Transport and Communication as Symbols of Modernity in India: A Cultural Perspective

Shraddha Bhatawadekar

Fig. 29: Mumbai, Flora Fountain and the Videsh Sanchar Bhavam Tower (Tata Communications Limited) in the background.

Postcards constitute an intriguing source for the study of architectural history. Introduced in the late 19th century, picture postcards became popular and continued to be mass produced and used through the Interwar period. Though their heydays could be said to have waned, they still continue to be widely used. Postcards offer enriching glimpses into the transcultural connections of the long 19th century.[1] Technological ad-

1 Saloni Mathur has traced the history of postcards in brief and has talked about the role of colonial postcards in relation to India by analysing how gender and

vancements in photography and production aided improvement in their quality. Photographed in one location, produced in some other country, and consumed in the third, postcards travelled long distances. The circulation patterns of the postcards and the study of messages written therein can give valuable insights into the socio-cultural milieu of the time. However, a postcard as a source for the study of architectural history is still less established. For one, they offer static and frozen views of the times when the photograph was taken. Secondly, the settings are often hegemonic, staged to convey particular image and meaning of the architecture. It thus becomes difficult to reconstruct the whole story of architecture from mere postcards.

Nonetheless, they become a visual corollary to archives and other literary sources. Especially, for understanding the history of transport and communication which is more volatile in nature, they form a very useful source. This paper highlights the importance of postcards for the study of architectural history, particularly to understand developments in transport and communication in India, reflecting shifting modernities. The collection available here is a small one, consisting of six postcards:

1. General Post Office, Mumbai
2. Victoria Terminus, Mumbai[2]
3. Western Railway Office, Mumbai
4. Western Railway Offices, Churchgate,[3] Mumbai

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social representations were manifested through postcards. Mathur, Saloni, *India by Design: Cultural History and Cultural Display*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 2007.

2 Now renamed Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj Terminus (2017). For historical references, the name Victoria Terminus is retained, wherever necessary. The photograph in the postcard depicts the administrative headquarters of Central Railway.

3 Two postcards depict western railway offices; one being the headquarter of Western Railway built in 1900 and the office building from the 1950s across the street at Churchgate railway station in Mumbai.

5. Bombay Airport, Mumbai
6. New Telephone Exchange, Kolkata[4]

This collection is rather fragmentary to reconstruct the entire narrative, but it offers an important visual account of different genres in transport and communication architecture in India. Buildings that were built for the purposes of transport and communication, be it for administrative or daily use, were in constant flux. As technologies advanced and the user needs changed, these buildings were altered, expanded; sometimes remodelled or rebuilt; often extensions were built in the same premises or in different locations to cater to the changing demands of the time. A utilitarian infrastructure, these buildings have received less attention in research. Though the scenario is changing,[5] much more remains to be done. In many cases, the history of buildings, their architecture and temporal-spatial transformations are hard to reconstruct for paucity of archival and literary sources and lack of research.

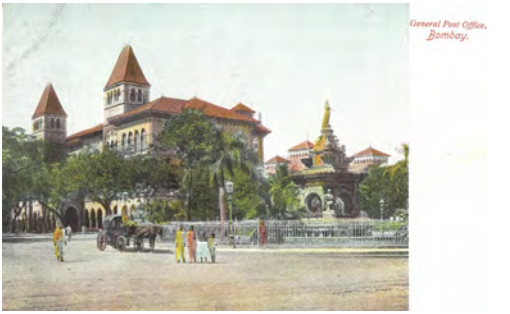
Especially, in cases of buildings constructed after Indian independence, records are often hard to locate. Visual material can come to the aid here, as the postcards in this collection. These postcards are also useful for establishing histories and transformations in institutions; for in-

4 The name of the city has now changed from Calcutta to Kolkata (renamed 2001). For historical references, the name Calcutta is retained, wherever necessary.

5 Nitin Sinha has carried out a review of the recent scholarship on transport and communication history of South Asia. As he writes, railway research has expanded into socio-cultural history of railways beyond mere political and financial histories of railway construction. Moreover, "other forms of transport, such as steamships, boats, roadways, and bullock carts" are also being increasingly studied. He adds how communication history is being viewed via "a renewed and distinct focus through the lens of technology, particularly the telegraph…". However, the socio-cultural history of transport-communication architecture remains to be explored. The colonial architecture is well described and assessed in various previous works, but their changing forms and continuities remain yet to be fully explored. Nitin, Sinha, "Histories of transport and communication", *The Journal of Transport History*, Vol. 42(I), 2021; p. 142–69.

stance, the General Post Office building depicted as a sketch in the postcard here was built in the 1870s in Bombay and was subsequently handed over to the Central Telegraph Office in the early 20th century when a new grand building was constructed for the General Post Office at a different location.

