

**MERCHANTS AND COMMERCIAL ORGANISATION
IN COASTAL ORISSA IN THE SEVENTEENTH
AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES**

*Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University
in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the Award of the Degree of
MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY*

KHAGENDRA NATH SETHI

**CENTRE FOR HISTORICAL STUDIES
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
NEW DELHI-110067
INDIA
1994**



JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY

NEW DELHI-110067

Centre for Historical Studies

C E R T I F I C A T E

This is to certify that the M.Phil Dissertation entitled "Merchants and Commercial Organization in Coastal Orissa in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries", submitted by Mr. Khagendra Nath Sethi in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Philosophy has not been previously submitted for any other degree of this University.

We recommend that, this dissertation be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

Prof. Satish Saberwal
(Chairperson)

Dr. Yogesh Sharma
(Supervisor)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I have the pleasure to express my gratitude to a number of persons who have contributed in many ways in the completion of this work.

At the outset, I wish to express my deepest gratitude to my supervisor Dr. Yogesh Sharma for his valuable suggestions, guidance and encouragement on this work.

My thanks are due to Dr. Lalatendu DasMahapatra, Archivist, National Archives of India, New Delhi, Mr. Ajay Jha, Research Scholar, CHS, SSS, JNU, Mr. Sowesh Pattanaik, Research Scholar, CPS, SSS, JNU and many of my friends for their help and co-operation in the completion of this work.

I am thankful to the Library staff of Jawaharlal Nehru University, National Archives, New Delhi, Central Secretariat Library, New Delhi, India Council of Historical Research Library, New Delhi for their assistance.

I have, infact, no words to express my gratitude to my parents and brothers without whose encouragement and support it would not have been possible for me to carry on my re-

search.

Finally, I am thankful to Mr. Prem Kumar and Mr. Dhiraj for the meticulous typing. While I thank all those who helped me in many ways, I am alone responsible for the omissions and errors herein this dissertation.

New Delhi
21st July 1994.

Khagendra Nath Sethi
Khagendra Nath Sethi

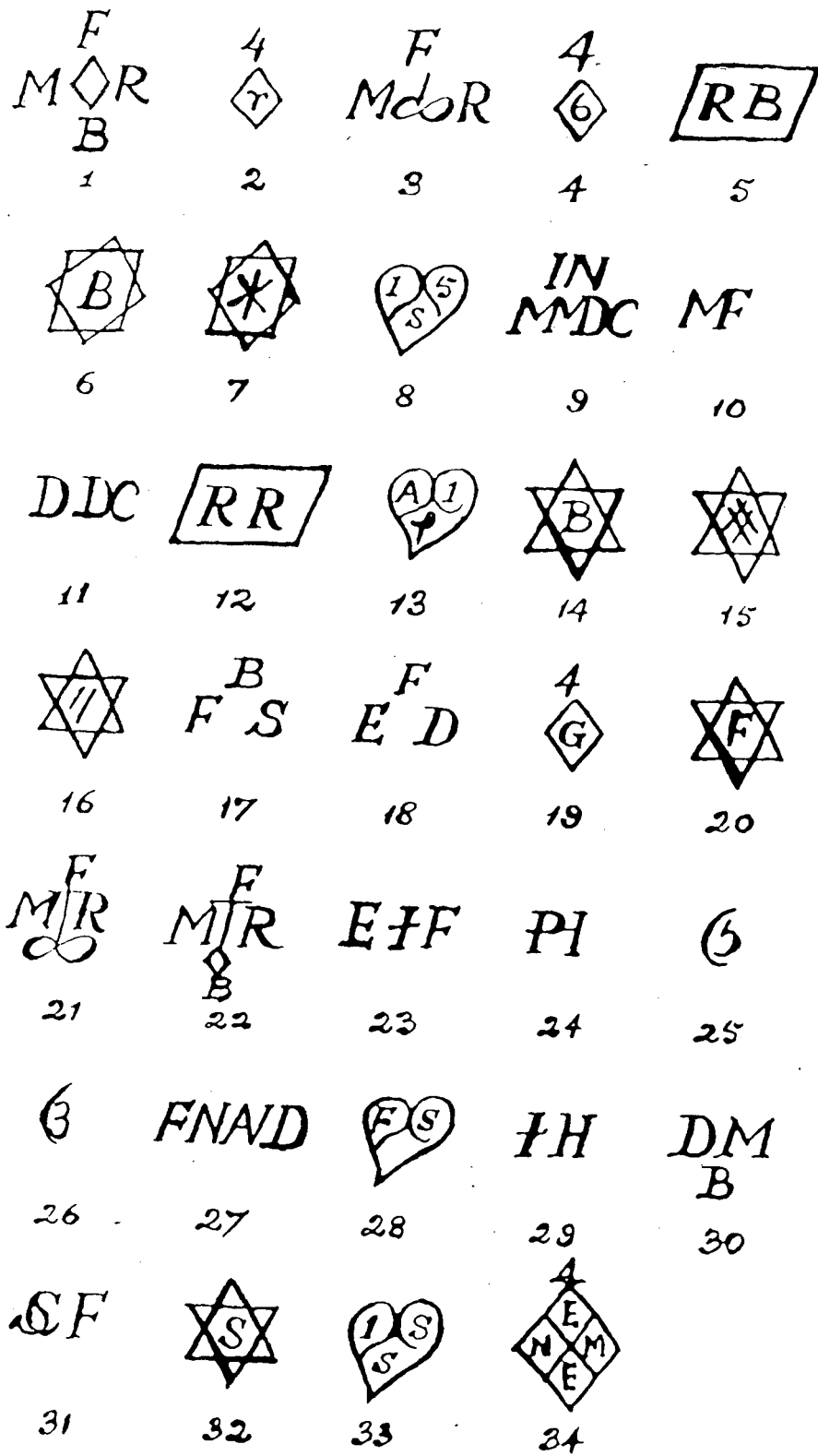


Chart Showing the trade Symbols of the East India Company.

Source : Fort William - India House Correspondence, Public Series, Vol.II, 1757-1759

CONTENTS

<u>Particulars</u>	<u>Pages</u>
INTRODUCTION	1 - 18
CHAPTER I	
Background	19 - 47
(i) Geographical Locations	
(ii) Politico-Economic Conditions of the Region	
(iii) Ports	
CHAPTER II	
Merchants, Commercial Organization and the English Company	48 - 82
(i) Trading Community	
(ii) Commercial Activities	
(iii) Composition of Trade	
CHAPTER III	
Trade	83 - 135
Section A : The Export Trade: The Items of Export	
Section B : Imports	
CHAPTER IV	
Conclusion	136 - 149
GLOSSARY	150 - 154
APPENDICE	155 - 159
Appendix A	
Appendix B	
Appendix C	
BIBLIOGRAPHY	160 - 168

ABBREVIATIONS

<u>Ain</u>	---	<u>Ain -i - Akbari</u>
<u>BPP</u>	---	<u>Bengal Past and Present</u>
<u>CEHI</u>	---	<u>Cambridge Economic History of India</u>
<u>D & C</u>	---	<u>Diary and Consolation Book</u>
<u>DFI</u>	---	<u>Dutch Factories in India</u>
<u>EFI</u>	---	<u>English Factories in India</u>
<u>EFI(New Series)</u>	---	<u>English Factories in India (New Series)</u>
<u>Hedge's Diary</u>	---	<u>Diaries of William Hedges</u>
<u>IESHR</u>	---	<u>Indian Economic and Social History Review</u>
<u>IHC</u>	---	<u>Indian History Review</u>
<u>IHQ</u>	---	<u>Indian History Quarterly</u>
<u>JBRs</u>	---	<u>Journal of Bengal Royal Society</u>
<u>Manrique</u>	---	<u>Travels of Fray Sebastéin Manrique</u>
<u>Master's Diary</u>	---	<u>Diaries of Strensham Master</u>
<u>Mundy</u>	---	<u>Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia</u>
<u>NA</u>	---	<u>Not Available</u>
<u>OHRJ</u>	---	<u>Orissa Historical Research Journal</u>

Introduction

INTRODUCTION

From the hoary past India had regular commercial intercourse with the distant countries of Asia and Europe. But the character and the nature of the trade and commerce of India underwent change of far reaching consequences with the advent of the European Powers decidedly came to stay as an important factor in the economic as well as political life of the country.

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries have been a significant phase for the development of trade and commerce in India. It was characterised by an acceleration in the pace of urbanization in different commercial centres. There was a marked increase in the degree of urbanization in the Subah of Bengal, the hinge of English trade in the Eastern coast of India. The number of towns in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Bengal, that had comprised of the present geographical areas of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa had significance. The present work attempts to focus attention commerce life and structure in coastal Orissa which were important centres in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

As early as 1895, C.R. Wilson in the Preface to his "Early Annals of the English in the Bengal" pointed out that the necessary connection between the stages of the English advance into Bengal have yet to be understood. So far a region-wise study concerning some research monographs are available on the four regions of India by scholars such as Tapan RayChaudhuri, S. Arasaratanam, M. Pearson, Ashin Das Gupta, Surendra Gopal, Om Prakash, and Sushil Chaudhuri, etc. Their studies have shown that though each region of India appeared to follow the same broad trends in trade, structure and institutions yet at the same time, they had many dissimilarities. If each of these regions evolved with different trade cultures, it also leads us to arrive at an irresistible conclusion that differences in trade patterns are bound to crop up inside a region, from place to place or province to province depending upon the nature of its political, economic, topographical and cultural background.

It is generally agreed among scholars that the study of trade on the Western Coast of India is incomplete without a thorough and a special reference to the Konkan Coast lying between Malabar and Gujarat Coast. The need for a special

study on Orissa which adjoined the Bengal and the Coromandel Coasts arises from a similar concern. Only then the study of the trade of the Eastern Coast of India can be said to be fully understood.

The Indian sub-continent and its merchants had created extensive commercial ties and trade networks not only with various parts of Asia but also with Europe from the sixteenth century onwards. The chief centres of commerce in Moghul India were Gujarat, Bengal and Coromandel and Malabar Coasts. The most important consumer goods which the first three regions exported were textiles of both finer and coarser varieties, where as the exports of pepper was sole preserve of the Malabar region. The other items which these region exported were saltpeter, cotton, silk, opium, indigo, sugar, and food stuffs, etc. But their import was mainly restricted to the expensive items like spices, war-horses, elephants and bullion, etc. consumed mainly by comparatively rich people. The internal commerce was also based on the same principle as the external commerce; here also people exchanged their surplus with each other. However, among all the seaports in the coastal Orissa, Balasore was one of the

most prominent and productivity manufacturing commercial centre during our period.

The activities of Bengal merchants had certain distinct features. They acted as brokers to the European Companies which could not deal directly with the producers for the provision of goods for Europe. All of them were primarily merchants, buyers and sellers of different commodities and their business extended to any class of goods which was expected to yield a profit. They also acted simultaneously as *Shroffs* or money changers and bankers received deposits and arranged remittances by means of bills of exchange or letter of credit. Through their various agents they frequently acted as middlemen, especially in the transactions between the European Companies and the political elites.

The local merchants of Orissa played a significant role in the region's trade. They took active part in its trade with different parts with India as well as with Asiatic countries. They also acted as middlemen between producers and the European merchants. The local merchants of Orissa belong to both the Hindu and Muslim communities. The English Factory Records mention the names of Khemchand, Chintaman

Shah, Suraj Shah, Hira Shah, Kalyan Rai, Rajaram, Ram Narayan, Gangaram, and Gopal as the principal merchants of Balasore. All of them were Hindus. We have also references to the some Muslim merchants of Balasore with whom the English contracted for purchasing goods in 1684.¹

Many of this merchants were wealthy who had command over large infrastructures of commercial operations while other merchants were having limited capital. For example, even after promising to pay Rs. 30,000/- to Nawab Saf Shikan Khan in 1672², Khemchand had resources to indemnify the English and others and this consideration led the English to deliver to Khemchand Rs. 7,500/- which was his share.³ Again in 1674 Khemchand paid Rs. 50,000/- to Rashid Khan, the Nawab of Orissa.⁴ These details go to indicate the

1. The English Factories in India (New Series) 1678-84, ed. C. Fawcett, Oxford, p. 346.
2. EFI, 1670-77, New Series, II, p. 339.
3. J.N. Sarkar, "A Seventeenth Century Hindu Merchant and Broker of Balasore" in JBR, 1954, pp. 123-24.
4. T. Bowrey, A Geographical Account of the Countries Round the Bay of Bengal, 1669-1676, ed. R.C. Temple, Haklyut Society, London, 1905, pp. 152-56.
EFI, 1670-77, New Series, I, p. 339n.

wealth of Khemchand, who was an influential and prominent merchant of Balasore. In 1679 the English considering the insolvency of Gopal abated a portion of money that he owned to the Company.¹

The local merchants of Orissa carried on trade with different parts of India e.g. Calcutta, Dacca, Pulicat and Cochin. We have references to the merchants of Balasore carrying on trade with Calcutta in the sixties of the eighteenth century. They use to send iron, stone plates, rice and some other commodities. Their imports from Calcutta to Balasore consisted of tobacco and certain other commodities,² which has been discussed in Chapter-III. Sometime before 1684 a gomastah of Khemchand purchased huge quantities of 'Cassas' at Dacca.³ There is mention of ship of the merchants of Gingelly Coast being burnt by the Portuguese in the 'Road' of Pulicat in the early twenties of the

1. Master, Streyntsham, The Diaries of Streyntsham Master, ed. R.C. Temple, vol. II, London p. 254.

2. EFI, 1670-77, New Series, i, p. 250.

3. J.N. Sarkar, op.cit., in JBRS, 1954, p. 126.

seventeenth century.¹ In the thirties of the seventeenth century Manrique found at Pipli a ship belonging to the local Shiqdar being sent to Cochin laden with merchandise.²

The merchants of Orissa carried on Asiatic trade, viz. with Ceylon, Tenasserim and the Maldives. Bowrey in the seventies of the seventeenth century mentioned that the merchants of Balasore and Pipli were sending their ships every year to Ceylon, Tenasserim and the Maldives Islands for the purpose of trade.³

The European Companies trading in Orissa had to depend on the local merchants regarding the supply of goods for export. Some of them acted as brokers of the European Companies and helped them in financing their purchase. At the initial stage of commercial operations of the English in Orissa when lack of ready money and difficulty in selling

1. The English Factories in India, 1622-23, ed. William Foster, Oxford, p. 260.

2. Manrique, Sebastien, Travels of Fray Sebastien Manrique, 1629-1643, ed. C.E. Luard & H. Hosten, vol. 1, Haklyut Society, pp. 440-41.

3. Bowrey, op.cit., pp. 179-80.

European goods were the main hindrances to their trade¹ the merchants took part-payment for goods supplied by them in the articles imported from Europe.²

Besides paying much custom duties³, the merchants were subjected to many other exactions. During the Subahdari of Shaista Khan the merchants of Orissa had to make contributions towards strengthening the naval defence.⁴ The merchants belonging to the Hindu community had sometimes to make extra payments. The Hindu merchants of the Gingelly Coast besides paying the usual taxes and duties had to pay many extra taxes that the Muslim Governor of the place used to charge from them. Although some of the richest Indian merchants lived there, they could not display their wealth for fear of extortion by the Muhammedan officials as well as for the fact that after their death their properties would

-
1. Ibid, pp. 232-33.
EFI, 1670-77, II, p. 345.
Master Diary, I, p. 54; II, pp. 86-7.
 2. Master's Diary, I, p.306.
EFI, 1668-69, pp. 309-11.
 3. EFI, 1668-69, pp. 309-11.
 4. Bowrey, op. cit., pp. 161-63.

belong to the Emperor.¹

The merchants were forced to pay large amounts of money to the Subahbars and also were harassed by the local officials in some other ways. When Malik Kasim became the 'Governor' of Balasore in 1673 Walter Cavell, the chief of the Bay Factories and his councils feared that he would give trouble to the local merchants, at Balasore and force to wind up their business. Their fears came to be true and in August 1673 Malik Kasim created such conditions as would make the merchants prefer to leave the place.² In 1680's the merchants of Balasore who traded with Calcutta were so much oppressed by a *gomastah* that many of them left the place and transacted their business at Kanika. Some who remained at Balasore were greatly distressed.³

The merchants exercised considerable influences on the local government. In 1654 at the insistence of the local merchants Malik Beg, the local Governor, opened the godown

1. Ibid, pp. 126-27.

2. EFI, 1670-77, I, p. 361.

3. Ibid, p. 250.

of the Dutch at Pipli which were previously sealed by him as the Dutch refused to grant passes to the Indian ships to go to the countries in the Malay Peninsula and Achin which were then under the control of the Dutch.¹

The English sometimes solicited the intervention or the mediation of the merchants in the hour of need and trouble. The former attempted to procure a parwana from the Nawab Saf Shikan Khan in 1672. Though the Parwana was procured through the intervention of Boremul (Puran Malla) the Governor of Balasore, during the transaction the merchants Haricharan, Khemchand and Suraj Shah accompanied Boremul taking with them some presents for the Nawab's diwan and other officers and this 'smoothed the way'² (i.e. the way of obtaining the parwana). In 1679 there was a dispute between the English and the Dutch over a house and a piece of land at Balasore. The English decided to procure Kanungo's stamp through the mediation of Khemchand if it be necessary to validate their claim. They also sought, the good offices of Khemchand and

1. EFI, 1651-54, pp. 269-70.

2. EFI, 1670-77, New Series, II, p. 339.

Chintaman Shah in 1685 to settle an affair with the local officials.¹

Balasore grew to prominence as a manufacturing and commercial centres and as a seaport from the thirties of the seventeenth century. The destruction of the Portuguese settlement of Hooghly in 1632 attracted the Dutch and English to open trade northwards. At the same time the growing scarcity of piece goods at Masulipatam on account of the famous and widespread Gujarat famine of 1630-31 necessitated opening up of new centres of trade and the advance of English from the East Coast up the Bay of Bengal. Ralph Cartwright, the leader of the expedition sent by John Norris, English agent at Masulipatam, was granted freedom of trade in May 1633 by the Mughal Governor of Orissa, Agha Muhammad Zaman of Tehran. Equipped with a "parwana of trade of free of customs or duties and build house or ships", the English merchants Cartwright and Thomas Colley, returned from Calcutta to Hariharpur and started building a factory there (May, 1633). Leaving Colley in charge of it, Cartwright went

1. J.N.Sarkar, op.cit. in JBRS, 1954, p. 125.

to Balasore (June 16) and established a factory there also, at the invitation of Mir Qasim, the Governor of the district.¹ Like the English, the Danes also wanted to establish factories at Balasore in order to escape from the oppressions of the Portuguese.//

The importance of Balasore grew as a result of expulsion of the Portuguese from Hijli by the Moghuls in 1636 and the consequent decade of trade at Pipli and other neighbouring places. The silting up of the river Alanka and the Patua reduced the advantage of Harishpur harbour in comparison with the road of Balasore. It also increased the difficulties of Hariharpur which could be brought to Balasore on land without much difficulty.² In spite of these advantages of Balasore, the results of the efforts of the English there during the first decade were not very encouraging.

Balasore was an emporium of cotton yarn, cotton and tassar manufactures of the interior hinterland and surround-

-
1. C.R. Wilson, Early Annals of the English in Bengal, Vol. 1, Calcutta, p. 13n.
EFI, 1630-33, xxxi, pp. 307-08.
 2. Master's Diary, Vol. II, ed. R.C. Temple. p. 84.

ing places. Most prominent among the centres, arranged in order of quality of goods manufactured, were Suro (Soro)¹, Harrapore (Hariharpur)², and Mohunpore³, all specialising in the manufacture of Sannoos: Sanas: a kind of fine white cotton goods⁴, Ginghams: an Indian cotton cloth⁵, Orammalls, or Rumal: handkerchief⁶, Cossaes or Khasa: a fine thin cloth⁷, Mulmull⁸: a kind of muslin, Neelaes: a kind of blue cloth were all varieties of cheap, but well made cotton manufactures available at Balasore. Of the other goods

-
1. Suro or Soro in Balasore district, midway between Balasore and Bhadrak, 20 miles from Balasore.
 2. Harrapore (Hariharpur) near modern Jagatsimhapur.
 3. Mohunpur in Midnapur district.
 4. Wilson, I, Index, EFI, 1655-60, p. 188n.
 5. Bowrey, op. cit., p. 231n.
 6. Ibid, p. 133n.
 7. Ibid, p. 279.
 8. Ibid, p. 237, 279.

produced in Orissa were Sticklack¹, Tumerick², Saltpeter³, and Rice⁴.

It would be inappropriate to say that the economy of Orissa was only confined within the limits of the region. Agriculture had dominated in the share of economy throughout the period. The inland trade had consisted of the hinterland-trade and trade with the neighbouring and distant towns. The export trade of Orissa had been integrated with commercial activities of European merchants at various centres in Bengal. Orissa had trade relations with Bengal and Golconda. There was a regular supply of Orissan cloth goods from Balasore to Patna in the seventeenth century. The foreign trade of Orissa, as conducted through Balasore was not significant. The commodities imported by the English into Orissa, Bengal and Patna through Balasore, were broad-

1. Master's Diary, II, p. 70.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid, p. 279.
EFI, 1651-55, p. 47, 95, 271.

4. EFI, 1646-50, xxix, p. 166.

cloth of various colours, scarlet, copper, quick silver, lead, vermilion, glasses.¹

As a corollary to the new pattern of trade, there took place the growth of various commercial organizations and practices. The technology of the period was simple and cheap, and within the reach of the artisans. The relation among the various commercial goods and the merchants and the political authorities was characterised by 'consensus and conflict' of interest. There are other components that had contributed to the developments to the merchants activities and commercial organizations in Orissa in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The evaluation of the aftersaid aspects of the coastal Orissa's economy has been done in four chapters.

