BRITISH BEGINNINGS IN BENGAL

(1600-1660)

P. THANKAPPAN NAIR

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P. THANKAPPAN NAIR

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محمد صابر مجددی
ذخیرہ لاہور

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PREFACE

The absence of an authentic account of British beginnings in Bengal is felt by every student of history. A number of scholarly books on the East India Company and its trading operations in India and elsewhere have appeared on the stalls during the last two decades on account of the renewed interest in the Raj, but the authors have totally overlooked the fact that thefoundations of the British Empire in India were laid in Bengal. The foundation of Calcutta is the first milestone inthe British ascendancy over India. We have traced the advent of the English in Orissa in our B*ruton's Visit to Lord Jagannath* (in which his "News from the East Indies : or a Voyage to Bengalla—",1638, is reprinted). The British advance to Bengal is the theme of this book. The story of the Company's Hooghly factory as well as the circumstances leading to the foundation of Calcutta are yet to be narrated. "The British Beginnings in Bengal" (1600-1660) traces the advent of the East India Company on the horizon of Bengal.

The study is based on primary source materials with emphasis on political and commercial developments in Bengal. Most of the original documents have been reproduced in the text after modernising their orthography and punctuation, without sacrificing the idioms of the writers. The Company's trade licences and other such documents are, however, reproduced verbatim in the Appendix.

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ABBREVIATIONS

CM = Court Minutes—*A Calendar of Court Minutes etc. of the East India Ccmpany*, Oxford, 11 volumes, 1907-1938, by Ethel Bruce Sainsbury. (The volumes are for the years 1635-39, 1640-43, 1644 49, 1650-54, 1655-58, 1660-63, 1664-67, 1668-70, 1671-73, 1674-76, & 1677-79).

EF = *English Factories in India* by William Foster, Oxford, 13 volumes from 1618 to 1669 and 4 volumes in the New Series by Charles Fawcett for 1670-1684. The volumes are for the years 1619-21, 1622-23, 1624-29, 1630-33, 1634-36, 1637-41, 1642-45, 1646-50, 1651-54, 1655-60, 1661-64, 1665-67, 1668-69).

Hedges' Diary = *The Diary of William Hedges*, edited by H. Yule for Hakluyt Society in three volumes.

O. C. = Original Correspondence—The Series of India Office Records known as the O. C. Colletion which comprises "Original Correspondence from India with collateral documents, originating at any place between England Japan." The records pertaining to the years 1602-1617 have been published in 5 volumes from 1896 to 1901 under the editorship of F. C. Danvers and William Foster in *Letters Received from East India Company's Servants in the East*. Extracts, and in some cases full texts of letters, documents etc. of years subsequent to 1617 till 1684 are printed in the *English Fqctories in India* and the *Hedges' Diary* by Foster, Fawcett and Yule respectively.

O. S. = Old Style—Dates occurring in the letters and other documents are reckoned in the Old Style under which the year commenced on March 25. N. S. = New Style.

To

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INTRODUCTION

"The Governor and Company of Merchants of London Tradding into the East Indies"(= East India Company) got a Charter on December 31, 1600 from Queen Elizabeth. The immediate task of the Company was procurement of pepper and spices from Java, Sumatra, Moluccas and other Far Eastern Islands. The Company's merchants reached Surat in 1608 and established a permanent trading lodge or factory there in 1613 after obtaining permission from Emperor Jahangir. Another factory was settled at Masulipatam, the chief port of the Kingdom of Golconda, on the Coromandel Coast, to serve as a base for the Company's Far Eastern trade with its headquarters at Bantam. Masulipatam was superseded in 1640 when Fort St. George, Madras, was established. The Company's ultimate destination was Bengal which then consisted of the present States of Orissa, West Bengal, Bihar, and Assam, besides Bangladesh. Though there was a Viceroy for the Province, separate governors ruled over Orissa Bihar.

The fall of Hooghly, which was the citadel of the Portuguese power in Bengal, famine (1630-33) in some parts of Northern India and Golconda, and the opportunity for private trade in the rich province of Bengal, were the three immediate causes that prompted the Company's servants to adopt a forward policy. Ralph Cartwright and his colleagues were sent from Masulipatam on April 6, 1633 and they reached "Harssapoore" on April 27. 1633. Cartwright had an interview with the provincial governor Agha Muhammad Zaman Teherani. The Nawab granted trading privileges to the English Company custom free in his part of the province on May 5, 1633. Cartwright and two others proceeded to Balasore on June 15, 1633. Trading outposts or factories were established at Hariharpur and Balasore in 1633. Want of a licence to trade

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in the whole of Bengal from Sultan Shah Shuja, second son of Emperor Shah Jehan, who was the viceroy of the Province from 1639 to 1658, alarming mortality of Englishmen in the humid climate of coastal Orissa, oppositition of the Portuguese who were entrenched at Pipli and absence of small vessels for coastal traffic checked the further advance of English merchants to Bengal.

Gabriel Boughton, a surgeon in the service of the Company, was one of the foreigners who treated Princess Jahanara, Emperor Shah Jehan's favourite daughter, from the effects of a fatal burn injury in 1644. Boughton subsequently served Sultan Shuja at his court which was then held at Rajmahal. Shah Shuja granted a licence to Boughton to trade free of customs in the Mogul Empire in 1649.

The famine in India (1630-33) had its adverse effects on the Company's trade. Before the trade picked up, another famine severely ravaged Gujarat, Rajaputana and the Coromandel Coast in 1646 50 and this hastened the English advance to Hooghly in the heart of Bengal. The authorities at home sent James Bridgeman in the *Lioness* in 1650 with the specific instruction of establishing factory. The *Lioness* reached Balasore sometime in September. Bridgeman and his assistants (Edward Stephens, William Blake and Francis Taylor) left Balasore in the third week of December 1650 and proceeded to Hooghly in a hire vessel and reached their destination in January. Bridgeman proceeded to Rajmahal, and with the help of surgeon Boughton got, on August 13, 1651, a confirmation of Shah Jehan's grant of 1637 exempting payment of customs at Balasore and other ports of Orissa. It is not clear whether Bridgeman ever procured a fresh grant from the viceroy.

The Company received a setback at home on account of political changes from 1650 to 1660. The Civil War in India

following the severe illness of Emperor Shah Jehan in 1657 dealt another blow to the Company's trade. Since Shah Shuja had staked his claim to the imperial throne and proceeded to occupy it in 1658, Bengal was the theatre of Civil War. Mir Jumla Aurangzeb's General Bengal, drove Shuja to Arracan, where he was killed on February 7, 1661. The Company's servants at Balasore and Hooghly wear probably engaged in trading on their own account from 1655 to 1656 as the United Stock had broken up. MauriceThomson and hisassociates, who were at first independent of the East India Company, sent out a batch of traders toBengal. George Gawton. Thomas Billidge. Thomas Hopkins, Ion Ken, Richard Chamberlain, Edmond Bugden and possibly Job Charnock were included in this batch. They were joined by William Blake who had deserted the Old Company. Thomas Billidge, with the assistance of Jumes Price, servant of the late Dr. Gabriel Boughton, procured a new licence on August 6, 1656 for free trade in Bengal and Orissa form Shah Shuja. The grant of a new charter to the Company on October 19, 1657 by the Protector with a permanent joint stock, restored the Company to its former glory. King Charles II bestowed on the Company a fresh charter on April 3, 1661. These steps made the Company's position secure at home. The Company ordered establishment of factories at Patna and Kasimbazar on February 27, 1658 and made Balasore subordi-nate to Hooghly. The factories in Bengal were constituted into an Agency in the middle of February 1658, answerable to the presidency at Surat. They were restored to Fort St. George in 1661.

The end of Civil War, long rule of Aurangzeb (1658-1707) and his efficient administration, ushered the Company into a new era of prosperity in India. The Company was content with trade in India from 1633 to 1660.

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Chapter

1

BRITISH BEGINNINGS IN BENGAL

Bengal[1] was considered to be a land of immense riches by all European nations who started trading operations with India in the 16th and 17th centuries. The first Englishman to pay a visit to Bengal and explore the possibilities of trade of the fabled land was Ralph Fitch.[2] He visited Patna and other places before proceeding to Couche (Cooch Behar). On his way to Golconda he halted at Hooghly, Hijili and other places sometime in 1585 A. D. More than inviting the attention of his countrymen to Bengal, he did not advocate establishment of a commercial relationship with any of the countries in India.

Englishmen balked under the prosperity of Portugal. With the dawn of the 17th century, the English merchants could no longer remain silent spectators of the lucrative trade of the Orient which the Portuguese had monopolised by that time. More adventurous among the English merchants formed themselves into a body corporate which came to be known as the East India Company in course of time.

"The Governor and Company of Merchants of London Trading into the East Indies" (East India Company), who were granted monopoly of English commerce in the Indian Ocean (from the Cape of Good Hope to the Straits of Magellan) by Queen Elizabeth I by her Royal Charter dated 31st December, 1600, had established themselves at Masulipatam in September 1611. The English factory or trading lodge at Masulipatam was

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established by Captain Hippon, who commanded the *Globe* in the East India Company's seventh voyage, as a half-way house between Coromandel Coast and Bantam, where the Company had gained a firm foothold before 1603.

Masulipatam, on the Coromandel Coast, was the chief port or the gateway to the prosperous kingdom of Golconda. Ralph Fitch told his countrymen : "In these parts (Golconda) is a Port or haven called Masulipatam, which stands eight days' journey from hence towards the Gulf of Bengal, whither come many ships out of India, Pegu, and Sumatra, very richly laden with pepper, spices, and other commodities. The country is very good and fruitful."[3]

A subsidiary settlement[4] at Armagon was added to Masulipatam in 1626. Factories have been already set up on the west coast at Surat, Agra, Ahmedabad, and Broach within, or simultaneously, six years of the establishment of the one at Masulipatam. The factories on the west coast and the Persian Gulf were administered from Surat and those on the Coromandel Coast were under the superintendence of the President at Bantam during this period.

The wealth and splendour of Bengal had attracted the attention of the East India Company. Bengal is a "Kingdom of most singular fertility within the compass of his (Mogul's) dominion", wrote Thomas Coryat,[5] who was in India in 1612-17. Edward Terry,[6] who visited India in 1616-19, had confirmed : "Bengal : a most spacious and fruitful knigdom, limited by the gulf of the same name."

EMBASSY OF SIR THOMAS ROE

The embassy of Sir Thomas Roe, the ambassador of King James I to Jahangir, was the most memorable attempt made by England in establishing diplomatic and commercial relations with

India on a permanent footing. The conclusion of a commercial treaty with India was aimed at to put the trade on a regular footing and refuting the allegations of the Portuguese that the English traded without the authorisation of their sovereign. Sir Thomas reached the Mogul court, then at Agra, in December, 1615, and, for nearly three years, followed the emperor, striving diligently to carry out the purpose of his mission. Commercial treaties were foreign to the Moguls and Roe could not make much headway in this regard. However, the embassy of Sir Thomas raised the prestige of the East India Company in the eyes of the people of India.

Sir Thomas was "requested to procure a *firman* or command for Bengal, it being supposed that some shipping would be this year directed thither," but that, finding *firmans* of little use, he waited for the conclusion of the proposed treaty, of which a copy was to be forwarded in due course to Masulipatam, ready for any English ship that was to be sent out to Bengal.[7]

The English diplomat had a clear conception of the province of Bengal. In his geographical account of the Mogul's territories, he noted : "26. Bengal : a mighty kingdom enclosing the western side of the Bay on the north and winds southerly. It borders on the Coromandel. The chief cities are Rajmal[8] and Dacca.[9] There are many havens as Porto Grande[10] and Porto Piqueno,[11] traded by the Portuguese, Piplipatam,[12] and Satgaon.[13] It contains divers provinces, as that of Purb[14] and Patan[15] (Patna)."

Sir Thomas had suggested to the factors at Surat that an attempt should be made overland to open up trade with Bengal, "So desired by the Company and impressed upon me by Captain Keeling", and also with Lahore and Sind ; but Thomas Kerridge President at Surat and his companions, doubted the feasibility of sale of cloth at Lahore, and pointed out the risk in Sind from the Portuguese settled at Lahribandar. "Bengal generally", they

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wrote, "is a hot country, the most of the inhabitants very poor Gentiles, and upon the sea coast, where there is any hope of benefit, the Dutch and Portuguese have trade, whereby we conceive that the transportation by land thither will be more hazardous and chargable than the benefit by the sale of a small quantity can answer."

To this the ambassador retorted : "That Bengal should be poor I see no reason : it feeds this country with wheat and rice : it sends sugar to all India ; it has the finest cloth and pintadoes, musk, civet and amber, (besides), almost all rarities from thence by trade from Pegu...If we keep Jasques in our hopes, we must plant at Sind and unite our forces ; they will be else too far distant to assist one another ; and it is the fittest place of all these dominions, considered in itself, for our residence. The number of Portuguese residing is a good argument for us to seek it; it is a sign there is good doeing. An abbey was ever a token of a rich soil, and store of crows of plenty of carrion...It is to be understood we must fire them out and maintain our trade at the pike's end."

