showered him with gratitude. Yet, in Crawford's fantasy as the munificent builder of the markets, he has them show their gratitude not by giving anything to him, but by giving to the less fortunate: India's poor whites. In Crawford's return, there is no memory of the fretting about Hindu "prejudices", the setting up of rival markets or the butcher strike. There is only a grateful Indian populace whose lives he unselfishly improved.

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<sup>167</sup> Crawford, 249-250. The bizarre reference to himself in the third person is due to the fact that he originally wrote the book under the pseudonym T.C. Arthur.

## Conclusion

The Crawford Markets and the other market reforms initiated by Arthur Crawford while municipal commissioner of Bombay reflected a number of contradictions inherent in both Crawford himself and the larger colonial project he hoped they would embody. These contradictions go beyond the simple contradiction between outside and inside, between “English” market and “Indian” marketgoer noted by observers. Instead, the contradictions lie in the attempt to create those identities in the design of the markets.

In casting the markets as a purely colonial enterprise, one in which British forms were imposed on Indians, Crawford originally turned to England for the general outline of the reform, for the designs and designers, and for the materials. In the English model of market reform that was coming to dominate municipal enterprises in mid-century, the centralized market hall was the paradigm. In adapting it to Bombay, however, Crawford immediately ran into trouble. The nature of the development of Bombay as two separate settlements meant there was no town center. In linking the markets to the emerging town center on the Esplanade, Crawford did little to alleviate this problem, because it was not a domestic town center, but an administrative center and transport hub. Further, as soon as Crawford recast the market hall as a local neighborhood hub, it became apparent that he had missed out on two of the central purposes behind central market hall design: the need to alleviate street congestion and the moral reform of the lower classes in mingling with their social betters.

In a colonial context, the ability of a market to act as an agent of reform was murkier, because the inferiority/superiority dichotomy was cast along racial lines first,

rather than class lines. Since Anglo-Indians had separate shopping realms and dietary regime, moral uplift could only be accomplished through architecture and plan, and without the mingling with social betters. In plan, Crawford Market's gardens served as a respite from the crowds and a place to cultivate English virtue, while a rigid grid of permanent stalls and control of the markets' entrances through fencing helped promote order. Such an emphasis on order extended to all of Crawford's market reform schemes.

Cleanliness itself was posited as a moral virtue, and Crawford promoted it as a European one in the use of iron shed roofs and Caithness and Yorkshire flagging for paving for virtually all of the market reform schemes. Indeed, the emphasis on cleanliness and sanitation through market reform was not limited to the markets themselves, but included a radical reordering of the city that removed the slaughterhouses and cattle markets from the city. In doing so, he recast the urban as a sphere where unsightly occupations like slaughtering were inappropriate, as was the keeping and selling of cattle, which was recast as a rural activity.

On Crawford Market's façade, Emerson's design further promoted "English" virtues in the form of its clock-tower, with its lessons about punctuality and time-thrift, and its verandahs, which took the form from Indian houses and represented it with ordered and visible structure and stability. Yet, as the years passed, the lessons themselves proved inadequate for Bombay. While the clock continued to promote a regimen of time unrelated to the natural rhythms of the day, servants and other patrons of the market continued to use those rhythms to regiment their shopping day. The early hours of the morning at the market often saw the largest crowds, not because of the punctuality of the clock, but because Bombay's heat made shopping later in the day

excruciating. Climate also trumped the structural lessons of the verandahs. If Crawford's high-eaved porch was meant to stand as an ennobled rebuttal to the long, narrow bands of porch on Indian houses, in the end it could not trump the low porch's practicality. The photograph in Furneaux's *Glimpses of India*, from 1895 shows a cloth spanning the truss of the tall eave in order to block the sun (fig. 42). By 1920, a low horizontal awning was placed across the upper and lower porches, with the lower awning slicing across the pointed arches of the balcony window (fig. 1).

Along with lacing the markets with lessons in moral virtue, Crawford hoped to harness technology to improve their efficiency. This included not only the use of modern building technologies like iron, but also the use of railroad as a connector between markets and slaughterhouses and a connector to the hinterland to bring in fruits and vegetables. Here again, Crawford was somewhat thwarted, as his efficiently designed scheme for transporting meat by train was eventually undermined in favor of the more traditional ox and cart.

Despite all of these attempts to cast his activities as a Westernization process, the arrangement of the markets was heavily influenced by Hindu and Muslim concerns about dietary purity. While these were dismissed as mere "prejudices" by the government, they were written into the plans of the markets and slaughterhouses through strict segregation of various types of meats, and between meat and other products more generally. If the British wished to promote their conception of physical cleanliness in markets, Hindu and Muslim leaders made sure that the markets continued to promote their understanding of spiritual cleanliness.

While consultation with religious leaders showed a certain amount of cooperativeness between Crawford and indigenous communities, there was also a fair amount of struggle. This struggle cut across colonial lines, and echoed struggles between municipalities and their citizens in market reforms elsewhere. In Bombay, Crawford found his greatest support neither among fellow colonizers, nor among the people whom he was attempting to uplift through reform, but from the wealthy shetias, who appropriated the markets as their own source of civic pride.

In the end, though, the markets could not overcome the central contradiction of the colonial enterprise, one expressed in the writings of Emerson and Crawford alike. This was the contradiction between the impulse for moral reform and the imagining of India as a timeless and unchanging place. From the latter perspective, this unchanging nature extended to the people themselves, who were cast as having certain inherent traits that contrasted with superior English traits. Thus, while simultaneously promoting the market scheme as a scheme for moral reform, men like Crawford, Emerson continued to present India as a timeless and unchanging place in their words and in the sculptural representations of Indians in the market itself.

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## Illustrations

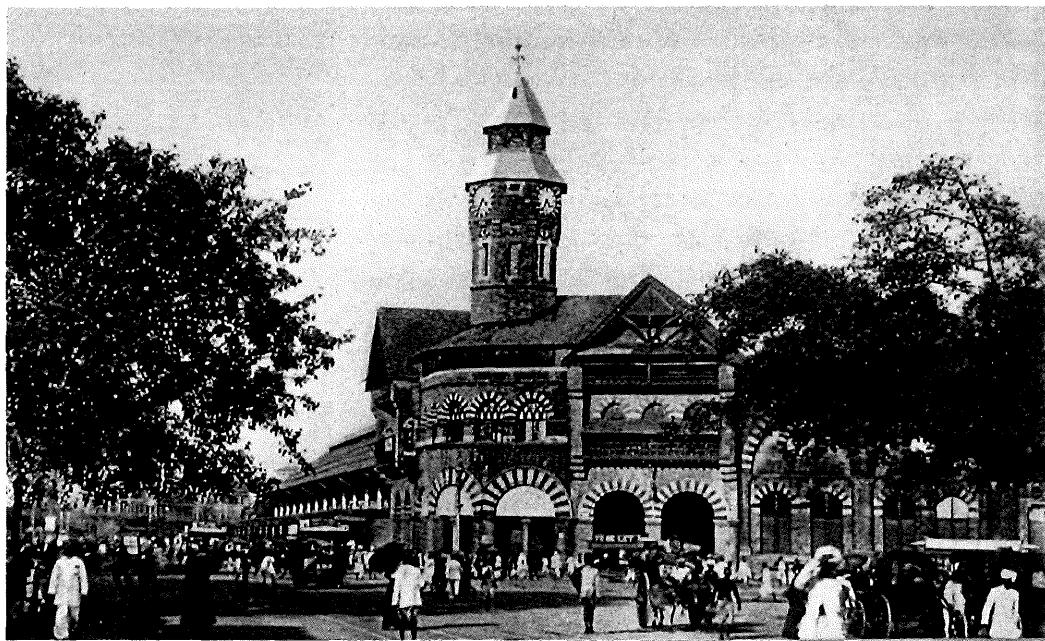


Fig. 1: The Arthur Crawford Market, as it appeared on a postcard circa 1920.

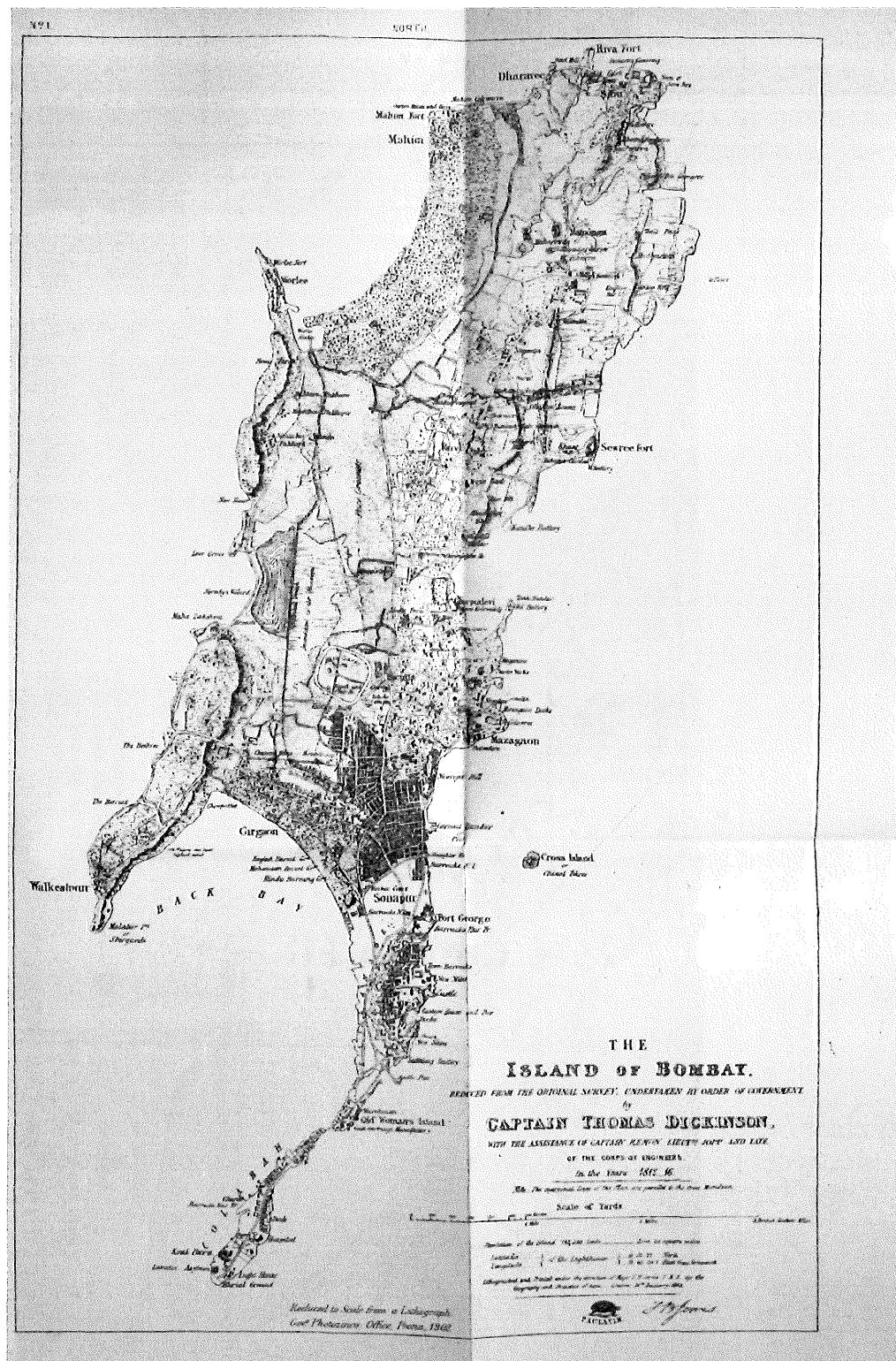


Fig. 2: Thomas Dickinson's Map of the Island of Bombay, 1812-1816. Shows the evolution of the “divided town.” Native Town is the large dark mass in the middle of the map, the Esplanade is the lighter space below it, and fort sits below it.