The first chapter deals with the background of Orissa in three sections consisting of her geographical locations, politico-economic conditions and ports. The chapter refers in a wider sense about the unique position that Orissa enjoyed in the geography of India. An attempt has been made

1. Bowrey, op. cit., pp. 231-32.

EFI, 1634-36, p. 42.; 1642-45, p. 65.; 1646-50, pp. 337-8.

to analyze the strategic position of Orissa, that she played a vital role in the cultural fusion of the north and south as well as in the maritime trade and the colonization of Indian Archipelago. In the politico-economic section we discussed, the role of the authorities and the inhabitants of the region with special references to the Moghul supremacy on the land. About the ports, we mention its functions and how it was utilized by the merchant communities with special attention to some of the major ports such as Bala-sore, Pipli, and Hariharpur and about the Gingelly Coast.

The second chapter, focuses the main theme of the dissertation on the merchants and commercial organization, in Orissa with special references to the English Company. The chapter is also subdivided into three sections namely, (i) Trading Community, (ii) Commercial Activity, and (iii) Composition of Trade during seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This chapter deals mainly with the occupation and activities Orissan merchants and their trade transactions with foreign companies and indicates the mode of procurement of the region, the *dadni* system and East India Company's activities on the region.

The third chapter, which primarily deals with trade, of Orissa is divided into two sections, namely, the Export Trade and the Imports. It also examines the role policies of English East India and Dutch East India Companies in this extent. The data used in this chapter has been collected from the English and Dutch Factory Records of various dates and indicates the rate of the items and their demands in foreign nations.

The last chapter deals with the overall view of the merchants and commercial organizations in Orissa during our period. Some questions are also raised in this chapter regarding the maritime trade of the region and its impact on the people. An attempt has been made to analyze the trade routes of Orissa and its connections with inside and outside of the country. Lastly, we have discussed how the trade of this region declined in the last part of our period.

The present work covers a period of two hundred years. This is mainly to overcome the quantitative and qualitative limitations of our sources. The information is not available in a continuous series. The gaps in the data do not permit us to limit the period of the study to only few years.

However, source material for the whole seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are sufficient. Our information regarding the precise share of agriculture, manufacture and trade to the total economy of Orissa is inadequate. In spite of these limitations, the Factory Records, Traveler's Accounts, The Diaries, the Translated Persian sources, etc. do furnish to see what had been the trend of the economic development of Coastal Orissa in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

In the present work an attempt has been made to integrate and analyze different types of information to construct a reliable picture of the various aspects of the economy of Coastal Orissa during the period under study. However, the proposition made are tentative and not final.

Chapter I

Background

CHAPTER-I

BACKGROUND

Of the two hyper-active coastal regions in India in the medieval period, it is the eastern sea board which started acquiring crucial importance in the later half of the seventeenth century. Both the Coromandel and Bengal emerged as significant areas which witnessed a major concentration of European merchantalist activities. Forming a distinct sub-region within the Bengal zone and lying in the northern proximity to the Coromandel, the Orissa coastal belt also emerged as an importance focus of European commerce and indigenous merchant activity.

(i) Geographical Locations: The term Orissa here refers to a wider tract of territory than the one which is referred to under the same name in modern times. The modern term of Orissa derived from Odra or Odradesa, which was the name of

a very small part of the present day Orissa.¹ But during the early medieval period the country of Orissa which was called 'Kalinga'² was practically co-extensive with the now Oriya speaking tracts of Bengal, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Hyderabad and Madras.³ The boundary of this united Orissa stretched from the Ganges in the north to the Godavari in the south and from Amarakantaka⁴ in the west to the Bay of Bengal in the east. If in the past the inhabitants of this tract of land happened to be one of the most enterprising and prosperous peoples, it was mainly due to the unique position that Orissa enjoyed in the geography of India. With dense hilly jungles towards the west and the fertile valley of the Gango-Brahmaputra to the north, the Godavari-Krishna Doab to the south, and with the mighty water mass of the Bay of

1. Hobson-Jobson, ed. by William Crooke, New Delhi, 1986, p. 640.

A.C. Mittal, An Early History of Orissa, BHU, 1962, pp. 2, 18.

J.N. Pattnaik, Feudatory States of Orissa, vol. 1, Allahbad, 1988, Introduction.

2. Hobson-Jobson, op. cit., p. 488.

3. A.C. Mittal, op. cit., p. 1.

4. A celebrated place in the old province of Gondwana now in Madhya Pradesh.

Bengal, guarded by the Indian Ocean, on her eastern side, Orissa enjoyed a commanding geographical position. Guarding the land between the Vindhya and the sea, she was the gateway between the Uttara patha and Dakshina patha. Overlooking the seas, she was the gateway between India and the Indonesian Archipelago and East Asia.¹ As a result of this strategic position, Orissa played a vital role in the cultural fusion of the north and south as well as in the maritime trade and the colonization of Indian Archipelago. Added to this fortunate situation, she possessed favorable local socio-politic and economic circumstances. She was also blessed with a moderate climate and abundant rain fall which guaranteed high agricultural productivity.

The ancient people of Kalinga were undoubtedly non-Aryans, possibly Dravidians, as the vedic and the early Brahmanical works describe Kalinga as an impure country², but in the time of Ashok and thereafter Orissa was gradually Aryanised. According to, Suniti Kumar Chatterji, the basic elements in the culture of Orissa are a mixture of the pre-

1. A.C. Mittal, op. cit., pp. 3-4.

2. K.C. Panigrahi, History of Orissa, Cuttack, 1981, p. 9.

Diss
X, 5:8.4473-0(L5213)₂₁ ← K
N4



Aryan people, "more or less in their primitive state" , who were originally inhabiting the country, and they were overlaid by more advanced Dravidian speaking people who had already accepted this composite north Indian culture. Further, the advent and spread of the Aryan language gave Orissa its distinctive character binding to the culture, the civilization and life of Hindu India.¹ To him the stream of civilization reached Orissa from the South which was "the Deccan culture of the Dravidian-Speaking peoples, which in itself is virtually the same as the composite and complex Aryan-Dravidian culture of North India". Thus the main component of the historic culture of Orissa, is a meager influence of Aryandom from the West. The main inflow of Aryandom came from the North-East, i.e. Bengal and South Bihar. Also important elements of regional culture were brought borne into Orissa by Dravidian-Speaking peoples Telugus of ancient times-from the South.²

1. Suniti K. Chatterji, The People Language and Culture of Orissa - Artaballabha Mohanti Memorial Lectures, Oriya Sahitya Academy, Bhubaneswar, 1966, p. 12.

2. Ibid, p. 14.

By the first half of the fifteenth century the last Ganga King Bhanu Deva IV had lost the southern part of Orissa up to Simhanchalam to the Reddi chieftains of Andhra. However, the set-back was short lived and Kapilendra Deva who in 1436 engineered a coup to found the solar dynasty in Orissa, not only recovered the southern part up to Godavari but also extended it up to Kaveri in the Coromandel region. In the North the empire now reached the lower Ganges.

This Geographical limit was more or less retained by his son Purusottama Deva, till the end of the fifteenth century. But the empire was again threatened in the time of Prataprudra Deva, the son of Purusottama Deva. In 1519 the region beyond Krishana river was ceded to Krishna Deva Raya of Vijaynagar and in 1625, Qutb-ul-mulk, the governor of Bahamani Sultan conquered the Tellingana region and Ganjam. In the North also the empire was perpetually threatened by the Afghan ruler of Bengal. However Orissa again rose into prominence in the time of Mukunda Deva, who was a Telugu by birth. His forces penetrated as far as Satgaon near the river Saraswati. But this glory did not last long after the death of Raja Mukunda Deva, the last independent king of

Orissa in 1568 A.D.¹. In the following period Orissa entered into a period of disaster and defeat and it passed from yoke to yoke into the hands of the Afghans of Bengal in 1568 and was annexed to the Mughal empire in 1592, than subsequently by the Marathas and finally by the British.

Even before the commencement of the Ganga period, we have also seen that terms like Odra, Utkala and Kalinga were sometimes used synonymously. This gives the impression of a common identity of this region in our period. In the Ain-i-Akbar of Abul Fazl we get in detail the territorial boundaries of Orissa. Abul Fazl mentions five revenue sarkars of Orissa. They were Jaleswar, Bhadrak, Cuttack, Kalinga Dandapat and Rajahmundry.² Actually under Todar Mal's revenue arrangement status quo was mentioned, so far as Orissa is concerned except the change of the name of revenue division from Dandapata to Sarkar. Again each Sarkar was divided into several Mahals.

1. N.K. Sahu (ed.), The History of Orissa under the Muhammedan, Maratha and English Rule, Calcutta, 1956, p. 390.

2. Abul Fazl, A in-i-Akbari, vol. II, Translated by H.S. Jarret, Calcutta, 1891, pp. 142-44.

From this we learn about the territory of Orissa by the close of the sixteenth century. The Southern Sarkar was Rajahumudry on the bank of Godavari. Hence, there is no doubt that the river Godavari was the demarcating line of the southern part of Orissa. The northern Sarkar was Jaleswar, which included Mahals such as Tamluk, Kasijurah and Midnapore of the present Midnapore district.¹ Hence in the north river Rupnarayan on whose bank Tamluk was situated, formed the boundary of Orissa. These five revenue divisions during the period of Hindu administration, were under the direct control of the crown. The hilly tracts of the province in the North-West, West and South-West which comprised of jungle Mahal, eastern Gondwana and Koraput etc. consisted of numerous small states,, each governed by a military general who used to pay annual tribute to the crown.

As has been said, after the annexation of the region to the Mughal empire only status quo was maintained. When the Mughal imperial territories were divided into twelve subahs in 1595 and later on expanded into fifteen provinces with -----

1. Ibid, p. 142.

the addition of Khandesh, Berar and Ahmadnagar, then Orissa was not constituted into a subah. It was treated as a sub-province and was tagged to the Bengal subah.¹ Under the new revenue arrangement the collection was under two heads : one from areas which were previously subject to the direct control of the crown, now renamed as Mughalbandi and secondly, the small hilly tracts known as Garhjats or princely states.

But it is to be noted here that the Ain does not give any detail about the two southern most Sarkars Kalinga Dandapat and Rajahmundry. Obviously these two Sarkars were not under the control of the Mughal empire. Their predecessors the Afghan rulers had lost them to the Sultan of Golconda, I'brahim Qutb Shah in 1571.

The province of Golconda was not a part of the Mughal empire till its conquest by Aurangzeb in 1687. During the reigns of Akbar and Jahangir, the Mughal Subehdars or governors of Orissa tried to recover these southern part of Orissa. In the reign of Jahangir a part of Golconda territo-

1. Ibid, p. 9.

ry Chhaterpur, in the district of Ganjam was recovered from the Qutubshahis of Golconda.¹ During the reign of Shahjahan, Baqirkhan, the Nawab of Orissa had marched up to Manaurgarh, an important fortress which he stormed. But then he was called back by Shahjahan following the conclusion of an amicable settlement with Abdullah, the sultan of Golconda . Though the southern sarkars were recognized as a part of Orissa, yet the Mughals did not receive any revenue from them, because they were under the control of the Qutubshahis. It was only after the submission of Golconda in 1636 that the Mughals started receiving any revenue from the sarkar of Rajahmundry.² We do not know exactly the location of the revenue headquarters of Kalinga Dandapat, but in 1641, Chicacole become the headquarters of a faujdar whose jurisdiction extended from Ganjam to Vizagapatnam.³ Now the Golconda tribute appertained to the province of Orissa was

1. M.A. Haque, Muslim Administration in Orissa, Calcutta, 1980, p. 133.

2. Ibid, p. 141.

3. W. Francis, Madras District Gazetteers, Vizagapatnam, Madras, 1907, p. 305.

paid from the district of Chicacole.¹ This money seems to have been paid through the nawab of Orissa until the fall of Golconda in 1687, when it was finally annexed to the Mughal empire.

As we have already seen, the northern portion of Orissa in the time of Akbar was ruled as a part of Bengal subah. During the time of Jahangir for the first time in 1607, Orissa became a separate province and its subahdar was directly responsible to the emperor. The process was continued until the time of Shah Shuja in 1624, when he was entrusted with the 'subahdari' of Orissa and Bihar, in addition to his 'subahdari' of Bengal. In the time of the vice-royalty of Khan-i-Dauran, Pipli and Balasore were transferred to the subah of Bengal in 1667, under the jurisdiction of Shaista Khan. In 1688 the three sarkars of Orissa were reorganised into twelve sarkars. In 1704 during the Dewani of Murshid Quli Khan, the territorial boundary of Orissa was rearranged again and Orissa was divided into thirteen sarkars of which the northernmost six sarkars were

1. Jadunath Sarkar, Studies in Mughal India, Calcutta, 1919, p. 215.

dismembered and annexed to Bengal. The main reason advanced for this change was to protect the port of Balasore and its sea-coast against the ravages of the Arracanese. However, in the time of Shuja-ud-din the twelve mahals immediately dependent upon Bandar Balasore were re-added to Orissa .

Thus we see that it is almost difficult to determine correctly the political boundary of Orissa during our period. After losing independence to the Afghan in 1568, Orissa was for all practical purposes a sub-province. In fact, until 1905, this problem continued since Orissa's districts continued to be controlled from different neighboring provinces such as Bengal, Madras and central provinces. In our period also the political boundaries were subject to many changes. It is to be noted that under the mughals only the northern portion of Orissa was assigned the status of a distinct province. The southern portion from Ganjam to Godavari seems to have been regarded as a part of the kingdom of Golconda. According to Tapan RayChaudhuri, the region north of Godavari was known as the Gingelly Coast, a name it derived from the oil seed Gingelly, found in plenty in that

area.¹ According to Thomas Bowrey, this coast extended from the Bay of Coringa at the point Godavari to Jagannath (Puri) in north.²

From the English factory records of the eighteenth century it is also evident that the region at least up to the beginning of that century was known as Kalinga, which as we have seen, was synonymous with Orissa. The Europeans, when they started trading in Orissa during the period under review, had their factories in Balasore, Pipli and Hariharpur under the chief of the Bengal Council. The region beyond Ganjam was under the Coromandel establishment. Hence, taking all these into consideration, the scholars of Indian Ocean Studies, treat northern Orissa, i.e. from Puri upto Hijli coast as part of Bengal, while the coastal belt Ganjam and further south up to river Godavari, as a part of the Coro-

-
1. Tapan RayChaudhuri, "Non-Agricultural Production" in Cambridge Economic History of India, 1200-1750, vol. 1, ed. Tapan RayChaudhuri and Irfan Habib, Oriented Longman, 1984, pp. 274-75.
 2. Thomas Bowrey, A Geographical Account of the Countries Round the Bay of Bengal, 1669-76, ed. R.C. Temple, Haklyut Society, London, 1905, p. 12.

mandel region in their studies.¹

Thus it is difficult to establish the correct political locations of Orissa during our period. Instead we will have to take into account the historical and cultural background into consideration for fixing up the boundaries of Orissa. However, the study will make a special reference on the eastern coast of present Orissa from Ganjam to Balasore including Midnapore now in West Bengal.

(ii) Politico-Economic Conditions of the Region :

I. As a result of Orissa's annexation to the Mughal empire, her contact with the rest of India increased which ensured a better climate for trade. Some historians are of the view that, Bengal in the second half of the seventeenth century enjoyed unusual peace because of three long Vice-royalties in the province by Shah Shuja, Sha'ishta Khan and Muhammad Azim.² But this was not true of Orissa because

1. See the Map of Bengal in Sushil Chaudhuri's Trade and Commercial Organisation in Bengal, 1650-1720, Calcutta, 1975, p. xiv.
2. Sushil Chaudhuri, Trade and Commercial Organisation in Bengal, 1650-1720, Calcutta, 1975, p. 2.

during these long vice-royalties many changes occurred in Orissa. From 1628 to 1642 as many as five subahdars were changed. Hence Orissa was again placed under the jurisdiction of the subahdar of Bengal in 1642, and the deputy subahdar became the top post of the province. During this time, Shah Shuja became the subahdar of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Generally, the assignment of Jagirdari at any place in the provinces of Bengal was considered lucrative. By and large, the Mughal officials tried to maximise their income by all means possible during their temporary assignment in Bengal. Hence, in the phase prior to the subahdarship of Shah Shuja, a general disorder characterized the entire province of Bengal. Shah Shuja of course, tried to improve the situation. But though, he himself enjoyed a long vice royalty, the condition in Orissa did not change much and between 1642 and 1658 governors replaced one another in quick succession in the province.¹ The frequent changes in the governorship created many problems. First, the frequent recall presumably affected the efficiency in administration,

1. Ibid, p. 149.

Secondly it also affected directly the trade as after each change of governorship.

However, it is true that Bengal, during the second half of the seventeenth century was free from many major rebellion like the Sikh, Jat and Satnami rebellions in the north or Maratha rebellion in the deccan and western India. The exception was the rebellion of Sobha Singh at the close of the seventeenth century.

In many cases, when the Europeans felt that the tenure of office of a particular Mughal officer would injure their interest, they tried to interfere in the court politics and remove the man from office. For example, after their relations with Muhammad Yusuf, the faujdar of Balasore and Pipli became strained the Dutch Company persuaded the nawab of Orissa to dismiss him from both these posts. In fact, the order was also practically carried out as he was dismissed from the faujdari of Pipli.¹ In 1673, similarly, the English pressed nawab Shaista Khan not to send Malik Kasim to Balasore as governor in view of his previous record at

1. Om Prakash, "The European Trading Company and the Merchants of Bengal, 1650-1725", IESHR, I(3), 1964, p. 56.

Hugli, they did their best to secure the post for Muhammad Raza or Boremul.¹

During the later part of the seventeenth century, we have on record several internal rebellions like the rebellion of Bahadur Khan of Hijli², continuous tussle between the local Rajas and Nawabs of Orissa or governors of Balasore, and the rebellions of Subha Singh. The condition of eighteenth century, except the forties was comparatively better largely because of the two peaceful administrations by Murshid Quli Khan and his Son-in-Law Suja-ud-din Muhammad Khan. They had suppressed all lawless elements and provided a peaceful administration in the entire Subah. Though the Mughal empire by this time was weakened, the province was becoming more prosperous under these two Nawabs.

With the death of Aurangzeb in 1707, the dissolution of Mughal empire started and proceeded apace; internal intrigues, dissensions and party factions in the court of

1. The English Factories in India, 1670-77, vol. II, ed. C. Hawcett, p. 362.

2. EFI, 1661-64, ed. William Foster, Oxford, 1923, p. 68.

Delhi became the order of the day. Consequently the provincial Governors assumed enormous power and became practically independent. Murshid Quli Khan -I who was appointed on January 21, 1703 to 1708 and again from 1714 to 1727, by the Mughal ruler as the subahdar for Orissa was foremost in this regard.¹ He made his son-in-law Shuja-ud-din Muhammad Khan as his deputy governor of Orissa, and it was separated by him.² It was after the death of Murshid Quli Khan-II that Shuja-ud-din proclaimed himself the subahdar of Bengal and Orissa in July 1727 and remained in power till 1739. He then appointed his son Taqi Khan as Deputy Governor, the Naib Nizam of Orissa. On his death, Sujah-ud-din appointed his son-in-law Murshid Quli Khan -I, compared to that of his predecessor, his reign was one of peace and tranquillity.

During his tenure as Naib Nazim of Orissa, Alivardi Khan became the Nazim of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa in 1740. But in the pride of his power, Murshid Quli Khan-II refused to recognize his authority. Hence Alivardi with a strong army advanced towards Orissa. Having defeated Murshid Quli Khan-II, he held sway

1. W. Irvine, Later Mughals, vol. 1, OBC, 1971, p. 199.

2. J.N. Pattnaik, op. cit., p. 3.

over Orissa from 1742.¹ But he had return to Bengal soon because of the appearance of the Marathas on the Bengal-Orissa border. In the meantime, Raghuji Bhonsla-I of Nagpur, invited by Mir Habib, a friend of Murshid Quli-II sent a large army under Bhaskar Pandit, who made a surprise attack upon Alivardi and ravaged West Bengal. Alivardi Khan managed to drive the Marathas away from Bengal, but the latter retreated across the jungles and fell back upon the province of Orissa and by 1747 it (Orissa) practically came under Maratha's occupation.

Finally, Orissa slipped off the hands of the rulers at a time when the English power was rapidly growing in Bengal in the north and northern circars in the south. After the battle of Plassey (1757) Wandiwash (1760) and Buxar (1764) the English supremacy in eastern India was firmly established and a sort of cold war for the possession of Orissa soon started between the English and the Marathas which continued till the end of the eighteenth century.²

1. K.K. Dutta, Alivardi and Times, Calcutta, 1939, p. 49.

2. N.K. Sahu, op. cit., p.393.

In the reign of Akbar Orissa was a sub-province; but in the time of Jahangir she was assigned the status of a province. Jahangir perhaps realized the vastness of her resources for which he made her a separate province. Orissa since then was a separate province though her governors or Nazims were the deputy of the Nawab of Bengal. We have also observed that in coastal Orissa, the area extending from Rajahmundry to Ganjam was under the Sultan of Golconda which was Governed by the faujdar of Chicacola. This was the most fertile area in the Coromandel.

II. Unfortunately, we have no quantitative data for a detailed discussion of the economy of Orissa. Bernier, who visited India, in the reign of Aurangzeb, wrote that Bengal was superior to Egypt in resources and the productivity of her soil. Bengal produced rice in such abundance that it supplies not only the neighbouring subahs but other neighbouring kingdoms also, and even to Europe.¹ Bengal is also the principal emporium for Saltpetre. The rich exuberance of the country has given rise to a proverb in common use among

1. F. Bernier, Travels in the Mughals Empire, Reprint, New Delhi, 1983, p.437.

the Portuguese, English and Dutch, that the Kingdom of Bengal had a hundred gates for entrance, but not one for departure.¹ From the days of the great Akbar, European settlements had been given facilities to carry on trade between India and the countries overseas. Since the reign of Shahjahan, the English East India Company was permitted to trade freely in Bengal in return for a fixed annual Peshkash,² of Rs. 3000.³

The largest volume of Bengal's trade was directed towards south-east Asia to the Indonesian Archipelago, Malay peninsula and Burmese and Thai coasts. muslin and cotton goods of Bengal were in great demand in Acheh and famous throughout Central Asia.⁴ Bengal also supplied rice, butter, vegetable oils and saltpetre, on their return mer-

1. Ibid, pp. 437-440.

2. Peshkach: Tax, Tribute, A Fine or Present to the Ruling Power on Recliving an appointment or assignment of Revenue.

3. EFI, ed. W. Foster, 1655-60, p. 111.

4. Travels of Fray Sebastin Manrique, vol. II, Translated by C.E. Laurd and W. Hosten, Haklyut Society, 1927, p. 156.

chants took back pepper, spices, tin, elephants and gold.¹ The export commodities were also textiles, silk, opium and foodstuff². The rice is far superior to that of Europe. Foodstuff is very low price.³ Again Manrique found all the twelve provinces of Bengal "most fertile and fecund"⁴ and among these twelve provinces were Hijli, Midnapore and Orissa⁵.