The factors replied that they were still unconvinced, but would agree to venture if Sir Thomas would take the responsibility. Upon this the ambassador ceased to press on the proposal ; and so the matter rested for a time. In writing to the Company on November 2, 1616, the factors merely said that the proposed voyage to Porto Piqueno[16] could not be made for want of small ships suited to that purpose.[17]

Roe wrote to the Company from Ajmer on November 24, 1616 : "Porto Piqueno in Bengal you are misinformed in. There is no mart nor resort of merchants. It is traded by the Portuguese from Pegu with rubies, topazes and saphires ; and returns cloth, which is fine, but you may be furnished nearer hand. But if your factors require it I will send a *firman*. I would long since have done it, but was discouraged by the Consultation at

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Surat."[18] "The port (Porto Piqueno) you named at Bengal, this Nowroze I spoke with the Shahbander, and with an old man that had been Governor. They protest it to be an ill-harbour, subject to the Portuguese for that Chittagong, where they are planted 1500, is but another outlet of the same river. It is in the protection of a Rajah scarcely in good obedience. Finally, they will be glad of our coming so we can beat the Portuguese quite out; otherwise, they say, whereas now they have quiet their seas and traffic will be interrupted. They gave no hope of sale, except of spices ; nor can warrant the transport up of them by river to Agra. Yet upon your next, if you resolve I shall set it afoot. I will ; though I am resolved of a repulse before-hand ; all the great men are against," Roe had written to the factors at Surat on April 7, 1617.[19]

Not only did the Surat factors dissuade Sir Thomas from procuring a *firman*, but he was also not encouraged by the factors at Masulipatam. Sir Thomas, in his letter dated Ajmer, the 23rd of July, 1616, to his loving friend Mr. Lucas Andrinus[20] or to the Principal of the English merchants resident at Masulipatam for the East India Company wrote :

"I daily expect a concession of new articles and privileges, propounded in the name of my master to the Mogul, whereof I have newly obtained grant, wherein I have provided for all inconveniences, so far, as the faith of this King can secure us : I was requested to procure a *firman* or command for Bengal : it being supposed that some shipping would be this year diverted thither, but finding them by experience, to be ordinary warrants, and lightly regarded, I have resolved as a firmer course, to send a copy of the articles under the seal of the King, (which are more effectual, and contain in them larger privileges and stricter commands than any *firman*) unto your factory : that they may lie ready to be delivered to any English commander, that shall go for Bengal, supposing that he will first visit your residence, being

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on his way, which he may take along with him and make use of in all parts, and when he has resolved to settle a factory in any certain place, if I may receive advice, I will accordingly procure any further command to the particular Governor, that shall be requisite, and so soon as I have received and counter-sealed them, I will despatch them unto you, desiring such use may be made thereof, as the Company's business shall require."[21]

What was the reply of Lucas Andrinus to the above letter of Sir Thomas was not clear, but he wrote "To the Honourable Sir Thomas Roe, Knight Lord Ambassador for the King's Majesty of England in the Court of the Great Mogul in Ajmer" from Masulipatam on 21st March, 1616 : "Whereas your honour makes mention, to provide for the coast of Bengal the same privileges procured here, or according to the nature and custom of such places where for a proof we might leave some one. It were good for all occasions to send the same thither with the first, although it were but a Coule[22] to a further foundation. Until by experience and more ample information therein, order might be taken as shall be needful, for the establishing and settling of factories if they shall be found profitable, and then with larger letters of more force than Coules to confirm the same."[23]

Andrinus did not encourage Roe in prosecuting his designs since the ambassador wrote to Surat on June, 10, 1617 thus[24] : "Concerning Bengal I moved the fitness of a residence to Lucas Andrinus at Masulipatam, who yet gives no encouragement upon any certainty of the place, but only wishes that, if such a *firman* be procured, it may be sent overland to him, from whence best we may be made of it, if any be required. So that my purpose is to adventure for a general grant of trade upon all the coast of Bengal, which though I know it will be denied for the trouble like(ly) to ensue by our dissension with the Portuguese in those seas, yet it will occasion me to fall lower to some fit port which the King may assign, if he will grant any ; but I am daily

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answered, for the commodity we bring we have too many already."

Roe considered that the Company's existing factories were sufficient to sell the goods brought from England and collect the commodities that found a ready market at home. The rarities and goods provided by, or manufactured, in Bengal, were available in Agra, Masulipatam, Surat and other places and there was no justification for new factories at that time. Finance, in the opinion of the ambassador, was what stood in the way of expansion of the Company's trade in India. He wrote to "my honoured friends, the Governor and Committees for the East India Company," dated, at the end, "December 1, 1616[25] : "Whereas you write for new factories, except the silks of Bengal require it (which yet in my opinion is had cheaper at Agra, than you will find it there, to maintain a factory for it, being these people travel, and live hardlier than yours can, I am of opinion your residences are sufficient, and best chosen, as they are, and the disposal of them I have mentioned in my last to the consultation at Surat, but what credit it will carry I know not. But I will lay this as a rule, you will sooner want stock to employ in these places, than new residences to buy in...Agra alone sends 20 or 30 thousand Chourles[26] yearly to Persia and Turkey ; many have three or four years indigo on their hands : the Semianoes[26-a] are in abundance and cheap ; the silk of Bengal plenty at reasonable rates ; musk, civet, and many sorts of pretty stuffs you never saw, made in Bengal and other parts, which in my opinion would make good profit..."

Sir Thomas Roe urged the factors at Surat to buy all they could in Western India, not at distant places like Agra, except silk and "small goods"—not indigo, even if they gave a higher price there. He asked them to send their purchases from Agra by carts, and not by camels. He added (in the same letter) : "It is in vain for me to talk to your factors of these matters, they

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either love not that I should understand it, or else cross it, because I do. But I would save you so much yearly, by dispersal of your business, if you dare credit me, as would buy you 500 Chourles of indigo : when I come home I will discuss it largely, in the mean time I pray only compare the charge of way of this caravan of 170 camels, with others far less, and you shall find it is in the husbandry of your servants to ease many expenses. My freedom in your business I desire you to take in good part, and for your privileges, I will so watch, you shall sustain no wrong in silence, nor I hope without redress. The past year is a good example, and what I write, when you have considered it, make it not public. So in haste on the way I commit you to God."

Roe's verdict was : "Bengal has no ports but such as the Portuguese possess, for small shipping, it will vent nothing of yours : the people are unwilling in respect of the war, as they suppose like(ly) to ensue in their seas ; and the Prince hath crossed it, thinking we desire to remove thither wholly ; and that, if we stay in India, he takes to be an affront. But now I may obtain one ship to come and go, upon hope of rubies, from Arracan, and Pegu, but I know not what profit you can make by any residence there, I speak upon searching the bottom of all the secrets of India. If you will have patience to try one year you shall see one thing effectually done is worth 20 by fragments, you will find it is not many factories here that get you a penny ; I will forecast your case, and by God's grace settle not only your privileges, but your profit. These two years the Prince has been my enemy, and if I had yielded, I must have been his slave ; this last year I have stood out to the last and adventured the fierceness of his wrath, it has succeeded better than I expected, we are so reconciled, that he is now my effectual mediator, and will procure me content ; indeed he only can give it, his father grows dull, and suffers him to write all commands and to govern all his kingdoms[27]

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(Roe's letter from Ahmedabad to the Company dated February 14, 1617/18). A marginal note by Sir Thomas on the above extract is interesting : "When I wrote this I had words enough. But such delays in effect that I am weary of flatteries as of ill-usage."

The plenipotentiary tried very hard all along his residence at the Mogul court to get a *firman* for English trade in Bengal. He sought concessions for trade in Bengal and Sind, which Jahangir's advisers opposed on the ground that the struggle between the two European nations (Portuguese and English) would extend to other parts of India ; while most of the remaining demands were looked upon as matters coming under the jurisdiction of the emperor's favourite son, Prince Khurram (Shah Jehan), who was then viceroy of Gujarat and was not disposed to brook any interference in his administration of that province. Shah Jehan was rather afraid that the English would forsake Surat and once they were given trading privileges in Bengal, they would dislodge the Portuguese who were entrenched themselves in Hooghly.

The ambassador got all the favours (except trading privileges for Bengal) he desired from Jahangir, with the help of Asaf Khan,[28] who exercised considerable influence on the emperor as well as the prince (Khurram). The following extracts from Sir Thomas's journal and correspondence summarise the progress of his attempt to get a *firman* for Bengal :

July 23 (1616). "I wrote to Mahobeth Khan compliments and thanks and sent away letters to Masulipatam concerning a factory at Bengal. At night I solicited Asaf Khan for my articles. His answer was short : tarry a while : which I understand not."[29]

August, 30 (1617) (Roe to Surat factors). "Bengal depends on the same thread. Every time I mention it Asaf Khan persuades me to go to the Prince and deal with him first, for that nothing will be granted without him to the

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prejudice of his port ; so that I shall be tossed in and out to no end. When he comes, I will demand a *firman* before him, that so I may answer to any objection."[30]

October, 21 (1617) (Roe from Mandvi to the Council at Surat). "Asaf Khan's denials are all turned into solicitations in my behalf : so that I hope to effect that of Bengal as in my last.[31-32]

December 6, 1617 (Roe to Thomas Kerridge and Council at Surat, from the woods, 30 coss short of Ahmedabad). "Asaf Khan then promises to procure the *firman* for Bengal (for he suspects not us to seek it to betray Surat, but to increase our trade) and all other my just demands, and vows he will make Englishmen content and happy"[33] ..."A *firman* for Bengal cannot be had while the Prince has Surat unless we should quit it, and rely on the other only, he pretends that all our fine goods shall come thither and his port bear the burden of trash and hinder others, but of this and new charges at court at the end of my letter..."[34]

February 14, 1617/18 (Roe from Ahmedabad to the Company). "He (the King) has granted me a few privileges, and reconfirmed our trade and liberties at Surat, but will hear of no more ports."[35]

Sir Thomas pleaded with Prince Khurram for grant of trading privileges in Bengal. He had an audience with the prince : "Asaf Khan carried me to the Prince into his private room...Upon this occasion I moved for a *firman* for Bengal which he promised, and would never hearken to...", wrote Roe in his Diary on October 12, 1617.[36] But the promise remained a promise : nothing concrete was done for Bengal.

Sir Thomas Roe's correspondence with the East India Company's directors at home and the factors at Surat and Masulipatam[37] bore ample testimony to the fact that he did not

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consider the time was opportune to extend the English trade from Agra, Surat, Ahmedabad, Broach and Masulipatam to any part of Bengal. He did not advise the Company to settle factories in that province on account of Shah Jehan's apprehension of the Company's diversion of trade from Surat to Bengal and the ill-consequences that would follow by disturbing the Portuguese at Hooghly.

FIRST GRANT OF TRADING PRIVILEGES

Prince Khurram, the third son of Emperor Jahangir (Khusru was the eldest, and Parwiz, the second, was a drunkard, and Shahriyar was the youngest) was considered the heir-apparent to the Mogul throne by all, since he enjoyed the support of Nur Jahan, the emperor's favourite wife and his own aunt by marriage. The Prince received almost royal honours at the close of the Deccan War in 1617: the title of Shah Jehan was conferred on him. Gujarat, the then richest province of the empire, was added to his government. In 1820, when Khurram was ordered to undertake a fresh campaign against the Deccan kings, the prince refused to march unless Khusru was made over to him for safe custody. Nur Jahan now fixed her favours on Shahriyar and it was feared that he would succeed Jahangir. The death (or murder) of Khusru in 1622 under the custody of Khurram brought about a war between Jahangir and Shah Jehan.

During this rebellion of Prince Khurram, the Surat factors got an opportunity to avenge themselves of the wrongs done by the Mogul officials in Gujarat. Captain John Hall, who was despatched (in April 1823) to Mocha with a squadron (*Reformation*, *Dolphin*, and *Blessing*), captured all the Indian vessels he met on his way back to Surat. Hall anchored at Swally with eight vessels under his guns on October 23, 1623. The Mogul emperor got intelligence of the seizure of all home-coming vessels

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in early October, besides the news of embarkation of President Rastell and his Council on the *William* with theavowed intention of not returning to their headquarters except upon grant of terms of their liking. Rastell and his Council, on October 18, formulated demands amounting to over two millions of mahmudis (about £ 100,000) and threatened confiscation of the vessels and their contents, besides closure of English factories on the West Coast and elsewhere, unless satisfaction were quickly given and an agreement made for future regulation of trade. Rastell's claim for compensation was made up of a number of items such as: (1) 200,000 mahmudis for oppressions suffered at the hands of the late Governor Ishaq Beg ; (2) wrongs done to the factors at Agra, Ahmedabad, Olpad, etc. ; (3) reimbursement of bribes given to Mogul officials at various times ; (4) 936,069 mahmudis on account of the caravan plundered by Malik Ambar's soldiers in 1621 etc. The vessels were held hostages till compensation was received. Saif Khan, the Governor of Surat, had in the meanwhile, seized 27 English sailors at Swally and issued orders to guard the Company's factory at Surat closely. However, Saif Khan, under the orders of Khan-i-Azam, Nawab of Gujarat, sued for peace and the factors came to terms on November 10. The Nawab and other chiefs duly signed the agreement (apparently on November 13), and further (on Hopkinson's demand) took an oath on the Quran to observe it, while the English were likewise sworn on the Bible. A copy was then sent to Khan-i-Azam, and on November 15, a *firmān* from Prince Dewar Bakhsh ratified and confirmed the agreement. By this the English were granted free trade throughout the Mogul's dominions, including Bengal ; they were allowed to rent the house and ground of Khwaja Hasan Ali for their Surat factory. The owner of the house was forced to accept the English as tenants at an unexpectedly low rent (1400 mahmuds) and Rastell and his colleagues were duly installed.

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The English were thus allowed trading privileges in Bengal in 1624 under the agreement entered into between President Rastell and Saif Khan, Governor of Gujarat. Colonel Henry Yule[38] has quoted extracts from "A copy of the Articles of Agreement betwixt the English and the Gujarat" (Governor) :

"For the better conservation of amity, peace and free commerce of trade with the English who have justly complained of sundry abuses and hindrances thereunto in the past, it is agreed and granted unto Thomas Rastell, President and Council, for and in the behalf of that nation, that they shall freely for ever hereafter enjoy the benefit of these grants and privileges hereunder written.

"They shall be permitted free trade as well in the ports of Surat, Cambay, Goga, Sind and Bengal, as in all other cities and places within the dominions of Jahangir Padshah, without prohibition of any commodity to be brought in or exported out of the kingdom, neither limitation confining them unto places, times, or quantities, where when or how much of any merchandise gold or Rialls they shall so bring in or carry away or transport from places within or without the aforesaid dominions."