Fig. 30: Mumbai, General Post Office, 1913.



Postcards in this collection offer many other useful hints about the socio-cultural histories. While they depict these buildings within the urban setting, as seen in case of the postcard depicting Victoria Terminus, they also celebrate technological advancements, such as the Bombay Airport. Though this paper does not dive deep into the details of the production as well as the messages conveyed through these postcards, preliminary observations show that the postcards were likely circulated in the second half of the 20th century (c. 1970s).[6] The three buildings of this postcard collection, i.e. Victoria Terminus, Western Railway Office, General Post Office were built in the late 19th century. These postcards set these buildings in their mid-20th century context and show how these buildings were adapted/ transformed and used in the 20th century. This

6 This is evident from the postal stamps used on the postcards. However, some postcards were never used.

continuity is particularly interesting when viewed within the frame of the use of colonial architecture in the post-colonial times. Throughout this time, the notions of architectural modernism and aesthetics kept shifting. This diachronic approach is less explored in the case of architecture related to infrastructure in India. Using the examples of available postcards as a basis, this paper traces reflections of modernity in transport and communication architecture in India and its role and perceptions in society today.[7]

Transport and Communication as Agents of Modernity

19th century witnessed revolutionary transformations in transport and communication all over the world. The Industrial Revolution provided a great impetus to the development of new technologies, which accelerated progress in transport and communication. The beginning of the railways in 1825[8] following the invention of a steam locomotive dawned a new era in transportation, which not only contributed to enhancing the mobility of people and goods but also had wide repercussions on empire- and nation building. Similarly, innovations in communication

7 This paper primarily discusses architectural modernities through the available postcard collection. Thus, the geographical and typological scope of this paper remains limited. Many other forms of transport and communication: roads, ports, etc. are not analysed in this paper. Moreover, post offices, telegraph offices, telephone exchange are integral channels of communication and are only briefly discussed. This postcard collection primarily consists of infrastructures from Bombay and Calcutta. Postcards from Madras (now Chennai) or even other regions of India are absent in the collection and consequently not addressed in the paper. Despite these limitations, this paper highlights the juxtapositions of change and continuity and modernity in transport and communication infrastructure in India.

8 The first railway ran between Stockton and Darlington in 1825. The first fully timetabled railway service—Liverpool and Manchester Railway with freight and passenger traffic opened in 1830. https://www.britannica.com/technology/history-of-technology/Steam-locomotive (07.02.2023).

were spearheaded with the introduction of a telegraph (1837) and telephone (1876), which connected the world in a short span of time.[9] On the one hand, transport and communication led to the 'annihilation of space and time', but on the other, also created new definitions of time and space.[10] They impacted and transformed economic, socio-cultural life of the everyday. Transport and communication systems became harbingers of new modernity in the industrialising and globalising world.

Fig. 31: Mumbai, Victoria Terminus.

These new institutions needed infrastructure for their own operations. The buildings constructed for these purposes resonated architectural trends of the time. Especially headquarters and buildings in important cities were built as monumental structures with elaborate decorations. As Asta von Schroeder writes, "By mid-nineteenth century, the

9 https://www.britannica.com/technology/history-of-technology/Steam-locomotive (07.02.2023).

10 Wolfgang Schivelbusch has discussed this concept in detail. Schivelbusch, Wolfgang, "Railroad Space and Railroad Time", *New German Critique*, 1978/14; p. 31–40. https://doi.org/10.2307/488059 (07.02.2023).

railroad was firmly established in the Western World and formed an important part of life in the industrial era. Fighting for a place amongst the league of theatres, museums, and city halls, railway stations took an increasingly representative appearance. The more elaborate contemporary historicist station architecture became, the more often it allowed for extensive decoration programs" (Schroeder 2013: 1). For instance, be it Euston in London, Frankfurt am Main in Germany, Gare de Lyon in Paris, they were all adorned with sculptures that represented modern values and ideas of the time, such as industry, trade, technology, progress.[11] Similarly, telegraph and post offices also acquired a prominent presence on the cityscape; examples included the General Post Office, Central Telegraph Office in London,[12] Central Telegraph Office, Central Post Office in Paris.[13] Such was the prominence of these institutions in the late 19th century that they constituted among the key indicators of modernity.