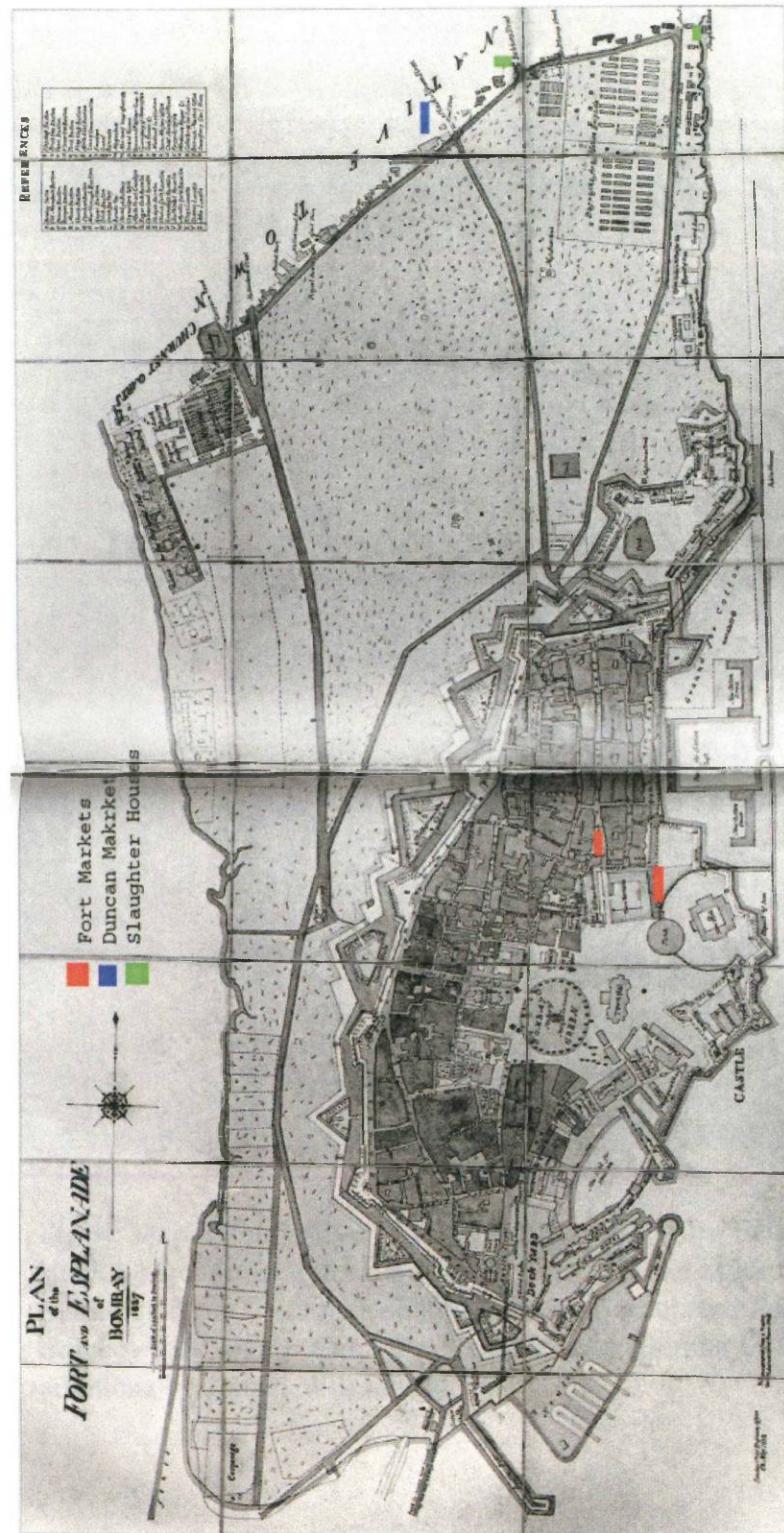


Fig 3: 1827 Plan of Fort and Esplanade showing locations of fort markets, slaughterhouses, and approximate location of the Duncan market.

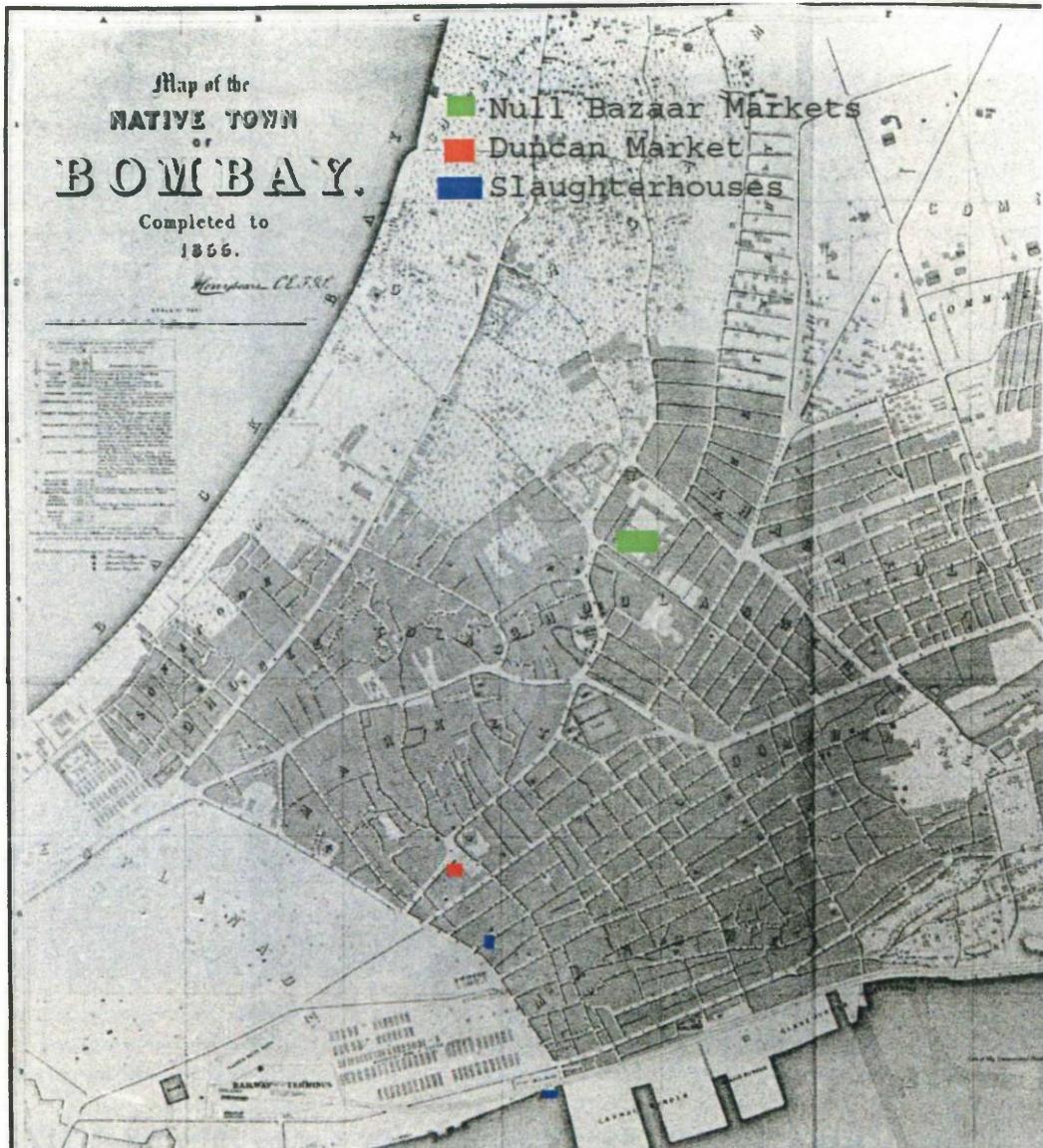


Fig. 4: Map of the Native Town of Bombay, 1855 by Henry Conybeare showing locations of the slaughter houses, Duncan Market, and Null Bazaar Markets. From: Pauline Rohatgi, Pheroza Godrej, and Rahul Mehrotra, eds. *Bombay to Mumbai: Changing Perspectives*, (Bombay, 1997), 171, with additions by Daniel Williamson.

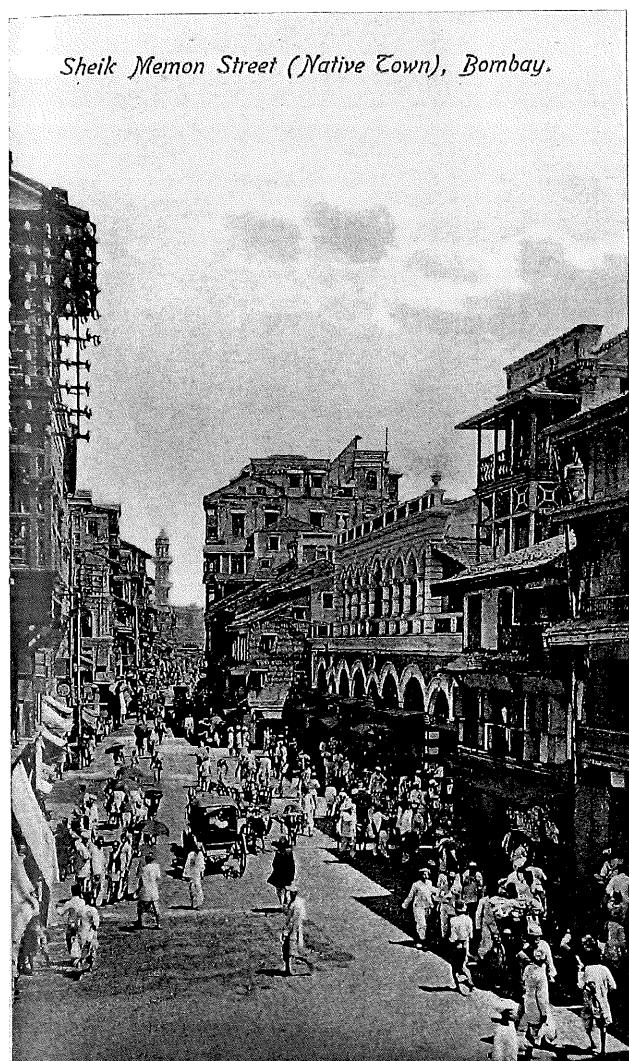


Fig. 5: Early 20<sup>th</sup> century view of Sheik Memon Street taken near Crawford Market, with the minaret of the Jamma Masjid anchoring the end of the street.  
From: Sharada Dwivedi and Rahul Mehrotra, *Bombay: The Cities Within*.  
(Bombay, 2001), 61.