The second version of this agreement has been given by Yule to a larger extent. The two version agree in substance, but not with precision, looking like two different translations, one or both loose, of the same Persian document, loosely read.

"A Contract of Peace made with Mr. Rastell, Captain of the English Nation, which we for the future do oblige ourselves exactly to observe.[39]

"1. It is agreed that the English shall freely trade at their pleasure in the ports of Surat, Cambay, Broach, Goga, Bengal, Sind, and in other cities of the Kings dominions and that they shall have liberty to import and export all sorts of goods except Currall[40] for one year, promising not to question them either touching the quantity or

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time, be it silver or gold or any other goods whatsoever they shall export from Hindustan for their own country, excepting as to the said Currall for one year, which being expired the import of that also shall not be prohibited.

"2. That it shall not be lawful for either the Governor, the officers or Daroga of the Customs-house, upon the pretence of the King or Princes' occasion to require the same or any goods unto them intended for their own profit, only what shall be indeed necessary for the King's use may be taken.

"3. That the house belonging to Khwaja Hasan Ali wherein they formerly lived paying rent shall be continued unto them.

"4. That whatever carts shall be needful to the English for bringing of their goods from the marine of the town Swally and for transport of goods from the river Tapti and other places, as also water and provisions for their ships expenses they shall be furnished of them without molestation or prohibition by the Governors of woorpar either present or to come.[41]

"5. That if any other Christian shall offend any man belonging to the King's port the English are not to be questioned for it, but any English man does commit any offence they are answerable for it.

"6. That no land customs at Broach, Baroda, Ankleswar, Kurkeh, Berchaw[42] places belonging to this King, shall be demanded of them, nor any molestation for matter of Jaggat[43] offered ; but Broach being a port town, though they ship not their goods but bring them thence by land the customs of that are payable, and order to

be given that the English receive no trouble in that particular.

* * *

"8. That their *Coffelas* shall pass freely through the country without molestation", etc.

* * *

"10. That the English shall have the free exercise of their own religion. (In case of quarrels between Englishmen the English Captain to decide ; if between Englishmen and Mussulmans the Captain and Governor together shall decide. etc.)

"11. (In case of an Englishman's death his goods shall be taken in charge by English people ; if there is no Englishman to take charge, the Governor and Cazee shall take an exact account, etc.)

"12. (The English ships to administer aid to the King's ships, and never to pretend to any right or claim to any ships pertaining to the King, etc.)

"13. (When the captain or other Englishman desires to go on board their ships, as an acknowledgment to the Governor they shall ask his licence, etc.)

"14. (About satisfaction to be done to the English on their just demands, etc.)

"Given the 25th Day of the Moon Sahur Noor Allee in the 25 year of the Reign of Shah Jahangir.—Saif Khan, Governor ; Cazee Mahomed Hasan," and about 18 others.

Yule came across a note in the old India House Index of these Original Correspondence papers : "The month intended appears to be the sixth of the ancient Persian Calender : but the year must be an error, as Jahangir reigned only 22 years 2 months and 10 days. In No. 1180 above, the date is stated to

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be 1624, Sept. 7, which would fall in the 20th year of Jahangir's reign, and 5 months before President Rastell sailed for England."[44]

The actual date of the document was 7th September 1624 as evidenced from an extract of a letter written by President Rastell and others from "Swally Roads, aboard the *William*. 14th February 1624" (i. e., 1625) to the Company[45] :

"After 7 months wretched imprisonment we, the 7th September last, came to a small period and agreement, wherein for matter of privileges (whereunto Saif Khan himself with some 20 or 30 of the principal merchants etc., of this place have both signed and subscribed the copies of our articles herewith translated, will shew them most reasonable favourable, and not much differing in effect from our formers (the renting of customs etc. excepted)."

Whatever might have been the merits of this agreement, it remained a dead letter, since the factors at Masulipatam were unwilling to make a determined bid to explore the possibilities of trade in Bengal. Another reason for not attempting to take a bid to Bengal was the return of President Rastell (who sailed for England on February 15, 1625). Rastell, once more returned to Surat on September 26, 1630, as President, and went on urging the factors at Masulipatam to prosecute the Company's design on Bengal. However, he could not see the extension of English trade to Bengal, for he died on November 7, 1631.

SHAH JEHAN'S FIRMAN

Before we describe the maiden journey of Cartwright to Balasore, and the concessions that he obtained from Agha Muhamad Zaman Tehrani, the Mogul Governor of Orissa in 1633, we should not overlook the attempts made by the Company's factors from Surat in obtaining trading privileges in Bengal direct from Mogul emperors. They received a *firman* from Shah

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Jehan in 1633 for free trade in Bengal, but it had restricted the Company's shipping to Pipli. Yule was aware of this *firman*, for he stated: "The initiation of the trade with Bengal is usually assigned to the circumstances related in a letter addressed by William Methwold and the Council at Surat to the Company, dated 21st February 1633/34.[46]"

> "The 2nd present we received from Agra the King's *firman* which gives liberty of trade unto us, in the whole country of Bengal, but restrains the shipping only unto the port of Pipli, the *firman* was sent unto us by a servant of our own which was dispeeded unto Agra with prohibition of the 21st November formerly mentioned, by which servant so returned we received no one English letter or syllable private or public, directly or indirectly concerning this or any other business, except that the English broker advised unto ours in this place, that Mr. Fremlin much against their advice had most improvidently bought 3000 maunds Echobares[47] of Bayana indigo at 64 rupees per maund."
>
> (This *firman* of Shah Jehan dated February 2, 1634 has not been traced).

It is evident from the above extract from President Methwold's letter that he did not give up the steps initiated by his predecessor, Thomas Rastell and had, some time in 1633, instructed his subordinates at Agra to procure from the Emperor a *firman* authorising the English to trade in the ports of Bengal. The desired grant was, accordingly procured on February 2, 1634. The *firman* was not worth producing in public, as it had restricted English shipping to Pipli. This in fact meant exclusion from the other flourishing ports of Bengal. No practical use, however, was made of this concession.[48]

The restriction to Pipli was enough for concealment of the document when the English established a factory at Balasore;

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while the small value to be placed upon a royal command of this nature was evident enough from the caustic remarks made by President Methwold and his Council (Messrs. Fremlin, Breton, Peirson and Bornford) in their letter from Surat dated April 28, 1636 to the Company.[49]

As regards the *firman* procured for Bengal, "the King's commands (for so much the word *firman* does imply) are as easily procured as other princes ; for, if there be no powerful opposer, they are almost as easily had as the charges are disbursed. And, when you have them, they are no more esteemed than things so easily purchased : whilst every man honours the King, but no man obeys him. And so it comes to pass that his *firman* does neither enforce us to Pipli nor yet exclude us Hariharpur, which latter place we do only frequent..."

THREE FUTILE ATTEMPTS

"On 14th August 1634 the Dutch ship *Utrecht*, arriving at Batavia, brought letters dated the 29th May N. S., i. e., the 19th May O.S. from Martin Isbrantsen at Masulipatam, in which, amongst other intelligence, it was stated that the English were occupied in establishing two factories in Bengal, one in Hariharpur and one in Balasore, from it appeared that they wished to go on with the trade although they had tried it in vain for about three years. (*Dagh-Register*, 1631-4, p. 366). This, from the Dutch point of view, is a correct account of the beginning of the English trade establishments in Bengal, and is borne out by our own records", says Dr. C. R. Wilson.[50]

Wilson added : "The first attempt was in 1631, when the *Hopewell*, with Thomas Robinson on her, was sent, on the 29th July, from Masulipatam to Bengal, but returned in October, having failed in her voyage owing to foul weather" (O. C. 1411 and 1421)".[51]

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The first attempt to explore the Bengal trade was, in fact, made in 1630 when the *Falcon*, during her stay in those parts (April-December) made a voyage to "Gingelly", by which was probably meant Visakhapatam.[52] Since no details about this voyage are available in records, this is generally overlooked. It is not clear whether the voyage was performed under instructions from Thomas Rastell, who had returned to Surat as President in that year.

President Rastell, who had initiated steps to get the *firman* for Bengal, had instructed the factors at Masulipatam to send the *Hopewell* to the Bay in 1631. This ship reached Armagon from England on June 24, 1631, and Masulipatam on July 8. A consultation was held on July 13 at which it was decided to send the vessel to the "Bay of Bengalla", and, accordingly she sailed, with Thomas Robinson on board, on July 29. Pipli,[53] near Balasore, was her ultimate destination, and on her way she paid a visit to Galapara (probably Gopalpur, a port difficult to identify) in order to wait upon Baqir Khan,[54] the Governor of Orissa, whose permission was necessary to trade in his province. The merchants were probably accorded a warm reception and trading privileges granted in his Suba. The ship proceeded to Manikapatam and returned to Masulipatam on October 11.[55]

Thomas Watts,[56] Master of the *Hopewell*, writing from Bantam to the Company on January 2 (29?) 1632 has left a record of this first conscientious attempt to open up the trade of Bengal. The vessel, as we have already seen, reached Armagon on June 25, 1631, and sailed on July 4 for Masulipatam, which was reached four days later. Some extracts from Watts's own narration[57] of his historic voyage are given below :

"In the time of our abode in this place (Masulipatam) it was agreed upon by the Agent and Council that we should proceed of a voyage unto the Bay of Bengal. All things being fully effected as conveniency required, the 29th of July we set sail on

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our pretended voyage, our first design being for Galapara,[58] in which place there lay in garrison a great Moor, whose name was Baqir Khan,[59] with a great army both of foot and horse, without whose leave we could not be suffered to trade in those parts. The 3rd of August we anchored in the road of Galapara,[60] being near about 100 leagues to the north of Masulipatani. The next day, all things being prepared, our merchants went ashore in our shallop, carrying along with them a great boat that we bought from Masulipatam. Coming to the river's mouth, we found an extraordinary bar to pass over there and very dangerous : yet, we, knowing that the hopes of our voyage should be frustrated without the performance of this our first intention, under the fear and service of God, ventured our boats through this most fearful and dangerous surf, having no other means to perform it ; and at that time (praise be to God) got safely into the river ; where our merchants and men found such entertainment by this great Moor as they could desire. Their business being accomplished, according to their demand, and means again (to get?) aboard : whereupon the shallop made means to get over this dangerous bar back again, the which seemed to human capacity a matter impossible, and was thrice sunk thereupon venturing over ; yet (praise be to God) saved both boat and men. The great boat in the same manner venturing was twice cast away and saved : the third time was split into pieces, the merchants all this time being an eye-witness to the disasters, and so having no possibility of getting aboard again in this place, determined to travel overland to another place, which by report was less dangerous in attempting this business aforesaid. At the very instance of their supposed departure, the shallop and her crew, one of my mates being in her, with the merchants condescending, concluded once again to make trial of this dangerous exploit, having then been ashore full 12 days, most of this time hourly waiting to slack to get aboard, and all this time our ship riding in a very bad road with

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much foul weather, and no possibility of sending any news concerning any business passed ashore. For which cause they...put this pretence in practice ; the which with much trouble it was the pleasure of God to send our shallop safe abroad, which certified us of our merchants' further intentions ; whereupon we presently weighed and set sail, being the 15th of August. The 18th ditto we anchored in the road of Mangapatan,[61] being near about 20 leagues to the eastward of Galapar and the place where we were consigned to buy our merchants that we left there behind us. Riding in this road was bad extreme bad weather and another very dangerous bar ; yet our merchants coming thither found such an opportunity as to send one of the country boats aboard, the which did certify that they had settled their resolution to perform their determined (business ?) in that place and to go no farther to leeward ; for we were ordered by the Agent and Council to go to Pipli[62] (being 60 leagues to leeward of this port), but now they, finding the troublesomeness of the time and danger of the passage, settled their determination in this manner as to fight themselves with such necessaries as might conveniently be had in that place without any further prejudice or danger, either to ship or men, being a very bad time of the year for the performance of such a voyage, and besides by spending of too much time be an occasion of the hindering of our general voyage. Here again upon the first opportunity we sent (our) shallop ashore, which once came well of again ; the second time (she) was cast away upon the bar and lost 4 men, but by (the help of the ?) blacks she was saved and brought ashore. Besides on (this bar ?) was lost and split to pieces 3 or 4 of the country boats about the same time, with some other disastrous accidents that happened unto us in this place, the which at this time is needless for me to trouble you withal ; but (praise be to God) no other damage than which I have briefly related unto you. This troublesome weather and dangerous bars is caused by the westerly

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monsoon but (as the country people report) in the easterly monsoon, there is very fair weather and smooth water, as we partly found by experience. All things being accomplished as time and place could permit, the merchants with the rest of our men and boat came safely aboard. The 6th of October we set sail, bound for Masulipatam, having then very fair weather and the east monsoon fully bent. The 11th ditto we anchored in Masulipatam Road."[63]

The ship sailed again on November 27 ; reached Armagon on December 9 ; quitted that road on the 26th, and arrived at Bantam on January 26. The *Hopewell* departed from Bantam on December 26, 1632 for home.

This enterprise, like the previous one of the *Falcon*, did not make much headway, but laid a good beginning to a future hopeful trade. John Norris, Ralph Cartwright, and Emmanuel Altham,[64] writing from Armagon to the Agent and Council at Bantam, on December 24, 1631, after complaining of the "miserable times, fully fraught with the calamity of war, pestilence, and famine" said[65] : "Her (*Hopewell's*) voyage to Bengal (by reason of foul weather not permitting to land her goods) failed of its expected success ; yet proved not altogether fruitless, having thereby laid a good beginning to a future hopeful trade, when we shall be thereto enabled."