Colonial Undertones in Transport and Communication in India

The development of transport and communication in India is intrinsically linked with the Colonial Empire. Both transport and communication were essential for the spread as well as control of the Empire. Minutes by Governor General of India Lord Dalhousie in the 1850s highlighted the need for good transportation and communication as a means of economic prosperity as well as military and administrative control (cited in Hurd and Kerr 2012: 9). There was often an underlying notion of progress and civilisation implied in the development of transport

11 Asta von Schroeder has carried out a detailed study of iconography of metropolitan railway stations from 1850 to 1950 and the messages they conveyed. Schroeder von, Asta, "Images and Messages in the Embellishment of Metropolitan Railway Stations (1850–1950)", Berlin, Technical University Berlin, 2013.

12 Both structures from the 19th century have been demolished. https://www.postalmuseum.org/blog/190-years-of-londons-post-office-quarter/# (07.02.2023).

13 https://archello.com/project/la-poste-du-louvre (07.02.2023).

and communication. At the same time, local traders and influential citizens had also shown interest in these infrastructures. For instance, in Bombay, a group called 'Bombay Great Eastern Railway' was established in the early 1840s by the local elite to promote the cause of railways.[14] Many private British companies also pushed for developing railways in India for the commercial benefits they sought through this enterprise. On 16th April 1853, the first railway ran in Bombay laid by the Great Indian Peninsula Railway Company (hereafter GIPR). The line in Calcutta started in 1854, which was operated by the East Indian Railway Company (hereafter EIR), followed by Madras opened by the Madras Railway Company in 1856. The railways made rapid progress in the next 20 years. By the early 1870s, the major trunk lines were completed connecting the Presidency cities of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. They came to be used by the British and Indians alike. The railways were an important infrastructure that spurred the growth of metropolises. They became the central landmarks and nodes around which many businesses were aligned. They were well connected to ports and became the gateways to the cities. Railway stations became important markers in public life. The temporary makeshift structures soon gave way to grand modern structures with state-of-the-art facilities for passengers, primarily for first and second classes.

Post offices witnessed early developments from the late 18th century. In 1787, a postmaster was appointed for communication between important towns. It was subsequently followed by the establishment of a General Post Office and the commencement of overseas postal communication before the turn of the century (Chaudhari 1987: 759–760).

14 "Classified Ad 5- no Title, *The Bombay Times and Journal of Commerce* (1838–1859), Jul 20, 462, 1844. Later, the group was renewed into an Inland Railway Association in Bombay and merged its interests with the Great Indian Peninsula Railway Company, a private joint-stock company established in England to promote the cause of railways in Bombay and the surrounding region. "Article 2--no Title: Abstract of Accounts of The Great Eastern Railway Company", *The Bombay Times and Journal of Commerce*, Aug 09, 1845; p. 527.

Telegraph was introduced in India 1854 and all main lines were connected between Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras in the next few years (Chaudhari 1987: 761). In the 1860s, India was connected with Europe via telegraph lines. As these networks grew, infrastructure was needed for their operations. Transport and communication infrastructures were well integrated in the urban planning programmes of the late 19th century, mainly in principal cities in India. The architectural styles chosen often corresponded with the architectural styles of other public buildings of the time. In Bombay, acceleration in public building activity took place in the late 1860s following the demolition of Fort that once stood to protect the core settlement from the early 18th century. With the initiative of the then Governor Sir Bartle Frere and planner James Trubshawe, a systematic plan for architectural and urban development was drafted and Victorian Gothic, the style then popular in England, was adopted (Dwivedi and Mehrotra 2001: 95). A series of public buildings, such as the Secretariat, University, High Court, Public Works Department were designed in Victorian Neo Gothic style and built along the Esplanade.[15] Within the same visual plane, General Post Office and Central Telegraph Office were constructed in the 1870s, both also in Neo Gothic style.