About the Gingly coast, Bowrey writes that it was the most delicate country for the use of man ... and the land abounding with all necessaries for the sustenance of mankind.⁶ He further says this was one of the most fertile lands in the universe⁷. Where they have annually three

1. A `bul Fazl, A' in-i-Akbari, translated by H. Blochmann, vol. 1, Delhi, 1871, p. 129.

2. Ashin, Das Gupta and M.N. Pearson, India and Indian Ocean, OUP, 1987, p. 122.

3. Manrique, II, p. 54.

4. Ibid., p. 288.

5. Manrique, I, ed. and translated by C.E. Luard, Haklyut Society, 1926, p. 52.

6. Bowrey, op.cit, p. 128.

7. Ibid, p. 120.

crops, each yieldings great Encrease¹. And their butter, and rice and oyle is for the most part made of mustard seeds and is vendible all India and south seas over.² Hamilton found, Ganjam fruitful in rice and sugar-cane, and they make pretty good sugars both white and brown.³ The other notable manufactures were bees-wax and iron which were pretty good.⁴ The inland countries also manufactured several sorts of cotton cloths of both fine and coarse varieties which were fit for exportation.⁵

Apart from different varieties of food stuffs, crops and craftsmanship, special mention should be made about the forest resources of the province. However, Orissa in our period emerged as an important centre in the vast trade network of the Indian ocean and her economy could not have been unimpressive according to medieval standards.

1. Ibid, p. 121.

2. Ibid, p. 128.

3. Alexander, Hamilton, A New Account of the East Indies, vol.1, ed., William Foster, London, 1930, p. 208.

4. Ibid, p. 209.

5. Ibid, p. 208.

(iii) Ports : Nature has endowed Orissa with many rivers, which originating in the hill tracts of western Orissa, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh join the Bay of Bengal. Unlike the Gangetic belt in north India and Bihar, the upstream land of the rivers of Orissa are not fertile, but coastal lands on the other hand are extremely fertile. The reason for this contrast of the soil condition is that, the rivers after giving up their mountainous course, deposits lots of alluvia soil on both sides of the rivers. To sum up, the soil for the entire coastal region of Orissa is enriched by her rivers. As a result, not only agriculture prospered in our period, but also trade. Almost all the rivers at their mouth afforded enough and safe navigational passage to boats and small vessels. The rivers of Orissa are not deep enough like the tributaries of the gulf of Cambay or the Gangetic delta. But inspite of these difficulties a number of ports prospered in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which attracted both the Europeans and the Asian merchants. The ports which were mainly used for overseas trade and more important, were Balasore, Pipli, Hariharpur, etc., To further highlight our assumptions, we shall discuss these main ports of Orissa in our period.

Balasore was the most important mart throughout our period; it was not only the most important port of Orissa, but also one of the major ports in the Indian ocean, where both Europeans and Asian merchants of different nationalities carried on a busy commercial transaction. It is situated on the right bank of the river Burabalanga, about $21^{\circ} 30' 12''$ north latitude and $86^{\circ} 58' 16''$ east longitude.¹ The port, then was about four miles from the sea in a direct route but about twenty miles from the mouth of the river.

The port rose into prominence in the early thirties of the seventeenth century, when the Portuguese were driven out of Hijli by the Mughals in the year 1636 and the trade in Pipli decayed. And the bar looked more convenient then appeared, consequently the Danish and the English started their settlement² along with many private Portuguese. Subsequently the Dutch had also their settlement there from as

1. W.W. Hunter, A Statistical Account of Bengal, Cuttack, and Balasore District, London, 1877, p. 280.

2. Diaries of Streynshan Master, 1675-80, vol. 2, ed., R.C. Temple, London, 1911, p. 84.

early as the sixties of the seventeenth century.¹ However all the European Companies used Balasore for plotting their ships to their main settlements in Hooghly. This practice was continued until the close of the first half of the seventeenth century, though by then this port was of little consideration for them.

The port of Balasore was also advantageous for internal commerce and overseas trade. It is situated just eighteen miles to the south of Pipli by sea-route and hence not very far from the textile producing center, soro, which is about twenty five miles from Balasore. Thus being centrally located in relation to all the textile producing centers, it could become a good exporting port. But there are some difficulties of this port were noticed at the close of the seventeenth century. The bar of the river which appeared better at the time of the foundation of the English settlement² proved fatal at the close of this century. But we have seen again, the extensive coastal trade from this port in the early years of nineteenth century.

1. EFI, 1661-64, p. 66.

2. Ibid.

Pipli is situated on the northern boundary of Balasore district and the trade mart is about fifteen miles from the mouth of the river Subarnarekha. Though it is the earliest European maritime settlement of Orissa, it is rather difficult to say that, it is the first European settlement in Bengal, as suggested by Sanjay Subramanyam. It is only in the mid-sixteenth century when Chittangong declined owing to the decline of Gaur, the orientation of the Portuguese trade was shifted to the western Bengal and Orissa. Hence, Orissa enters unambiguously into Portuguese trade networks only in around 1560. From this time private Portuguese shipping continued to visit this port on the basis of royal grants.¹ In 1580s, they were occasionally given the viceregal documents, but in late 1590s, stray royal grants to Pipli crop up again in the records, though one does not know if these voyages were actually made or not.²

In the seventeenth century the port of Pipli had become an importance seat for both the Mughals and the Portuguese.

1. Sanjay Subramanyam, "Notes on the Sixteenth century Bengal trade", IESHR, 24(3), 1987, pp. 274-77.

2. Ibid, p. 278.

The importance of this port further went up when the Dutch established their earliest and chief settlement of Bengal in 1636. But as the conditions in Hugli became favorable, the chief factory was shifted to the latter place and the former became progressively less important till it was finally abandoned in 1675 due to the silting of the river.¹ But from the account of Bowrey it is evident that some Asian merchants were still active in this port with large ships.² This place was once admirably suited for an harbor. But it is an irony that, this river which discharges water to the level of 500,000 cubic feet per second at a maximum, was first to be silted up of all the rivers in Balasore district.³ Except monsoon, the bar of the river was unsafe throughout the year at least from the thirties of the seventeenth century.⁴ But inspite of this disadvantage it was a

1. Om Prakash, "The Dutch East India Company in Bengal", Trade Privileges and Problems, 1633-1712, IESHR, 9(3), 1972, pp. 263-69.

2. Bowrey, op.cit, pp. 162-63, 179.

3. W.W. Hunter, A Statistical Account..., p. 252.

4. Manrique, II, pp. 92-95.

place of very great commercial importance. Its importance arose because of the fact that most of the finest textile producing centre like Mohanpur, Olmara, Danton and Jaleswar stood very close to her. Hence, during the time of manrique, this was a very busy port frequented by many Asiatic nations.¹

Hariharpur situated on the mouth of river Patua, a bifurcation of Mahanadi. Like, Pipli this port in the first half of the seventeenth century was already silted up. Manrique in the forties of the seventeenth century described the mouth of this river as "sand-banks, being soaked by the lashing and driving were which the sea raised, and he entered the port with great difficulty" by a boat thus leaving the ship.² Bowrey in the seventies describes it "none to be admired, affords not water enough for a ship of 200 tunes in barden to go into the river, and to ride out is very unnecessary and dangerous."³ Thus it was for this reason that the

1. Manrique, I, p. 440.

2. Manrique, II, p. 95.

3. Bowrey, op.cit, p. 129.

English factory was abandoned here in 1642.¹

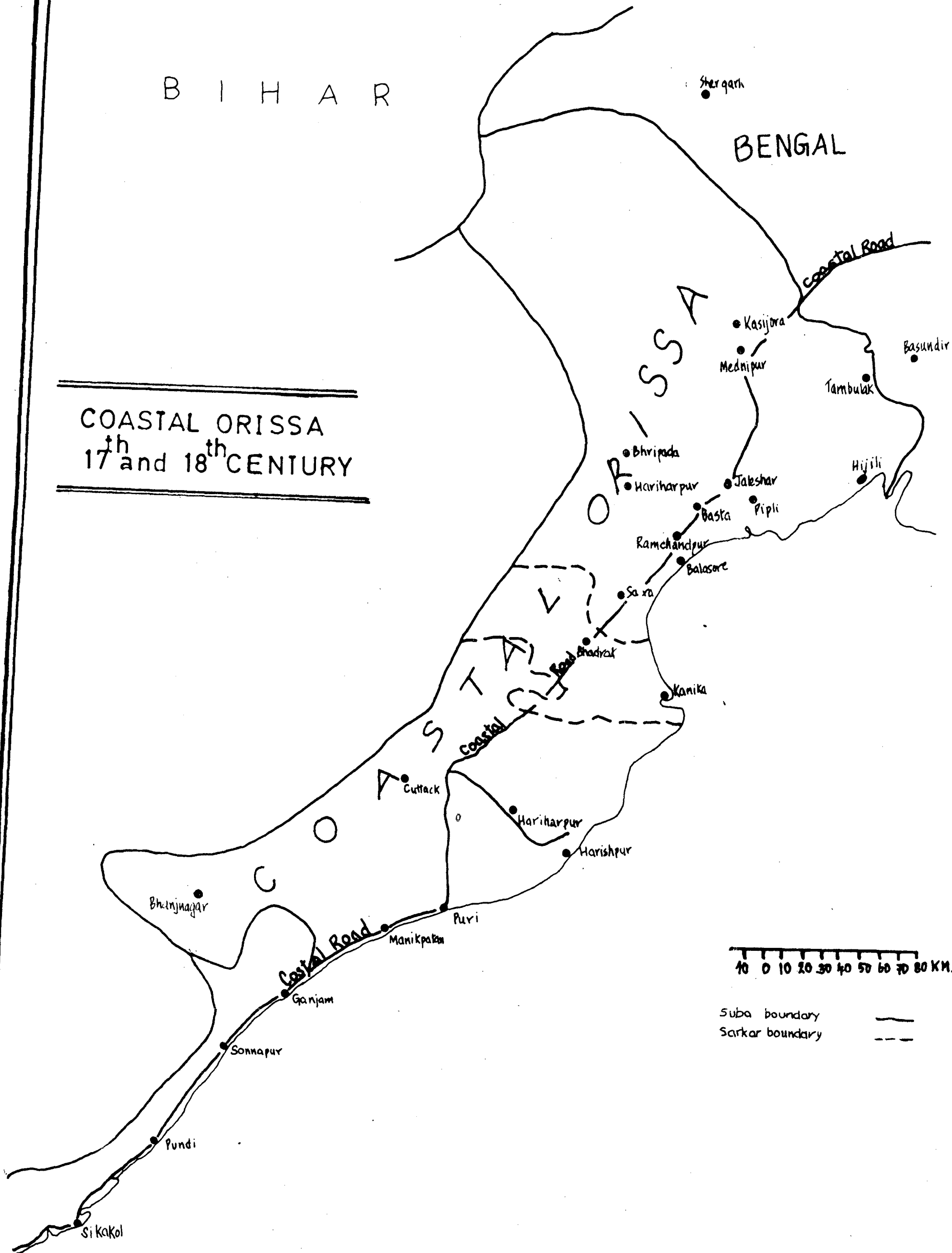
Apart from the above mentioned ports, we have also in records names of ports such as Mamentipatnam, Kanika, Cuttack, Bimlipatam, Vizagapatam and Ganjam etc. in our period, they were used only for occasional coastal trade in food-stuffs in small boats and vessels. But in our period, we have not such reference about these ports. The northern ports, particularly Balasore, Pipli and Hariharpur came to much more prominence than these ports after the Muslim conquest of Orissa. During the time of Akbar, the centre of gravity being changed, some of the southern ports of Orissa lost their former glories. The reason of such change lies in the political situation. Orissa being included in the province of Bengal for the administrative purpose in the early part of the Muslim rule, the Muslim governor with its headquarters in Bengal was naturally more interested in the northern ports than in the southern ones, which were due to their distance or due to their not being completely subdued for certain times.

1. EFI, 1642-1645, p. 126.

B I H A R

BENGAL

COASTAL ORISSA
17th and 18th CENTURY



0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 KM.

Suba boundary ———
Sarkar boundary - - - -

Chapter II

Merchants, Commercial Organization and the English Company

CHAPTER-II

MERCHANTS, COMMERCIAL ORGANIZATION AND THE ENGLISH COMPANY

After a brief analysis of the geographical locations, political and economic conditions and ports of Orissa, an attempt is made to discuss the trading community, commercial activities and composition of trade with special reference to the English Company during seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

(i) Trading Community : Orissa occupied an important position in the trade and commerce of the east in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Merchants from distant parts of the world came to Bengal and Orissa to trade. Besides the merchants of the Orient - the Persians, the Arabs, the Abyssinians, the Turks, the Moghuls, the Jews and the Chinese,¹ who had important commercial contacts with Bengal and Orissa, there were the Christian traders from Europe - Portuguese, the Dutch, the English, the French, the

1. S. Bhattacharya, The English East India Company and the economy of Bengal. 1704-1740, Calcutta, 1969, P.124

Danes and a host of adventurers of other nationalities, who had entered the province in search of fortune ¹. Of these Europeans particularly the Dutch and the English East India Companies were the most important trading elements. Also the presence of the Danes in the Orissan coast can not be said to be insignificant, at least, in the Seventeenth century.

By mid-seventeenth century, the Dutch and the English were firmly established in the ports of Orissa though their trade in Bengal region was still secondary as compared to their activities either in the Coromandel or in Gujarat. But by 1670s, they were well established in the Bengal region, they had opened factories in Pipli, Balasore, Hugli, Decca, Kasimbazar, Patna and Malda. ² They had secured trade privileges from various central and provincial rulers from time to time embodied either in a farman or parwana. Detailed accounts of the Dutch and the English activities has been

1. A. Dasgupta & M.N. Person, India and Indian Ocean, O.U.P., 1987, PP.121-122

2. Streynsham Master, The Diaries of Streynsham Master, Vol.II, Edited by R.C. Temple, Haklyuat Society, London, 1911, P.92

given by Om Prakash and Sushil Chaudhuri respectively ¹.

By virtue of a farman issued by Aurangzeb in 1662, the Dutch were to be charged at a established rate which was 4% in Hugli and 3% each at Pipli and Balasore. But since the recognition of Hugli as the chief establishment of Bengal, the latter two ports were hardly used for loading and unloading of vessels after 1653 ². However, the most important concession for the Dutch was the exemption in transit duty on the Agra - Pipli route which enabled them to buy the merchandise in the cheapest market and sell them in the dearest market profitably. The farman of Aurangzeb asked the officials of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to exempt the Dutch from other inland duties ³. The next farman to them was granted by Bahadur Shah in 1709 which reduced the duty to 2.5% both at Surat and Hugli. Another farman was granted by Jahandar Shah which also confirmed the privileges of the

1. Om Prakash, Dutch East India Company and the Economy of Bengal, 1630-1720, Priencton, 1985, PP.34-50, Sushil Chaudhuri, Trade and Commercial Organisation in Bengal, 1650-1720, Calcutta, 1975, PP.28-43

2. Om Prakash, Dutch East India Company..., PP.41-42

3. Master's Diary, II, pp.26-27

previous one, but made the Dutch pay the duty only at Hugli.

The English enjoyment of duty free trade in lieu of an annual payment of Rs.3000 was based on an imperial farman issued by Shahjahan in 1650 the obvious meaning of which was, as William Foster says "merely to realise the English from the payment of road dues on their goods collected in Oudh, Agra etc. and sent down to the west coast for shipment." But, it could not have been intended at Delhi to excuse them for paying the usual customs duties on goods shipping from the Bengal ports¹. However the English by presenting 3000 rupees to Shahshuja managed to get their contention accepted that the farman had freed them from all demands in Bengal². A nishan to this effect was obtained from him on 13th August 1651 which addressed the officers of Orissa, particularly the Mutasaddis of Balasore not to obstruct the Company's trade and demand any duties from them either at the ports or on the roads. This nishan was stolen from a factor on his return to Madras. But it was confirmed

1. The English Factories in India, Edited by William Foster, 1655-1660, Oxford, 1921, p.109.

2. Ibid, p.110.

another nishan in 1656 without any difficulty¹.

After the death of Aurangzeb in 1707, Murshid Quli Khan was removed and a parwana was obtained from nawab Sarbuland Khan. But he was also removed very soon which again created problem for the English. From this time, they decided to procure a farman from the emperor again, which would protect them from molestation of the local officials. However, the death and overthrow of two successive emperors Bahadur Shah and Jahandar Shah in a short period prevented any such progress. At last, a consolidated farman under the embassy of Surman was obtained from Farrukh Siyar in 1717. This farman as Sushil Chaudhuri observes, was the most important development in the annals of the Company's trade in Bengal in the first two decades of the eighteenth century², but it is not the grant of any extra-territorial privileges over the runaway debtors, as is observed by Sukumar Bhattacharya³. The farman makes a clear distinction between the merchants, weavers and others and the Company's servants. This was just

1. Ibid, pp.110,415.

2. Sushil Chaudhuri, Op.cit, P.41-42

3. S. Bhattacharya, OP.cit, P.29

a privilege, because in all other respects the native servants of the Company remained the king's subjects and accountable only to the king's officer's. But it is too much to say that it was in extra territorial privileges. The farman grants freedom of trade in case of export and import but nowhere it mentioned about inland trade and also perhaps not about private English trade.

Adequate data is not available regarding the exact position of the English in Orissa at this time, though, atleast, theoretically we can say that their position here was exactly the same under the jurisdiction of Murshid Quli Khan and his successor Shuja Khan as was in Bengal. It seems that like Bengal, here also friction with the local officials arose with regard to the use of farman. However, by the close of our period, the English were in a very strong position in the entire Bengal Subah.

Compared to the position of Dutch and English, the French were not such an important mercantile power until the second decade of the eighteenth century. The first attempt at establishing a factory at Balasore was made in the early seventies of the seventeenth century, when the commander of

a French ship Flamond was received favorably by Malik Kasim, the governor of the said place. But due to the hostility of the Dutch, nothing tangible materialized¹. But the first settlement in Balasore and Chandernagar in Bengal were founded 1663, the year when a farman was obtained from Aurangzeb. The farman placed the French in the same position as the Dutch i.e. to pay 3 1/2% custom in the Bengal, Bihar and Orissa².

The Danes like the English and the Dutch were one of the earliest European settlers in India as well as Orissa. Soon after their arrival, they made some promising efforts on the eastern coast of India. By 1625, they secured freedom of trade at Masulipatam, took Pondicherry on a lease and established a factory at Pipli³. It is also known that as early as 1633 they along with the English had settled in Balasore.

1. Pinaki Ranjan Mohapatra, Some Aspects of the Economic Life of Orissa, 1550-1751, Bhubaneshwar, 1984, p.241

2. Ibid. p.242

3. Tapan Ray Chaudhuri Jan Company in Coromandel, 1605-1690, The Hauge, 1962, p.113.

Throughout the seventeenth century this seems to be their chief settlement in Bengal. However, there trade in Balasore never appeared to have reached any significant level. The main reason was that they were starved of capital and received very little assistance from their home government.

The Asian merchants not only the traders of Asian origin who drove an extensive trade in various ports in Orissa but also the descendants of those Portuguese who had settled in different parts in Asia at least a century back and completely amalgamated themselves with the commercial net-work and structure of Asia and carried on trade on their own account. To make a detailed discussion about the trade of these merchants is a baffling task since the data about them are extremely scanty. It was in the Eighteenth century that Indian shipping in the Indian Ocean trade declined in importance to make way for European shipping which gradually started dominating the intra-Asian trade. ².

1. Master's Diary, II, P.84

2. Ashin Dasgupta, "Indian merchants and the Trade in the Indian Ocean 1500-1750", in CEHI, vol-I, P.407.

We have already discussed about the foreign merchants on the basis of nationality. Among the native merchants, the most prominent were the Mughal provincial officials, who were assigned various mansabdari posts in the state, though, they were not all the native inhabitants of Orissa, yet they actively participated in the trade during their tenure of office in the province. These groups consisted of administrators from petty Shiqadar, Faujdar and Shahbandar to the Dewan, Nawab and Subehdar of the province they had to depend upon their agents for their trade. For example, in 1682-83, Rahimdad Khan, the agent of Nawab Nasib Khan the Shahbandar of Balasore, dispatched a ship to Maldives which belonged to his client.¹ These groups depended upon the agents, because, they themselves were not in a position to travel to a distant places and all of them were not based in Orissa. Some of these officials were based in Bengal, and managed their shipping through agents or gumashtas. For example, in 1653 vessel from Masulipatam, equipped at Balasore was operated in the name of Ahmed Beg the Faujdar of Hugli. Bengal's trade with South-East Asia and Ceylon was quite

1. Om Prakash, Dutch East India Company....., P.33

lively ¹.

In this section, we shall discuss the activities of several important merchants, with particular reference to their relations and transactions with the English East India Company. The activities of some of these merchants had certain distinct features as they acted as brokers to the European companies, which could not deal directly with the primary producers for provision of goods for Europe. But, they were not merely brokers but also traders operating exclusively with their own capital. All of them were primarily merchants-buyers and sellers of different commodities and their business extended to any class of goods which was expected to yield a profit².

The two Balasore merchants Khem Chand and Chintaman Shah ³, played a significant role in the commercial life of -----

1. Ibid. PP.229-230

2. S Chaudhuri @ P.cit P.61

3. The two well known Balasore Brokers to English, Thomas Bowery, A Geographical Account of the Countries Round the Bay of Bengal, 1669 to 1679, Edited by R.C. Temple, Hakluyat Society, London, 1905, P.150.