When John Reeve,[66] merchant of the *Hopewell*, reached Armagon on June 25, 1631, he found John Norris established himself as Agent there by the President's commission together with Ralph Cartwright (second), Thomas Robinson, and Bix. He landed part of the *Hopewell's* goods on July 3, and sailed for Masulipatam, leaving Bix and Altham to manage the Company's affairs there. Writing to the Company from Bantam on January 31, 1632, about the *Hopewell's* voyage to Bengal he said ; "The 10th ditto we arrived in Masulipatam. We held a consultation for the disposing of our ship and cargo the 13th ditto, where we

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determined that the ship should depart for the Bay of Bengal being a voyage formerly determined by the President. The 29th ditto she departed from Masulipatam with seven hundred pounds cargo, Mr. Thomas Robinson merchant for that voyage, the relation whereof I refer unto a general letter sent unto the President. Mr. Norris, Agent, with Mr. Ralph Cartwright and Edward Prescot was to stay at Masuliptam; myself with Richard Hudson for Petapoli. The second (*sic*) of October the *Hopewell* returned from Bengal with the loss of ten men, three master's mates, the gunner and purser's mate, with five others. The 28th November our ship arrived at Petapoli with 71 bales Masulipatam goods..."

The second attempt was in 1632, when the *Pearl* with Thomas Woodson, was sent to Bengal. In November of that year the Dutch Governor of the Coromandel Coast, Arent Gardeinjs, informed the Batavia Government that the *Pearl* had left Masulipatam for Bengal on the 11th October N. S., i. e., 1st October O. S. (*Dagh-Register*, 1631-4, p. 120); and two months later this, David Pieterson, continuing the story, reported that the English had sent their ship, the *Pearl*, which had come straight from England to the Coromandel Coast, to Bengal with a cargo of lead, quicksilver, vermilion, cloth, &c., to exchange these commodities for rice, butter, and cloth, and to find out what business there was to do in trade there, (but) that, because of contrary winds, the said ship could not finish her voyage, and came back on the 3rd December last (i. e., 23rd November, O. S.) to Masulipatam. These statements are supported by O. C. 1459 and 1468.[67]

The *Pearl* (250 tons) was sent in October 1632 to the Bay to follow up the attempts made by the *Falcon* and *Hopewell* in the previous two years, but it was not possible to break any fresh ground than make some discoveries. Thomas Clark, writing from Masulipatam to Thomas Colley[68] at Petapoli[69] on October

18, 1632[70] stated that he could not write earlier, because "our friends being all gone to Bengal as you well know, and I here left having as much business to perform as well I am able." Since his friends were all gone to the Bay, he spent his spare hours with Fitch, the steward. He asked Colley to remind his service to Cartwright, though personally unknown. "We wish you sharers with us in our good drink, now going to a low ebb, not being above 12 pint bottles in a case, which the master bestowed on me before his departure." Clark would have supplied him with some, were it worthy of sending so far.

The Dutch records[71] in giving the details of the *Pearl's* voyage to Bengal have recorded that the ship left Armagon for Masulipatam on September 8/18 and started from the latter place for Bengal on October 1/11. The merchants on board the *Pearl* could not get to any port of Bengal. The Dutch sources have confirmed that the *Pearl*, though sailed from Masulipatam to Bengal to exchange her lead, quicksilver etc. for rice and piecegoods, could not proceed beyond Manikapatam on account of contrary winds.

Thomas Woodson, in his letter,[72] dated Masulipatam, November 24, 1632, to Thomas Colley at Petapoli, said : "Yesterday we arrived here in safety. The time did not afford our ship the getting to our port in Bengal ; and so, having spent this time not to much purpose, we are returned with the discovery only of some places and ports which may yield benefit to our (employers in future times ?). In this voyage we have buried Mr. Norris, the master's brother ; two men more were drowned going over the bar of Manikapatam". He asked Colley to pay his commendation to Cartwright and remind him of getting three quilts he had asked the latter to get for him. He regretted that Colley's vermilion and quicksilver could not be disposed of and desired his instructions for their sale. As reference is made by Woodson to fresh discoveries, it may be surmised that the *Pearl*

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got farther to the eastwards than her predecessor ; and it is possible that she actually reached Hariharpur, the port which was the objective of the well-known voyage of the following year.[73]

President Thomas Rastell was confident that the factors on the Coromandel Coast could procure sugar and other commodities from Bengal. He visualised bright prospects for trade in Bengal in his letter[74] dated May 13, 1631, to the Agent and factors in Persia. After asking for details of the fine goods of Golconda wanted by the factors in Persia he said : "They are commodities (it seems) very generally sought after, as well by Moors as Armenian merchants, and that for sums of great value ; which therefore would be nearly looked into, and such proper use made thereof to the Company's benefit as the happy conveniency of their trade and servants residence on the Coast of Coromandel near adjoining doth invite ; which together with many apt goods of Masulipatam (no less in request than the former), besides extraordinary cheap sugar and other provisions of Bengal very easily to be procured, would be a fair employment for one ship every year from thence ; thereby with the help of money aforesaid, to increase and support the constant mart for silk at Gombroon".

Joseph Hopkinson, who succeeded President Rastell, had also visualised a hopeful trade upon the Coast of Bengal and made some discourse on the same in his letter dated January 23, 1632 to the Company.[75]

THREE OPPORTUNITIES

Three opportunities dawned upon the factors on the Coromandel Coast which helped them to adopt a forward policy and pursue their advent in Bengal. The fall of Hooghly, famine in Golconda and private trade were not inopportune events to the

English. Though the prosperity of Bengal was well-known to the English merchants and they were eager to establish trade in Bengal commodities, they had to cross many a hurdle. The fall of Hooghly heralded English advent in Bengal.[76]

The Portuguese were wallowing in wealth and wantonness in their citadel at Hooghly. Prince Khurram, who ascended the throne as Emperor Shah Jehan, had nursed a grudge against these Firinghees. The Portuguese did not lend him any support during his viceroyalty when he rebelled against his father. "A certain Manuel Tavares [77] had promised to fight for him, but deserted the prince at the critical moment of the battle of Tohns, causing him a disastrous defeat. Tavares' treachery was further manifested when he, while withdrawing from the battle, attacked some richly laden vessels of the Prince and carried away a large amount of booty, precious goods, and even some women—an unpardonable outrage and these incidents deepened the emperor's hatred towards the Portuguese".

Again, when Shah Jehan was crowned Emperor, the Portuguese of Hooghly had neglected to convey their felicitations through an envoy. The Jesuit Fathers at Agra reminded them of this omission ; immediately they wrote a petition to the Emperor for permission to send their envoy which was readily granted. But, at the last moment, the careless Portuguese tried to avoid sending one, thus arousing the anger and suspicion of the Emperor. Further, the Portuguese, who were in league with the Mugs or Arakanese pirates, were inveterate slave-traders. They had even the audacity to seize two beloved female slaves of Princess Taj Mahal (Mumtaz Mahal), when Khurram was in Bengal. Shah Jehan was resolute in his determination to punish the Portuguese for their perfidy and ordered his governor in Bengal to march upon Hooghly and extirpate the Firinghees. The first Mogul attack on Hooghly was made

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in June 1632 and the Portuguese citadel fell by the end of September.

The fall of Hooghly dawned a favourable opportunity upon the English merchants at Masulipatam, which they were only too eager to seize. The news of the fall of Hooghly reached the *Pearl* when she was at Manikapatam (in September 1632). Thus the first major hurdle was crossed in 1632.

The factors stationed at Masulipatam were able hitherto to procure the goods the Company ordered for home and for the Gulf and Bantam trade from Golconda and their stations at Armagon, Petapoli, etc. The goods sought by the English merchants on the Coromandel Coast were chiefly the calicoes of Golconda and the petty kingdoms towards its south. The products from Bengal were readily available at Masulipatam, the chief port of the prosperous kingdom of Golconda, and there was no necessity to venture farther afield in their quest at the risk of being snapped up by the Portuguese war vessels. The Masulipatam factory was established, as we have already seen, in September 1611, but had to be withdrawn temporarily in 1628 in the face of mounting troubles. These circumstances were responsible for not pursuing a vigorous policy of trading into Bengal ; in fact they had effectually stopped for a time any schemes the Company's servants had entertained for enlargements of their commerce. The change of policy followed the return of English merchants to Masulipatam in 1630.[7 8]

The immediate cause that prompted the Masulipatam factors to push English trade into Bengal was the famine that ravaged the kingdom of Golconda. The famine had a telling effect on the availability of piece-goods for home. There are references to this natural calamity, one of the worst in the history of Golconda, in the English factory records. John Norris, Ralph Cartwright, and Emmanuel Altham writing from Armagon to the Agent and Council at Bantam on December 24, 1631 had complained of the

miserable times, fully fraught with the calamity of war, pestilence and famine.[79] John Reeve, merchant of the *Hopewell*, in his letter from Bantam to the Company dated January 31, 1632 explained the reason for his detention for two months on the Coast thus[80] : "The great mortality of poor people in Masulipatam and other towns adjacent, occasioned by the great dearth of rice and other grain, was the cause of our longer stay by 60 days upon the coast, for the major part of both weavers and washers are dead, the country being almost ruinated ; but great hopes of a plentiful harvest this year..."

The famine ravaged Golconda and the Coromandel Coast for three years and its effects were devastation of the country and the consequent high mortality. This calamity was still raging in and around Masulipatam in June 1633 when Captain James Slade of the *Swan* called on Masulipatam : "On the 20th June last your ship *Swan* arrived at Masulipatam with a good cargo, thinking to have invested it there in goods of that place ; but the rage of famine and pestilence has so ranged all those parts that there was not any goods to be had at any rates ; so we were feign to enorder her proceed for Bengal, where it seems they had better hopes."[81]

The coarse cottons and silks of Bengal found a ready demand at home in the absence of piece-goods from the kingdom of Golconda. There was general dearth of textiles on account of the high mortality among the weavers. The coasting trade in sugar and butter was also made less remunerative due to the high price of all food-stuffs.

Private gain was another inducement for the Company's servants in making an attempt to push the trade into Bengal. The famine conditions in Masulipatam and its neighbourhood made it difficult, if not impossible, for them to invest their private capital; it was in their own interest to find out new outlets for extra earnings. The commodities traded in by the Company were few,

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and any addition was welcome. The scramble for trade among the Dutch and Portuguese obliged the English, who were without the resources of the former and the perfidy of the latter, to look for virgin fields. The failure of three previous voyages only spurred them to make yet another attempt in the spring of 1633. The fall of Hooghly provided a golden opportunity to the English merchants to unravel the riches of the golden Bengal.

DESTINATION BALASORE

John Norris, the Company's Chief at Masulipatam, and Thomas Clark, his assistant, had in the meanwhile, taken a decision to send Ralph Cartwright and Thomas Colley to Bengal. They asked Cartwright (who was probably at Petapoli) on March 5, 1633 to repair to Masulipatam to assist the Council about matters of greater importance than future investments at his station.[82] Cartwright reported to his Chief at Masulipatam within a fortnight and they (John Norris & Thomas Clark) wrote on March 22, 1633 to Colley desiring him to make over charge to Richard Hudson, and proceed to Masulipatam as speedily as possible, in order to accompany the former to Bengal.[83] Colley was told that the "ship they go is to depart next Monday".

The President and Council at Surat in their "Commission & Instructions"[84] to Thomas Joyce, who had been appointed Chief Director of the Company's affairs and servants on the Coast dated April 16, 1633 stated : "The Bengal trade we have much desired to hear some issue of, but for these two years past have been crossed by reason of their tardy dispeed ere the monsoon is settled. When therefore such a design is in readiness, let not your care be wanting to order their departure so as they may arrive there by the end of the monsoon and return thence by beginning of the next. Mr. Norris having lately acquainted us of his hopes to procure such immunities as the Dutch now enjoy,

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and privileges conferred upon the English, we require your utmost endeavour in joining with him in the persistence therein still advising us of the success...In the event of Joyce's death, Cartwright is entreated to take upon him the post of Agent until another appointment can be made from Surat." Cartwright was nominated Second, if he was willing, if not Colley was to take his place.

Ralph Cartwright, Thomas Colley (both merchants), William Bruton, John Dobson, Edward Peteford, John Bassley, John Yard and William Withall[85] (some of them sailors and others attendants) had, in the meanwhile, departed from Masulipatam in a hired country junk for "Bengal" on April 6, 1633, and reached Harssapoore (i.e. modern Harispurgah at the mouth of the Patua in Orissa). Cartwright, Bruton and Dobson left Harssapoore on April 27 for Cuttack to have an audience with the Nawab and on their way, at Hariharpur paid a visit to Mersymomeine (=Mirza Momin) who took them to Agha Muhammad Zaman Teherani, who had succeeded Baqir Khan in the governorship. On May 5, 1633 the Nawab granted trading privileges[86] to the English Company custom free in his province. Cartwright and his party met Mir Kasim, local governor of Balasore, at the Nawab's court, who promised him all help. They returned to Hariharpur and reached that place on May 10. Thomas Colley and the rest of the party joined Cartwright and his companions at Hariharpur on 12th and hired a house for the time being, till the Company's own was built. Cartwright along with Peteford and Withall proceeded to Balasore on June 15, leaving the rest of the company at Hariharpur. He reached Pipli subsequently.

The *Swan* was despatched from England to the Coast of Coromandel in September 1632, carrying with her instructions that the Agency was to revert to the care of the president at Bantam.[87] Her cargo was invoiced at £ 22,454. She reached Masulipatam in June 1633, and found there Captain John

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Weddell's three vessels, arrived some three weeks earlier. After taking in freight goods for native merchants, Weddell sailed again for Gombroon, where he arrived in September. As, owing to the rise of prices induced by he recent famine, Masulipatam factors had not been able to purchase goods at remunerative rates for either Persia or Bantam, they were at a loss what to do with the *Swan* ; but in the end they decided, by a consultation held on June 27, to despatch her to Bengal, to second a venture in that direction which had been begun in the preceding April. The Agent at Masulipatam, John Norris, in the meanwhile, without waiting for the arrival of the *Swan*, had already sent Cartwright and others lo Cuttack.

The *Swan*, under the command of Edward Austin,[88] reached Harssapoore on July 23, 1633 and finding no Englishmen there, proceeded to Balasore where Cartwright had established himself and on her return, brought Robert Littler, a factor, and John Powell, the purser of the vessel, on September 19.