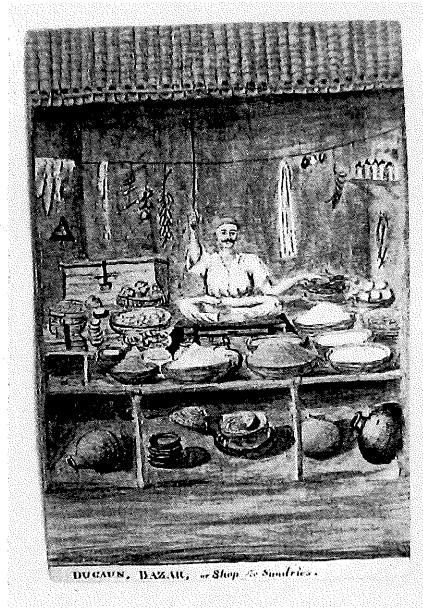


Fig. 6: Watercolor on Card: Ducaun, Bazar, or Shop for Sundries by Robert Temple 1810.

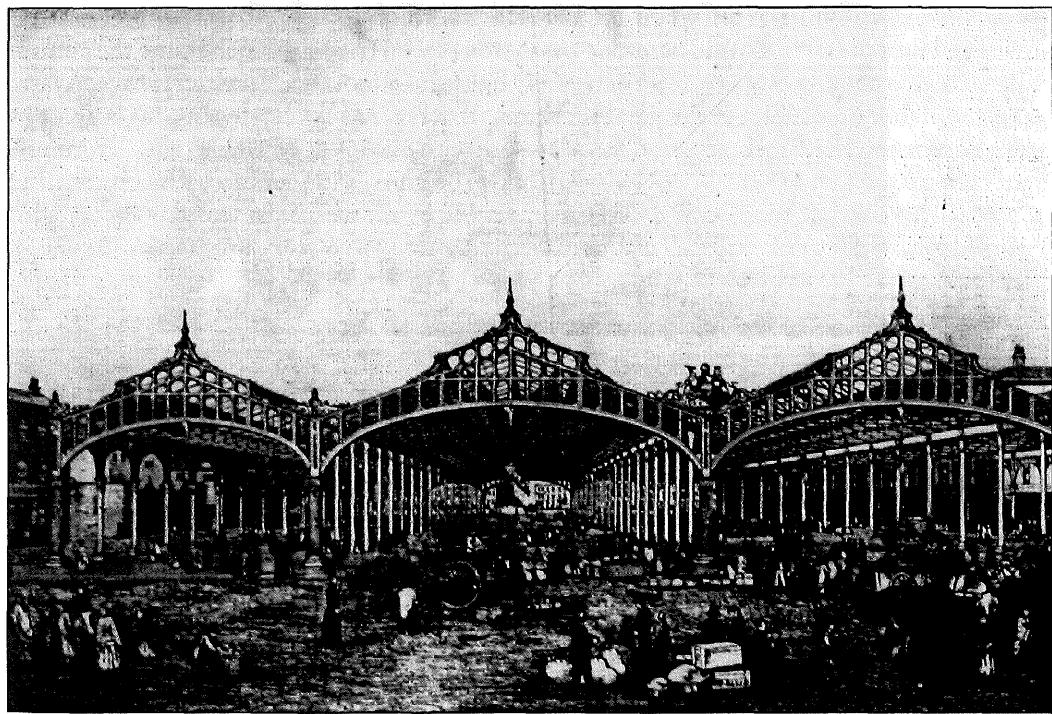


Fig. 7: Smithfield Market Hall at Shudehill in Manchester, 1854. The market hall consists of open-walled iron sheds with glazed roofing. The walls were eventually enclosed.

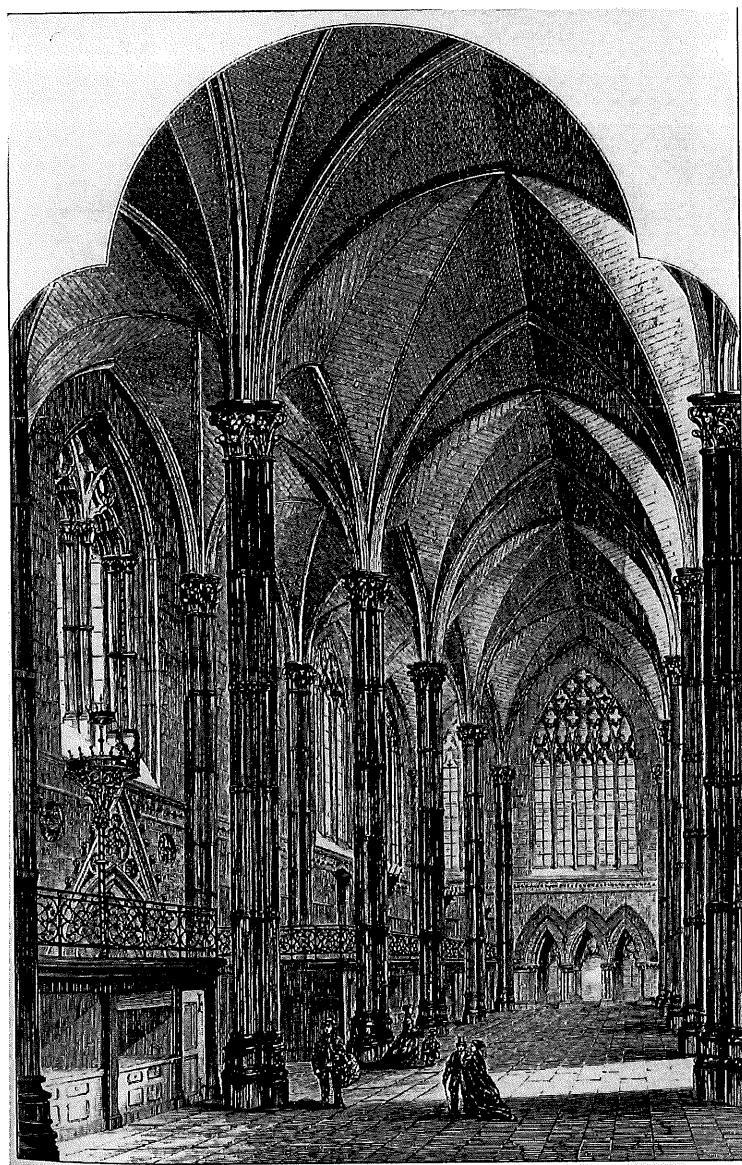


Fig. 8: Vaulted interior of Columbia Market at Bethnal Green, London, 1869.

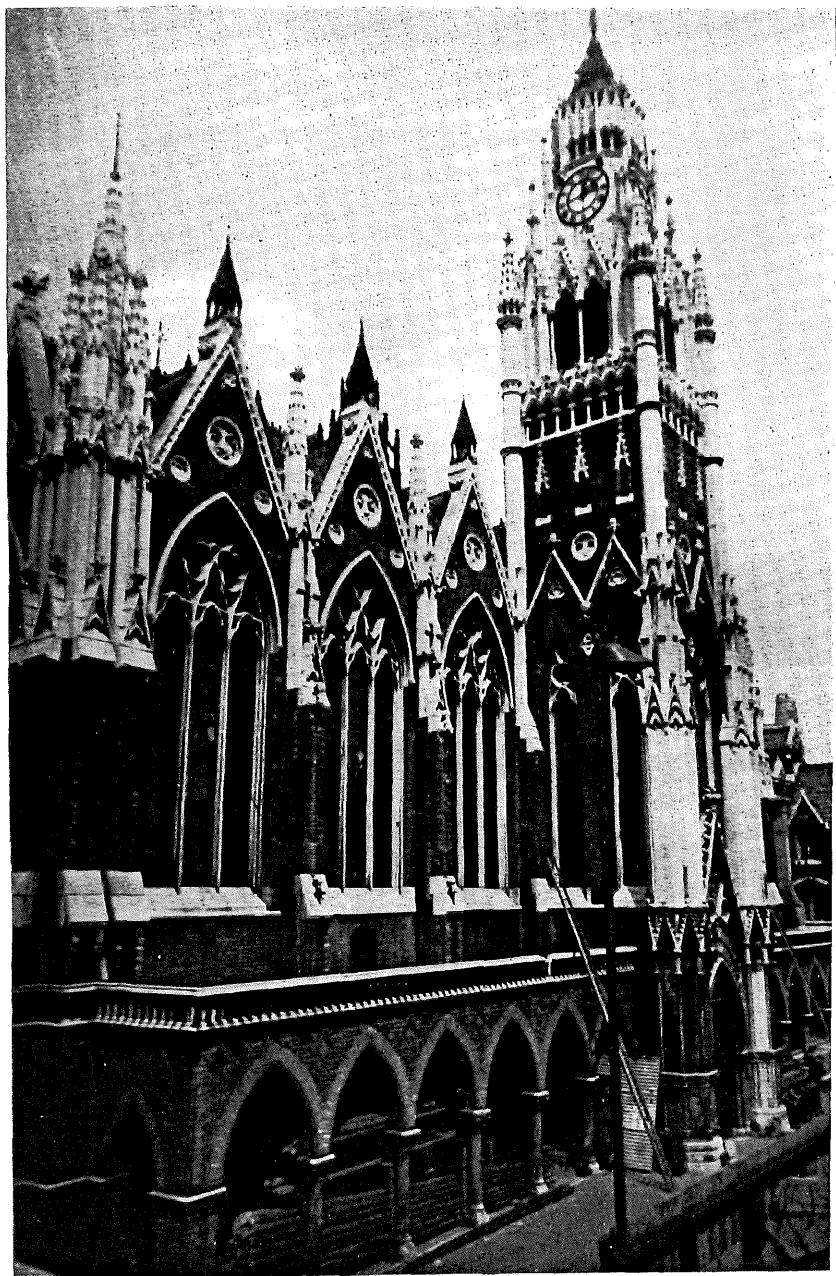


Fig. 9: The elaborate exterior of Bethnal Green Market, 1869.

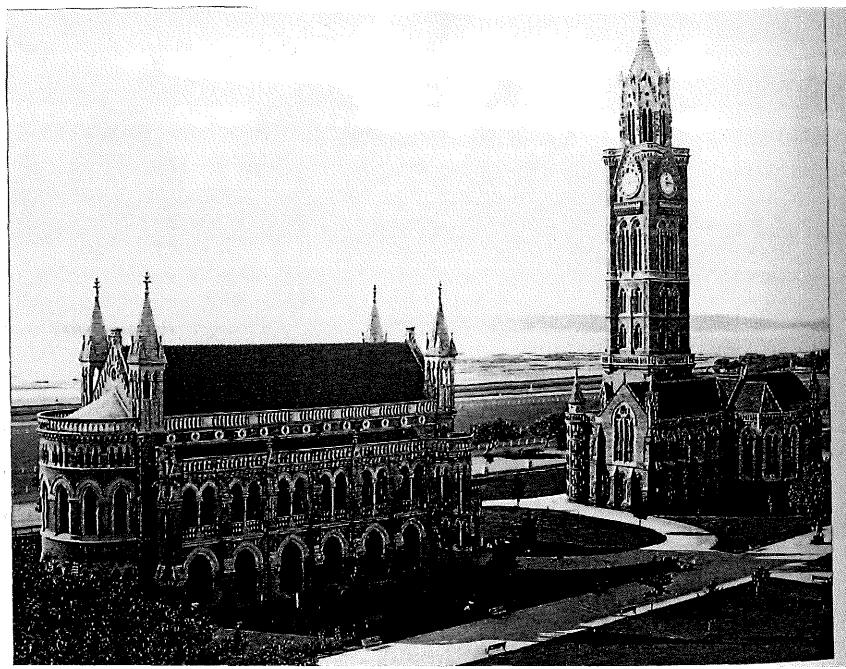


Fig. 10: George Gilbert Scott's University buildings on the Esplanade, 1863-1874.