Bengal in the second half of the seventeenth century. They were the most influential merchants at Balasore on their own account, taking a prominent part both in the internal and external trade of the region, some times trading jointly and at other times on individual accounts. For many years they were principal brokers to the English Company at Balasore for providing Commodities for the investment of the Company¹.

Besides Khem Chand and Chintaman Shah, there were so many local merchants of Orissa belonging to both the Hindu and Muslim Communities; who carried trade with different parts of India e.g. Calcutta, Decca, Pulicat, Cochin etc. They used to send iron, stone plates, rice and some other commodities and imports from Calcutta to Balasore consists of tobacco and certain other articles². At the initial stage of commercial operations of the English in Orissa when lack of ready money and difficulty in selling European goods were

1.S Chaudhuri OP.cit. P.62

2.E F I, New series I, P.250

the main hindrances to their trade¹, the merchants took part-payment for goods supplied by them in the articles imported from Europe². Besides paying much custom duties³, the merchants were subjected to many other exactions. During the subehdari of Shaista Khan, the merchants of Orissa had to make contributions towards strengthening the naval defense⁴.

Of the two Balasore merchants Khem Chand seems to have enjoyed greater repute and better position than his partner and colleague Chintaman. As early as 1669, Khem Chand entered into an engagement to supply goods for the Company investment⁵. Generally, this investment at Balasore in this period consisted mainly of such piece-goods as sannoes, nilloes

1. T. Bowrey, A Geographical Account of the Countries Round the Bay of Bengal, 1669-1676, Ed. R.C. Temple, Haklyuat Society, London, 1905, pp.232-233

2.W. Foster, E F I, 1668-69. PP.309-311

3.Ibid.

4.Bowrey, OP.cit, PP.161-163

5. Master's Diary -II, P.224

and gingham¹ and occasionally, if cheap and good quality doreas and cossaes also². The Balasore merchants generally provided commodities for the Company investment accepting payment half in European commodities and half in cash. But some times, influential merchants would not provide goods for investment without advances in cash³. Khem Chand was seldom subservient to the Company and maintained his position as a merchant and banker quite independent of the English. Stryensham Master who was in Bengal during 1676-77 to recognize the Company trade, reported that Khemchand and Chintaman were the only moneyed men amongst the merchants so able and capable to procure the said goods or that can undertake them cheaper⁴.

There were also many Muslim merchants who did not belong to the ruling Mughal aristocracies. The participation of this group seems to have increased from the nineties of -----

1. Sebasstein, Manrique, Travels of Fray Sebastein Manrique, Vol.II, Edited by C.E. Luard and H. Hosten, Haklyuat Society, 1927, p.59.

2. E F I, 1637-1641, PP.313-314

3. Master's Diary, II P.86

4. Ibid. PP.217-219

the seventeenth century. In Gingelly coast where, according to Bowrey, some richest merchants of India inhabit were Hindu's¹. In northern Gingelly, the important merchantile groups were the Kommatties². It is revealed from thier names that they were Telugu by birth. Some Muslim merchants were also there,³ whose participation, as in Balasore, seems to have increased to some extent from the nineties of the seventies century. Apart from this, we have also the refer- ences of one Armenian trader Khwaja Jaffar who had settled in Balasore in the last part of the seventeenth century and owned ship.⁴

There were a number of private Portuguese traders active in the waters of Orissa in our period. In the six- teenth and early seventeenth century, they were fairly active in the ports of Hijli, Tamluk and Pipli. But in the second half of the seventeenth century, many of them had -----

1. Bowrey, pp.126-27.

2. S. Arasaratnam, Merchants, Companies and Commerce in the Coromandel Coast, 1650-1740, Delhi, 1986, p.11.

3. Dairies and Consultation Book, 1696, Madras, 1921, p.170.

4. Om Prakash, IESHR, Vol.I, No.3, 1964, p.49.

settled in Balasore¹. Many Portuguses along with the Dutch private traders were importing Chinese wares to Balasore². Moreover about their position in the Bay of Bengal in the second half of the seventeenth century, Sanjay Subramanyam, argued that their decline of the sea-borne empire should not be constructed as the decline of their private commercial activities. They settled on the eastern coast of India with an ideology essentially that of a stateless and adaptable commercial group³. In the period from 1670, the irregular Dutch shipping lists for Hugli and Balasore continue to give us evidence of Portuguese shipping and mercantile activity through this appear to be at a rather lower level then that of their counter parts based in southern Coromandel⁴.

As has been said the merchants of Asia carried on an extensive trade from the ports of Orissa with the Countries

1. Master's Diary, II, P.76

2. EFI, 1670-1677, II, P.361

3. Sanjay Subramanyam, "Stying on the Portuguese in the Southern coromandel in the late seventeenth century". IESHR 22 (4), 1985, PP.451-452

4. Ibid. P.461

of South East Asia, Ceylon and Maldives. Extensive coastal trade was also carried on with the ports on the Coromandel coast and occasionally with the Malabar and Gujarat coast. So far the trade with Persian Gulf is concerned, we do not have many references, but there is no evidence at all of any direct trade link with Red sea. The main overseas ports with whom Orissa had frequent trade relations during our period were Tenasserim in Siam, Gale and Jaffnapatam in Ceylon, Achin in Sumatra and the Maldives islands. Some times Orissa shipping went to Pegu, Aracan and Kedah as described in our sources¹. Generally, the traffic with this branch was dominated by the merchants based either in Orissa (Bengal Region) or south-east Asia, Ceylon and Maldives². Where as the traffic with Gujarat was largely the preserve of the Surat merchants³.

1. Om Prakash, IESHR, I (3), 1964, PP.40-45

2. For the ownership of ships arrived at Balasore from 1679 to 1687, see chapter V table 5.1 : Om Prakash, Dutch East India Company P.29

3. All the ships left for Surat from Balasore between 1680-81 and 1683-84 belonged to Surat merchants. Out of 4 Ships that came to Balasore in 1682-83, 3 belonging to merchants of Surat, Om Prakash, IESHR, I (3), 1964, PP.40-43

(ii) Commercial Activities : After discussing the role of the merchants of the province, it is important to discuss the commercial activities and organization of the province during our period.

The mode of procurement of textiles in Orissa was on the same pattern as was in other regions in India. The overwhelming share of the shipping business was handled by the Muslim merchants and the European in the coast, the dalali (brokerage) and paikari (delivery of goods) business were handled predominantly by the Hindu banias, where as the primary producers were mainly the Hindus, although some of them seems to be Muslims (For example, among the weaving community). But it is true that the employment effect of the European procurement in Orissa was not felt to the same extent as in Bengal proper¹, though the growing specialization of individual aurangs in the regions of Olmara, Mohanpore, Kasiari and Danton were in response to extra demand created by the Europeans². As regard other weaving centers in Orissa, the Europeans had virtually no contact, with the exception of Hariharpur. Hence

1. Om Prakash, Dutch East India Company...., P.242

2. Ibid. PP.239-239ⁿ

our conclusion is that in the event of only part-time employment in this industry, the occupation was not likely to be restricted to any particular caste or community.

The principal characteristic of the export trade was that the merchandise was procured through the advance payment system (dadni). The weavers received the advance from the intermediaries or the paikars who in turn received them from the merchants. This was done much before the shipping season. Generally, the link between the paikar and the merchant was established by the dalal or broker¹. Generally, the paikari, the dalali and the sea trade were three distinct professions. But a rich merchant like Khem Chand, controlled and combined the elements of these three specialised functions which we have discussed. But for the European this was not possible, due to lack of farman, by which their goods might be subject to duty on the roads and lack of ready cash, the English Company was not in a position to deal directly with the weavers of some places². It seems

1.A. J. Qaiser, "The role of Brokers in medieval India" IHR, 1 (3), 1974, P.220

2.Master's Diary, II, P.86

that the system differed a bit between the Dutch and the English. Whereas the Dutch had their salaried brokers, the English only paid dasturi or brokerage charge to their brokers¹.

The merchants had a very important role in determining the price and the artisans also did have some role in it. The advance system to the weavers in India is very often compared with their European counter-part, because the Indian weavers received advance in cash, not raw materials². But some-times, the English had to exchange them with the native goods at a very low price. There was no fixed proportion of money to be paid as advance to the merchants³. It depended upon the situation and the terms and conditions negotiated between the merchants and the company. At the time of rebellion of Sobha Singh, the Dutch paid as low as 25% of the total as advances in Pipli⁴.

1. D & C, Book, p.174.

2. Arasaratam, IESHR, 17 (3), 1980, P.259

3. EFI (New Series), Edited by C. Fawcett, 1670-1677, II, p.345.

4. Om Prakash. Dutch East India Company..... PP.103-104

Apart from this, there were also other factors like official extortion, rapacity and war which compelled the weavers to desert his place and this ultimately affected the investment¹. This resulted in many outstanding dues on the merchants of the Company, which was regarded as a bad-debt. Master in 1679 found in Balasore, the merchants Khem Chand, Chintaman Shah, Hira Singh and Hingu Shah were together indebted to the sum of Rs. 10677 : 09 : 0.² The Company, actually made the necessary abatements after sorting out the goods. In such case, the merchants resorted to the tactics of delaying their supplies so that the Company was hardly left with any time to sort them out.³

Infact, the direct link between the weavers and the Company was extremely rare. It seems that the powerful merchants of Balasore maintained a nexus between them and the weavers and therefore the Europeans as in the case of Kasimbazar, Decca or Malda, could not establish direct

1. EFI (New Series) 1670-1677, p.344.

2. Calculated from D & C Book, 1679-1680, pp.115-116.

3. Master's Dairy II, p.86.

contact with them. For example, in his account of trade of Balasore, Walter Clavell reported to Streynsham Master in 1676 "And in case Chimcham (Khem Chand) should decease or remove hence (Balasore), the weavers of Suro that live in the skirts or Balasore might be treated with all in the same nature that we deal with the Kasimbazar weavers, and as Chimcham now doth"¹. It seems that most of the weavers who were indebted to one or other paikars dared not injure their displeasure by offering to deal directly with the Company². In 1676, only one weaver of Balasore, Bharat who was not indebted to any of the merchants came forward to deal directly with the Dutch factors³. Because of this nexus between the merchants and the weavers, the European could hardly dispense with the service of the merchant middlemen. Hence, a powerful merchant like Khemchand quite effectively exploited this dependency upon him. Very often he himself made advance to the weavers, before he received money from the English. For example, in 1679, the merchants had already

1. Master's diary, II, P.86

2. Om Prakash, Dutch East India Company....., P.107

3. Ibid. P.107ⁿ

paid advances to the weavers before they came into any contract with the Company's factors on 17th July. Hence, Richard Edward, the chief of Balasore hoped to receive the cloths in time, inspite of the delay in paying advances to the merchants¹. These rich merchants of Balasore knew well that they would not loss any thing even if the English would not accept the product from them, as there were other rival companies and interlopers.

(iii) Composition of Trade: In the first half of the seventeenth century, Bengal's trade was centered in the ports of Hugli, Pipli and Balasore. In the early thirties, Balasore rose into prominence, mainly due to the decline of trade in Pipli and the entry of some Portuguese merchants who had been driven out of Bengal. Until then, Pipli had not lost her pre-eminence as is evident from the account of Manrique². It is generally held by some early scholars like Moreland that Bengal's trade until the beginning of the seventeenth cen-

1. EFI, 1678-1684, IV, P.201

2. Manrique came to Pipli in 1636 and he described it as a busy port frequented by many Asiatic nations, Manrique, P.440

ture was mainly dominated by the Portuguese¹. But Arasaratnam has not accepted this view². As he said the trade was carried on under Portuguese protection. Hence, the general position might be that the export-track was handled both by the local and the Portuguese merchants³.

By the sixties of the seventeenth century, both the English and the Dutch had founded their factories in Kasimbazar, Patna, Hugli, Pipli, Dacca and Balasore in Bengal. While the English trade was still at the infant stage, the annual import of the Dutch was more than ten lakh florins. In 1663, their import value was 1,069,033 florins but in the next year, it rose to 1,603,906. In 1667, the figure was 2,358,023 florins, but the figure fluctuated between as low as 657,390 florins in 1679 and as high as 2,160,760 florins in 1681⁴. While the Dutch generated the bulk of their purchasing power from intra-Asiatic trade, the English had to

1.W. H. Moreland, From Akbar to Aurangzeb, New Delhi, P.87.

2.S. Arasaratnam, "India and Indian Ocean in the seventeenth century" in India and Indian Ocean, edited by, A.Dasgupta and Pearson PP.105-108

3.Ibid. P.106

4.Om Prakash, Dutch East India Company..., P.66

rely mainly on their home-country for capital. They were not only inhibited by the mercantile theorists to export the required amount of bullion for investment in India but were also loaded with many unsalable products of England. Of course, this was their consistent problem throughout the period. But from the very beginning of their days in Bengal, they had to encounter a lot of problems like shortage of capital, mismanagement, quarrels among the factors, lack of proper co-ordination and communication between the factors of Fort. St. George and the former. In the fifties of the factors also carried on considerable private trade.¹

Until the seventies, the English procured some saltpetre, raw-silk and piece goods from Patna, Kasimbazar, Hugli, Balasore and Decca. From the fifties to the seventies of the seventeenth century, the general feature of the Company's trade in Bengal was slow expansion. In 1652, the total amount marked for investment in Bengal was only 7,000². But in the seventies, the total values of the Company's export was

1. EFI, 1655-1660, p.46.

2. S. Chaudhuri, Trade & Commercial Organization p.156

between 50,000 and 60,000. However, the trade of the English continued with higher velocity from this time until the outbreak of the war with the Mughals in the last two years.

However, it was not the European activities in Orissa, but the trade of the Asian merchants which, in fact, kept alive the commercial glory of Balasore. The Dutch shipping list for the ports of Hugli and Balasore which starts from 1671 and ends 1718, records the departure & arrival of ships in the name of Balasore than Hugli, from and for various ports in South-East Asia and Ceylon. This trade was largely the preserved of Balasore. For example, between 1680-81 and 1717-18, out of 18 ships recorded for Ceylon, 17 are in the name of Balasore¹. The figures of South-East Asia and Maldives are 32 out of 53 and 64 out of 91 respectively. Similarly, from 1670-71 to 1717-18 out of 30 ships which came from Ceylon to Bengal, 21 are recorded to have arrived at Balasore. The figures for Maldives and South-East Asia are 34 out of 56 and 26 out of 42 respectively². So far trade

1. Om Prakash, table I & II of Dutch shipping list, IESHR, 1 (3), 1964, pp.40-42.

2. Ibid. pp.43-45

with South-East Asia is concerned, in the first half of the seventeenth century, it was quite extensive. The main ports frequented by the merchants of Bengal were Tenasserim, Achin and Malacca. The import to Tenasserim and Achin were, woolen cloth, Butter, rice and cotton cloth and the return cargoes from these ports consisted of elephant, tin, spices and non-precious metals etc. The export to Ceylon and maldives were mainly rice, coarse cotton textiles and butter etc Where the import were elephant, areaca-nuts and cinammon etc.¹

As many as 1643-44, 26 Asian vessels were ready in the ports of Balasore and Pipli for shipment to different Asiatic ports². In 1668-69, as many as, 28 ships had sailed for different Asiatic ports from Balasore³. Bowery in the seventies notices that some merchants of Hugli, Pipli and Balasore had 20 ships of considerable burden that annually sailed for Ceylon, Tenasserim and Maldives⁴. In 1681-82, 30 ships are re-

1. Om Prakash, Dutch East India Company..., p.28

2. W.H. Moreland. Op.Cit, p.87

3. Om Prakash IESHR, 1(3), 1964, p.49

4. Bowery. p.179

corded to have arrived at Balasore against 25 in the next season¹. The other ports of contact of the merchants of Bengal were Kedah, Perak and Johore whose coastal rulers were keenly interested in the promotion of trade². However, it was not until 1684 that the safe-guard was made applicable to the merchants of Bengal. Hence, for these reasons, the trade between Balasore and Ceylon was fairly active in the seventies and early eighties.

So far as the English trade in Bengal was concerned, we know that until eighties of the seventeenth century, Balasore was the second most important Factory in Bengal. It was the seat of the English chief of Bay in the seventeenth century. However, this place in the eighteenth century documents is mentioned infrequently. But so far as other factories i.e. Kasimbazar Calcutta, Decca, Patna and Santipur are concerned, their name recure regularly, because the turn of eighteenth century, the muslims of Bengal had found a wider market in England than the mixed piece-goods of Balasore. Bengal also provided sugar and raw-silk which were exported to Persia and Europe respectively. As a port Cal

1. Om Prakash, IESHR, 1(3) 1964, p.43

2. Arasaratham, merchants, Companies and Commerce, p.112

cutta have several advantage over Balasore. Calcutta being on the lower stream of the river Hooghly provided enough depth for the anchorage of big vessels. Secondly, the place was also free from official capacity, which was not true of either Hughli or Balasore. Thirdly, whether Hughli or Calcutta, any chief settlement on the bank of river Hooghly was advantageous as communication with inland factories in Bengal was easier. Hence, in 1675 Stryensham Master after much discussion decided to retain Hooghly, instead of Balasore as the chief settlement of Bengal¹. In 1698, the importance of Calcutta suddenly grew up when the English acquired the Zamindari right from the Nawab, and Balasore, Pipli became progressively less important until it was reduced to the position of an agency looking into the requirements of ships calling there before entering the Bay of Bengal.

With the decline of the port of Balasore and a little later of Hughli, there was the corresponding rise of Calcutta. The historian Salim notes Calcutta owing to the liberality and protection afforded by the English and the

1. Master's diary I, p.217

lightness of duties levied there, became populous¹. Throughout the first half of the eighteenth century, there was a remarkable growth of private-owned British shipping, which were also used by Indian merchants for sending their goods to Surat and Persia². Thus, Calcutta by its trading facilities began to attract the commercial and enterprising section of the people from all over the province. However, it is evident from the above documents that Calcutta became an extensive and populous trade centre, and similarly, we do not have any evidence for Balasore during this period, but if we recall the events of the later half of the seventeenth century, than we can imagine how the merchants of Balasore had to recouncil with the oppresive mughal official like Nawab Safahkan Khan, Rasid Khan and Malik Qasim, the governor of Balasore³.

Any explanation of why Bengal became so important to Europeans in the eighteenth century must primarily be in

1. Quoted by Ashin Dasgupta, "Trade and Politics in the 18th century India" in Islam and the Trade of Asia, Oxford. 1970, edited by D.S. Richards. p.200.

2. Ibid. p.202

3. EFI, 1670-1677, II, p.339,361, Bowery, pp.152-153

economic terms, but political factors also counted for much. Throughout the century Bengal's ruler Mughal or British were able to maintain relatively stable conditions by comparison with the upheavals that took place in western or South-Eastern India. In the middle of the century, after comparatively brief and limited out-breaks of violence, a stable Indian regime was replaced by a stable European one. The British met with very little opposition within the province and after 1764, were able to keep Bengal secure from invasion once again. The wars by which the English gained control of Bengal with Siraj-ud-daula's attack on Calcutta in 1756 and ended in 1764 with the final expulsion from Bihar of Mir Kasim and his Indian allies. On the other-hand, Orissa lost most of her parts to the Marathas between 1742 to 1751¹.

Much less evidence about Calcutta shipping is available after 1760. The collection of customs duties replaced consulage in 1759 but the bulk of the Calcutta customs records, with the exception of lists of imports for 1761 to 1765, do not appear to have survived. By the 1770s, there are, however,

1. P.J. Marshall, East Indian Fortunes, Oxford, 1976, pp.29-30

clear indications that the port being used by a greatly increased volume of shipping. (Including the company's ships from Europe) with a total tonnage of 22,475 called at Calcutta in 1770. His figures for the following years were : 101 ships of 24,140 tons in 1771, 119 ships of 26,184 tons in 1772 and 161 ships of 37,187 tons in 1773. In 1777 Calcutta's exports to other Asian ports were valued at Rs. 2,562,367, assuming that the consulage figures are a reliable indication of exports, Calcutta trade roughly in 1777 was equal in the value to its trade in 1729-30, easily the most successful year between 1718-1754. War seriously disrupted trade in the following years, in 1783 the total of clearance of private English ships in and out of Calcutta was only 128, but the number of clearances climbed spectacularly after the war to 575 by 1791¹.

The trade of Balasore recieved a set-back in 1740s because of the Maratha invasions of Orissa. This period was, in fact, an era of commercial crisis in almost all the traditional maritime centres in India. This general reasons which account for this are simultaneous collapse of the Mughal,

1. Ibid. p.54,56

Safavid and the Ottoman empire in India, Persia and Turkey respectively. The situation was further aggravated by the official rapacity and the invasion and plunder of the Marathas¹. The crisis had already began in Surat in the thirties of the eighteenth century when she was engulfed with political turmoil, instability and Maratha invasion which disrupted her hinterland comprising of Ahamadabad, Agra and Burhanpur². Bengal, until then was free from such lawlessness and continued under the peaceful subehdari of Murshid Quli Khan and Suja Khan. However, the situation completely changed in 1740 when Alivardi came to the masnad by a coup in that year. This political change in Bengal was soon followed by repeated Maratha invasions. As Orissa was a buffer state between the Kingdom of Nagpur and Bengal, it was throughly exposed the maratha raid, who appeared either from Berar in the west or Chilka in the south Balasore was on the main trade route between Cuttack and Murshidabad. Hence every

1. A. Dasgupta, "Trade and Politics"... in D.S. Richard's, Islam and the trade... pp.181-202 (for details)

2. For details about the trade of Surat in the first half of 17th century see Ashin Dasgupta, Indian merchants and decline of Surat 1700-1750, Wiesbaden, 1979

news of Maratha appearance created panic in the town and its adjacent areas which affected the mainstream of commercial life there. Finally its trading network declined around the mid of eighteenth century.