The Dutch records speak of the *Swan* as having gone, not to Balasore, but to Pipli, and as having returned from that port to Armagon towards the end of December 1633, with a quantity of sugar, rice, and piece-goods, besides some lac and sugar, belonging to the native merchants.[89] The *Jewell* also appears to have been sent on to Bengal.[90] Many of the members of the crew of the *Swan* died from over-indulgence in arrack and fresh fruits and several of the sailors were either killed or carried off by the Arakanese, though the survivors were afterwards ransomed at Pipli. English goods found little sale and consequently some of them were, in April 1634, sent inland to Patna for disposal.[91]

There are some references to the voyage of the *Swan* and Cartwright's establishment of factories at Hariharpur and Balasore in the private correspondence that has survived.

John Godbeer,[92] writing from Masulipatam Road to Thomas Colley, in Bengal or elsewhere, on July 2, 1633 remembered the

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many courtesies he had received from the addressee ta their last meeting. This induced him, having an opportunity by the *Swan* to acquaint him that their friends in London were all in good health at the time of his departure. George Gosnoll, purser of the *Jonas*, writing from Masulipatam Road, to Thomas Colley in Bengal on July 4, 1633 informed him that the *Jonas*, *Mary* and *Hart* arrived at Masulipatam on May 28.[93] He and many other friends hoped to see Colley, but were disappointed, though they were not sorry for the cause "in respect of the golden profit your Bay voyage is like (ly) to turn you to account".

Cartwright, after establishing himself at Balasore, had written to Colley about his proceedings there on June 27. Colley,[94] who was left at Hariharpur to look after the newly established factory, in his letter[95] dated "Harrapoore,"[96] July 17, 1633, informed his Chief that the delay, in answering to his letter, was due to the fact that the messenger who was sent on the 11th (July) to Cuttack in quest of letters from the Nawab and others did not return till "last night". Since Cartwright's departure he had bought nearly 400 pieces of cloth and was doing his best to get more. He wrote to Cartwright :

"Your opinion of sending a man to Juggernaut(Puri) et cetera places, there to procure cloth, would very well become our employment had we but one whom we might trust in that business ; but you well know the falsity and deceitfulness of our newly employed servants is such that we dare not depose confidence in them to the value of 10 rupees. Our servant Naranna cannot be well spared from this place. I do therefore myself intend, so soon as I can get musters of Cossaes[97] which are now a-making, to leave the oversight of this place unto William Bruton and the broker, and address myself for the Great Pagoda,[98] there supposing likewise to put off part such merchandise as here lies dead on our hands. The market of sales in Harrapoore seems at present as if there were no merchants in the country, occasioned.

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(as I conceive the reason) of deepness of winter, so that none can come near us. Yet by chance I have got a merchant for our lead, how, if he holds (his) word, still (take it all at) 11 rupees per maund. (*Part illegible*). Gold riders, some 50 pieces, I have sold at 10 rupees, 6 and a half annas ; and no more is it worth, as I am certified by experienced shroffs. He who gave you 10 rupees 10 annas returned with great lamentation of his loss. Those Portuguese villains expelled from Hooghly have found great favour with Shah Jehan, and re-entered that place to the number of 20 persons[99] ; how is cavidal for their commencing a new investment is the third part of their goods formerly seized on, which with large privileges and tashereefs[100] with honour the King hath bestowed on them. So that our expectation (of) Hooghly is frustrated, and I fear likewise Pipli will not (by) us be obtained, being an ancient rendezvous of theirs...Some 10 persons have lately complained to this Nawab of our seeking to put them from that port : how answered we intended no such matter, but only for Balasore or Harssapoore, so with good delasa (encouragement—Hindi *dilasa*) they were dismissed. Doubtless if the Company will find benefit in this trade, as certainly they may if followed, (? they) must be at the charge yearly to keep (a vessel) of force at Balasore et cetera." (*Part illegible*). He left these matters to abler hands.[101]

PROSPECTS OF TRADE IN BENGAL

The prospects of trade in Bengal are described by Thomas Joyce and Nathanoiel Wyche in their letter dated Masulipatam, the 25th of October, 1634,[102] which we quote at length :

"Mr. Norris (if arrived with you) has ere now we assume, shown you the reason of this dearth's beginning, which was an extraordinary drought for a whole year together, that caused a scarcity of cotton wool, and raised its price from 4 to 8 and 10

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Fanams per maund. The next year following (which was since our coming to this place) here fell such abundance of rain as rotted not only a great part of the corn in the fields, ere it was half ripe, but also spoiled most of the cotton wool, that then was growing in this country, and by that meansbrought its worth from the aforesaid 8 and 10 Fanams to 25 and 26 Fanams per maund (the price current) which is full 12 *d.* the English pound. This year has hitherto proved very temperate, and if it please the Lord so to conclude it, there is great signs of a plentiful harvest which will be about the next March or April, and (we hope) bring cotton, and consequently cloth to the easy prices it has been formerly sold at. ...

"Two of your 3 factors sent hither on the ship *Swan* (*viz.*, Mr. Bannister and Mr. Littler) were continued in her to Bengal, where the former died shortly after his thither arrival, and the other lived there till...last, and then took his leave of this world. ...

"In the first place the Bengal factory desires to show itself, because (indeed) its settling was the first thing (of note) that was acted after our coming unto this Coast. We presume that you are punctually informed ere now, as well by Mr. Norris (be he living) as by our letters to Surat and Bantam (if their copies were sent you) of the many reasons that impulsed the sending of your people into that Bay. It was the forementioned scarcity of clothes here that gave the price motion (asby a consultation to that effect held the 17th June 1633), and then it was determined for a voyage only, but after some deliberation it was computed how beneficial to the Company a continual residence there might be in many kinds.

"First for the trade betwixt that and this place in rice, sugar, butter, and divers other sorts of provisions and coarse commodities.

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"Secondly it affords store of white cloths at cheap prices such as is suitable for England, Persia, and the southwards....

"Besides it yields good store of exceedingly good powder sugar which costs not there above two pence half penny the English pound, with all charges aboard. As much of this commodity as may be got timely enough for Persia, we intend for that place by the *Discovery*....

"Gum-lac upon sticks is there to be had very cheap, and is much required, as well for Macassar and Persia as for England....

"Silk may there be bought likewise yearly to a great sum at 4 or 5 Fanams the English pound...

"Divers other things it affords for Persia, as Sashes, Stuffs, Allejas, fine Chintz, and the like. Some whereof is now in action for that place, and our better experience will doubtless bring the rest also within the compass of our future investments.

"These are the staple commodities that Bengal yields, of which we hope Your Worships will in short time receive such profitable content, as shall persuade your good liking for the continuance of the factory.

"Now what goods are there vendible, experience must better tutor us ere we can rightly inform you. Most of the broadcloth and lead you laded on the *Swan* for this place, was sent thither for a trial, and for want of factors (through mortality) it lay in Balasore (the port town) till April last, whenit was then dispersed for sale to Patna, a month's journey into the country, so as it seems there is no great hopes of selling such commodities, near the sea side. And what markets they meet withal further within the land we have not as yet been advised of. But seeing the same finds no quick vend we forbear sending any of the *Jewel's* goods that way.

"Spices of all sorts sell there to good profit, but the Dutch freemen from Batavia and Portuguese from Macassar, did so stuff

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the markets therewith last year, as now there is little or none required. Hereafter the Dutch Company (we believe) will do the like, so we see not any great hope of gains by that commodity.

"Tobacco, iron, tin, and sundry other petty goods is yearly carried thither on the junks that sail from this place ; and if we receive any encouragement from our friends thereto to be trading in the like, we shall not omit to put it in practice.

"Hitherto have we only shewed you what commodities Bengal does chiefly export and require. Be pleased in the next place to understand that if you resolve the prosecution of this trade, it is very requisite that you send out two small pinnaces to remain on this Coast, of some 80 or 120 tonnes, such as may draw but little water, and carry some 12 or 14 guns apiece. The Dutch are never without 3 or 4 such vessels here, wherewith they trade from port to port all the year long, some times buying rice and other provisions where they are cheap, and transport to better markets, other whiles they are employed as men of war (but never idle), and by these means they clear at year's end, all the great charges they are at upon this Coast.

"And now both these and our small vessels will be more useful than ever, for there is no thought of trade into the Bay without them, our greater ships riding so far from the shore, and the King of Arakan's *Jalias* (or small boats of war) ever scouting betwixt them and the land, in so much as neither goods nor provisions can be brought of without pinnaces of some defence, such as we have named, which may go up the rivers for the same without fear, and transport it to the tigger vessels. ...

"One thing more is yet to be added touching the settling of this Bengal trade and then we will desire leave to be silent till time lets us know it better. That is the mortality of your people there, which is the lone object that opposes the action ; for

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the last year there died 5 of the 6 factors that were left in that place whose rooms were again supplied by 4 that were spared us from Surat on the *Hart*, whom we sent into the Bay on the *Thomas*, and are told by late advices from thence that one of them is likewise dead since his arrival thither, the rest (praised be God) do yet remain in health. Your seamen also are subject to the same infirmity, for most part of the *Swan's* men were there visited with sickness, and many of them died. The *Thomas* has likewise (we hear) buried 4 of her small company since her last going thither, and the greatest part of the surviving lie dangerously weak. The chief occasion of this disease is doubtless intemperance (Mr. Cartwright's letters aver no less) for it is a place that abounds with arrack and fruit, and these immoderately taken cannot chose but engender surfeits. Those that hereafter may receive employments that ways will, we hope, practise a more warier diet, and live to report better of the country. ...

"Mr. Ralph Cartwright who has been Chief in Bengal ever since that trade has been afoot, and for that he has been long out of his country, did earnestly entreat licence to depart thitherward the last year, but was persuaded to stay till this time, and now again we have desired his abode there for the other 12 months, but whether he will consent thereunto or no, his answer does not yet resolve us.

"Some others here are likewise that desire to be homewards too, but must abide with patience till their rooms can be supplied. A list of what men are at present upon this shore, as also, how many factors are requisite for the Coast of Bengal you may please to see here enclosed....

"Last year when the *Swan* was in Bengal, her boat being sent on shore for water was suddenly surprised by some of the King of Arracan's *Jalias* of wars three of her men killed, and the rest taken and carried to a place in Bengal called Pipli, where a

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Portuguese captain, that came thither on a small vessel from Macassar redeemed them for 400 Rupees, which money was presently sent him from Balasore...for which affront we do await all opportunity to force a satisfaction."...

The President and Council at Surat visualised prosperous days ahead for the Company on account of the opening of Bengal trade. Hopkinson (President) and his Council, at a consultation held on September 12, 1633 expressed the opinion that it was not in the interest of the Company to make investments in Persia or Bantam on account of the excessive rates and bad qualities of the products.[103] They implored the Company to forbear a while in expectation of more prosperous times, "with some dependence upon Bengal, whose present plenty of such commodities promise some supplies." At another consultation held at Surat by William Methwold, President and his Council on November 12, 1633, a decision was taken to refer the provision of sugar and gum-lac to Masulipatam, "to be procured in Bengal, where they are reported to be had there very cheap and as good as the Company do desire."[104] The factors at Surat decided to stop buying gum-lac from Gujarat in 1636 as its local price was 14 or 15 mahmudis per maund, whereas it was procurable much more cheaply from Bengal.[105] It appeard that the Company could procure goods worth £ 3,000 in the very first year of opening up trade in Bengal. William Gibson, Richard Cooper, and William Fall at Ispahan, in a post postscript dated September 30 to their letter to the Company dated September 28, 1633 stated that they had just heard that the *Jonas*, *Mary* and *Hart* had arrived at that port from Masulipatam laden only with freight goods to the value of £ 3,000 and upwards.[106]

PRIVATE TRADE

The opening of Bengal for English trade afforded plenty of

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scope for private trade, which was uppermost in the minds of the factors. They were rather keen to enrich themselves at the expense of their masters. Exploitation of Bengal trade for the benefit of the Company was rather relegated to the background.

Private letters of the period that have survived bear ample testimony to the avarice on the part of the factors. Edward Hayes,[107] writing from Balasore on (October?) 25, 1633[108] to John Powell at Hariharpur confirmed receipt of his letters of October 4 and 12 and assured him that he would attend to his (Powell's) wishes regarding Bannester's trunk.[109] He expressed his apprehension that the cloths were spoiled for want of airing. He had written to Cartwright for permission to open the trunk, but was loath to break it open without his order. Powell's three cases were not heard of, except one which Mountney kept with him which was to be brought up in the ship. The keys were not with him and he would follow Powell's instructions as to the provisions when Cartwright returned. Powell's man Grooa (Guruva, who is also referred to as the Brahman) had refused to pay Hayes the rupee which he was to receive of him ; so Powell must recover it himself. He was sorry to hear of Powell's ill-health, though he himself was well. The day after Powell's departure, Hayes, detention on shore was notified to him by Cartwright, who also ordered him to assume the duties of purser. Hayes was marvelled at this, as he had heard nothing from Powell himself ; but Cartwright showed him the consultation on the subject, to which Powell's hand was set ("it may be to what you never meant"). Cartwright, evidently, intended to keep him on shore. George Travell desired to be excused for not writing as he was unwell ; but confirmed receipt of all the things specified in Powell's letter.

Another letter from Hayes to Powell at Hariharpur dated Balasore, (November)25, 1633illustrated the private trade carried

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on by the factors.[110] Hayes confirmed receipt of three letters of various dates from Powell in the last of which he was asked to send Powell's lead and tin. Powell wrote to Cartwright to take charge of these goods, who in turn, ordered them to be delivered to George Travell. Hayes paid the moneys specified in the note left with him by Powell and begged him not to forget to invest the amount. "You may expect us at Harssapoore by the 10th of next month at farthest, against which time pray let everything be in readiness that we may not stay long for him." The accounts were to be settled between Hayes and Powell when they had an opportunity to meet. He conveyed his regards to William Bruton in a postscript to his letter under reference.