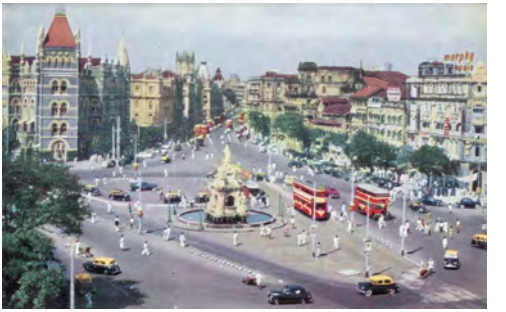
Designed by James Trubshawe and Walter Paris, the General Post Office was completed in the early 1870s.[16] A handsome three-storey structure, it had two towers with high-pitched roofs dominating the skyscape (Dwivedi and Mehrotra 2001: 100). In the early 20th century, the post office was moved to a new building next to Victoria Terminus railway station. The new building was constructed to the designs of John Begg, consulting architect to the Government. The principle features of the building were the massive circular dome, inspired by the 17th century local architecture from Bijapur- Gol Gumbaz and the large central hall accom-

15 Gothic architecture of the time in Bombay has been discussed by many historians; See, for instance, Davies 1985; Charles, Morris, Tindall et. al., 1986; Lang, Desai and Desai, 1997; London, 2002; Morris, 2005.

16 "The new government buildings on the esplanade: the secretariat the …", *The Times of India*, 1871, Jun 1.

modating different postal functions.[17] As the Post Office moved out of the premises on the Esplanade, it was taken over by the Central Telegraph Office. Their other building, adjacent to it, designed by Walter Paris in the early 1870s in Neo Gothic style, was connected to the newly acquired building.[18]

Fig. 32: Mumbai, Flora Fountain: a major communication junction in the centre of Fort.



The climax in Neo Gothic style in Bombay can be seen at Victoria Terminus. Built for the headquarters of the GIPR, the building was designed by architect Frederick William Stevens. It was completed in 1888 and became the largest public building in Bombay of the time, together with its adjacent station shed catering to the suburban and long-distance traffic (Mehrotra and Dwivedi 2006: 137).[19] The building was characterised by architectural grandeur, rich decorations and lavish treatment of spaces. Of particular significance was the octagonal dome

17 http://www.mmrhcs.org.in/index.php/heritage-information-system/information-system (07.02.2023).

18 "Quicker telegrams: new Bombay…", *The Times of India*, 1916, Mar 11; p. 9.

19 Mehrotra, Dwivedi, 2006. This book discusses the architecture and construction of Victoria Terminus in detail.

which adorned the building, with a 5'6" statue of progress on top. Frederick William Stevens won great acclaim for his designs and execution of Victoria Terminus and earned many other commissions including the designs for the other railway company headquarters in Bombay, i.e. the Bombay Baroda & Central India Railway (hereafter BB&CI). The BB&CI office (completed 1900), smaller in scale and ornamentation than the GIPR offices, still had a charm of its own (Mehrotra and Dwivedi 2000: 73). With a central circular dome and smaller cupolas, it showed a nice transition towards the Indo-Saracenic style, which became a popular style in the early 20th century Bombay.[20]

Whereas the architecture used for transport and communication reflected the popular and current styles of the time, the railway stations predominantly showcased extravagance. Railways were built by the private companies in the 19th century and the competition for new commissions was particularly fierce across the world. According to Schroeder, "In terms of form, the craving for acceptance by the more established social arbiters explains the confident use of representational codes as embodied by allegoric décor, expensive material, generous handling of space…". (Schroeder 2013: 272).

Railway stations were termed "cathedrals of new humanity" (cited in Richards and MacKenzie 1986: 3). The railways were very important for goods traffic and the subsequent industrial and commercial advancements. The symbols depicted on the building are a testimony to the role the railways played. In India, Victoria Terminus was adorned with allegories representing agriculture, commerce, and industry as well as science and engineering were used at various apex points. The climax was the use of Statue of Progress atop the dome (London 2002: 90–92). On the headquarters of the BB&CI building, an allegory of engineering was represented on the central gable (Mehrotra and Dwivedi 2000: 73). Telegraph and post affairs were controlled by the government from the beginning. The use of statuary was less prominent on the telegraph and

20 Indo-Saracenic combined Classical and Gothic models of British architecture with Indian and Islamic motifs. For the detailed discussion on the development of this style in India, see, for instance, Tillotson, 1994.

post office buildings though elaborate architectural arrangements were made to house these infrastructures.