In the eighteenth century, we see the rise of two ports Vizagapatam and Ganjam as a result of increasing investment of both the English as well as Telugu and Muslim merchants. The rise of these two ports were the result of the decline of Masulipatam. From the nineties of the seventeenth century, trade in this port showed signs of decline due to a number of factors such as the disruption of Hinterland with Hyderabad and Krishna-Godavari delta, continuous famines, rising prices of textiles, rise of taxation and the indebtedness of the company's servants to the merchants¹. All these led to gradual abandonment of this port and both the Telugu and the Muslim merchants were compelled to migrate to the ports such as Madras and San Thome in Southern coromandel and Ganjam, Vizagapatam and Bimlipatam on the Gingelly coast. This was now recognised as an important textile exporting centre for the English and Vizagapatam was now

1. Arasaratam, merchants, companies and commerce...., p.166

raised to the status of a divisional headquarter for the English in north Coromandel.

The English investment in Coromandel was remarkably well between 1712 and 1724. But after 1724, there was a decline; it again rose in prominence after 1734. The investment very often exceeded 100,000 an year. But the notable feature was that while Madras itself should no great improvement, the supply was increasing to Vizagapatam and this trend continued till the close of this decade. But it is also to be noted here that from the third decade of this century especially after 1724, the share of Coromandel was consistently below 20% of the total English export from India¹. The main exports to England from now onwards was Bengal.

However, the Eighteenth century was a period of many changes in the commercial scenarios of Orissa. While the Bengal portion of Orissa with her main port Balasore shows an obvious decline, the two Gingelly ports Ganjam and Vizagapatam exhibit signs of prosperity. Their coastal trade

1. Ibid. pp.190-191

developed and the European investments also increased. But this prosperity could not come up to the prosperity of Bengal portion of Orissa in the seventeenth century. While Balasore in her hey days was certainly one of the major ports of Indian Ocean because of her trade links with both Europe and South-East Asia, and also its trade with Indian coasts and Maldives. The overall result of the decline of Orissa's Oceanic trade coming with the loss of most of ports to the Marathas in the fifties of the eighteenth century.

Chapter III

Trade

CHAPTER-III

SECTION-A

TRADE

THE EXPORT TRADE : THE ITEMS OF EXPORT

Bengal produced both agricultural and Non-agricultural goods much in excess of her needs. The surplus was exported to different parts of India as well as to other countries in Asia and Europe. The internal trade was carried on both by land and river routes; the coastal and external trade was carried on only by water ways.

I

As in most of the regions of India, textiles constituted a significant item of export from Orissa; but it was not on the same level as in Gujarat, Coromandel and Bengal except in case of certain varieties. The textiles exported from Orissa were of certain varieties, like, cotton, silk and mixed-piece goods. Tussar was the most important among silk cloth, though in quantitative terms the manufacture of tussar cloth was not so important, its quality was consid-

ered to be the best in Orissa¹. The piece-goods enjoyed the predominance in the export of the Europeans throughout seventeenth and eighteenth century.

But the manufacture of cotton piece goods was widespread in the entire region of the province. The variety could be classified as coarse, fine and very fine. Muslins were fine in quality than the calicoes. The distinction between them is one of degree and each can also be further classified as coarse and fine. According to Moreland, in a few cases, it is also difficult to say whether a particular textile should be classed as a fine calico or a coarse Muslin². Generally, Muslins were thinner in texture and lighter in weight than Calicoes and they were suitable for wear in hot countries³. The manufacture and trade of very fine Muslins in Orissa were extremely limited as Decca enjoyed an unquestionable supremacy in this field in the entire seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. But the other

1. Streysham Master, The Diaries of Streysham Master, 1675-1680, Edited by R.C. Temple, Vol. 2, London, p. 85.

2. W.H. Moreland, From Akbar to Aurangzeb, London, 1923, p. 57.

3. Ibid.

varieties of Muslins and Calicoes produced in the province were good and fit for exportation to both Asiatic and European countries. Some of the fine Muslin produced in Orissa were *Khasa*, *Mulmul* and *adathi*. We do not know how far these varieties found market in Asiatic countries, but the European procurement was not regular in Orissa and they were mostly procured from Decca, Malda, Santipore and Hugli areas, though in eighteenth century we find the *Mulmul* of *Kasijurah* of Midnapore was on the regular export list of the English¹. The reason for such low procurement of these fine Muslins from Orissa was that they were not as fine as the Bengali varieties. Peter Mundy also informs us that the *Khasa* of Orissa available at Patna was thicker than the *Khasa* of Sonargaon². Generally all the Muslins were embroidered either with gold or silver yarn or cotton or coloured

-
1. S. Bhattacharya, The East India Company and the Economy of Bengal, 1704-1740, Calcutta, 1969, p.159.
K. K. Datta, Alivardi and his times, Calcutta, 1939, p.192.
 2. Peter Mundy, Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, Vol. II, Edited by R.C. Temple, Haklyuat Society, Nendeln/Liechtenstein, 1967.

silver yarn according to their variety.¹

But the Calicoes of both finer and coarser varieties dominated the export list and at the same time the industry was also widespread. The fine Calicoes were manufactured in the Bengal's portion of Orissa extending from Puri to Midnapore districts. The areas comprising Gingelly coast produced the typical Coromandel variety of cloths. The main varieties were salampore and long cloth which were woven in all the centres on the coast. These varieties had very good market both in Asiatic and European countries. A variety betilles equivalent to Bengal Khasa was woven in Srikakulam area which had red stripes on the border². In early seventeenth century this variety is said to have good demand at Batavia³.

1. Om Prakash, Dutch East India Company and the Economy of Bengal, 1630-1720, Priencton, 1985, pp. 61-62.

Sushil Chaudhary, "Textile Trade and Industry in Bengal Subah, 1650-1720", IHR, 1(2), 1974, p. 264.

2. The Dutch Factories in India, 1617-1623, Ed. by Om Prakash, Delhi, 1984, p. 185.

3. Ibid.

Thus all the fine Calicoes of above description were the major export among the cotton textiles of Orissa. This fine Calicoes may also be referred to as plain or ordinary Muslin. Among the coarse Calicoes mention may be made of dessies, gurrahs, ambaris and lungis which were produced in Bengal portion of Orissa. These were exported both to the Asiatic countries and Europe, but the first one was considerably more important due to their low prices. In the district of Ganjam, there was manufactured a long-cloth of coarse variety which the Dutch called Guinea or Negro cloth. Another Gunnies twin and thread were also produced from the villages in this district¹. From the mid seventeenth century to the later seventeenth century, the textile trade in Balasore and Pipli reached a high watermark as increase in their export to the Asiatic and European countries.

In the first half of the seventeenth century, the cotton goods of India, did not feature so prominently in Western Europe and until 1660 there was practically no demand for Muslin or prints as apparel, and such dress-goods

1. S. Arasaratnam, Merchants, Companies and Commerce in the Coromandel Coast, 1650-1740, Calcutta, 1969, p. 49.

as were carried westwards were destined almost entirely for Africa or America were the trade had been established by the Portuguese and the Indian Calicoes were used to meet European household needs such as table-cloths, napkins or towel¹. However when the English and the Dutch entered the commercial area, they realized the prospect of textile trade. Moreover, England did not produce linen on a large-scale, so that imports of calico would not compete seriously with home industry and their sale abroad brought money into the country and were therefore regarded with favour by the prevailing mercantilist opinion². Previously, England also imported her textiles mainly silk from Italy and France. But the Indian textiles, particularly the Muslins, Calicoes, silk or mulbery and tussar cloths of Bengal and Orissa proved to be much more competitive in England because of their low prices, though these silk-piece goods were not comparable with the former in quality³.

1. W. H. Moreland, op.cit., p. 123.

2. Ibid, p. 124.

3. Sushil Chaudhuri, IHR, 1974, p. 265.

In the seventies, the English investment in Bengal expanded rapidly with the establishment of two more factories in Decca and Malda. Among the piece goods regularly ordered by the court of Directors mention may be made of ginghams, Sannoos, nillase, mulmuls and rumals. Of these, the former three varieties were produced regularly from Balasore throughout our period¹. In the early eighties, the English investment in all the factories in Bengal increased very rapidly. Balasore occupied the second largest place in terms of investment. In 1681, 72,500 piece goods were ordered apart from 20 bales, from this place. The order increased to 162,000 pieces plus 16 bales in 1682 and 158,000 pieces plus 16 bales in 1683². The order for all the celebrated varieties like sannoos, nillaes and ginghams showed increase from the previous decade. The order for ginghams was 15,000 and 30,000 respectively and nillaes 18,000 and 36,000 respectively³. The order for rumals also increased, as in 1681 it was 7,500 pieces and in 1682 it was 20,000

1. Sushil Chaudhuri, Trade and Commercial Organization in Bengal, 1650-1720, Calcutta, 1975, pp. 260-262.

2. DFE, 1680-82, p. 67. S. Chaudhuri, IHR, 1(2), 1974, p. 268.

3. Ibid.

pieces¹. The share of Balasore in these two years was 40% of the total rumal ordered from Bengal². After 1683 the quantity ordered for Balasore factory gradually declined; example, in 1684 the order for sannoes, gingham and nillaes were 20,000, 15,000 and 30,000.³

The Dutch trade in this decade was marked by a gradual decline of trade with Japan and expansion of exports to Amsterdam. Their export of Orissan textiles were considerable. The frequent data regarding the export of mixed piece-goods from Bengal are available to us. But proportionately these mixed-piece goods were less than the cotton-piece goods throughout our period⁴. The Dutch also produced some cotton-piece goods from Orissa, which were not only exported to Europe, but also some other countries in Europe and Asia. For example, in 1675 cotton rumals of Pipli were reported to

1. Ibid.

2. In 1682, 50,000 Pieces were ordered in which Balasore supply 20,000. S. Chaudhuri, Trade and Commerce..., pp. 263-264.

3. DFE, 1681-1686, pp. 108-109.

4. Om Prakash, Dutch East India Company... (for detail), pp. 188-195.

be very useful in the trade with Spain and Turkey¹. In the last decade of seventeenth century, the procurement of some mixed piece goods like gingham and rumals suffered due to the rebellion of Sobha Singh of Midnapore. But the end of the revolt showed a significant increase in the number of Bengal textiles exported to Batavia for Holland in 1698-1699². However, there were some factions in the British parliament for the prohibition of Indian imports, and after some act directed particularly against the silk or tussar piece goods of Bengal, though it also made a reference to the manufacture of Persia, China and East India, the silk goods as well as mixed ones lost their predominance in the English East India Company's Export from the beginning of eighteenth century.

Turning to eighteenth century, it was a period marked by stagnation for Orissa as well as Balasore's trade with South-East Asia and Ceylon. Though we have no detailed data to compute the textile trade with these regions, it can be said that her textile trade carried on by Asian merchants

1. Ibid, p. 60.

2. Ibid, pp. 213-214.

with these regions come to an end. As textiles were the main item of export to South-East Asia but the decline of shipping was a blow to the export of this commodity. However, the export of some ordinary piece goods was increased to Maldives as a result of rising shipping. For example, it increased from 1,200 pieces in 1680-81 to 2,600 pieces in 1699-1700¹. After an initial set back from 1700, the export picked up and was showing an upward curve from 1709 until 1720². The act of 1720, however did not stop the importation of piece goods as they were allowed to come to England on condition of her being re-exported. As a result Amsterdam and Rotterdam became the chief markets of these goods especially Indian wrought silk, Bengal mixed stuffs and Calicoes painted, dyed, printed or stained in those ports³. But the position of Balasore as the investment centre had become insignificant in Bengal. The following table gives an idea of the volume of Company's cloth trade in the different parts of Bengal. The Calcutta council constructed for the -----

1. Ibid, p. 233.

2. S. Chaudhuri, IHR, 1(2), 1974, p. 276.

3. S. Bhattacharya, op.cit., pp. 158-159.

following bales of cloths with different Factories in 1730 and 1731¹.

Table 3.1

<u>Factory</u>	<u>Bales</u>	
	1730	/ 1731
Calcutta	4,157	5,376
Kasimbazar	2,681	2,000
Decca	0,544	0,200
Patna	0,252	0,250
Balasore and Jagdea	0,082	0,074
	7,716	7,900

From the above table, it becomes clear that unlike the seventeenth century the position of Balasore was down graded in the eighteenth century. This was largely due to loss of importance of her mixed-piece goods and rising demand of fine Muslins of Bengal.

The Gingelly coast was also important in our period mainly for its grain trade and some sorts of typical varie-

1. Ibid, p. 164.

ties of Coromandel textiles. As a textile exporting centre, this region came to the forefront only in the eighteenth century. In this period the main textile exporting centres for the Europeans were Vizagapātam, Ganjam and Bimlipatam. It is not possible to speak in detail about the trade carried by the Asian merchants. But all the varieties had a very good market in South-East Asia and the Portuguese, the Dutch exported the coarse long cloths to west Africa, which was mainly available in Bimlipatam and Ganjam areas¹.

The English East India Company mainly collected salampore, long-cloth and battilis from the Gingelly Coast for Europe. The English used to bring its textile to Vizagapatam from where they were carried to Fort St. George. It is not possible to give a detail idea about each varieties of textiles. But it can be said that from the first decade of the eighteenth century the English East India Company was keen to exploit the full potentiality of its business here. Of course, between 1724 and 1733 there was a general decline in the investment of the English in the Coromandel coast.

1. Arasaratnam, Merchants, Companies..., pp. 49-99.

18th

But this decline was felt particularly in Madras and Fort St. David and during this time the northern region made up in some measure for the falling of the south. Again the trade in the years 1727 and 1729 constituted an exception¹. However, lastly we can say that, the textile trade of the Gingelly coast trade continued to prosper while the Bengal portion of Orissa showed a decline in the eighteenth century.

II

Apart from the trade of textile which was the most important item of export from Orissa, there also many other commodities which almost all the ships needed as ballast goods on their voyages. The commodities used for these purpose were food-stuffs, saltpeter, cotton yarn, sugar etc., depending upon their availability. Among these varieties of commodities, food-stuff was an important item of export in the maritime trade of Orissa. Bengal and Coromandel also an important source of rice and it exported to different Asiatic countries like Orissa in the seventeenth and eighteenth century.

1. Ibid, p, 191.

1941c

Bengal sent to Gujarat, the Persian Gulf and Europe her typical finer varieties of cotton-textiles, raw silk and sugar, while her inland neighbour Bihar exported saltpeter¹ to Europe and opium to the Indonesian archipelago. The Coromandel retained her role as the major supplier of cotton-textiles to Ceylon, South-East Asia and some quantity to Europe. The export of food-stuff was carried out from Orissa, which sent them to Ceylon, the Maldives and Coromandel coast. Though this trade was a secondary field of operation during seventeenth and eighteenth century. So far as the Indian ocean area as whole is concerned, Orissa earned the distinction of being the major supplier of food-stuffs to these places.

Now, the question crops up whether Orissa enjoyed any surplus of food-grains over consumption or not ? Though we have no statistical data yet some references be made in this regard on the basis of the evidence of the nineteenth century. In the second half of the nineteenth century, Balasore

1. For details see K.K. Dutta's section-IV, "Saltpeter trade of the English at Patna", in Studies in the History of Bengal Subah, Vol. 1, Calcutta, 1936.

still exported large quantities of rice and paddy to coastal India and different neighbouring countries. This was due to large surplus of this grain in that district alone. In the first half of seventeenth century, "over one hundred vessels" observed Manrique, are yearly loaded up in the ports of Bengal with only rice, sugar, fats, oils, wax and other similar articles¹. The most frequented ports in Bengal according to him were Hugli, Pipli and Balasore and the other ports to him "being less used are less known"². The most busy port in his time in Bengal was, without doubt Hugli. The other ports in this period in Bengal proper were Satgaon, Sripur and Chittagong³ all being the centre of grain trade but in declining condition. Even if all these ports in Bengal proper including Hugli accounted for more than fifty vessels say about sixty, the rest of the forty vessels could be accounted for sailing mainly from the Bengal portion of

1. Sebastien Manrique, Travels of Fray Sobastien Manrique 1629-1643, Ed. C.E. Luard and H. Hosten, Haklyut Society, Vol. 1, p. 56.

2. Manrique, II, p. 227.

3. Mundy, II, p. 152.

Orissa coast, extending from Hijli to Puri¹. But if the ports of Gingelly coast are taken into account then no fewer than twenty to twenty-five vessels could have been accounted for in these rice-surplus regions-Bowrey also mentions that for the better transportage of the before mentioned commodities (grains and Calicoes) ships and vessels in great numbers resort hither (gingelly coast) to harbour in namely Corango, Vizagapatnam, Bimlipatam, Watlasa and Manichapatam². Hence taking all these into consideration every year at least more than sixty vessels must have been loaded in the sea-coast of Orissa with rice and other food-stuffs.

On the other hand the Gingelly coast was also important for its rice export to central and southern Coromandel, if there was any shortage. Almost all the ships directed from Bimlipatam, Ganjam and Vizagapatam to ports like Puli-

1. The twelve province of Bengal which Manrique refers were "Bengala, Angelim (Hijli), Ourixa, Jasor, Chandekar, Midnipur, Catraho, Bacata, Solinanvas, Bulwa, Dacca and Rajmahal". Manrique I, p. 52.

2. T. Bowrey, A Geographical Account of the Countries Round the Bay of Bengal, 1669-1676, Ed. R.C. Temple, Haklyu t Society, London, 1905, pp. 122-23.

cat, Madras, Sadrasapatam and Porto Novo¹. But if there was no shortage, then rice from these ports exported to Achin, Malacca, Ceylon, Maldives and even to west Asia². From the thirties of the seventeenth century the Dutch participation in rice trade became significant. In the early thirties and forties their council at Batavia needed Indian rice to feed their colonies in Batavia and Malacca. The bulk of the rice which Coromandel Factors supplied to them was from Orissa and Bengal³. But this trade from this coast received a rich impetus particularly in the mid-seventeenth century, largely due to the increased participation by the English and the Dutch. The Dutch exported rice from Bimlipatam, where they founded a Factory, especially to procure rice, in 1651, which they exported mainly to Masulipatam, Ceylon and Narsapur⁴. However, there were some troubles between Dutch and the king of Golconda and also with English East India Company. But after a compromise the Dutch again returned to Bimli-

1. Arasaratnam, Merchants, Companies..., p. 103.

2. Ibid.

3. Tapan RayChaudhuri, Jan Company in Coromandel, 1605-1690, The Hague, 1962, p. 167.

4. Ibid, p. 67.

patam in 1678¹, and continued to export rice to Ceylon from here and Nagapatam until the mid-eighteenth century².

Balāsore was the main exporting centre for rice in the Bengal portion of Orissa in seventeenth and eighteenth century. We have also evidence that, her neighbours Pipli and Kanika, at the Point Palmira also exported rice in the late seventeenth century and eighteenth century³. The prices of provisions in Bengal was fairly cheap and cheaper than any other port in India, which induced her merchants to carry on trade profitably not only with other parts of India but also with South-East Asia, Ceylon, Maldives and the ports in Western India⁴.

The procurement and export were absolutely dependent upon the state of agriculture production each year, which was largely affected by natural factors such as flood and

1. Ibid, pp. 67-68.

2. Arasaratnam, Merchants, Companies..., pp. 132-219.

3. Bowery, p. 179.

4. Sushil Chaudhuri, IHC, 1970, pp. 387-393.

famine¹. Only during scarcity the export was banned to check any rise in prices, otherwise the rulers seemed to have encouraged the export of food-stuffs. A Dutch report in 1686 mentions that rice, wheat, butter and oil were the untaxed articles in Bengal². The main commodity which the merchants of Bengal purchased from Ceylon was elephant, which was in high demand among both the Hindu and Muslim aristocracies in Orissa and Bengal, and Ceylon was the most convenient destination than any other overseas port for them. But the policy of the Dutch had ruined their trade and these events were soon followed by the Franco-Dutch naval engagement which further prevented the Orissan merchants from going to Ceylon.

Despite these restrictions, the Ceylonese Government knew very well the value of this traffic and hence concessions were continued to be given to the Bengal and Orissa merchants. They were permitted to sell a certain quantity of cloths and were provided with all the areca-nuts they wanted. In Jaffna the toll in cloth was reduced from 20% to 7

1. W.H. Moreland, op.cit., p. 205.

2. S. Chaudhuri, IHC, 1970, p. 391.

1/2% and from 1720s onwards passes from other European companies were also honoured¹. In this way, the trade was continued in the eighteenth century, though it showed a declining trend. The traffic never reached its earlier volume². The reason for this set back is not clear, but it seems that Ceylon by this time either had attained self-sufficiency in rice or had opened up alternative source for supply such as the Canara coast³.

The merchants of Balasore also exported food-stuffs to the ports like Tenasserim, Achin, Kedah, Parah and Junk-Ceylon⁴. About Achin, Bowrey mentions that rice, wheat, oil, butter and sugar were imported here from Bengal⁵. About Junk-Ceylon he writes, though they had abundant fish and coconuts their provisions were not very plenty. They cultivated a sort of rice which he said to be excellent, but were

1. Arasaratnam, IESHR, 4(2), 1967, p. 113.

2. Ibid.

3. Om Prakash, Dutch East India Company..., p. 116.

4. Om Prakash, IESHR, 1(3), 1964, p. 53.

5. Bowrey, p. 289.

not enough to subsist with the whole year. Still the rice from Bengal or the coromandel coast did not sell well their own. But the butter and oil from Gingelly or Bengal were sold well there¹. For example in 1681-82 Khem Chand sent a ship loaded with 200 maunds of ghee and 100 maunds of oil to Tenasserim. In that season, 4 ships sailed for that destination². Similarly in 1683-84 Khemchand sent 9000 maunds rice, 8000 mounds sugar, 250 mounds of oil and 300 mounds of butter to Achen. In that season 2 ships sailed for Achen and 1 ship for Tenasserim from Balasore³. Not only the native merchants, but also the European carried on extensive trade in food-stuffs in the ports of Orissa.