THREE HURDLES

The alarming mortality among the Englishmen who had gone to Bengal, the opposition of the Portuguese who were the masters of that province and want of small vessels for coastal traffic were the three hurdles the Company had to cross for furtherance of trade in that quarter.

The establishment of trading outposts at Hariharpur and Balasore was not without its consequential casualties. The inhospitable climate, the intemperate habits of the merchants and lack of proper accommodation took a heavy toll of the Englishmen. Those who were either fresh or were not exposed to scorching sun, could not withstand the oppressive summer of Orissa. Moreover, excessive consumption of arrack and fresh fruits, as we have already seen, hastened their journey to unmarked graves. Thomas Colley died of fever at Hariharpur on August 25, 1633. Hayes in his letter to Powell dated (October?) 25, 1633, wrote :[111] "For passages aboard, which you desire to hear, is none of the best, for since our coming from Masulipatam

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we have buried 15 men out of the ship. Mr. Vaughters being one." Vaughters, before his death, made over most of his estate (worth about £ 110) to Mr. Moore and Thomas Johnson to pay the amount to his wife in England, his reason being that if the money were put into the purser's book it would have gone to his creditors and his wife got nothing. Alexander Bannester, a factor, died soon after the arrival of the *Swan* and Hayes was loath to break open his trunk.[112]

Thomas Joyce and Nathaniel Wyche at Masulipatam had written to the Company, on October 25, 1634, about the mortality of the factors and seamen.[113] The Maghs or Arakanese pirates also took away the lives of many an Englishman. They were in league with the Portuguese in the nefarious slave trade.

The British merchants had to face strong opposition from the Portuguese who had hitherto enjoyed unrestricted freedom of trade in Bengal. It was natural that they endeavoured to block English advance to Orissa and Bengal. On April 21, 1633 when Cartwright was at Harishpur, "there came a Portuguese frigate fiercely in hostility towards us," according to Bruton,[114] "but we made ready for their entertainment, and filled ourselves and the vessel for our best defences ; but at last they steered off from us, and, upon our command, she came to an anchor somewhere near us, and the master of her came aboard of us, who being examined whence he came, and whither he was bound, to which demands he answered nothing worthy of belief, as the sequel shewed : for he seemed a friendly trader, but was indeed a false invader (where opportunity and power might help and prevail) : for, on the 22nd day, Mr. Cartwright went ashore to the governor of Harishpur ; and, on the twenty fourth day the said master of the frigate (with the assistance of some of the ribble-rabble rascals of the town) did set upon Mr. Cartwright and Mr. Colley where our men (being oppressed by multitudes) had likely to have

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been all slain or spoiled, but that (Lucklip) the Rajah (or vice-king there) rescued them with two hundred men."

Besides Thomas Colley, who was sorely hurt in the fray, their Nacoda or Indian pilot was stabbed in the groin twice, and much mischief was done and more intended. The pilot of the frigate called on Mirza Momin on April 29 at Hariharpur to get his vessel cleared by bribing that nobleman, but he was not allured by such rewards or promises : in fact he ordered the pilot to appear before the Nawab and clear himself in the court. The Portuguese did not stop at that : they sent "our old enemy the Nacoda of the frigate, who made a great complaint against us" to the Nawab on May 2 at the durbar (or Council-house). Mir Kassim, Governor of Balasore, was one of the influential noblemen at the Nawab's court and he was bribed by the Portuguese to speak on behalf of the pilot. However, the Nawab confiscated the vessel and all the goods to himself as they belonged to the Portuguese of Pipli, "port-town of the Portuguese, whom the Nawab affects not." Moreover, the vessel was not bound for any of the Nawab's ports. Thus, the attempts of the Portuguese to foil the English ascendancy at the court of Malcandy was frustrated.

The Maghs or Arakanese pirates were another menace to the English Company's vessels and servants. Thomas Joyce and Nathaniel Wyche at Masulipatam wrote to the Company[115] on October 25, 1634 : "Last year, when the *Swan* was in Bengal, her boat being sent on shore for water was suddenly surprised by some of the King of Arracan's *Jalias* of war, three of her men killed, and the rest taken and carried to a place in Bengal called Pipli, where a Portuguese captain, that came thither on a small vessel from Macassar, redeemed them for 400 rupees, which money was presently sent him from Balasore and your people returned to the ship." The Masulipatam factors retalia-

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ted the Maghs by capturing their junks that were there the preceding year, and released them only on payment of the amount extorted earlier.

The need for smaller crafts for lighterage, watering the sloops, coasting, scouting and piloting, was keenly felt and the factors were handicapped from procuring the commodities desired by the Company in their absence. They advised the Company either to purchase two such vessels or to build them at Balasore as the town was a reputed ship-building yard of those days. Captain Weddell,[116] aboard the *Jonas*, writing from near Cape Comorin to the Company on May 1633 said :[117] "...If the Company intend to prosecute a trade at the River Ganges, it would be advisable to provide a couple of small ships, one of 160 and the other of 120 tons, drawing not above eight or ten feet at most, and well fortified with 8 or 16 guns apiece (Saker and minion) for defence against frigates or other vessels." Thomas Joyce, the Company's Agent at Masulipatam, and Nathaniel Wyche, merchant, had also underlined the need for smaller vessels for coastal traffic in their letter dated October 25, 1634, thus :[118] "First, for the trade betwixt that (Bengal) and this place in rice, sugar, butter, and divers other sorts of provisions and coarse commodities, which will not only produce a sufficient gain to clear the charge of such small vessels as shall be employed for its transport but also raise an able overplus to quit the great expense that your worships are at yearly in these factories of Masulipatam and Armagon." They added, in the same letter : "If you resolve the prosecution of this trade, it is very requisite that you send out two small pinnaces to remain on this coast, of some 80 or 120 tonnes, such as may draw but little water and carry some 12 or 14 guns apiece. The Dutch are never without three or four such vessels here ; wherewith they trade from port to port all the year long, sometimes buying rice and other provi-

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sions where they are cheap, and transport it to better markets, other whiles they are employed as man of war (but never idle); and by these means they clear at years end all the great charges they are upon this Coast."[119]

The purchase of one or two pinnaces for the coastal traffic as well as keeping the *jalias* of the Maghs at bay could not be postponed and the factors added in the same letter[120]: "And now both their and our small vessels will be more useful than ever, for there is no thought of trade into the Bay without them, our greater ships riding far from the shore, and the King of Arracan's *jalias* (or small boats of war) ever scouting betwixt them and the land, insomuch as neither goods nor provisions can be brought of without pinnaces of some defence, such as we have named, which may go up the rivers for the same without fear and transport it to the bigger vessels."

The Masulipatam factors, under the circumstances, bought a frigate of some 30 tons at a cost of Rs. 900 from Balasore and christened her the *Marigold*, besides another small vessel from the Governor of Balasore (*Mir Kasim*?) and named her the *Thomas*. They said: "...It was thought very needful by the forementioned consultation that in the mean time a pinnace of 100 tons burthen should be either built or bought in the Bay for that use; which was effected in this manner: the Governor of Balasore having at that time a small vessel on the stock of some 100 tons not half-finished, sold her to your servants that were there at that time, who built up her as fast as possibly they could, filled her with sugar, rice, and other provisions, sent her this ways. But the monsoon, changing sooner by a month and half than usually, took her short, yet she made shift to get within 15 or 16 leagues of this place, where we unladed her and transported part of her goods either by boats, and the rest (being 177 fardels sugar) was

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put into a little pinnace of the Danes that we borrowed for that purpose : which pinnace was in sight of this town overset in the night with a gust of the shore, where all the said sugar was lost, three Danes, one English and a black drowned, and the rest that were in her got to land on rafts that they made with her topmasts and yards[121]...Your own pinnace aforesaid (called the *Thomas*) was returned into the Bay, and there attends such employment as she was chiefly built for ; which being finished we shall dispose of her another way...Another small frigate was likewise bought in Bengal about the same time (named the *Marigold*) or some 30 tons (cost Rupees 900) : the which did very acceptable service there the last year in lading and watering of the *Swan*, and without whom nothing at all could have been performed. This year we hope that she and her consort will likewise act their parts for the *Jewell* and *Speedwell*, who are now in the Bay that they may returne hither in safety by the time prescribed them, which is the middle of the next month at the farthest.[122]"

"The pinnace *Thomas* is to remain in the Bay until the middle of January and then to come hither with cloth, cotton yarn, sugar and gum-lac, take in what cloth is here available, and go on to Bantam to help lade the *Palsgrave* for England. The *Marigold* will be employed between this place and the Bay, as well to acquaint ourselves thoroughly with that part of the coast as to try whether it is possible or not to ply from Masulipatam to Bengal against the monsoon."[123]

It is not correct to say that the opening up of the English trade to Bengal was entirely due to the initiative taken by the Company's merchants stationed at Masulipatam. The Golden Bengal had attracted the attention of the Company no sooner than it was chartered ; but there were some hurdles on the way to be crossed. The Company had to surmount these hurdles. The establishment of factories at Hariharpur and Balasore in 1633 is

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an important milestone in the British advent in Bengal. The trade in the Bay did not prosper on account of a variety of reasons. We shall see how the English merchants fared at Hariharpur and Balasore in the next chapter.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Bengala, in the original. has been transcribed as Bengal throughout. Bengal at the beginning of the 17th century meant the present states of West Bengal, Orissa, Bihar, parts of Assam and Bangla Desh. Bihar and Orissa were separated from the Presidency of Bengal in 1912 and the erstwhile East Pakistan emerged as a separate country after the partition of the Indian subcontinent in 1947. East Pakistan was liberated and Bangla Desh was born in 1971. The use of the term, 'Bay' by the Company's servants meant the Bay of Bengal or ccuntries bordering on it.

2. Ryley, Horton J., *Ralph Fitch : England's Pioneer to India and Burma.* London, 1899, pp. 113-114 (Also William Foster, *Early Travels in India*, 1583-1619, Oxford, 1921, p. 25). Fitch was not impressed with Hooghly and Hijili.

3. Ryley, *op. cit.*, p. 94 ; also note 1 on that page.

4. Armagon (Armegon, Arumukham), about sixty miles north of Madras along the coast, a little northward of the Dutch fortress at Pulicat, was also called Dogarapatam by the English. The English transferred their factory from Masulipatam to Armagon in 1628. The factory of Armagon was abandoned in 1640 in favour of Fort St. George (R. C. Temple, *Diaries of Streynsham Master*, London, 1911, vol. II, p. 131, note 4).
5 & 6, Foster, *Early Travels*, pp. 246 & 295.

7. Foster, William, *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to India*, 1615-19 (new and revised one volume edition, Oxford, 1926), p. 193, note 2. Roe's original letter (O. C. 382) is also printed in the *Letters Received by the East India Company from its servants in the East* (London, 1900, vol. IV), pp. 143-146.

8. Rajmahal was the capital of the Mogul viceroys in Bengal till it was removed to Dacca in 1659.

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9. Dacca was the viceregal capital of the Moguls from 1659 to 1707. Nawab Jafar Khan made Murshidabad the seat of government.

10. Porto Grande (Chittagong). Chittagong (—Chattagram) was already an important place of trade in the 16th century when the Portuguese merchants gave it the name of Porto Grande in order to distinguish it from Porto Piqueno (*Satgaon* or Saptagram).

11. Porto Piqueno is Satgaon, the ancient port of Bengal. The waters of Saraswati washed its shore till the 16th century : the river then changed its course and gave rise to Hooghly. The Portuguese opened their settlement in Satgaon in 1537. Porto Piqueno was the term orginally given by the Portuguese to Satgaon in the Hooghly river, in contradistinction to Porto Grande or Chittagong. It seems, however, that the English factors meant by the former appellation the town of Hooghly, which had by this time ousted Satgaon as the seat of Portuguese trade in these parts. De Laet identifies Porto Piqueno with Ugeli (Hooghly) (Foster, *Embassy*, p. 193, note 2). Sir Thomas Roe also uses Porto Piqueno as an equivalent to Hooghly since he enumerates Satigam (Satgaon) separately.

12. Piplipatam—Pilipatam—Pipli. Pipli, a village formerly existing near the mouth of the Subarnarekha in the north-east of the headquarters subdivision of Balasore. The Portuguese settled here in 1599. Bruton writing in 1633 described it as the port-town of the Portuguese. (Bengal District Gazetteers ; *Balasore*, Calcutta, 1907 by L. S. S. O 'Malley, pp. 204-205).

13. Satgaon (—Saptagram) consisted originally of seven villages.

14. Purb—Purab, i. e., eastern districts (Oudh, Benares and Bihar).

15. Foster, *Embassy*, p. 494.

16. See note 11 above.

17. Foster, *Embassy*, pp. 193-194.

18. Foster, *Embassy*, p. 303.

19. Foster, *Embassy*, p. 308, note.

20. Andrinus must have been a misreading of the signature of Lucas Antheuniss, a Dutchman in the service of the English Company, says Yule (*Hedges' Diary*, III, p 190 note 1) & adds : In Purchas's *Pilgrimage*, ed. 1626 (not the *Pilgrims*, though it is sometimes bound as volume V of that work), this Antheuniss is mentioned by Wm. Methwold as Lus Anthonison, along with Pieter Willemson Floris as two Dutchmen in the English Company's service, who first set up their business at Masulipatam some thirteen years before. Foster adds that Antheuniss was one of the leaders of the Company's Seventh Voyage, 1611, which was especially intended to open up

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trade on the Coromandel Coast. (Roe, *Embassy*, p. 159).

21. O. C. 382 ; *Hedges' Diary*, vol. III, p. 170.

22. *Arabic Coul*—a word, a promise, generally used in India for a written engagement. *Hedges' Diary*, vol. III, p. 172 note 1.