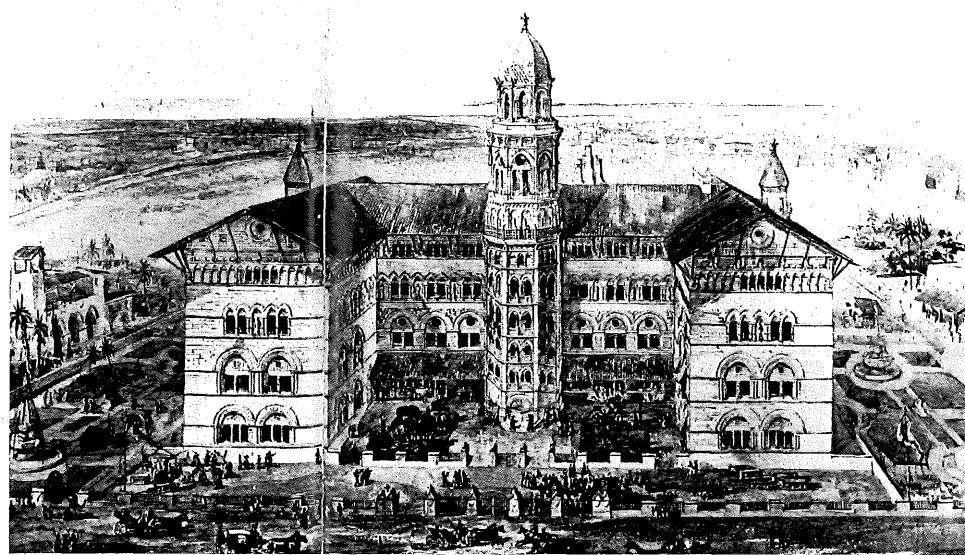


Fig. 11: Perspective drawing of the Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy School of Art by William Burges, 1866.



Fig. 12: Late Nineteenth-century view of the Esplanade showing from left to right, the Public Works Offices, High Court, both designed by the Public Works Department, and the University complex designed by George Gilbert Scott.



Fig. 13: The wholesale storage shed at Crawford Market. The shed was obtained from Elphinstone Reclamation Company and are similar to the sheds erected for the markets at Null Bazaar, obtained from the same company.  
Photo: Daniel Williamson

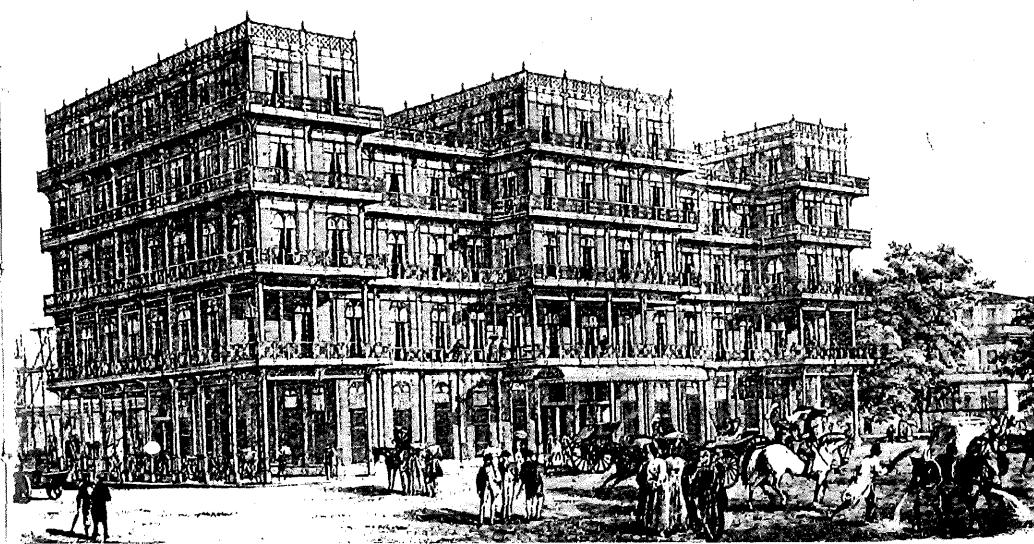


Fig. 14: An 1860's engraving of Watson's cast iron hotel by Rowland Mason Ordish.

PLAN  
showing the arrangement of  
**NULL BAZAAR.**

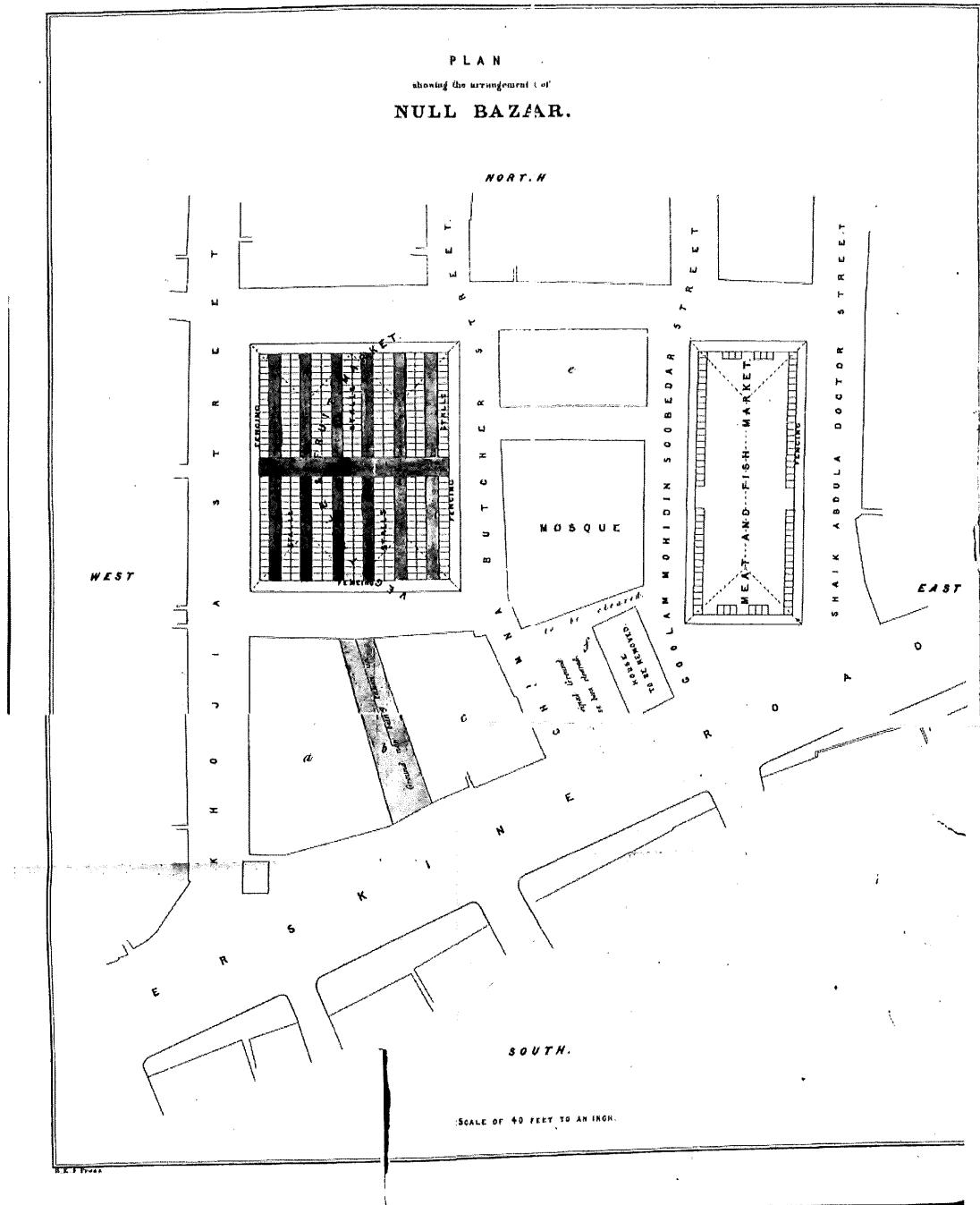


Fig. 15: Site plan of the Null Bazaar markets showing location, stall arrangement, and houses standing in the way of the vegetable market's southern expansion.