In the beginning of the eighteenth century the Orissan trade was left only with food-stuffs and some coarser varieties of textiles, because of the absence of commercial patronage in the nineties of the seventeenth century. Since then when Bengal's trade with coastal India increased considerably from Hugli, the merchants of Balasore had to

1. Ibid, p. 249.

2. Om Prakash, IESHR, 1(3), 1964, p. 40.

3. Ibid.

concentrate their trade with Maldives¹. As Maldives was depending upon Balasore for her food-stuff , so also Balasore was depending upon her for Cowri. Moreover unlike other regions in India, the economy of Orissa was still not sufficiently monetized and even at the turn of this century in the time of Murshid Quli Khan, the revenue was collected in rice². Thus in this process the economy of Maldives and Orissa became inter dependent and continued this grain-Cowri trade for about one and half century. However, in these centuries, the four important maritime centres of India, i.e. Bengal, Coromandel, Malabar and Gujarat traded with one another in muslins, Calicoes, pepper, sugar, saltpeter, opium and silk etc. Orissa was left with the role of exporting rice and other food-stuffs to the deficit areas on the east as well as west coast.

The English East India Company throughout our period regularly exported cotton yarn from India to England. In Bengal, Balasore[✓] was the main supplier of this product,

1. Ibid, p. 47.

2. Jadunath Sarkar, Studies in Moghul India, Calcutta, 1919, p. 217.

though by the second decade of the eighteenth century Kasimbazar took the lead¹. The English weaver during this time could not use the finer yarn; hence the export from India were relatively of the coarser variety². But the demand for cotton yarn in England was not regular and many times the English traded them as ballast to fill their dead freight. As early as 1657, the court's order was just 10 tons, but in 1659 it abruptly decreased to 400 bales "in short skeins not cross-reeled" each bale containing about ③ mounds³. In the same year the Factors at Balasore reported that "cotton yarn was procurable (at the best season) for 14 rupees the maund of 75 lb⁴. But in 1660, the demand fell down as the commodity had "grow out of request⁵. In the years of seventies we have no record of its export only in 1699 the cotton yarn which was sent was not upto the sample and in the next year -----

1. S. Chudhuri, Trade and Commercial Organization..., p. 173.
2. T. Ray Chaudhuri, "Non agricultural production", in CEHI, vol. 1, p. 271.
3. S. Chaudhuri, Trade and Commercial Organization..., p. 173.
4. The English Factories in India, 1955-60, Ed. W. Foster, p. 297.
5. S. Chaudhuri, Trade and Commercial Organization..., p. 174.

better and cheaper yarn was sought in Hugli¹, But in 1671 the order was dropped as the Company could sell it only at a loss². In 1676 though the Company wanted to purchase at least 50 or 60 bales, the merchants refused to furnish only for that year as it being late³. From this time the demand was rise, but seems that many times the procurement was restricted in Balasore on the ground that, they could be got cheaper at Hugli⁴. The actual export of cotton yarn thus varied year to year.

Saltpeter was another important ballast in which all the European trading companies drove extensive trade. According to K.N. Chaudhuri, the export of this commodity from India in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was a new development in the history of her maritime trade.... Its bulk and weight would of coarse make it a prohibitively expansive commodity to export overland. But the economics of -----

1. The English Factories in India (New Series), Ed. C. Fawcett, 1670-77, p. 331.

2. Ibid.

3. Master's Diary, I, p. 308.

4. EFI (New Series), 1678-1684, p. 345.

seaborne transport completely altered the picture, and the growth of an extensive munition industry in Europe and the wider use of artillery made Indian saltpeter both a desirable strategic raw materials and a profitable article of trade. There is no doubt at all that Dutch and English demand for Indian saltpeter was closely connected with national, political and military consideration¹.

Before Patna was recognized as a saltpeter centre, which was supplier of the cheapest and the best quality, European demand for this commodity was met from the Coromandel coast. But after the recognition of Patna, the trade in Bengal assumed importance. At Patna the saltpeter was available only one rupee per maund, which was half from the rate of Balasore, but customs and freight raised the price at Hugli to (1) $3\frac{1}{4}$ rupees and finally it amounted (2) $5\frac{1}{8}$ rupees at Balasore². from the very beginning the Patna factory was sent raw to England but this increased the

1. K. N. Chaudhuri, "European Trade with India", in CEHI, Vol. 1, p. 403.

2. EFI, 1646-1650, p. 337.

freight charges¹. In 1650, the Factors at Balasore were advised to open a refinery unit there². A English report of the 1650s mentions that Balasore imported 1000 to 5000 maunds every year³. However, the company still collected saltpeter from Balasore, in spite of the fact that the prices were so exorbitant there and they had already established a Factory at Patna. The possible reason was that Patna was always unpredictable because of a number of reasons.

The Dutch also imported saltpeter in their early days in Bengal, like the English. The Dutch established a refinery in Pipli in 1640-41 in order to save cost. which in the mid-1650s reached a capacity of 800,000 lbs annually with provision for expansion to 1.2 million lbs⁴. According to an English report of 1652, the Dutch shipped nearly 3000 tons refined saltpeter from Pipli annually, "though they buy most there of gross (as well as other commodities) up the said

1. EFI, 1651-1654, p. 495.

2. EFI, 1646-1650, p. 334.

3. EFI, 1655-1660, p. 297.

4. Om Prakash, Dutch East India Company..., p. 158.

river as far as Patna and bring it down in boats¹". The sale figures of this commodity on the other hand, show a gradual increase. In 1649-50 the amount sold was 105,000 ponds which rose to 303,000 in 1653-54. The amount exported to Holland from Bengal in 1653-54 was 151,520 ponds which rose to 412,122 ponds in 1654-55². It is not clear why the refinery was established in Pipli instead of Patna, but it can be suggested that like the English procurement in Bala-sore, the Dutch also procured some quantity from the peter men locally who transported them from Bihar. Hence, in order to save the cost, the saltpeter collected from Patna was refined at Pipli. However, the English established a special saltpeter ground near Patna for which they required for the manufacture of gunpowder³.

Besides the above mentioned commodities, sugar was another important commodity which was exported from Orissa by the English and Dutch companies in seventeenth and eight-

1. EFI, 1651-1654, p. 95.

2. Om Prakash, Dutch East India Company..., p. 186.

3. J.T. Wheeler, Early Records of British India, London, 1878, p. 150.

eenth centuries. As early as thirties of the seventeenth century when the English just set up their settlements in Balasore and Hariharpur, exported it to Gombroon and Basra in the Persian Gulf where they fetched very good profit¹. A limited quantity was sent also to Bantam², from where probably they went to Europe. The Dutch annual shipment to Persia in the forties averaged 400,000 lb to 450,000 lbs³. By 1650, the export was 450,000 ponds, but for the next season for which the figure was available was 1655-56 in which 229,955 ponds were sent against Gombroon factors order for 250,000 ponds⁴. In 1650 the Balasore Factor reported that sugar was bought there in February, or March for 7 1/2 or 8 rupees per bale and at monsoon it increased to 11 or 12 rupees⁵. In 1658-59, 5393 bags containing 7,632.5 maunds or 572, 440

1. EFI, 1634-1636, pp. 140, 178, 204.

2. Ibid., p. 49.

3. T. RayChaudhuri, "Non agricultural production", in CEHI, Vol. 1, p. 274.

4. Om Prakash, Dutch East India Company..., p. 126.

5. EFI, 1646-1650, p. 337.

lbs. Valued at Rs. 33,163 or about 4,145 were dispatched from Balasore¹.

However, the English interest in this commodity was short-lived² and their trade was never impressive with England because of the import of Brazilian and west-Indian sugar, which left the Company with no desire to increase the trade in this commodity, secondly, though it was good for ballasting the ship it was not so profitable as saltpeter. Hence the Company preferred the trade in saltpeter to sugar³.

SECTION-B

IMPORTS

The import trade of Orissa does not seem very important during seventeenth and eighteenth century, because the balance of payment was always in favour of the province. In this period the general demand was restricted only to the -----

1. S. Chaudhuri, Trade and Commercial Organization..., p. 173.
2. T. RayChaudhuri, "Non-agricultural production", CEHI, Vol. 1, p. 274.
3. S. Chaudhuri, Trade and Commercial Organization..., p. 171.

commodities of everyday consumption such as food-grains and textiles etc. Which were produced and available inside the province. Some of the imported commodities such as elephants, broad cloth or European guns were mainly meant for the use of the aristocracy. Precious metals and lead were imported by the European and Asian merchants from different countries. The other imports by the Asian merchants were tin, spelter and spices like pepper, nutmeg, cloves and cinnamon, It has been said that the import trade during our period except, precious metals does not seem to have increased substantially. The import of some of the European manufactures like woolen cloth or broad cloth might have increase because of the efforts of the Dutch and the English, but the increased was marginal in comparison to increase in the flow of precious metals. But the most important imports of the Asian merchants was elephants, from the ports of archipelago, Ceylon and Burma. The following table indicating the number of ships that came to Balasore from various Asian ports from 1680-81 to 1704-05¹.

1. Om Prakash, "The Dutch trading companies" IESHR, 1964, P.40

Table 3.2

List	1670-71	81-82	82-83	84-85	87-88	97-98	98-99	99-1700	1700-01	03-04	04-0
of ships came from											
1.Ceylon	8(8)	5(5)	1(1)	1(1)	..	2(2)	..	..	..	3	1
2.Islands of Maldives	2(at least1)	3(3)	4(4)	..	..	2	6	6	2	3	6
3.Tenass- erim	..	9(3)	4(4)	1(1)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
4.Malacca	..	..	1(1)	..	1(1)	..	..	..	..	..	..
5.Achin	..	3(at least 2)	2(1)	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
6.Surat	..	..	4(at least1)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
7.Manila	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
8.Coromandel coast	5	8	9	2	..	4	2	..	1	1	2
9. Pegu	..	2(1)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
10. Arakan	..	..	..	1(0)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

Note : Information is not available for the years and numbers of ships no included in the table.

The figure in brakets, whenever available, indicate the number of ships that came to than from various Asian ports on the account of Bengal merchants, the rest being on

the account of non-Bengal merchants.

As regards the activities of the several merchants-discussed in the chapter-II, we can have some idea of the ventures of the two Balasore merchants. Both Khemchand and Chintaman Shah took an active part in overseas trade during seventeenth century. They owned ships which sailed on trading voyages to different countries and sometimes these ships were owned jointly by them. The Balasore factory records which could have given us a graphic picture of the foreign trade of these two merchants are extant only for the years 1679 to 1687, and that many gaps in between. Since the Dutch documents have not been consulted by me. I present here only the shipping list of Khem Chand and Chintaman Shah, which has been prepared by Sushil Chaudhuri on the basis of Balasore factory records and Dutch records²¹.

1. S. Chaudhuri, Trade and Commercial Organisation...., P.87-89,
S. Chaudhuri, "Bengal merchants and commercial".... in BPP, 90
(2) 1971, P.204

Table : 3.3

Owner	Arriving from	Imports	date of entry
Khem Chand	Tenasserim	21 elephants	20 Mar. 1680
Khem Chand	Tenasserim	elephants	29 Jan. 1684
Khem Chand	----	----	29 Jan. 1684
Chintaman	Tenasserim	elephants	5 Feb. 1684
Khem Chand	Achin	----	21 Mar. 1684
Khem Chand & Chintaman	Cochinchina	elephants, couris, cloves	1 Apr. 1684
Khem Chand & Chintaman	Tenasserim	elephants	5 May. 1684
Chintaman	'Caringo'	elephants	6 May. 1684
Khem Chand & Chintaman	----	----	15 Nov. 1684

Table : 3.4 : OUTBOUND SHIPS

owner of the ship	Destination	commodities	sailing Date	Name of Ships
1	2	3	4	5
Khem Chand	Tenasserim	200 mds.ghee, 100 mds oil, piece goods	7 Jan. 1682	Guruprosad
Khem Chand	Galle(Ceylon)	500 mds.rice, piece goods	28 Jan. 1682	Bhagabatprosad

Contd....

Khem Chand	Galle	1000 mds. rice, piece goods	4 Feb. 1682	'Mosiaheddy'
Chintaman	Jaffnapatam	700 mds. rice, 10 mds. cumin, 100 mds. long pepper, 4 mds. opium, 50 mds. peas, piece goods	25 Feb. 1682	Krishnaprasad
Khem Chand	Galle	1400 mds. rice, piece goods	21 Feb. 1683	Bhagabat prasad
Chintaman	Maldives	600 mds. rice, 50 mds. butter, 325 piece goods	25 Feb. 1683	Keshari
Khem Chand	Galle	7000 mds. rice, 50 mds. candy sugar, piece goods	3 Mar. 1683	'Moemeddy'
Chintaman	Maldives	5500 mds. rice, 50 mds. oil, 50 mds. butter, 800 piece goods	18 Feb. 1684	---
Chintaman	Galle	600 mds. rice, piece goods	21 Feb. 1684	---
Khem Chand	Galle	13000 mds. rice, 400 mds. sugar, 20 mds. candy sugar 2200 piece goods	9 Mar. 1684	---
Khem Chand	Achin	9000 mds. rice. 800 mds. sugar, 30 mds. silk, 10 mds. opium, 250 mds. oil, 150 mds. saffron, 300 mds butter, 120 mds. cummin, 100 mds. peas	9 Mar. 1684	---

Table : 3.5 : INBOUND SHIPS,

Owner	Arriving from	commodities	date of entry	name of ships
1	2	3	4	5
Khem Chand	Tenasserim	22 Elephants, 50 mds. staff copper, 40 mds. spelter, 90 mds. tin, 2 casks of porcelain	6 May. 1682	Guruprosad
Khem Chand	Galle	7 elephants, 40 mds. arrack, 12 lbs. nutmeg	10 Aug. 1682	Bhagbat prasad
Khem Chand	Galle	11 elephants, 225 mds. arrack, 2000 coconuts, 800 cehan cauris	12 Sep. 1682	'Mosi- heddy'
Chintaman	Jaffnapatam	5 elephants, 4000 cauris, 1 md nutmeg, 1/2 md mace, 1 1/2 md cinnamon	21 Sep. 1682	Prosad
Khem Chand	Tenasserim	19 elephants, 50 mds. tin	11 May. 1683	----
Chintaman	Maldives	1800 cahan couris, 500 coconuts	1 Sep. 1683	----
Khem Chand	Galle	14 elephants, 1000 cahan couris, 200 mds. arrack, 10 mds. cinnamon, 8 mds. nutmeg	Oct. 1683	----
Chintaman	Galle	9 elephants, 750 mds. arrack, 36000 couris	Mar. 1685	----
Khem Chand	Achin	22 ele. 18 seer gold	May 16 85	----

Though at present the shipping lists of only Khem Chand and Chintaman Shah are available, Sushil Chaudhuri informs us that the items of export and import handled by other merchants varied little from these two merchants. The last two tables show us that the most important commodity of import in the seventeenth century from the different Asiatic countries was elephant. These were imported from Tenasserim, Ceylon, Achin. Elephants were also imported by the private European traders¹

It is apparent that in overseas trade as in Inland trade, Khem Chand was more active than his partner and colleague Chintaman. Khemchand's trade was mainly with Galle in Ceylon, though he traded at the same time with Tenasserim and Achin also. Chintaman was more concerned with the Islands of Maldives, though his trading vessels went also Jaffna Patam and Galle. The most important item of import was elephants. No merchants came home without them. Other items of import consisted of tin, cauris, cinnamon, copper,

1. Diary of William Hedges, edited by R. Barlow and H. Yull, vol.I, London, P.65

nutmeg, spelter, arrack, porcelain and even gold¹.

Bowrey informs us that an elephant of Kedah which was available at 200 Spanish reals was sold in Masulipatam or Bengal at 3000 reals². From English Factory Records we are also informed that the governor of Balasore presented an elephant to a Hindu Raja which was valued at 5000 rupees³. It is irony that during our period Orissa had to import elephants inspite of the fact that the forests of Orissa were very rich in them⁴. However, the elephants were mainly purchased by the big Zamindars, Nawabs and other members of the aristocracy. The local rulers also occasionally sent them as gift to the emperors⁵. We are informed in the English Factory Records, how the Raja of Mayurbhanj was disgusted when he was refused permission by the governor of Balasore to take away an elephant which he had purchased⁶.

1. S. Chaudhuri, Trade and commercial Organisation....., P.90

2. Bowery, P.273

3. EFI, 1655-1660, P.297

4. Ain-i-Akbari, II, P.126

5. Jadunath Sarkar, OP.cit., P.214

6. EFI, 1678-1684, IV, P.365

We should remember that until recently there were plenty of elephants in the forests of Mayurbhanj. The maximum number of elephants were imported from Tenasserim, though according to Bowrey the Ceylonese elephants were considered to be the best in Bengal and all over India. They were generally large and Endowed with more sense and reason than those of Tenasserims, Queda or Syam¹.

Bengal's trade with the archipelago was considerable until the fifties of the seventeenth century. But by this time the Bengali merchants were compelled to accept Dutch pass-port in order to sail to their destinations in south east Asia. Since it was difficult for the Dutch to refuse passes to state officials in Bengal, the Company liberalized its policy in respect of certain places such as Malacca, Tanasserim and Achin. The original policy remained operative with respect to Kedah, Perak, Junk-Ceylon and Bangery². The reason was because the Company wanted to monopolize the trade of tin in these malayan ports. So far as Malacca was

1. Bowery, P.180

2. Om Prakash, Dutch East India Company..., PP.231-32

concerned a toll was imposed on both exports and imports¹. But as tin was also available in other ports of the archipelago such as Achin and Tenasserim, the merchants could make their purchase there. Hence, inspite of the restrictive policy in issuing passes by the Dutch, so long the state officials continued their trade and imported elephants, spices and tin from the archipelago.

After the withdrawal of the state officials from the shipping business the import of these commodities declined considerably in Balasore. For example, in case of Tenasserim, Om Prakash has calculated that in 1699 only 370 maunds of tin were imported against 1,551 maunds in 1683. Similarly the import of elephants declined from 122 in 1682 to 10 in 1699². From the third decade of the eighteenth century the private trade of the English increased to a considerable extent in Bengal, but unfortunately, we are not in a position to say whether the import of these commodities was continued by them on the earlier level or not. The import of

1. Om Prakash, IESHR, 1(3), 1964, P.54

2. Om Prakash, Dutch East India Company....., P.227

copper also declined¹. But its decline could not have been serious as the bulk of the commodity was then imported by the Europeans. Except elephants and cinnamon, the other commodities imported from Ceylon were purchased by the common people in Orissa and Bengal. These were arecanuts and shankhs. Chewing areca-nuts with betel-leaf was a common social habit among all section of people. Hence its demand was considerable in these regions. But about 80% of the total demand was met by nuts produced around Decca itself².

From the late seventies and early eighties of the seventeenth century when Balasore's trade with Ceylon was resumed again, the trade in areca-nut had already been a monopoly of the Dutch. The Dutch sold this commodity in Bengal at an average gross profit of 100%³. The Shankhs were used here on ceremonial occasions, both social and religious. The poor people also used them as ornaments⁴. In 1661-62, it was sold by the Dutch at 108% profit, but it -----

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid. PP.166-67

3. ibid. P.167

4. Bowery, PP.208-09

came down to 25% in 1666-67 because of large-scale import by the Indian merchants¹. Apart from Ceylon, the commodity was also imported from Tuticorin².

Low-valued items like Couries and caris were imported from the Maldive Island. This commodity was regularly imported to Orissa from maldives. But from the close of the seventeenth century, its import increased to a considerable extent. But all the imported couries were not for domestic consumption, some of them must have been re-exported to areas outside Orissa. Some of them were purchased by the English East India Company for sending them to the African countries. This intention of the company must have been supplemented by their servants, who were engaged in private trade with Maldives³.

In seventeenth and eighteenth century bullion was the most outstanding feature of the import trade of Orissa. The demand of bullion slowly rose after Orissa was annexed to -----

1. Om Prakash, Dutch East India Company....., P.167

2. Bowery, P.208

3. Hedge's Diary, I, P.89

the Mughal empire. Though the revenue was collected in rice, it was necessary to remit them to imperial treasury in the form of coins. This led to the rise of monetary economy which was feasible only if there was enough import of bullion. Previously, the merchants of Orissa occasionally brought some gold from the archipelago, but the bulk of them must have been absorbed either in hoarding or non-commercial uses in view of their limited import. For the Mughal India, Mocha was the "treasure chest" from where a considerable quantity of silver was imported, but this was done mainly by the merchants of Gujarat and Malabar coast and we have little evidence to show former's regular connection with any of the ports in Bengal region prior to 1650¹. On the other hand, when Bengal's trade with Surat and the Persian Gulf increased considerably from the last decade of the seventeenth century this was carried mainly from the port of Hugli and not from Balasore.

Bengal's trade with Japan rose in importance after 1650 when the silk of Kasimbazar, mixed piece-goods of

1. Om Prakash, Dutch East India Company....., P.254

Orissa and Muslims of Bengal became easily saleable there. The main precious metal imported to Bengal from Japan was silver, as the latter was the standard of currency here since the general feature of the company's trade was its expansion, the import of Japanese silver rose correspondingly in a subsequent two decades¹. On the other hand, the export of gold had already been banned by the Japanese authority in 1641. Dutch imported a substantial amount of silver from Japan. But since the loss of Taiwan in 1662, an important supplier of gold to the Dutch, the latter now looked to Japan as the most important source. This they did by agreeing to pay an exchange rate of 6.8 taels per Koban against the prevalent 5.6 or 5.8 taels between silver and gold. But since the Chinese merchants had no incentive to purchase this expansive gold, they largely concentrated on silver which put a pressure on this metal. Hence to stop such pressure on silver, the Japanese altogether banned the export of silver in 1668 and to give incentive to the Chinese merchants to purchase gold the domestic purity of

1. For details see Om Prakash, Dutch East India Company....., PP.120-130

silver and gold was reduced to 5.6 teals per Koban¹. Hence as a first step in 1670 the prices of the Koban was increased from 5.6 to 5.8 teals per piece and an executive order was addressed to the Japanese merchants to pay lower prices for foreign goods, and a suggestion was made to the Dutch and the Chinese to sell their goods at a lower price. However, this measure resulted in nothing. Hence, the authority in 1672, restored the pre 1668 value of silver with gold, i.e. 6.8 teals per gold Koban². With this exchange rate now the import of precious metals became less attractive from Japan and from the eighties onwards, the company imported the bulk of her metals from Europe.³

The English East India Company's imported goods generally meant for both commercial and non-commercial uses. Some of the goods like broad-cloth, leads, copper and iron ordinance etc. were brought regularly for sale which might provide purchasing power to the company. There were other some goods which were less important, but they were meant

1. Ibid. PP.127-128

2. Ibid. P.129

3. Ibid. P.137

either for the Factors own use or might be offered as present to the rulers to obtain their favour. Since Balasore at this time was one of the most important English Factories on the eastern coast, all these goods figured prominently there. But the most important import in terms of value was bullion both gold and silver from the very beginning of their days in Bengal, the company imported proportionately more gold than silver; but from the nineties of the seventeenth century the import of the former was virtually stopped¹. Since it had a limited demand in this province. Of the following lists of goods and bullion sent to Bengal by the court of Directors in four selected years a tentative idea can be formed about the ratio of bullions and goods generally sent to Bengal².