23. O. C. 461 ; *Hedges' Diary*, vol. III, pp. 171-172.

24. Addl. Ms. 6115, f. 197 ; Foster, *Embassy*, p. 309 note.

25. O. C. 411 ; *Hedges' Diary*, vol. III, pp. 170 & 171 ; also printed in full in *Letters Received*...vol. IV, p. 249 ; foster, *Embassy*, p. 320. The second para is from foster, *Embassy*, p. 320.

26. In the old books we find indigo reckoned by the *Churl*. Churl—138 *lbs*, or 140 *lbs*.

26*a*. Semianees—cloth for Shameeana or Semmianna (*Hobson-Jobson*).

27. O. C. 610 ; *Hedges' Diary*, vol. III, p. 172 for extract and p. 173 for marginal note.

28. Asaf Khan was a title often conferred and this one was Mirza Abul Hasan, Yaminuddaulah, the father of the Taj Bibi, the lady who has the most splendid tomb in the world. He was a man of enormous wealth and influence ; died 10th November, 1641 (*Hedges' Diary*, vol. III, p. 172, note 3). He was father of Shaista Khan and eldest brother of Nur Mahal and father of Prince Khurram's favourite wife Mumtaz Mahal.

29. Mahabat Khan, whose proper name was Zamana Beg, was the son of Ghor Beg, a native of Kabul. He died in the Deccan, A, D, 1634, (Beale, *Oriental Biography Dictionary*, p, 229)

30. Addl, Ms, 6115, f, 261 ; Foster, *Embassy*, pp, 377-378,

31. O, C, 552 ; *Hedges' Diary*, vol, III, p, 172,

32. Mandoa in the original.

33. O, C, 575 ; *Letters Received*...vol, VI, p, 213 ; Foster, *Embassy*, p, 419.

34. O, C, 575 ; *Hedges' Diary*, vol, III, p, 172,

35. O, C, 610 ; Foster, *Embassy*, p, 456

36. Foster, *Embassy*, p, 401,

37. Sir Thomas had a poor opinion of the Masulipatam factory. "I know not what that factory (Masulipatam) is good for ; and their project into Orissa or Bengal, I cannot conceive. They are young men, and would be doing they know not what. Sure I am none of our commodity will sell there ; not our cloth...", wrote the Ambassador to Surat factors on September 29, 1617 from Mandoa (*Letters Received*...vol. IV, p. 301 ; Addl. Ms. 6115, f. 264 ; Foster, *Embassy*, p. 385).

38. O. C. 1179. The agreement is endorsed ; "A Copy of the Articles of Agreement betwixt the English and the Gujarats" upon the seizure of their junks A. D. 1623. The circumstances leading to the grant of trading privileges and the signing of the agreement are given by Foster in his Introduction to the *English Factories in India*, 1622-1623 (pages xxiii-xxix for Prince Khurram's Rebellion and pages xxix-xxxiv for seizure of the junks) and the texts of the agreements (A : 'The Settlement of the British Claims" and "B. The Future Regulation of the Trade") concluded with the Surat authorites are reproduced on pp. 305-312. (*Text in Appendix I*)

39. O. C. 1295.

40. Currall—Coral.

41. Woorpar—Orpar of the *Ain-i-Akbari* (Owrparah of Gladwin's version) in the pargana of Sirkar Bahroach is now Olpad, a subdivision of the Surat district, lying immediately north of the river Tapti.

42. Kurkeh and Berchaw seem to be Khirka and Perchaul of the *Ain-i-Akbari*.

43. Jaggat (—Zakat), according to Wilson's *Glossary*, was used in some places for "Customs".

44. *Hedges' Diary*, vol. III, p. 175.

45. O. C. 1180 ; *Hedges' Diary*, vol. III, p. 175.

46. O. C. 1519 ; *Hedge's Diary*, vol. III, pp. 175-176.

47. The maund of Echobares (Akbar's) was (according to Thomas Princep) 34$\frac{3}{4}$ lbs.

48. Foster, William, *English Factories in India*. 1634-1636, Oxford, 1911, Introduction, page xxxv.

49. O. C. 1558 ; Foster EF (English Factories) 1634-36, p. 204.

50 & 51. Wilson, C. R., A note on the English Chiefs at Balasore in the Bay of Bengal 1633-1650 (7-pages of printed or reprinted matter, 1903, available in the National Library, Calcutta), p. 1.

52. Foster, *English Factories* (EF), 1630-33, Introduction, pages xxii-iii ; Pringle, A. T., *Fort St. George Diary for* 1684, p. 170.

53. Note 12 above.

54. Baqir or Baquir Khan, the last Subadar of Orissa under Jahangir. His full name was Bakhar Khan Nazam Sani. When Shah Jehan became the emperor of Delhi, he retained this Subadar in the office. In 1630, Baqir Khan invaded the Qutabshahi Kingdom with an Orissan army. In the battle that followed, the Moguls became victorious. (Mahtab, Harekrushna, *The History of Orissa*, Lucknow University, 1949, p. 100).

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55. Foster, EF 1630-33, Introduction page xxii-xxiii.

56. The *Hopewell* departed for Bantam on December 26, 1631 ; it could not have reached Bantam before January 26. The date should, therefore, read as January 29.

57. O. C. 1413 ; Foster, EF 1630-33, pp. 188-190.

58. Golapara may be the present Gopalpur-on-Sea, 12 miles south of Ganjam.

59. Baquir Khan.

60. Same as note 58 above.

61. Manikapatam, near the mouth of the Chilka Lake, was earlier written as Manicapatam, Mangapatan etc. (Foster, EF 1630-33, note on page 189.)

62. Popole in the original.

63. Foster, EF 1630-33, Introduction page xxii.

64. Emmanuel Altham was appointed by the Company as Factor and Captain of the Port at Armagon with a salary of £ 50 on October 27, 1630. He died at Armagon. (Details from *Court Minutes*, 1635-39, p. 318).

65. O. C. 1411 ; Foster, EF 1630-33, p. 183.

66. O. C. 1421 ; Foster, EF 1630-33, page 203.

67. C. R. Wilson, Balasore Chiefs, pp. 1-2.

68. Thomas Colley reached Armagon in August 1632 by the *Pearl* which sailed from the Downs a little before Christmas, 1631. He died at the newly established factory of Hariharpur on August 25, 1633.

69. Pettepolle, Pettipole, Pottipolee, Petapoli or Peddapalli was one of the earliest factory sites of the English Company occupied about 1613, and abandoned a little after the middle of the century. It is known now as Nizampatam (*Hedges' Diary*, vol. II, p. 196). Nizampatam, about 45 miles south west of Masulipatam was called Petapoli from the neighbouring village of Peddapalli by the English. The English factory at Petapoli was established in 1621 (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. XIX, p. 128) and it was closed down in 1674.

70. O. C. 1459 ; Foster, EF 1630-33, p. 238.

71. *Dagh Register* quoted by Foster in EF 1630-33, pages 238 and 244 notes,

72. O. C. 1468, Foster, EF 1630-33, p. 244.

73. Foster, EF 1630-33, Introduction, page xxvii

74. Foster, EF 1630-33, p. 159.

75. Foster, EF 1630-33, p. 193.

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76. Carvalho, S. A., *The Bandel Church and Hooghly* (Hooghly, 1972) for details of the fall of the Portuguese citadel.

77 *Dagh Register* quoted by Foster, EF 1630-33, p. 244 note.

78 Foster, EF 1630-33, Introduction pages 31-32.

79 O.C. 1411 ; Foster, EF 1630-33, page 183.

80 O.C 1421 ; Foster, EF 1630-33, p. 203.

81 O.C. 1514 ; William Gibson, Richard Cooper, and William Fall at Ispahan to the Company dated September 28, 1633 (Foster, EF 1630-33, page 320). The extract forms the PPS dated 30th September to the letter under referenee.

82 O.C. 1497 ; Foster, EF 1630 33, p. 285.

83 O.C. 1502 ; Foster, EF 1630 33, p. 292.

84 Foster, EF 1630 33, pp. 300 301.

85 The text of Bruton's narrative may be read in the author's *Bruton's Visit to Lord Jagannatha* (Calcutta, 1985).

86 The orig nal Parwana granted by Agha Muhammad Zaman Teherani is now in the British Museum and its modern translation is among the Trade Licences of the Company.

87. Court Minutes dated September 5, 1632 ; Foster, EF 1630 33, Introduction, page 29.

88 Bruton's *Narrative*, paras 54 & 56

89 Foster, EF 1630 33, Introduction, page 32.

90 Wilson, Balasore Chiefs, pp 2 3 based on O C 1936 & *Dagh Register*, 1631 4, pp 189, 242 & 415.

91 O.C. 1536 ; Foster, EF 1630 33, Introduction, page 32.

92 O.C. 1508 ; Foster, EF 1630 33. page 305.

93 O.C. 1509 ; Foster, EF 1630 33, p 307.

94 O.C. 1530 Foster, EF 1630 33, pp 308 309.

95 O.C. 1530 This is an unsigned document. W. Noel Sainsbury in his *Calendar* conjectured that the letter was written by John Powell and Sir Henry Yule, who printed part of it in his *Hedges' Diary*, vol III, p. 177 followed him Wilson (*Early Annals*, vol I, p 17) changed the date to October 17 The letter was probably written by Thomas Colley (Foster, EF 1630 33, page 307 note).

96 Hariharpur (Harrapoore in the original), close to the modern Jagatsimhapur, a town in the Mahanadi Delta, about half way between Cuttack and Harispurgar, the port at which the English landed. (Foster. EF 1630 33, p 307 note) There is no separate identity for Hariharpur today.

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97 Cossa (Khasa), a kind of fine Muslin

98 The temple of Jagannath at Puri

99 Hooghly was attacked by the Mogul forces in June 1632 and carried by assault at the end of September, very few of the Portuguese escaping Four hundred prisoners were paraded before Shah Jehan in July *1633* and were given their choice between turning Muhammadans and perpetual imprisonment A few adopted the former course and were rewarded (Elliot & Dowson's *History of India*, vol VIII, p 31 ; Lisbon Transcripts, Doc Remett. BK. 30ff 281, 288 ; Fariya Sousa's *Asia Portuguesea*, vol III, p 495 ; *Dagh Register*, 1631 34, pp, 145, 159, 195—Foster, EF 1630 33, p 308 note).

100 Arabic tashrif—honouring : hence a complimentary present.

101 Yule has printed extracts from this letter and our modernisation may be compared with it. (*Hedges' Diary*, vol III, p 177).

102 O.C. 1536 ; *Hedges' Diary*, vol III, pp 178 180 ; Foster, EF 1634 36 pp 43 50 for summary.

103 Foster, EF 1630 33, p 338

104 Foster, FF 1630 33, p 323

105 O. C. 1558, letter to the Company from Surat dated April 28, 1636; Foster, EF 1634 1636, p 206

106 O.C. 1534, Foster, EF 1630 33, p 320

107 Hayes was purser's mate on board the *Swan*, which was then lying at Balasore.

108 O. C. 1516 ; Foster, EF 1630 33, pp 320 21

109 Alexander Bannester, factor, died soon after the arrival of the *Swan* See 102 above ; O.C. 1536.

110 O.C. 1511. This letter like O.C. 1536 is merely dated the 25th 1633 at night. Foster has assigned the date November 25 taking into consideration of all the relevant circumstances (Foster EF 1630 33 p 329 note).

111. O.C. 1516, No. 108 above.

112. O.C. 1536, Nos. 102 and 109 above.

113. O.C. 1536 ; Hedges' Diary, vol. III, p. 180 ; Foster, EF 1634-36, pp. 43-44.

114. Vide Bruton's Narrative, paras 5, 6, 11, 29 31.

115. O.C. 1536 ; Hedges' Diary, vol. III, p. 180 ; Foster, EF 1634-36, p. 50.

116. Captain John Weddell and Nathaniel Mountney ('Cape merchant') were given a Royal Commission for a voyage to the

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East Indies on December 12, 1635. (Court Minutes 1635-39, p. 128).

117. O.C. 1504 ; Foster, EF 1630-33, p. 305.

118. O.C. 1536 ; Foster, EF 1634-36, pp. 41-42.

119. O.C. 1531 ; Hedges' Diary, vol. III, p. 179 ; Foster, EF 1634-36, pp. 42-43.

120. O.C. 1531; Hedges' Diary, vol. III, p. 180; Foster, EF 1634-36, pp. 42-43.

121. This is corroborated by the Dutch Records. It is stated in the Dagh Register 1631-34 (p. 366) that the English vessel sailed from Bengal in March, accompanied by a large ship partly freighted by them : that the Danish pinnace was the *Queda* : that she was upset on April 24 (O.S.) and that the loss to the English was about 4,000 pagodas. (Foster, EF 1634-36, pp. 43-44 note).

122. O.C. 1536 ; Foster, EF 1634-36, pp. 43-44.

123. O.C. 1536 ; Foster, EF 1634-36, p. 49.

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CHAPTER

2

ENGLISH AT BALASORE

The *firman* of Agha Muhammad Zaman Teharani, the Mogul Governor of Orissa, as we have seen in the last chapter, granted free trade to the English Company in 1633. Masulipatam was not only the gateway of Golconda, but also the great entrepot of those days, where ships from Pegu, Bantam, Far East, Surat, Gombroon and other ports anchored throughout the year. Since there was no important ports on the Coast of Coromandel during those days, Masulipatam was the port of call for all East and West-bound ships. The Company's factors had their Vakil or representative at the Court of Sultan Abdulla Qutb Shah in Golconda, besides a factor.

Thomas Joyce, East India Company's Agent at Masulipatam, got the Golden *Firman* (dated February 26, 1634) from the Sultan, which secured the English Company complete exemption of all customs duties in the prosperous kingdom of Golconda. The English were, in consequence of the *firmans* of the Sultan of Golconda and the Mogul Governor of Orissa, exempt from customs duties in their factories in the Coromandel Coast, whereas the Dutch were required to pay all customs.