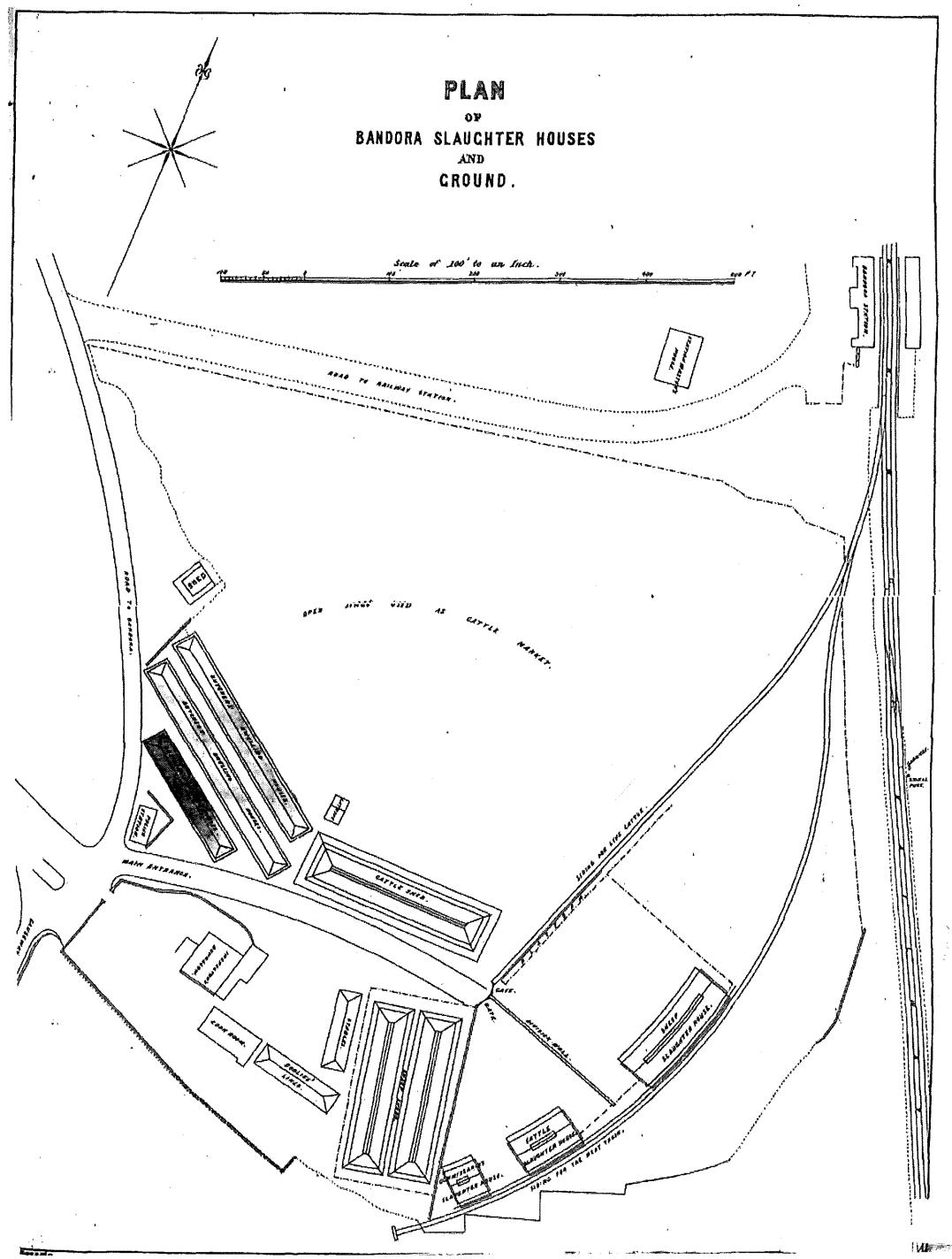
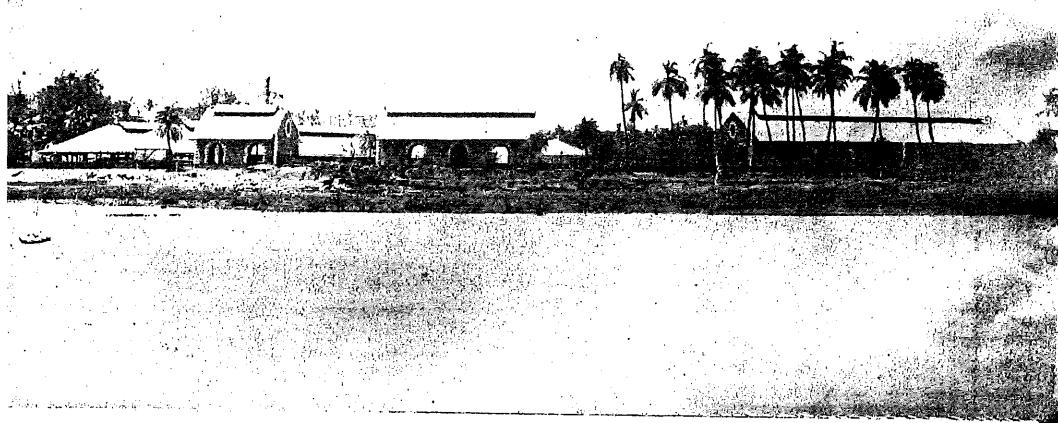
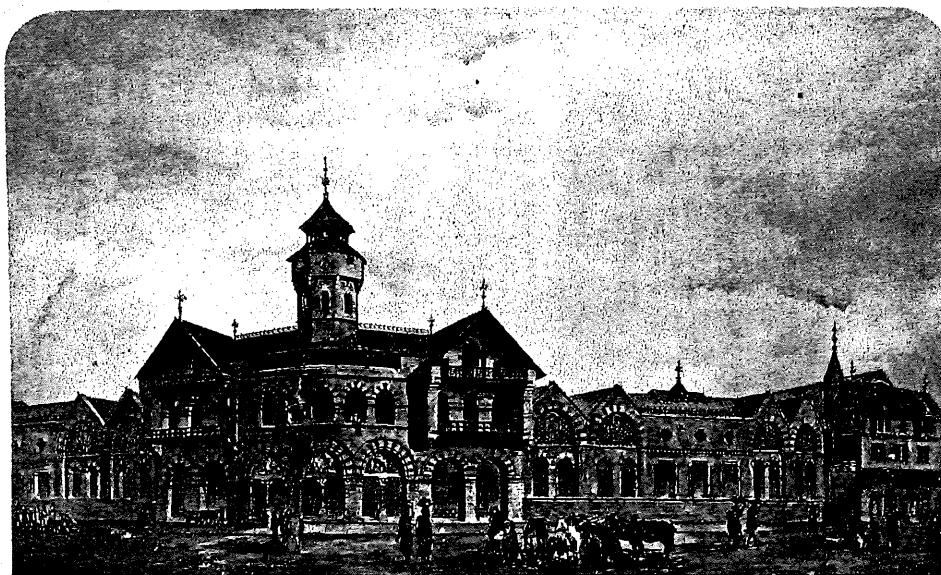


Fig. 16: Plan of the Bandora Slaghufterhouses, designed by Russell Aitken.



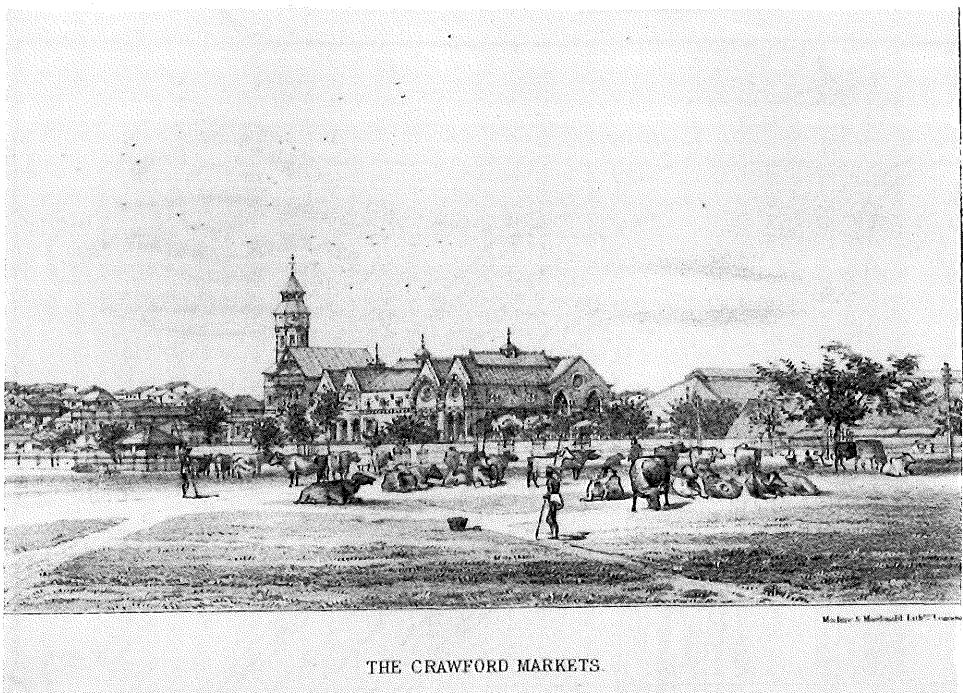
THE BANDORA SLAUGHTER-HOUSES.

Fig. 17: Photograph of the Bandora Slaughterhouses, designed by Russell Aitken, taken shortly after their completion in 1867.



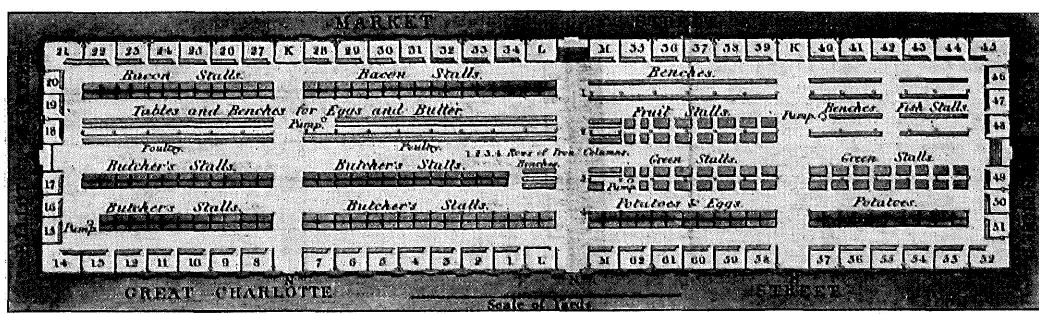
THE NEW GENERAL MARKETS  
In course of Erection on the Esplanade.

Fig. 18: William Emerson's 1866 watercolor of his façade design.



THE CRAWFORD MARKETS.

Fig. 19: Lithograph of the Crawford Market from the southwest. The cattle lounging on the field in the foreground give the market a pastoral setting.



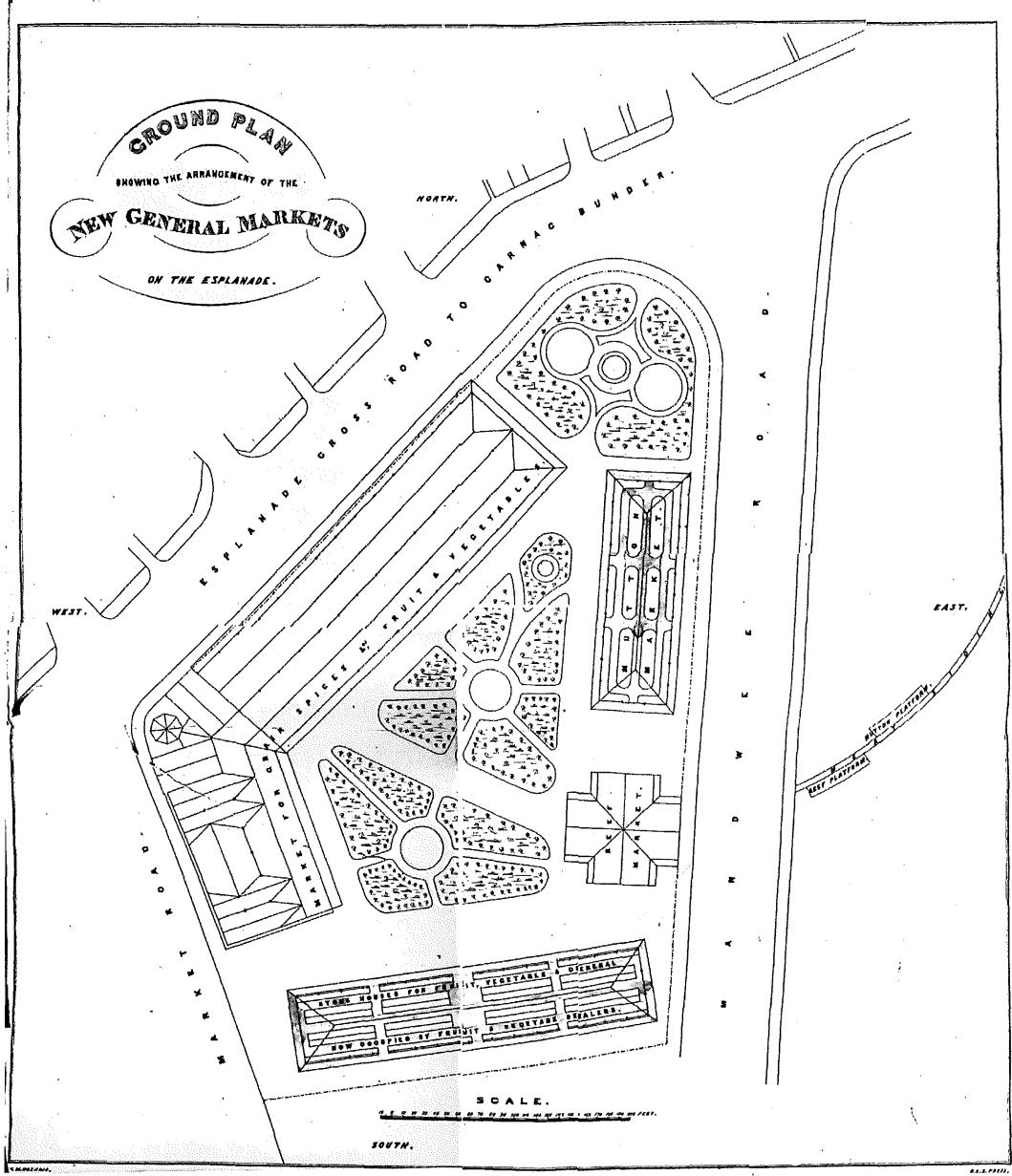


Fig. 21: Ground plan of the Arthur Crawford Market, c. 1867. The center is laid out as a garden. The beef and mutton markets are on the east, lined up for easy access to the unloading docks of the railway. The beef market's cross shape was to help shield its interior from view for religious reasons.