1. S. Chaudhuri, Trade and Commercial Organisation....., PP.208-209

2. Ibid. P.208

Table 3.6

<u>Year</u>	<u>Bullions(£)</u>	<u>Goods(£)</u>
1675	67,000	23,000
1682-83	267,505	1795
1699-1700	168,903	10419
1718-19	168,560	18827

From the above tables, it is clear that the value of the imports in bullion was considerably more than the goods. This was particularly true from the eighties of the seventeenth century when more bullion was sent to Bengal with the expansion of English investment. In the seventeenth century for the English, Balasore appears to be the best market in Bengal for English goods though like all the other factories in India, here also the company had the difficulty in selling them. For example, in 1675 Vincent protested against diverting a considerable proportion of the invest into Balasore factory where the goods were very costly. But Clavell and Budgen though agreed with the former, pointed out that, "other factories gave little assistance in disposing of goods sent out from England such as broad-cloth, lead, gums, brimstone, quicksilver and vermilion. and they

were forced to trade them in return for goods at Balasore or have them lie on their hands and perish....¹".

The European investment in Balasore during this time was dominated by two powerful merchants i.e. Khem Chand and Chintaman Shah who could purchase these commodities in exchange of the return cargoes, though very often reluctantly. But this created ill-will among the merchants and very often loss to the company². As has been said, the demand for the English manufacture was limited to the aristocracies; their sale, many times therefore, depended upon their will and choice. Not always a prospective purchaser could be induced to purchase them. For example, generally broadcloths were sold well in Bengal region when a new Nawab came, but here also there was no guarantee³. Sometimes the Factors complained that due to the parsimonious nature of the old Nawab, broadcloth could not be sold and unless a young Nawab came they could not be sold⁴.

1. EFI, 1670-1677, II, PP.392-393

2. Ibid. P.345, Master's Diary, I, P.136

3. EFI, 1670-1677, II, P.344

4. Ibid. P.372

A commodity like lead, did command a demand in the state to some extent as it was needed for the mintage of silver coin. The local Rajas and Zamindars also purchased them along with brimstone and iron guns to supplement their military stocks. But this was also very often forbidden by the Governor of Balasore and the nawab of Orissa, ostensibly not to allow them to equip with any weapon so as to become rebellious force. But the actual intention was to purchase them at concessional price for themselves¹. As has been said, lead was needed for the coinage of the silver currency, from 1668 due to the Japanese ban on the export of silver the Dutch import into Bengal suffered considerably which ultimately led to the decline of the demand of the lead in the seventies of the seventeenth century². For other commodities like vermilion, quick-Silver, Iron ordnance and tins, the company had also difficulty in selling them. It had a limited demand not only because it was quite expensive but was also hardly necessary in a tropical country like

1. Master's Diary, II, P.85

2. EFI, 1670-1677, II, P.373

India, except by the aristocracy classes of upper India¹.

Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth century the English export broadcloth to Orissa and as a result in many cases, the goods lay in the warehouse for years². As sir Richard Temple says, "Frequent mistakes, such as sending broadcloth to Orissa, where it was unsalable, were the result, and formed one of the chief causes of the perpetual friction and bickering that went on between the court of committees in London and the council in Madras³.

On the other hand, the prices of lead fluctuated violently as we know from the following data. In 1677 Sushil Chaudhuri show that it was 9.4 rupees in Bengal per mound⁴, but in 1680-81 the prices went down to 7 rupees per mound, but again in 1703 it was reduced to Rs.3. 11.12 annas⁵. The reason for such fluctuation of this non-precious metal was

1. S. Bhattacharya, Op.cit, P.167

2. EFI, 1670-1677, II, P.344

3. Master's Diary, I, P.234

4. S. Chaudhuri, Trade and Commercial Organisation....., P.212

5. Ibid.

that previously the import of this commodity was also handled by the Portuguese and the Asian merchants. But with the fresh import of the Dutch and the English, there was a slump in the market of this commodity. The large import of this non-precious metal alongwith tin and copper by the Dutch and indigenious merchants from the East Indies made it difficult for the English to dispose of their wares. The prices of the various metals fluctuated sharply according to the available supply in the market¹. The European also presented them as gifts to the ruling class, what Moreland observed it that, these novelties are called "toy" by the European in contemporary literature². The other articles are looking-glass and knives etc³.

In Bengal and Orissa, the couris were the chief means of commercial transaction, the Mughal ruler encouraged the import of bullion as the revenues was remitted to the imperial treasury by means of mettalic currency. In Bengal the standard coin was silver currency and gold had a very limit-

1. Ibid.

2. W.H. Moreland, OP.cit., P.68

3. EFI, 1678-1684, IV, P.245

ed market here. But the English in their early days of trade the proportion of gold was considerably more than silver and faced difficulty in selling them. it is a commodity only proper for and bought by the greatmen in this country and the people does not well understand to refine it, by which means course gold sells to loss disproportionable to what allowed in invoyce¹...

This situation became particularly precarious in the late seventies of seventeenth century when the gold market in Bengal was over-stocked with the large-scale import by the Dutch from Japan. The Dutch in 1676 sold this metal at marginal profit in Bengal. Two years later the English had considerable difficulties in selling them in different factories including Balasore². We have also seen that in 1676 the gold koban was sold in Balasore at a profit of 7.37% against 6% each at Hugli and Patna by the Dutch. Lastly, the factors asked the court of Directors not to send any gold and its proportion reduced in the early eighties

1. EFI 1665-1667, PP.141-142

2. EFI. 1678-1684, IV, PP.168-169

and stopped all together in 1686¹.

So far as English manufacture are concerned Balasore was an important market in seventeenth century. The factory records show that until the eighties of this century Kasimbazar was most important investment centre but the next was Balasore followed by other Bay Factories. Though we have no data for all the years, yet the available data show that the share of Kasimbazar was for more than Balasore. For example, in 1681, the court of Directors directed a definite amount of 80,000 to Kasimbazar and 20,000 to Balasore². Hence it can be said that Balasore was an important centre. Thus it not only received only a major portion of English manufacture, but also a handsome amount of treasure. For example, in 1684 the ship Ann which brought six chests of treasure to the Bay, four were allotted to Balasore, this very soon supplemented by 4,000 gold mohurs³. But in eighteenth century the relative importance of Balasore gradually declined with the rising importance of many fine muslin producing -----

1. S. Chaudhuri, Trade and Commercial Organisation, P.209

2. EFI, 1678-1684, IV, P.264

3. Ibid. P.332

centres of Bengal and at the close of our period its importance was minimum compared to other Bay Factories.

and stopped all together in 1686¹.

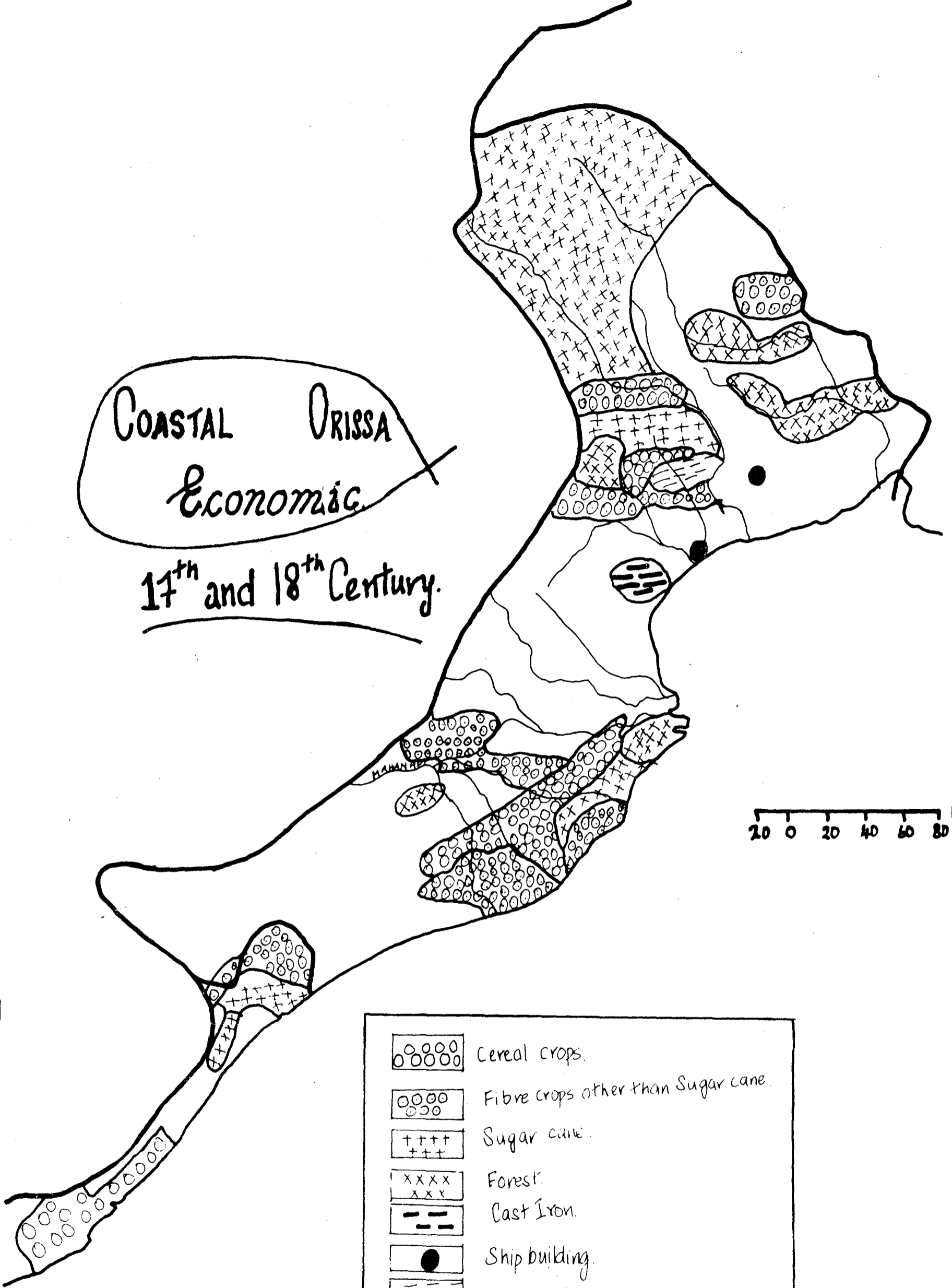
So far as English manufacture are concerned Balasore was an important market in seventeenth century. The factory records show that until the eighties of this century Kasimbazar was most important investment centre but the next was Balasore followed by other Bay Factories. Though we have no data for all the years, yet the available data show that the share of Kasimbazar was for more than Balasore. For example, in 1681, the court of Directors directed a definite amount of 80,000 to Kasimbazar and 20,000 to Balasore². Hence it can be said that Balasore was an important centre. Thus it not only received only a major portion of English manufacture, but also a handsome amount of treasure. For example, in 1684 the ship Ann which brought six chests of treasure to the Bay, four were allotted to Balasore, this very soon supplemented by 4,000 gold mohurs³. But in eighteenth century the relative importance of Balasore gradually declined with the rising importance of many fine muslin producing

1. S. Chaudhuri, Trade and Commercial Organisation, P.209

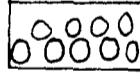
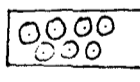
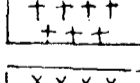
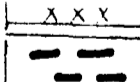
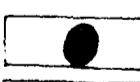
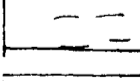

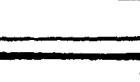
2. EFI, 1678-1684, IV, P.264

3. Ibid. P.332

COASTAL ORISSA
Economic
17th and 18th Century.



20 0 20 40 60 80 KM

	Cereal crops.
	Fibre crops other than Sugar cane.
	Sugar cane.
	Forest.
	Cast Iron.
	Ship building.
	Tobacco & Opium.
	Miscellaneous

Chapter IV

Conclusion

CHAPTER - IV

CONCLUSION

The growing integration of India into the Premodern world economy in the seventeenth and eighteenth century had far-reaching implications for her trade and commerce. In premodern Asian economy this trade was more or less an economic exchange between the surpluses of two countries. Having discussed the commercial Organization and commodity structure of trade in previous chapters, now a look is needed at the importance, and impact of commerce on the economy of Orissa and its people.

Even today the people of Orissa celebrate the fullmoon day of the month of Kartik as an auspicious day for setting sail the boats and other vessels. It is a day of great festivity, in the early morning all the members of the family, men or women, while taking their bath in the nearest river or tank, float a miniature boat made of the barks of the plantain trees or of paper with lamps burning inside them. This boat is worshiped in the previous night accordance with vedic custom. The ritual is a symbol of the sea

voyage which was generally undertaken on this day by the merchants of Kalinga called Sadhaba in Oriya.¹ Many folk stories of Orissa speak of the merchants (Sadhaba) who went to sea voyage with their flotilla and returned home with treasure. The most popular is the story of Tapoyi which relates to a merchant family of seven brothers and their only sister, Tapoyi who was also the youngest among them. These seven brothers once went on a sea-voyage for trade, leaving their lone sister under the care of their wives. But except the youngest, the other sisters-in-law did not behave well with Tapoyi and tortured her in many ways. When the brothers returned with huge treasure, they were shocked to learn every thing and punished their wives except the youngest one, who was rewarded.² Such popular story speak of the richness of Orissa's maritime past.

The most significant truth of the maritime commerce of the people of Orissa was that it had a deep impact on people and their economic life. The exports of Orissa were mainly

1. Fakir Mohan Senapati, Fakir Mohan Senapati, Vol. 2, Cuttack, 1969.

2. K.C. Panigrahi, History of Orissa, Cuttack, 1971, p. 466.

in basic commodities, such as food-stuffs and coarse cotton textiles. Hence, while in the eighteenth century, a re-orientation and rearrangement of the trade took place in most of the coastal India in conformity with the changing situation in the Indian Ocean, the basic character of the trade of Orissa remained essentially unaltered. The commodities of exports from the ports of Orissa such as rice, butter, oil and coarse cotton textiles were not produced by specialized groups of people, concentrated in particular geographical area, but were produced almost all over the region at the house hold level and their production was widespread. Similarly, Orissa's principal imports Couri and Shankhs had and universal demand among her people. Naturally most of the people directly or indirectly connected with the maritime commerce.

The success of the maritime trade of a region not only depended upon her good harbours or favourable littoral conditions but also on a convenient hinterland, inland market and internal trade. In the second half of the seventeenth century Balasore rose into prominence with the decline of her two neighbours : Pipli and Hariharpur. Till the first three decades of the seventeenth century the latter

ports were well frequented by the Asian and Portuguese merchants. Though the rise of Balasore could largely attributed to the silting up of Pipli and Hariharpur, the advantage of a rich hinterland also contributed its growth. First, it occupied a central position and was well connected with all the centres of production. In the north there were textile procuring centres like Mohanpur, Olmara, Dantan and Jaleswar. From Kasiari and Mayurbhanj in the north-west, the best quality of cloths were procurable¹. Another advantage was its location on the main trade route between Puri and Hugli which eventually led to Delhi and Lahore via Patna and Banaras.²

By the close of the seventeenth century, Balasore itself had emerged as a market for different varieties of corns, textiles and other exportable commodities, and the saltpeter available here was mainly brought by the peter-men

1. Master's Diary, II, P.85

2. See the map by T. Ray Chaudhuri, "Inland Trade" C.E.H.I., vol-I, P.334. The main trade route from Hugli to Puri passed through Balasore but not Harishpur or Pipli.

from Bihar and variety of Bengali cloth from Decca.¹ Thus, Balasore was not only became a centre for its own province, but also for commodities from other neighbouring province. Previous to the growth of Balasore, Pipli, as described by Manrique was a busy port frequented by many Asiatic nations, where large quantity of merchandise came from the twelve provinces of Bengal.²

Orissa's trade with other inland provinces comprised a variety of articles like cheap food-stuffs to expensive textiles. Throughout our period food-stuffs were an important articles of export from Orissa to other deficit areas. Despite the heavy expense of land transports, heavy enough to stifle certain lines of commerce, the trade in food-stuff and a wide range of textiles products some of which surely cannot be described as luxuries, were the most important components of the inter-regional trade of the period. The most important market for Orissa's rice in this period was Southern Coromandel a deficit area. Another important trade commodity was gingelly oil.

1. EFI, 1655-1660, P.297; Master's Diary, II, P.72

2. Manrique, I, P.441

The most important emporia for Orissa's merchandise in upper India were Hugli, Patna and Agra. But the trade with upper part of Hindustan was carried more likely by the Ganges. The great public bazaar of Hugli, according to Bowery, was a market for all sorts of commodities that Orissa, Bengal and Patna could afford. In this bazaar large quantities of cotton, coarse calicoes and provision etc. were sold.¹ Patna is described as the great gate that opened in to Bengala and Orissa.² The muslins of Orissa like Khasa, Mulmul, Humhum and Ambari were available there.³ The thinner varieties of Khasa and Mulmul from Bengal were also available in Patna, but the other varieties were exclusively from Orissa, as is evident from Mundy's account⁴.

At the turn of eighteenth century when Calcutta rose into prominence, it became a great mart for the articles of the neighbouring provinces. The merchants of Balasore, by

1. Bowery, P.15

2. Ibid, p. 221.

3. Mundy, II, pp. 154-55.

4. Ibid., p. 154.

the mid eighteenth century were sending iron, stoneware, rice and other things from Balasore to Calcutta and brought tobacco and other things from Calcutta¹. Holwell mentions Balasore stone dishes and cups in the lists of articles on which tax was levied in the market of Calcutta². For the shell work of Decca, which attained repute in the eighteenth century, Balasore exported the raw materials to the former place via Calcutta³. The lucrative trade in salt which the Portuguese in the seventeenth century carried on from Hugli⁴. The most important route in this period was Jaleswar, Calcutta a development which took place in the eighteenth century. This route passed through Danton, Naraingarh and Midnapore. Earlier in the seventeenth century when Hugli was the most important mart of Bengal, the route from Jaleswar passed through these place upto Midnapore. From Midnapore the road took the north westerly direction to Hugli via Burdwan. Manrique also passed through this route on the way

1. K.K. Dutta, Alivardi..., p. 186.

2. Ibid.

3. S. Bhattacharya, op.cit., p. 189.

4. Manrique, II, p. 392.

to Patna¹. The road from Jaleswar to Balasore went via Rajghat, Basta and Ramchandrapur; which was continuation of the seventeenth century route².

In the seventeenth century under the Mughal rule Orissa underwent trade expansion. The feudatory chiefs of Orissa of our period were frequently rebellious and were not prepared to acknowledge their sovereignty to the Mughals. The regional economy was subjected to occasional stresses arising out of conflict and pressures between the local Raja and Mughal imperial authority.

The English Company always secured money by selling the leads locally in which the feudal Kings were good customers. In 1672 the Nawab of Orissa, being jealous of the power of the Rajas forbade the merchants to sell them any of it or any other military stores. The real intention of course was to force the merchants to sell these commodities him³. Walter Cavell in 1676 also makes similar report to Streyn-

1. Ibid. pp. 99-116.

2. Ibid. p. 99.

3. EFI, 1670-1677, II, p. 345.

sham Master... the Governors forbidding lead to be transported into the Rajas countries on pretense of hindering them from war like supplies, though it really be to get himself half a rupee upon every mound of lead for conniving at its sending away into these ports¹. For the same reason the local officers in 1672 quarreled with the king of Siam's factor at Balasore over his selling elephant to a local Raja.. In the same year as a result of this attitude of the governor a large part of his stock of leads remained unsold². Some times this attitude of Mughal officials proved counter-productive in other ways. For example, in 1684, the Raja of Mayurbhanj was brought to Balasore as a prisoner for quarreling with a neighbouring Raja and was forced to pay three lakhs of rupees. After this incident the Raja started stopping goods, which passed through his state and forced the merchants to comply with his demand, the consequences of which was a stand still of business in Balasore³. But sometimes these chiefs also behaved in a high handed manner.

1. Master's Diary, II, p. 85.

2. EFI, 1670-1677, II, p. 345.

3. EFI, 1678-1684, IV, p. 365.

Thus trade was at times disrupted due to the arbitrary attitude and high handedness of the governors. In the early seventies Malik Kasim, the new governor of Balasore had brought was known to have interfered with the trade of the port, to generate personal gains. He used many ways to extort money from the inhabitants and "hath put a stop to almost the whole trade of the towns... many Dutch freemen and the Portuguese could not sell their goods to the merchants and at the end would probably sell their goods to the governor only. The English in September, 1673 reported that the town under his governorship was so "curbed" that private individuals were unable to trade¹. The situation comparatively peaceful in the eighteenth century under the Nawabi of Murshid Quli Khan and Sarfaraj. It was only the forties of the eighteenth century that the entire structure of hinterland was disrupted due to Maratha invasion as discussed in second chapter.

The advent of the European Companies was an epoch making event in Indian Ocean. The native industry which was

1. EFI, 1670-1677, II, p. 361.

called upon to cater to the taste of European consumers seems to have been influenced by European skill and technology. In 1673 a dyer of the English company was sent to Balasore to dye the cloths¹. But the native weavers were so obsessed with their current custom that they accepted any innovation only if they were paid extra money. In 1669 an English Factors reports from Balasore "the sannoes, gingham, etc." provided about this place cannot be made of lengths and breadths beyond those now sent, unless the price be augmented in a larger proportion then the dimensions since use and customs amongst the weavers is not to be altered without a charge; they are so tenacious of an addicted to the way they have been brought up in².