Transport and communication architecture had different connotations. Saloni Mathur states, "Native views of India would often celebrate Britain's architectural achievements in the colony through photographs of sites such as a statue of Queen Victoria in Rawalpindi, a post office in Lucknow, or a railway station in Calcutta. These images of British architecture-of buildings, bridges, gateways, and arches-functioned as symbols of Britain's industrial strength in the colony and underscored ideologies of Western progress in India" (Mathur 2007: 116). Transport and communication were considered key agents of progress and civilisation in the 19th century everywhere in the world as already outlined above. The British bringing progress and civilisation to India through these developments was apparent in discussions on a number of occasions in press and media. For instance, when the railways were inaugurated in Bombay in 1853, this idea echoed in the speeches of the dignitaries. Speaking at the inauguration ceremony of the first railway, Sir William Yardley, the then Chief Justice of Bombay, believed that "a well desired system of Railways, ably and prudently executed, would be the most powerful of all worldly instruments of the advancement and civilization in every respect…"[21] James Berkley, the engineer of the GIPR, who worked on the first railways, added: "It may seem a little thing to those who are familiar with the history of recent days, to open a Railway only twenty (20) miles long, but we have today publicly introduced to this rich and populous nation those two great agents, Steam and Iron… in the form of the most powerful system that modern invention has devised for the extension of Commerce and for the promotion of civilization…"[22] This notion reflected in architecture as well. Civilizing and raising the aesthetic taste of Indians was also often mentioned in speeches and newspapers. Sir Richard Temple, the governor of Bombay, complained in 1881, "The style of many British structures was so erroneous or defective as to exercise a

21 *The Bombay Times and Journal of Commerce*. Apr 16, 1855, cited in: Sharma, 1985; p. 17.

22 *Ibid*.

debasing influence on the minds of those Natives, who might be induced to admire or imitate it as being the production of a dominant and presumably a more civilized race" (Evenson 1989: 60). Transport and communication infrastructure served the key purpose to promote the government agenda as they were frequented by local citizens and Europeans alike.

At the same time, they represented the global values promoted in the 19th century as consequences of the industrial Revolution. Multiple similarities can be found in the way this architecture and its use developed and evolved across the world. Innovations in technology and new ways of living were equated with modernity of the time. This urge towards becoming 'modern' was well desired in architecture and urban planning. For instance, when Victoria Terminus was being constructed, the Bombay Government insisted on a modern building that would align with city's image. *The Architect* of 1886 notes: "Various plans for the new offices and station were submitted to the directors and the Government from time to time, but none of them were approved of, as they failed to satisfy one of the principal conditions laid down, that they should be suited to the importance of the city, and in consonance with its modern architectural features."[23] While these buildings served the representational purposes, they were primarily functional buildings. A lot of attention was given to creating state-of-the-art facilities and comforts. But they also shaped the society by facilitating certain behaviours and realigned the notions of gender, class, and race and had wider economic, socio-cultural impact.

Changing Architectural Norms of the 20th Century

In the early 20th century, the shift in the idea of modernity was apparent and reflected in architecture as well. During this period in India, use of electricity became more common. Technology continued to evolve;

23 "An Indian Railway Terminus", *The Architect*, 1886, Vol. XXXV; p. 15–18.

transport and communication systems got transformed. Railway transport increased multi-fold. Trams were electrified; motor transport was introduced. Along with telegraph, telephones started being more common in use. As transport and communication infrastructures continued to penetrate distant regions in India, the existing architecture proved inadequate to accommodate the rising demands. New buildings had to be constructed for this purpose. For these constructions, different architectural styles were chosen than their previous counterparts. Among the most impressive developments in railway architecture in the early 20th century was the construction of the principal railway station of the EIR at Howrah. The new station was constructed by demolishing an existing smaller station, originally built in 1854. The Howrah station designed by Halsey Ricardo, a well-known supporter of arts and crafts movement (Morris 2005: 128). With its eight towers and symmetrical facades, it was a masterpiece with Moorish-Romanesque influences. Opened in 1906, the red-brick station was impressive for its scale; this was the largest station in India and continues to hold this status even today.

Fig. 33: Howrah, New Railway Station.