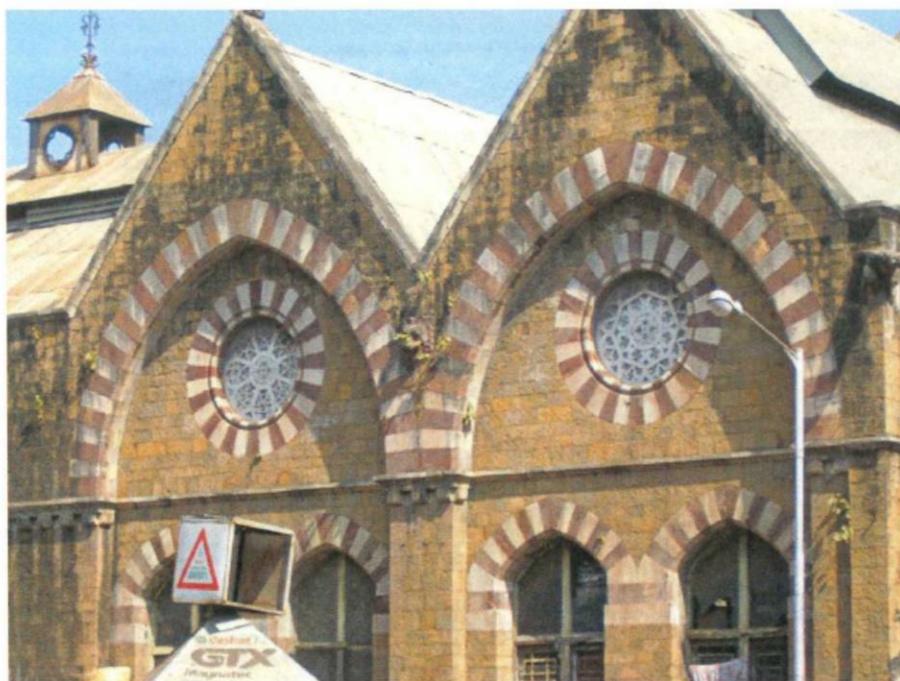


Fig. 22: Detail of gables showing rosette windows in the lunettes.



Fig. 23: Typical house in Marazagoan with ornately carved porch and tile roof that bears an affinity to Emerson's porch design.

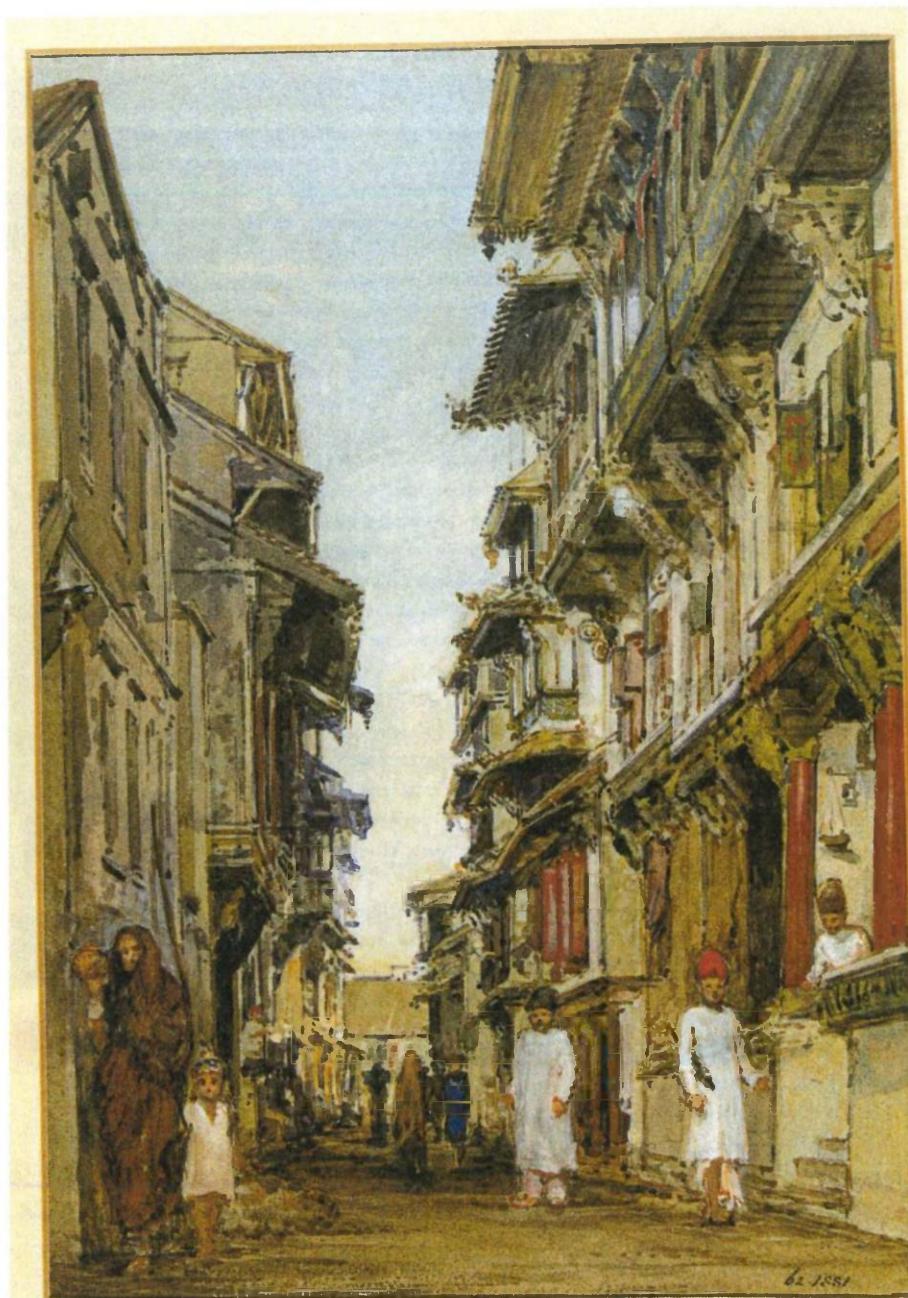


Fig 24: "A Street in the Native Town, Bombay", by William Carpenter 1851.  
Note the elaborately carved brackets supporting horizontal porches.

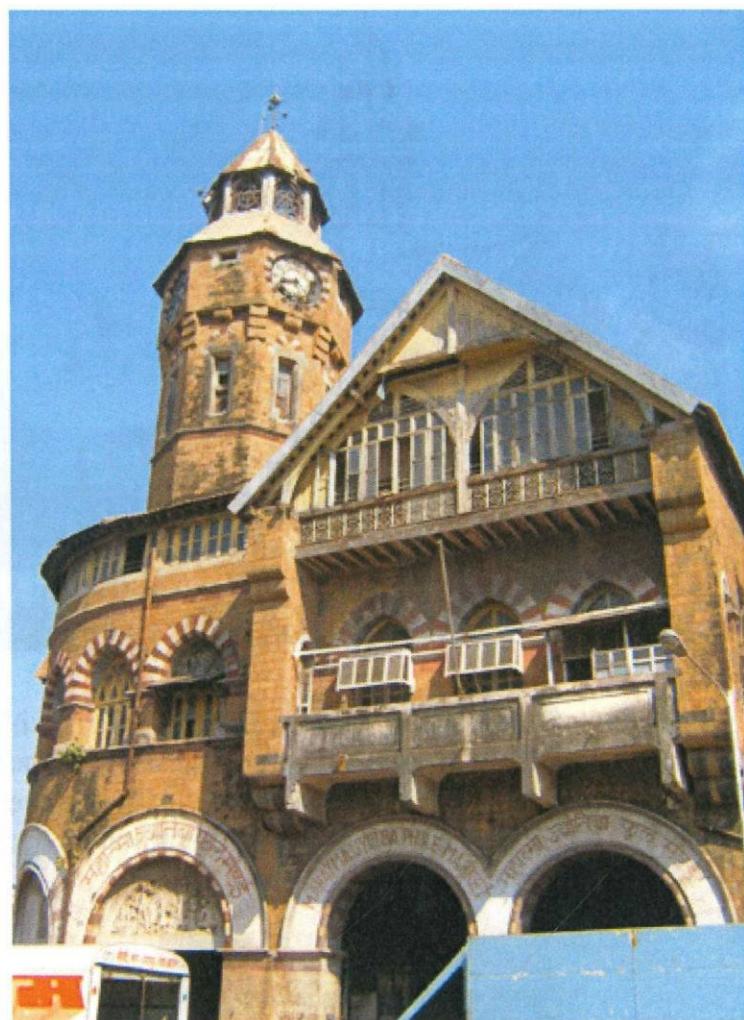


Fig. 25: Detail of Crawford Market porch with heavy corbels and king-post truss. Note: upper balcony was enclosed in the later twentieth-century.

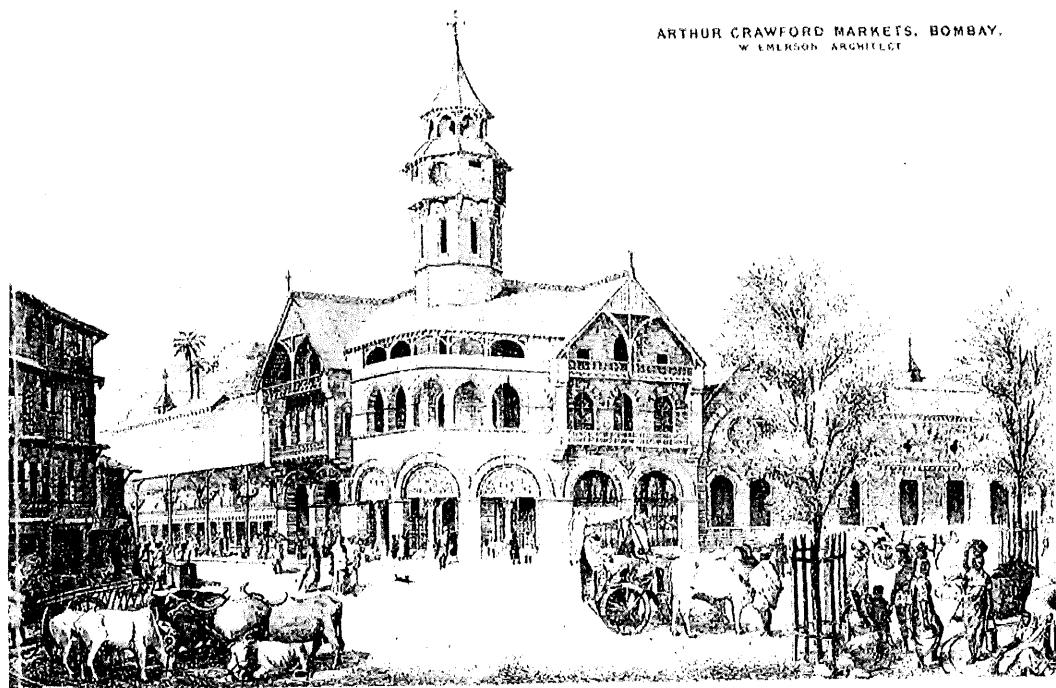


Fig. 26: Perspective of Emerson's façade from *Building News*, 1874. Note contrast between other buildings and Crawford Market, as well as the change in vegetable stalls from closed masonry to long, open façade that integrates the market with the street.