In response to European demand the total output in the manufacturing sector seems to have increased as is evident from the growth of many new production centres. The artisans whether skilled or unskilled hitherto engaged in manufacturing on a part time basis seem to have found it worthwhile to become full time artisans to produce exclusively

1. Ibid. p. 359.

2. EFI, 1668-1669, p. 310.

for the market. This is suggested by the growing size of individual aurungs - localized centres of manufacturing production-and the intensification of the process of specialization among different aurungs¹. For example, a Dutch report of 1675 mentions that in the vicinity of Pipli the aurung of Mohanpur specialized in the production of Humhums, gurrahs, sologazis and adathis, that of Danton in doreas and soosies, that of Olmara in chaklas, rumals and alachas, where as the aurung of Kasiari produced only superfine textiles². In 1675 the Dutch Director of Balasore and Pipli observed "we understand that for some years now many weavers are coming to Balasore from the interior areas to settle down there. They make very good malmals, Khasas and sanus of which the merchants have shown us some sample"³.

The wealth credit standing and organizational networks of the merchants of Orissa has already been discussed by

1. Om Prakash, Dutch East India Company..., pp. 238-239.

2. Ibid, p. 239ⁿ.

3. Quoted in Ibid, p. 101ⁿ.

Sushil Chaudhuri in much detail¹. The merchants like Khemchand and Chintaman Shah were very affluent. Similarly, the governing Mughal officials earned huge fortune during their stay in Bengal. But the majority of the weavers seems to be poor, considering their large scale indebtedness to one merchant or another. This was the reason why they were deprived of their proper share in the profits². Their standard of living was not satisfactory. An English report says that they (weavers) even not have accommodation to worked for their poor cottages³. About the common inhabitants of Orissa Bowery says they were "poore" and "very low spirited" but about these Rajas and their armies he says "live by sword, and will not pay homage to any Kings or Emperour in the Universe"⁴.

The decline of the fleet of Hindustan based at Surat indicates a whole range of changes coming over maritime trade, as does the rise of the English fleet at Calcutta

1. S. Chudhuri, Trade and Commercial Organization..., Chapter-V.
2. Om Prakash, Dutch East India Company..., pp. 248-249ⁿ.
3. EFI, 1668-1669, p. 304.
4. Bowrey, p. 130.

fleet, expressing new relations of trade which favoured the European Companies. The alterations during the eighteenth century in the Indian Ocean witnessed the steady decline and the slight growth of English trade of the commercial system of Dutch East India Company. It led to the hegemony of the English Company in Bengal which was able to acquire economic as well as political-territorial control over the regional economy by the later half of the 18th century. Further to complete this process of regional economic control the English Company ousted the Marathas from Orissa in 1803, thus bringing it under their colonial control.

GLOSSARY

- Abbasi - a coin found in persia, worth a little over half a Mughal Indian rupee in the seventeenth century.
- Amla - a native officer of a judicial or revenue court.
- Arhat - commision.
- Aurang - a manufacturing district, a division of an Agency.
- Bahar - a measure of weight between 460 and 500 Dutch pond
- Bakshi - The official in charge of military finance.
- Band - a term used to denote the periodical harvesting of the silk cocoons.
- Banjara - a hereditary group of travelling grain traders found in India.
- Bazzar - market.
- Bhog - offering.
- Bhowri - a house for boiling salt
- Bigha - a measure of land varying in extent in different parts of India. In Bengal, it was one-third of an acre. in Cuttack the bigha is generally considered to be an English acre.
- Cauri - a small shell used as a coin. In account four cauris are equal to one ganda and 80 cauris to one pan.
- Chakla - a large division of a country comprehending a number of parganas.
- Charchitthi - a delivery order

- Covid - an indigenous measure with considerable regional variations. It could be as large as a yard or only half that much. In Bengal, the equivalent of a covid was 27 inches.
- Dalal - a broker
- Dam - a copper coin used in the Mughal empire. At first its value was a fortieth part of a rupee, and later it rose to a thirtieth part.
- Darbar - a court, a royal court, an audience.
- Darogha - A term with a variety of connotations. It was usually used for an officer of law. Mint-master of Mughal India were generally called daroghas of taksal. A daroga could also be an agent of a state official carrying out procurement of goods on his behalf.
- Dastak - a passport, a permit, a warrant. In Orissa it was applied especially to a process by which a revenue defaulter was compelled to pay any balance that might be due to him.
- Dasturi - a customary commission
- Desi - belonging to, born in a country, a native of a country.
- Dewani - official incharge of the treasury.
- Dewani Adalat - civil court
- Farman - a Mughal imperial decree or edict
- Faujdar - an officer enjoying both civil and military power over one division of a country; the chief of a body of troops; an officer in charge of the police and jurisdiction in all criminal matters.

- Ganda - a money of account, equivalent in reckoning to four cauris or the twentieth part of one anna; twenty gandas make one anna; to count by gandas is to count by four; the value of ganda implies four.
- Gumashta - an agent; a confidential representative, appointed by Zamindars to collect their rents, by merchants to carry on their affairs in other places than where they reside, and the like.
- Hundi - a bill of exchange
- Jagirdar - the holder of a jagir, the holder of any assignment of revenue.
- Jama - the total amount of rent or revenue payable by a cultivator or a zamindar, including all cesses, as well as land-tax.
- Kahan - a measure of cauris currency, equal to 16 panas of cauri shell or 1280 cauris.
- Kaul - a lease or grant in writing; a safe conduct, amnesty, or in fact any written engagement.
- Khas - as a revenue term it is applied to the management of estates and the collection of the revenue by the officers of the government, with out any intermediate person between them and the cultivator.
- Khalisa - The term used to denotes the lands whose revenue went directly to the central Mughal treasury.
- Koban - an oval-shaped Japanese gold coin which until 1695 weighed 4.73 momme (= 17.798 grams) and contained 85.69% gold, 14.25% silver and 0.06% alloy.
- Mahajan - a banker, a money changer, a creditor.
- Malikana - allowances paid to a prietor of an estate on his becoming recusant.

- Mansabdar - a Mughal state official eligible to hold both civil and military offices. Each official held a dual numerical rank-zat (personal) and sawar (cavalry).
- Maund - a measure of weight. In Bengal the maund was equal to 40 seers = 34.05 Kg = 68 Dutch ponds.
- Mauza - a village or a group of villages, a parcel or parcels of lands having a separate name in the revenue records.
- Muhr - the gold coin of Mughal India.
- Mutasaddi - a high Mughal official usually described by the Europeans as the local governor.
- Naib - a deputy, a representative.
- Nakhuda - captain of an Indian vessel.
- Nishan - an order or permit usually issued by a prince of the blood.
- Nawab - a viceroy or governor of a province.
- Paikar - a merchant working as agent for the procurement of goods for trade.
- Pargana - a tract of the country comprising many villages; name of a fiscal division of the Mughals and Marathas which was also retained by the British.
- Parwana - an order, a written command, a letter from a man in power to a dependent; a custom-house permit or pass.
- Peshkash - a tribute, a quit rent, a fine or present to the ruling power on receiving an appointment or assignment of revenue, or on a renewal of a grant or the like.
- Pond - the Dutch pond was approximately equal to 1.09 lbs avoirdupois.

- Sarrafa - a money changer who occasionally also acted a banker.
- Sarkar - the government or administrator, a division of a country.
- Seer - a measure of weight equivalent to one-fortieth of the maund.
- Shahbandar - the harbour master.
- Sicca - describes Mughal coins of the current year's mintage.
- Subahdar - the governor of a province, a viceroy under the Mughal Government, a native officer in the company's army holding a rank equivalent to that of captain under the European officers.
- Teal - the teal was trading name of the Chinese Ounce (1/16th of a catty), and also of the Chinese money of account, often called "the Ounce of silver".
- Zamindar - a land lord; a proprietor directly responsible to the state for the revenue of the land he possesses
- Zamindari - the office and rights of a zamindar; the tract of land constituting the possessions of a zamindar.
- Zilla - a district, a division.

Appendices

APPENDICES

APPENDIX - A

An account of the Average Annual value of the Exports by the English and the Dutch East India Company from Bengal, between 1662 and 1720

(in florins)

Source : Om Prakash, Dutch East India Company and the Economy of Bengal, 1630-1720, Chapter-III.

Period	English East India Company		Dutch East India Company	
	Average annual value of exports to Europe	Average annual value of exports to Europe	Average annual value of total exports (Europe and other parts of Asia)	
1662-1670	251, 904	439, 958	1, 464, 685	
1671-1680	769, 356	286, 764	1, 469, 585	
1681-1690	892, 260	N.A.	1, 950, 434	
1691-1700	1, 512, 602	2, 417, 589	2, 785, 373	
1701-1710	1, 382, 595	2, 315, 384	3, 274, 369	
1711-1720	2, 666, 764	2, 650, 607	3, 616, 243	

APPENDIX - B

An account of the Indian ships plied between Balasore and Madras between 1698 and 1750, as recorded in the Diary and consolation Books, Fort St. George (Source : Vide Footnote - 248, Chapter-II)

Arrival of Ships from Balasore to Fort St. George :

<u>Name of the ship</u>	<u>Date of Entry</u>
<u>Mohammadi</u>	29 July 1698
<u>Pidoorassome</u>	5 April 1707
<u>Madauna Saib</u>	4 November 1710
<u>Amadee Savauæe</u>	22 April 1711
<u>Veera Budda (Bira Bodha)</u>	3 January 1712
<u>Madina</u>	7 March 1713
<u>Krishna</u>	11 April 1716
<u>Sahib Bux</u>	4 April 1717
<u>Caudier Bux</u>	15 May 1717
<u>Bux</u>	17 May 1717
<u>Hussain Shah</u>	20 January 1720
<u>Hussain Shaikh</u>	22 January 1720
<u>Venkata Shia</u>	25 January 1720
<u>Ramahundru</u>	9 March 1722

Contd.....

<u>Krishna Patam</u>	11 February 1723
<u>Guru Prasad</u>	21 February 1724
<u>Hussain Bux</u>	4 February 1729
<u>Sahyballa</u>	4 February 1729
<u>Uma Prasad</u>	22 May 1729
<u>Hussain Bux</u>	16 February 1730
<u>Muhammad Bux</u>	23 February 1730
<u>Laxmi Prasad</u>	16 February 1731
<u>Laxmi Prasad</u> (Brigantine)	17 February 1731
<u>Muhammad Bux</u>	18 February 1731
<u>Venkat Saw</u>	20 February 1732
<u>Venkat Saw</u>	9 March 1732
<u>Muhammad Bux</u>	9 March 1732
<u>Ali Bux</u>	25 December 1735
<u>Hali Bux</u>	26 January 1739
<u>Sri Prasad</u>	21 December 1750
<u>Guru Prasad</u>	31 December 1750

APPENDIX - C

An account of the Indian Ships plied between Madras and Balasore between 1698 and 1740, as recorded in the Diary and consultation Books, Fort St. George

(Source : Vide Footnote 248, Chapter-II)

Departure of ships from Fort St. George to Balasore

<u>Name of Ships</u>	<u>Date of Entry</u>
<u>Rangani Kalu</u>	25 June 1711
<u>Patta Daulat</u>	2 July 1711
<u>Singaria</u>	25 July 1713
<u>Laxmi</u>	13 March 1723
<u>Gurp Saute</u>	20 May 1724
<u>Hussain Bux</u>	21 April 1727
<u>Mohsin Bux</u>	5 May 1729
<u>Fid Allah</u>	22 May 1729
<u>Madan Prasad</u>	29 January 1730
<u>Laxmepirs</u>	24 April 1731
<u>Muhammad Bux</u>	9 May 1731
<u>Laxmi Prasad</u>	19 May 1731
<u>Muhammad Bux</u>	8 June 1732

Contd....

Name of Ships

Date of Entry

Annapurna

16 June 1733

Ali Bux

3 April 1736

Nowsaack

22 August 1736

Ali Bux

7 June 1740

Bibliography

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

DOCUMENTS :

The Dutch Factories in India, 1617-1623, Edited by Om Prakash, Delhi, 1984.

The English Factories in India, 1618-1669, Edited by William Foster, 13 vols. Oxford, 1906-1927.

The English Factories in India (New Series), 1670-1684, Edited by Charles Fawcett, 4 vols. Oxford, 1936-1953.

Records or Fort St. George : Diary and Consultation Books, Letters from Fort St. George, Letters to Fort St. George, 1670-1750, Government Press Superintendent, Madras, 1907-1931.

Fort William - India House Correspondence, 1748-1759, 2 vols., Edited by K.K. Dutta, New Delhi, 1958-1959.

Bengal Public Consultations, in Early Annals of the English in Bengal, 3 vol., Edited by C.R. Wilson, London, 1898-1917.

Contemporary Travel Accounts, Diaries and Works etc.:

Bernier, F., Travels in the Mughal Empire, Reprint, New Delhi, 1983.

Bowrey, Thomas., A Geographical Account of the Countries Round the Bay of Bengal, 1669 to 1676, Edited by R.C. Temple, Haklyu t Society, London, 1905.

Bruton, William., "Bruton's account of Cuttack and Puri" in OHRJ Cuttack, 10 (3), 1961, Edited by P. Acharya.

- Fazl, Abul, Ain-i-Akbari, Translated and Edited by H. Blochmann, vol-I, Delhi, 1871.
- , Ain-i-Akbari, Translated and Edited by H.S. Jarrett, vol.2, Calcutta, 1891.
- Hamilton, Alexander, A New Account of the East Indies, Edited by William Foster, 2 vols. London, 1930.
- Hedges, William, The Diary of William Hedges, 1681-1687, Edited by R. Berlow and H. Yule, 3 vols., London, 1887-1889.
- Leckie, G.F., "Leckie's Journal in Orissa of 1790" in OHRJ, 2 (3 & 4), 1953, Edited by P. Acharya.
- Manrique, Sebastien, Travels of Fray Sebastien Manrique, 1629-1643, Edited by C.E. Luard and H. Hosten, 2 vols. Haklyut Society, 1926-1927.
- Marshall, John, John Marshall in India, 1668-1672, Edited by S. A. Khan, London, 1927.
- Master, Streynsham, The Diaries of Streynsham Master, 1675-1680, Edited by R.C. Temple, 2 vols., London, 1911.
- Mundy, Peter, Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, vol. II, Edited by R. C. Temple, Haklyut Society, Nendeln/Liechtenstein, 1967.
- Pelsaert, Francisco, Jahangir's India, Edited by W. H. Moreland, Delhi, 1972.
- Tiffanthler, Joseph, "Tiffanthler's Account of Orissa" in OHRJ, 4(2), 1953, Edited by P. Acharya.
- Wheeler, J.T., Early Records of British India, London, 1878.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Unpublished :

Bakshi, Monica, "Study of the trade relations between the Indian Broker and the East India Company on the West Coast of India in the Second Half of the 18th century", M.Phil. Dissertation, Jawaharlal Nehru University, 1981.

Mallick, B.S., "Aspects of the Currency System and the English Trade During the 17th century: A Case Study of Gujarat and Bengal", M.Phil. Dissertation, Jawaharlal Nehru University, 1980.

Natarajan, Radhika, "Trade and Traders in Madras in the 17th century", M.Phil. Dissertation, Jawaharlal Nehru University, 1984.

Published:

Arasaratnam, S., "Dutch Commercial Policy in Ceylon and its Effects on the Indo-Ceylon Trade", 1690-1750, IESHR, 17(3), 1980.

_____, "Indian Merchants and their Trading Methods (circa 1700)", IESHR, Vol. 3, 1966.

_____, Merchants, Companies and Commerce in the Coromandel Coast, 1650-1740, Delhi, 1966.

Balkrishna, Commercial Relations between India and England in the 17th century, 1601-1757, London, 1924.

Bhattacharya, S., The East India Company and the Economy of Bengal, 1704-1740, Calcutta, 1969.

- Boxer, C.R., Portuguese India in the Mid-Seventeenth Century, Delhi, 1980.
- _____, The Portuguese Seaborne Empire, 1415-1825, London, 1969.
- Braudel, F., The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II, 2 Vols. London, 1972-73.
- Chatterji, S.K., The People, Language and Culture of Orissa, Artaballabha Mohanti Memorial Lectures, Bhubaneswar, 1960.
- Chaudhuri, K.N., The Trading World of Asia and the English East India Company, 1660-1760, Cambridge, 1978.
- _____, Trade and Civilization in the Indian Ocean, London, 1985.
- Chaudhuri, Sushil., "Bengal Merchants and Commercial Organisation in the second half of the 17th century", BPP, 90(2), 1971.
- _____, "Saltpetre Trade and Industry in the Bengal Subah", 1650-1720, IHC, Vol. 1, 1973.
- _____, "Textile Trade and Industry in Bengal Subah", 1650-1720, IHR, 1(2), 1974.
- _____, "Financing of Investment in Bengal", 1650-1720, IESHR, 8(2), 1971.
- _____, Trade and Commercial Organisation in Bengal, 1650-1720, Calcutta, 1975.
- Crooke, W., (ed.), Hobson-Jobson, New Delhi, 1986.
- Das, A.K., "Sir Thomas Roe and the Prospects of English Trade in Bengal", IHC, 1966.

- Das, B.S., Studies in the Economic History of Orissa from Ancient Times to 1833, Calcutta, 1978.
- DasGupta, Ashin, Indian Merchants and Decline of Surat, 1700-1750, Wiesbaden, 1979.
- DasGupta, A. & Pearson, M.N., (ed.), India and Indian Ocean, OUP, 1987.
- DasMohapatra, L., "The Export of Commodities used as Ballast from the Ports of Orissa, 1630-1720", in OHRJ, Orissa.
- De, S.C., "British Conquest of Orissa and Early Administration", in OHRJ, Vol. III. No. 1-4, June-March, 1954-55.
- Dutta, K.K., Alivardi and his Times, Calcutta, 1939.
- _____, Studies in the History of Bengal Subah, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1936.
- Francis, W., Madras District Gazetteers, Vizagapatam, Madras, 1907.
- Furber, H., John Company at Work, Cambridge (Mass), London, 1948.
- Gopal, S., Crafts and Commerce in Gujarat, 16-17th century, Delhi, 1975.
- Habib, Irfan, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, Bombay, 1962.
- Haque, M.A., Muslim Administration in Orissa, Calcutta, 1980.
- Hunter, W.W., Orissa, 2 Vols., London, 1872.
- _____, Statistical Account of Bengal, Cuttack and Balasore District, London, 1877.
- Irvine, W., Later Mughals, Vol. I, OBC, 1971.

- Karim, Abdul, Murshid Quli Khan and his Times, Dacca, 1963.
- Khan, S.A. East India Company Trade in the 17th century, London, 1923.
- Marshall, P.J., East India Fortunes, The British in Bengal in the 18th century, Oxford, 1976.
- Mittal, A.C., An Early History of Orissa, BHU, 1962.
- Mohapatra, P.R., "Position of the Local Merchants of Orissa, 1550-1757", IHC, 1967.
- _____, Some Aspects of the Economic Life of Orissa, 1550-1751, Bhubaneswar, 1984.
- Moreland, W.H. From Akbar to Aurangzeb, London, 1923.
- Mathew, K.S., Portuguese Trade with India in the 16th century, New Delhi, 1923.
- Nair, P.T., British beginnings in Bengal, 1600-1660, Calcutta, 1991.
- Naqvi, N.K., Urban Centres and Industries in Upper-India, 1556-1803, Bombay, 1968.
- O'Malley, L.S.S., Bengal District Gazetteers, Balasore, Calcutta, 1908.
- Panigrahi, K.C., History of Orissa, Cuttack, 1981.
- Pattanaik, J.N., Feudatory states of Orissa, Vol. I, Allahabad, 1988.
- Prakash, Om., Dutch East India Company and the Economy of Bengal, 1630-1720, Princeton, 1985.
- _____, "The Dutch East india Company in Bengal; Trade Privileges and Problems", 1633-1712, IESHR, 9(3), 1972.

- _____, "The European Trading Companies and the Merchants of Bengal", 1650-1725, IESHR, 1 (3), 1964.
- Qaiser, A.J., "The Role of Brokers in Medieval India", IHR, 1(3), 1974.
- Ray, B.C., "Shipping and Maritime Activities of Orissa during the Muslim Rule", IHC, 1951.
- Ray, Indrani, "The French Company and the Merchants of Bengal", 1680-1730, IESHR, 8(2), 1971.
- RayChaudhuri, Tapan, Jan Company in Coromandel, 1605-1690, The Hague, 1962.
- RayChaudhuri, T. & Irfan Habib, (ed.) Cambridge Economic History of India, Vol. 1, Orient Longman, 1984.
- Richard, D.S., (ed.) Islam and the Trade of Asia, Oxford, 1970.
- Sahu, N.K., The History of Orissa under the Muhammedan, Maratha and the English Rule, Calcutta, 1956.
- Sarkar, J., History of Bengal, Vol. 2, Dacca, 1948.
- _____, Studies in Mughal India, Calcutta, 1919.
- Sen, Anjali, "Murshid Quli Khan's Relation with the European Merchants", IHQ, Vol.95, March 1959.
- Senapati, F.M., Fakir Mohan Granthabali (in Oriya), Vol. 2, Cuttack, 1963.
- Subramanyam, S., "Notes on the sixteenth century Bengal Trade", IESHR, 24(3), 1987.
- _____, "Staying on the Portuguese on the Southern Coromandel in the late seventeenth century", IESHR, 22(4), 1985.

Sutherland, L.S., The East India Company in 18th Century Politics, Oxford, 1952.

Watson, I.B., Foundation for Empire; English Trade in India, 1659-1760, Vikas Publish House Pvt. Ltd., 1980.

LIST OF JOURNALS CONSULTED:

Bengal Past and Present

Indian Economic and Social History Review

Indian History Congress

Indian History Quarterly

Indian History Review

Journal of Bengal Royal Society

Orissa Historical Research Journal