As traffic increased, need was felt for more infrastructure to suffice the traffic and technological transformations. In the 1920s and 30s, both principal stations on GIPR and BB&CI, i.e. Victoria Terminus

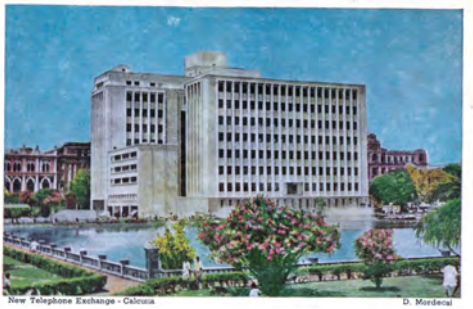
and Churchgate were remodeled and new building extensions were erected. Both these buildings were characterized by simplistic style but with modern facilities. Steel-frame and reinforced cement concrete were popular building materials of the time. Nonetheless, they complimented their earlier counterparts in the choice of facing material of stone and layouts. This modern movement in architecture in the 20th century moved away from previous aesthetics. According to Norma Evenson, "The unadorned grandeur of certain industrial structures inspired concepts of a new monumentality, while commercial blocks provided an aesthetic based on the expression of structural framing elements" (Evenson 1989: 158). While technological innovations were at the heart of this modern architecture, elaborate ornamentation of the previous genre was discarded. During this time, transport and communication infrastructures had become integral to public life. The colonial underpinnings of these systems were already overshadowed with their utilitarian nature. It was perhaps also the reason that their transition into the post-independence period was rather smooth.

Utilitarian Needs of the Post-Independence Period

Indian independence in 1947 further accelerated the demand for these infrastructures. They were essential for building new India and the newly established sovereign Government of India advocated the strengthening of these infrastructures for the development and progress of the new nation. As Marian Aguiar argues, "Given the centrality of technological development during the colonial period, it is not surprising that after independence, the railway would maintain its key ideological role within India. The train, previously a symbol of colonial rule, became the sign of an independent, industrialized nation" (Aguiar 2011: 102). Once more, the rising pressure on transport and communication infrastructure necessitated construction of new buildings. During this phase, RCC high-rise structures, the common norm of the time, was adopted. These new buildings once again reflected the quest for modernism.

At Churchgate terminus in Bombay, a new station building was erected in 1956, as can be seen in the postcard. As the Maharashtra State Gazetteer outlines, "Due to tremendous expansion of industry and trade in this metropolis, traffic on the suburban section has increased a good deal and old station had to be remodeled" (Chaudhari 1987: 651). Following its construction in the late 19th century, the station underwent changes a number of times. Finally, in the mid-1950s, a seven storeyed building was constructed with a spacious concourse hall, which included all visitor amenities.

Fig. 34: Kolkata, New Telephone Exchange.



The telephone services also underwent massive expansions during this period. The telephones were inaugurated in Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay in 1882. While the government controlled the telephone lines, it offered licenses to private companies to establish telephone exchanges, with Oriental Telephone Company Limited receiving the initial contract in 1881. The Calcutta Central Exchange was located in 1, Council House Street.[24] The use of telephones picked up manifold

24 http://www.calcutta.bsnl.co.in/mainfooter/MainFooter_Company.html#:~:text=28th%20January%2C%201882%20is%20a,in%20Calcutta%2C%20Madras%20and%20Bombay (07.02.2023).

in the post-independence period.[25] As demands rose, a new Telephone Exchange building was erected at Dalhousie Square (now BDD Bagh) in the mid-1950s. Not much information could be gathered about the New Telephone Exchange. This seven storey structure seems to have been erected by the firm of Ballardie, Thompson, and Matthews in 1956.[26] Known as Telephone Bhavan, it enjoyed a vantage position in central Calcutta together with several other systems, including General Post Office and Telegraph Office. Along with roads and railways, a new form of transport was popularised in the post-independence period. The air transport was slow to develop in India. Despite early efforts in the beginning of the 20th century, the air traffic remained limited. The Civil Aviation Department constituted in 1927 and aerodromes were created. A few air services were introduced, such as Imperial Airways Service running between Croydon and Delhi and the service introduced by the Tata Airways Ltd. in 1932 within the Indian subcontinent (Chaudhari 1987: 657–58). However, it was only after independence that the service was expanded. The construction of Bombay Airport on the location of previous Air Force hangers at Santacruz began in the early 1950s and the new airport was opened for traffic in 1958 to handle the increasing domestic and international passenger traffic.[27] The terminal building consisted of modern facilities for passenger conveniences. Within the next two decades, a new terminal at Sahar was added to cater to the increasing international services. As public infrastructure, the transport and communication systems continued to be expanded. They were already localised but were further appropriated through name changes. In the 1950s, the railway system was reorganised and the GIPR became Central Railway and BB&CI was incorporated into Western Railway;