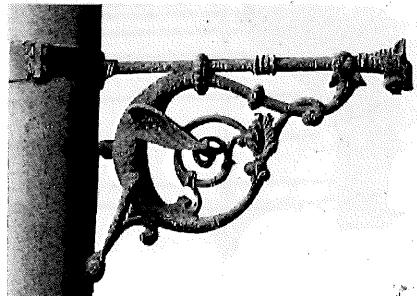
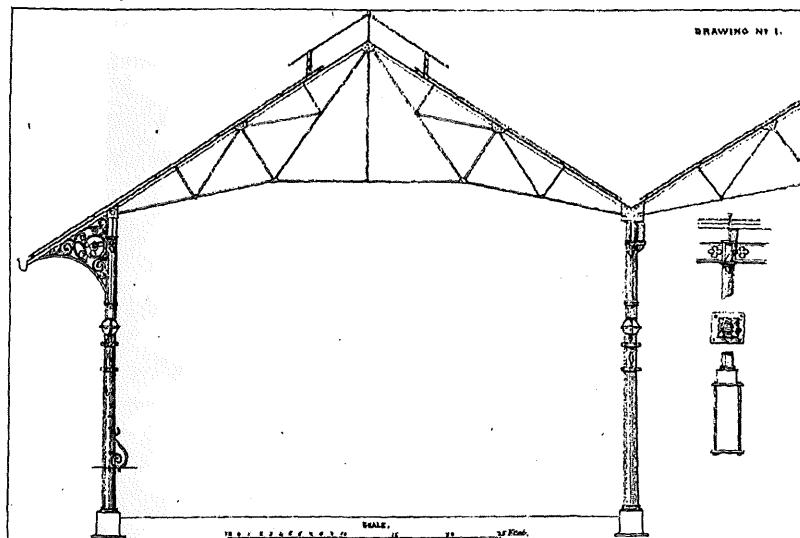


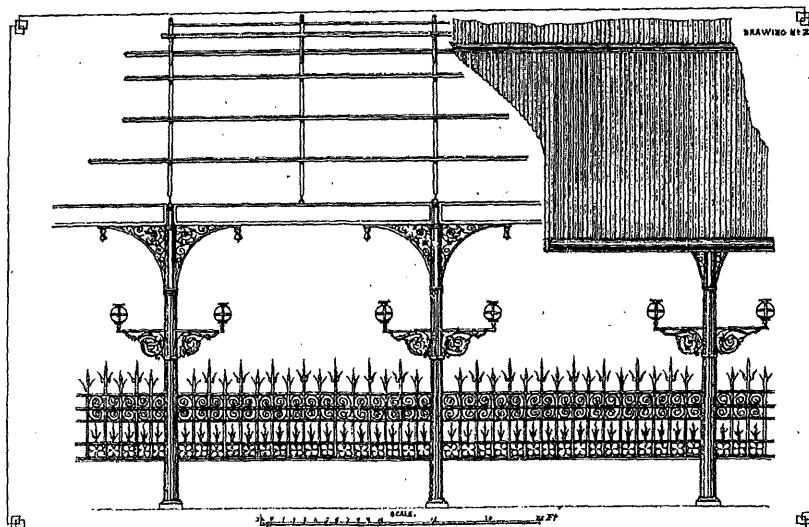
Fig. 27: Detail showing iron gas-jet in the shape of a dragon designed by Emerson..

BOMBAY MUNICIPALITY.—NATIVE MARKETS



Cross Section of Green Market.

BOMBAY MUNICIPALITY.—NATIVE MARKETS.



Side Elevation of Green Market.

Fig. 28: Cross section and elevation of the Crawford Market sheds designed by Aitken with details by Emerson that show a balance between the utilitarian and the fanciful.



Fig. 29: Detail of iron dragon swallowing its own tail on entrance gate to Crawford Market.

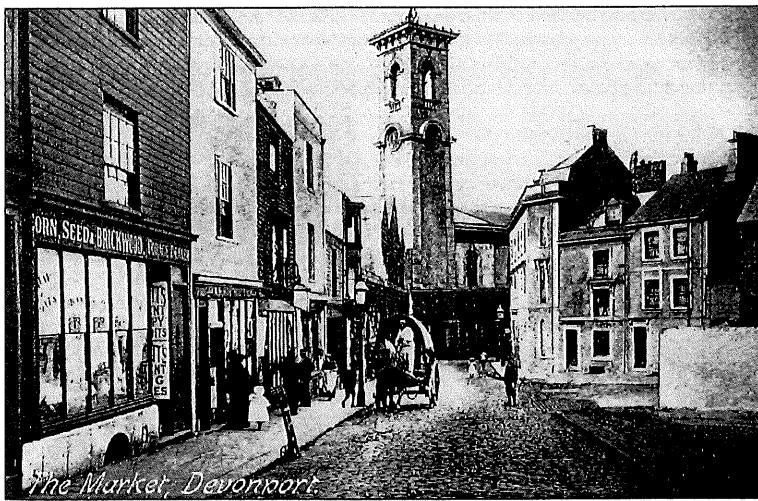


Fig. 30: The clock-tower at Devonport Market Hall, 1854.



Fig. 31: The clock-tower at Darlington, 1864.

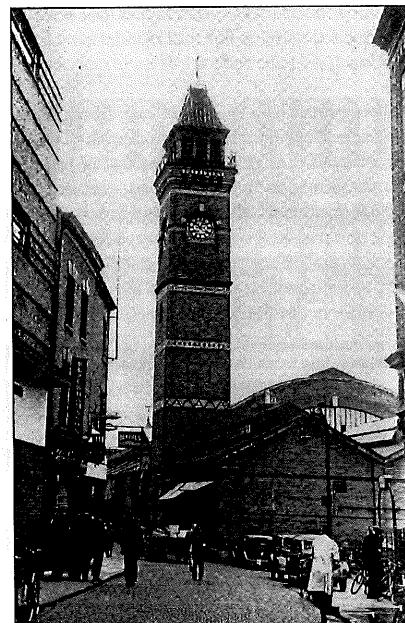


Fig. 32: The clock-tower at Coventry, 1867.

The clock-tower, first appearing at Blackburn became ubiquitous, yet stylistically highly variable by the 1860s.



Fig. 33: Detail of clock-tower. Note the monogram of A, T, and C in the belfry.

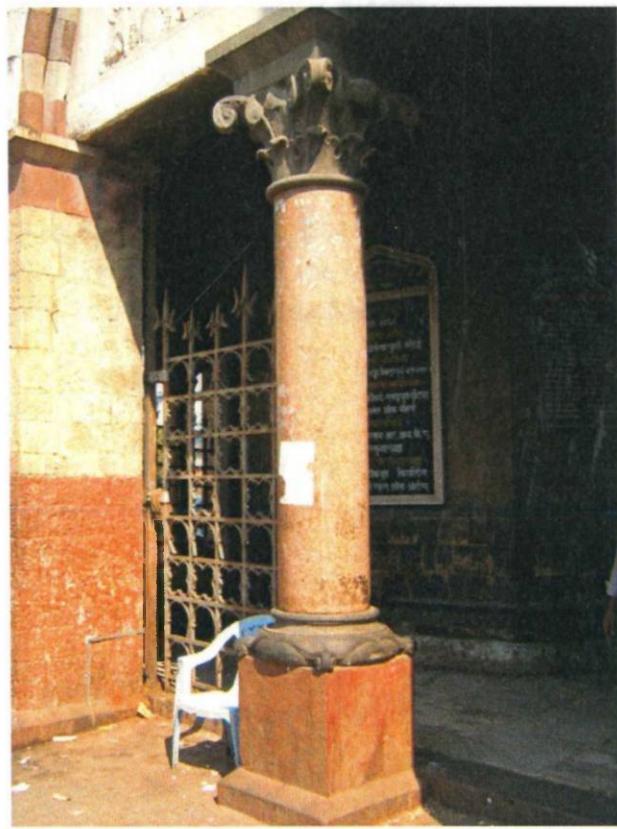


Fig.34: Center right entrance to the Crawford Market showing medieval column and stairway to the tower in background.

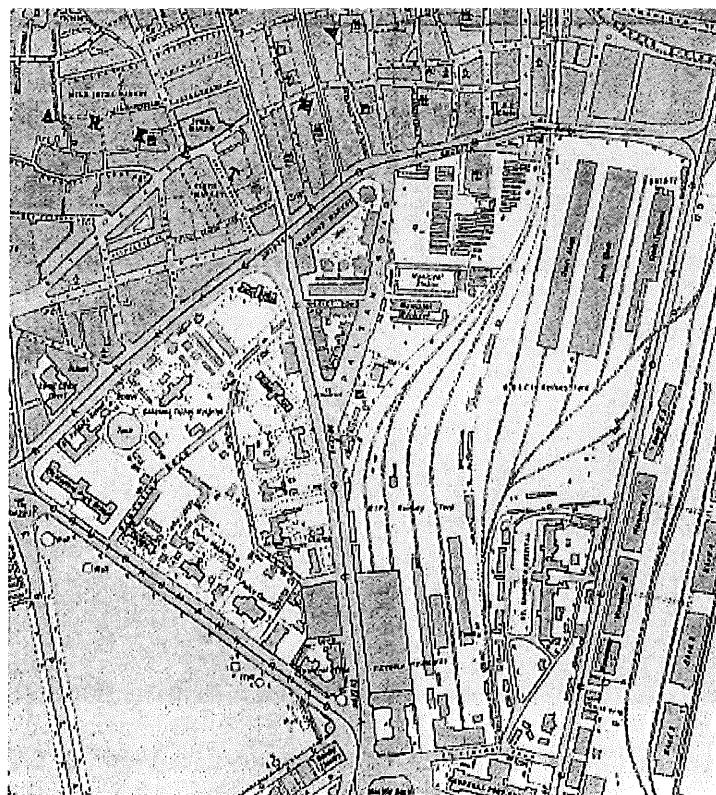


Fig. 35: Detail of map from the Bombay City Survey, 1914-1918, showing the relationship of the Crawford Market to the rest of the urban center, as well as the relationship between the market and Jumma Masjid.



Fig. 36: The left tympanum sculpted by John Lockwood Kipling.



Fig. 37: The right tympanum sculpted by John Lockwood Kipling.