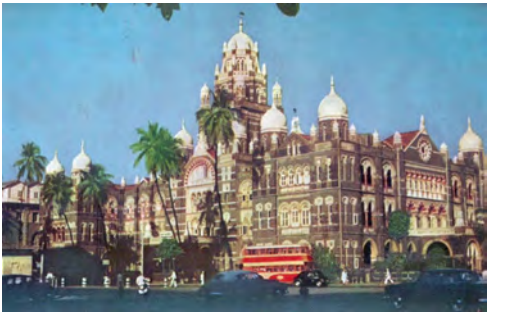
25 It was taken over by the Post and Telegraph Department of the Government of India in 1943. In 1985, the post and telegraph were separated, and telephone came under the Department of Telecom. In 2000, Bharat Sanchar Nigam Limited (BSNL) was established as a central public sector undertaking.

26 http://wikimapia.org/174005/Telephone-Bhavan (07.02.2023).

27 "Construction of New Buildings: BOMBAY AIRPORT", *The Times of India*, May 4, 1957; p.2. The new terminal for international traffic was opened at Sahar in the vicinity of the Santacruz airport in 1980. Chaudhari, 1987; p. 659–60.

EIR was reconstituted as Eastern Railway; all as branches of Indian Railways, a public entity. Subsequently, the names of stations also changed so also of the principal cities. Victoria Terminus became Chhatrapati Shivaji Terminus in 1996, (later renamed Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj Terminus in 2017).[28] Bombay Airport also assumed the name of Chhatrapati Shivaji International Airport in 1999 (later renamed Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj International Airport in 2018).[29] Public memory has still retained the old names to a great extent. It offers testimony to affinities people have developed over time with these systems. They are integral to the functioning of everyday and have become the lifelines for people. They are also landmarks in the regions they serve, but their importance transcends beyond as cultural icons of the country.

Fig. 35: Mumbai, Western Railway Office.



28 "Mumbai's Chhatrapati Shivaji Terminus renamed to Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj Terminus", *India Today*, Jun 30, 2017. https://www.indiatoday.in/education-today/gk-current-affairs/story/mumbai-chhatrapati-shivajiterminus-renamed-1021708-2017-06-30 (07.02.2023).

29 "Mumbai airport renamed as Chhatrapati Shivaji 'Maharaj' International Airport.", *The Indian Express*, Aug 30., 2018. https://indianexpress.com/article/india/mumbai-airport-chhatrapati-shivaji-maharaj-international-airport-5333252/ (07.02.2023).

Transport and Communication as Heritage Symbols

Many of the transport and communication infrastructures from the 19th and 20th century continue to be in use even today. Given their architectural aesthetics and historical importance, these structures have become heritage landmarks. In Mumbai, a heritage list was created by the Brihanmumbai Municipal Corporation in 1995, in which properties have been graded as I, IIA & B and III (Heritage Regulations for Greater Bombay 1995). While Central Telegraph Office is Grade IIA, both Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj Terminus and Western Railway Offices are Grade I structures. In addition, Victoria Terminus has been inscribed on a UNESCO World Heritage List since 2004, which has elevated its status internationally (CST Nomination File 945rev 2004). However, what the heritage designation often overlooks is the continued use and technological and industrial values that these monuments possess.

If one looks at the existing transport and communication infrastructure today, one can often find traces of original structures, built in the early 19th and 20th century. They have been expanded, refurbished with changing technologies, and needs of space, time, and societies. The use of new materials, technological innovations, constant experimentations, and evolutions have characterised these infrastructures. This technological and industrial aesthetics is also an integral part of their heritage, hitherto less explored. Change is constant in case of infrastructures, but one can see continuities in these systems as well. This functionality of heritage should be taken into account and other ancillary built and intangible elements that embody this heritage should be identified. This postcard collection with its focus on highlighting the transport and communication infrastructures aims to bring about awareness of their values and expand the notions of their heritage. They have been previously looked at as parts of urban or architectural history, but their role as infrastructures and their relations to the everyday functioning or as emblems of technology and shifting modernity opens up new perspectives of looking at them not just as isolated structures but within their changing contexts. In this case, heritage also assumes the function of manag-

ing change to ensure their future sustenance while retaining their historical, aesthetic, and cultural importance.

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