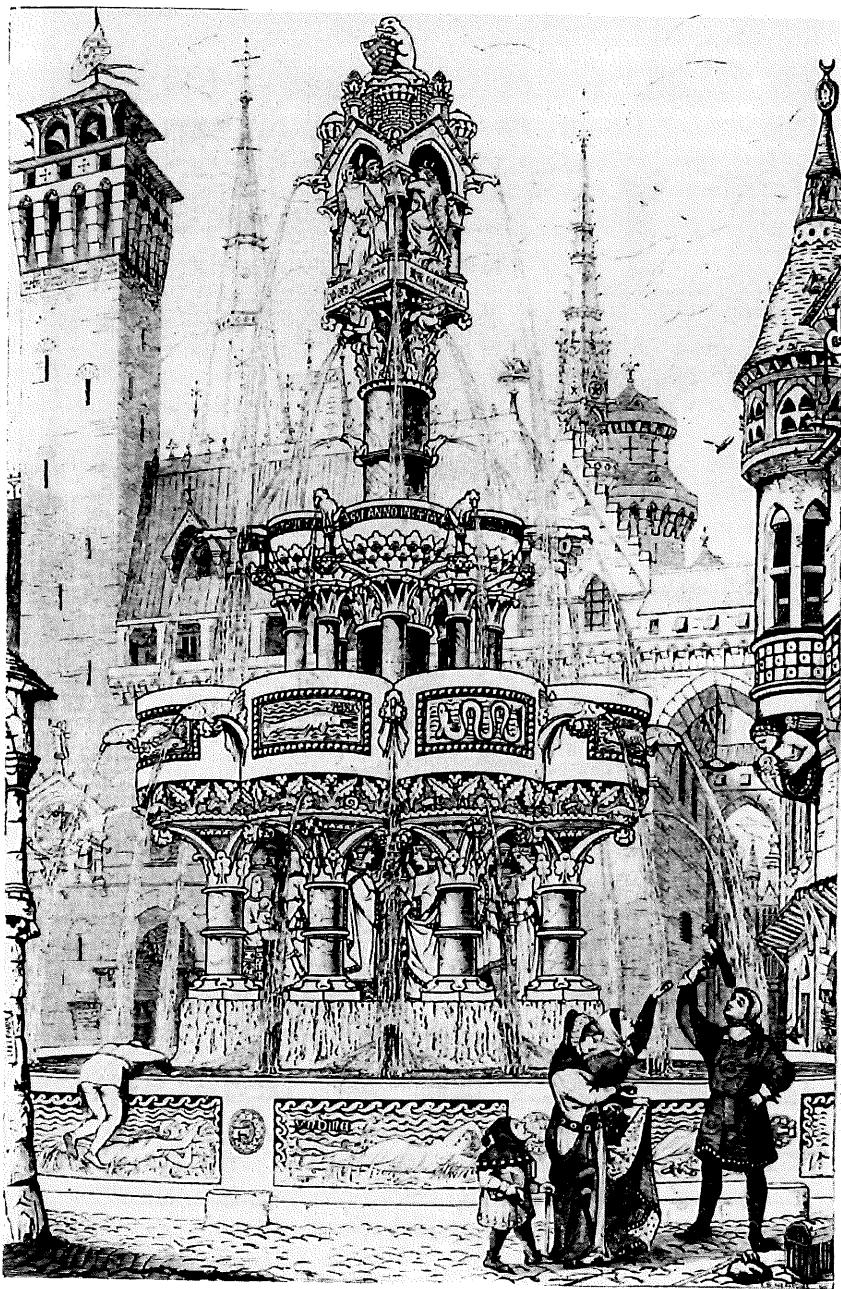


Fig. 38: William Burges, Design for the Sabrina Fountain in Gloucester, 1858.



Fig. 39: Photograph of the Crawford Market fountain, completed in 1874.

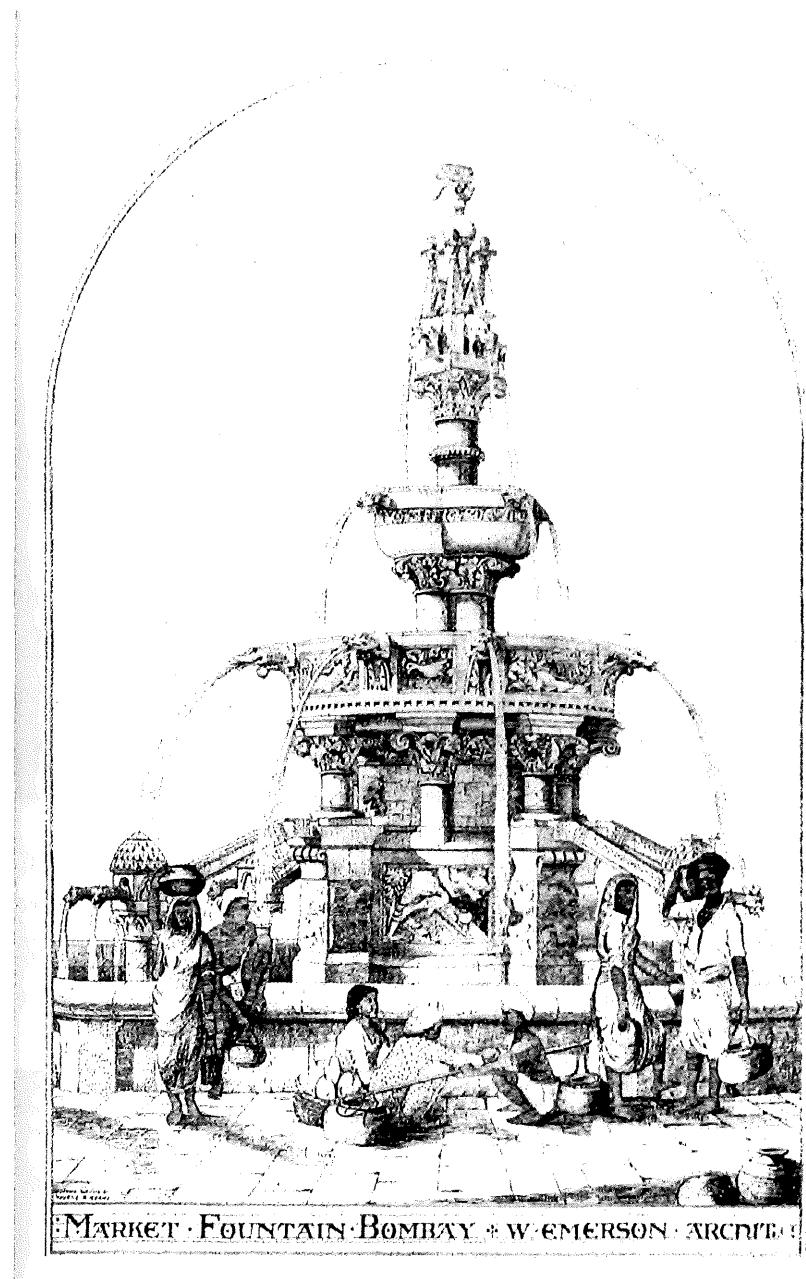


Fig. 40: William Emerson, design for central market fountain published in *The Building News*, 1874.

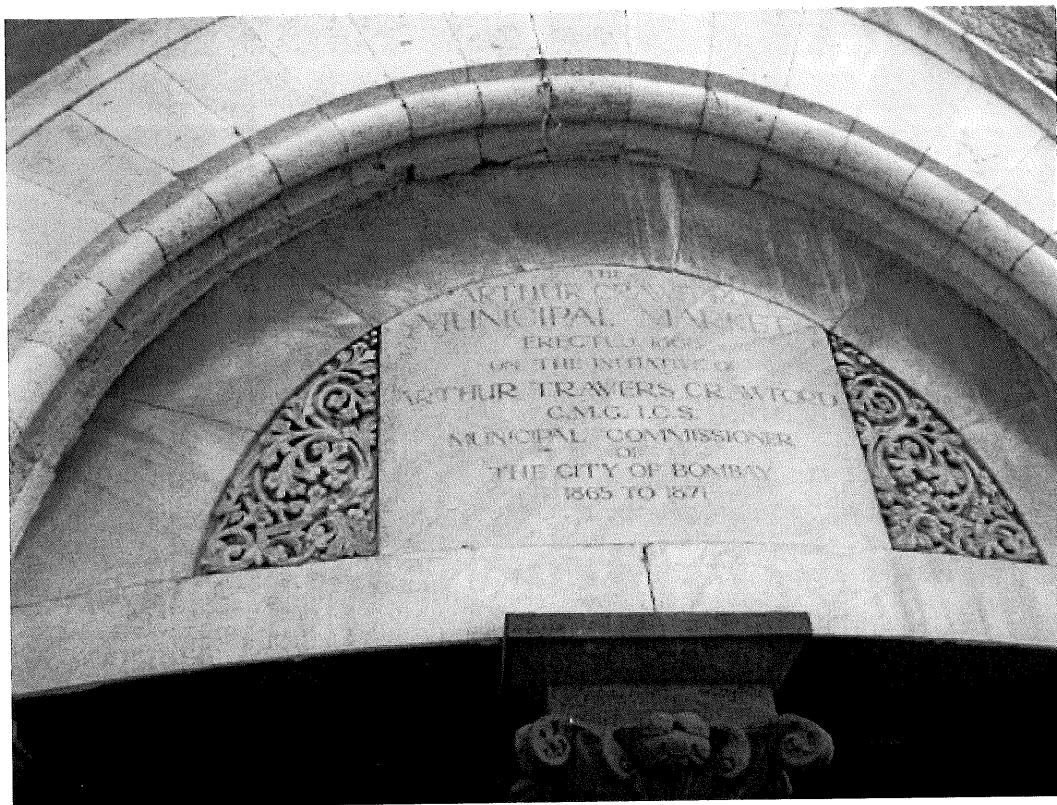


Fig. 41: Tympanum over the central entrance to the market with dedication to Arthur Crawford.

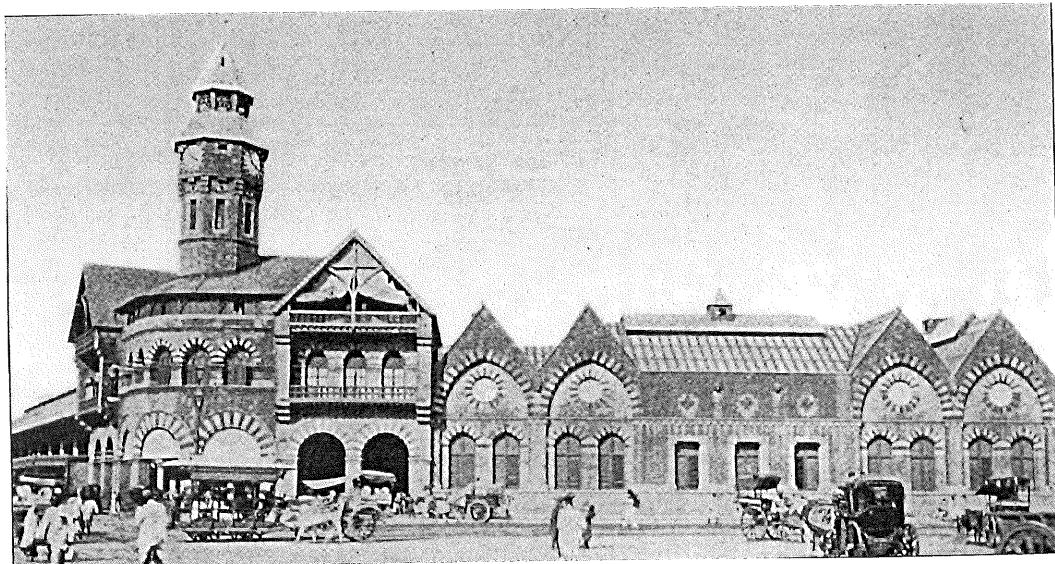


Fig. 42: Photograph of the Arthur Crawford Market, 1895, with cloth covering the upper porch.