The Company's President at Surat was very keen on getting a *firman* from the Mogul Emperor direct for all his dominions and we have it on record that an imperial rescript was granted to this effect by Shah Jehan on 3rd November, 1637 (O. S.). Though

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the *firman* did not specify Bengal, it exempted the English from payment of customs at Surat and Broach, "Since they hold a *firman* from His Majesty to the effect that no one shall make any other demands in respect of their goods in any place. Now the *mutasaddis* (accountants) of Mumtazabad which is by Akbarabad (i. e. Agra) demand the same payments from them on their goods brought from and taken to Purab[1] &ca, as are paid by other merchants. Order is therefore given to those and other officials not to molest the English for duties and other payments on their goods, but to allow them to pass freely from Mumtazabad Ghat and other ferries on the Jumna."[2] There is a reference in the Bengal Consultations for February 19, 1704 to a Copy of Shah Jehan's *firman* from Agra to Bengal in the 11th year of his reign.[3] Robert Hedges, President and Governor of Fort William, and his Council, in their instructions dated May 13, 1714 to John Surman, say that they have delivered to Coja Sarhad, among other documents, "Copies of Shah Jehan's *firmans* I—1638 and II—1649."[4] The original *firman* believed to have been lost by Paul Waldegrave in 1656 during the course of an overland journey from Balasore to Fort St. George[5] found its way, along with other ancient documents of the Company, to the British Museum.[6] The *firman* was probably procured by Henry Bornford, who was in Agra during the whole of 1638 and part of 1639.[7] The circumstances leading to the grant of the *firman* are not available in the Company's records. Incidentally this *firman* confirmed the previous one of Shah Jehan[8] dated 2nd February 1633, which had restricted the English shipping into the port of Pipli. No copy of this first *firman* has come to light.

The extension of English trade into Bengal coincided with the rise of Mir Jumla[9] from a mere pedlar of shoes in the streets of Golconda to the General of Aurangzeb. He was the harbour master, or *havildar* as he is called, of Masulipatam in 1633. His

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ships sailed in the seven seas of the world and he had extensive maritime trade among the men of his time. He was a great patron of trade and commerce, whether the merchants were English, Portuguese, Dutch or any other nationality, so long as they served his interests. The English had a quarrel with him in 1647 which we shall describe in some detail at the end of this chapter. The extension of trade into Bengal proper is ascribed to the influence exerted by Gabriel Boughton, an English surgeon at the court of Shah Shuja. We reserve this topic for the next chapter.

FUTILITY OF BENGAL

The establishment of English factories at Hariharpur and Balasore in 1633 did not bring any immediate return to the Company, though extension of commerce to Bengal added colour and variety to the goods from India. An amount of £ 98,318 s 15 d 2 was sent from home for investment in the Bay from 1631 to 1635 in addition to what was provided by the Agencies at Bantam and Surat.[10] The factors seem to have squandered all the funds at their disposal or utilised them for their own private trade. Records are scanty to reconstruct the returns from investments in Bengal[11] during this period. The reason for this poor returns was the lack of capable men to manage the Company's affairs in the Bengal factories. We shall give an outline of these matters in this chapter, which is indeed sketchy, as records have not survived.

Doubts were entertained by the Company as to the widsom of continuing the factories in Bengal, no sooner than they were established. The authorities at Masulipatam, Surat, and Bantam all agreed that trade in Bengal would be beneficial to the

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Company. The Agent and Council at Masulipatam wrote to the home authorities on October 25, 1639 : [12]

"...What harvests Bengal and the Coast have afforded is (for ought we can perceive) too well known unto you. What is past we are not able to remedy ; but certain we are, had you but an estate here, these parts are as fruitful as ever and would, being well husbanded, afford as good a crop as you could expect. If formerly your supplies sent hither have been converted to particular men's uses, it is a pity ; but you know the parties, that so they might receive the guerdon due to such servants."

The factors stationed at Balasore were indebted, at interest, to the amount of Rs. 8,137 in 1639, when the Agent wrote to the Company. He added that nothing could be done until they received the wherewithal to clear that amount and make a fresh investment. He conveyed the Company's instructions to the factors at Balasore, the manner in which sugar etc. were to be packed. The factors were so accustomed to carp at the President of Surat that they repeated the same to the President of Bantam on his desiring them to send supplies.

President William Fremlen and his Council (Francis Breton, Robinson, and John Wylde) echoed the feelings of the Agent at Masulipatam in their letter dated December 29, 1640.[13] They told the authorities at home that the trade on the Coast would benefit them only if the Company would furnish men, means and shipping for that purpose. They promised to do their best to further that commerce, but could not approve of "trading into the Bay to buy rice, butter, and we know not what gingelly as Mr. Cogan &ca. in their letter have projected."

Ralph Cartwright, father of the Bengal trade, had become President at Bantam by 1643. He concurred with the opinion of his friends at Surat and Masulipatam thus : "The continuance of the Bengal factory, if your Worships intend the continuance of

your trade, is so necessary (and maintained with so little charge) that we desire you would be pleased absolutely to enorder its dissolution or subsisting. If the latter, the man appointed thither by Mr. Day, namely, William Nettlam, is very unfit to have the direction of your affairs there ; where not any is so well acquainted, or has more abilities for its performace than Mr. Yard aforesaid."[14]

The Company had only two factories in Bengal, one at Hariharpur and the other at Balasore, both established by Ralph Cartwright. A factory at Pipli existed in the imagination of Alexander Hamilton[15] and other gossip-mongers. Thomas Clark and Richard Hudson, in their letter to John Yard dated, Masulipatam, February 24, 1638 asked him to send some trustworthy servants to Pipli to advise what the Dutch and Danes were doing there.[16]. The President of the latter resident at Masulipatam had demanded the estate of Ispian Johnson, the quandom Dane, who was killed in Pipli by the Portuguese or their niggers. The estate of the deceased amounted to 480 rupees and was in the hands of Yard, together with Johnson's slave wench. Here is sufficient proof to show that there was no English factory at Pipli. Had there been one, there was no necessity of sending some intelligent servants to Pipli. Moreover, in the list of books[17] handed over at Bantam on December 31, 1639 to Gerald Pinson, Chief of Masulipatam, for delivery to the Company on his homeward journey in the *William*, there was no mention of any records pertaining to Pipli. Journals and ledgers for Masulipatam, Petapoli, Viravasaram, Armagon, Golconda, Hariharpur and Balasore ranging from 1636 to 1639 were the records handed over to Pinson, besides the Masulipatam Steward's book for 1637-38. Cartwright also did not make mention of any paper concerning Pipli among the records delivered to the Agent at Masulipatam on January 13, 1637.[18] Journals and ledgers of Bay of

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Bengal accounts, April 6, 1633 to December 17, 1635 ; four journals and ledgers for Hariharpur fromJune 12,1633 to December 15, 1633 and to May 31,1634 (Thomas Clark was to account from the latter date to December 17, 1635) ; a book of wills and inventories kept in the Bay ; one journal and ledger continued on December 17, 1635 and 'concluded the same day' ; papers &ca. belonging to the estates of Thomas Colley, Jonathan Mountney, John Powell and Robert Littler, besides the duplicates of the said accounts and two books of expenses delivered to the Agent on January 16 were all that we find among the records delivered by Cartwright before leaving for Bantam.

The Hariharpur factory was closed down during the *Hopewell's* stay on the Coast, partly on account of the silting of the mouth of the Patua.[19] It was noted from the list of records received from the Coast by the *Hopewell* at Bantam on November 30, 1643[20] that the Hariharpur accounts closed on August 31, 1642 whereas the Balasore journal went down to June 30, 1643. We should, therefore, take it for granted that the Hariharpur factory was closed on August 31, 1642. No doubt, ships called at Hariharpur and piece-goods were procured from there with the help of native merchants.

That the silting of the river Patua was the cause of the closure of the Hariharpur factory is also testified by Walter Clavell in his Account of the Trade of Balasore.

Clavell wrote : "Balasore began to be a noted place when the Portuguese were beaten out of Hijili by the Moors, about the year 1636, at which time the trade began to decay at Pipli and to have a diminution in other places of those parts ; and the Bar opening, and the river appearing better than was imagined, the English and Danes endeavoured to settle factories here, to be out of the troubles the Portuguese gave to the other nations and had themselves, the rather because the cloth of Hariharpur, where

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our first factory was settled was without much difficulty to be brought hither by land, and the river where our vessels usually had lain at being stopped up, it was no easy matter to bring the cloth by sea, nor so safe to have vessels ride before that place, as here in the road of Balasore."[21]

The authorities contemplated the dissolution of Bengal factories and the closure of the Hariharpur factory was probably an economy measure. Even the Balasore factory's existence hung in the balance for some time. In October 1640 the Masulipatam factors refer to orders sent to John Yard at Balasore to buy or freight a small vessel and come away as speedily as possible ; but evidently no permanent abandonment of the factory there was contemplated, for they expressly add that they intend to use their best rhetoric to persuade him to return thither.[22] In the following month, however, Andrew Cogan and his colleagues said that they did not expect the Bengal factors to arrive till the following year ; mention was also made of goods and money sent to the Bay shortly before in two Danish vessels, and we are told that part of the consignment reached the English factory at Hariharpur.

Francis Day, who paid a visit to Bengal factories from Fort St. George, did not mention any factory at Hariharpur in his letter to the Company dated, Balasore, November 3, 1642. He said :[23] "The 7th August we left Masulipatam and arrived with the above said success at Balasore the 13th ditto, where having landed the remains of what left at Madrasapatam and Masulipatam we have since arrival hither made sale of glasses, knives, lead and some 22 parcel of cloth, the lead and most part of the cloth have been put off in truck, for sugar, Gurras,[24] Sannoes,[25] Cassaes, iron and Ginghams, all but the last is intended for Persia, for willingly I would leave nothing behind, the return being so uncertain there.

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"There is some Cassaes and Sannoes providing at Hariharpur, and they are intended for Europe, but what quantity of either I cannot certainly nominate. Many you may not expect, the rains having been so late and so violent.

"Mr. Yard and Mr. Travell do both intend to go in your ship *Hopewell*, or *Advice* for Madrasapatam, and so for Europe. Mr. Hatch only remains and very much discontented in regard his contracted time is expired, and the small employment that he is likely to have.

"According to that small time of my being here, and that little observation that I have taken, I think Balasore with the adjacent places is not to be totally left, for it is no such despicable place as is voted, it being an opulent kingdom and you having been already at great charges in gaining the free custom of all sorts of goods, believe it if you had but an active man, two or three in these parts, you would fit it very profitable, provided you double stock the Coast, without which it is impossible to comply to your desires.

"Since I have known these parts, for the most part you have had servants and little or no means to employ them, if you should enlarge your trade, you may happily have means and no servants, especially such that should know how to employ it to best advantage."

The authorities at Bantam at this time probably advocated the closure of the Balasore factory for obvious reasons. Day was deadly against it. Andrew Cogan, Henry Greenhill and John Brown in their letter dated, Fort St. George, January 4, 1643, to the President and Council at Bantam, did not favour the absolute abandonment of Balasore. They wrote :[26] "Mr. Hatch, who is left in Bengal to look unto the Company's houses, &ca. or rather to continue our privileges until further order from you for our absolute abandoning those parts or furnish it as it ought to

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be. For ought we can perceive by the relation of Mr. Day, &ca- Mr. John Yard has but said the truth in all his letters concerning the fruitfulness of Bengal and the profit that may be made to and from that place, if it were stocked as it ought."

The need for sending out discreet Chiefs and Seconds for Bengal factories was advocated by President Willoughby and his Council, They wrote from Bantam to the Company on December 1, 1634 :[27] "On Coromandel you have four principal factories, which ought to be supplied with discreet chiefs and seconds and not green heads ; being Masulipatam, Armagon, and two in the Bay of Bengal ; which latter factories have a good reports from Surat and Masulipatam ; which, although not requisite for these parts, we may not disparage until we see its fruits and profits thereof, no yet acquainted withal, for want of that Coast accounts, which we shall expect by the *Jewel*."

INEFFICIENT MERCHANTS

The death of Thomas Joyce,[28] Agent at Masulipatam, George Parphrey, William Favour, Emmanuel Altham, William Cooke, William Hall (minister), John Mould, Robert Phipps and others within a short time of their arrival in the Bengal's enervating climate made the Company's trade poorer.[29] This called for fresh supply of factors, as local recruitment was not in vogue. Robert Shrimpton[30] was the only Englishman entertained in India in the Company's service during this period. Robert Shrimpton, wrote Thomas Clark and Richard Hudson, on May 28, 1638, to John Yard and other factors in Bengal, "which you write is entertained into the Company's service at 10 rupees per

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month" was ordered to be sent to Masulipatam by the first available ship,

The need for sending capable factors to Bengal was repeated by the Agent at Masulipatam : "The factors on the Coromandel Coast, however, proved inefficient to the extreme, so that in 1636 the directors were complaining that out of a total stock of £ 108,000 sent to the East Coast factories the Company had ordered £ 32,500 to be invested in calicoes for England, but all that had been received was a percel in the *Mary* invoiced at £ 1,269. Had the calicoes been supplied as ordered, they would have found quick markets and turned well to account."[31]

We have, in the previous chapter, noticed the high mortality among the merchants who had cometo the Coast direct. Replacements were slow and there was no wonder why the trade languished in the absence of capable merchants.

President Coulson and Thomas Ivy, writing from Bantam to the Company on December 20, 1636,[32] expressed their opinion that the Bengal factories were futile, "as yet we are ignorant of the benefit that place yields you our employers," in the absence of industrious men to manage the affairs there.

William Methwold[33] and his Council, at a consultation held on April 11, 1634, resolved to send in the *Hart*, John Yard, Henry Clark, Robert Hatch and Richard Belfield to the Coast, in response to the request of the Agent at Masulipatam. They noted the recent death of Alexander Bannester, Thomas Colley and others. Nathaniel Wyche, whose period of service expired a year ago, was permitted to take passage in the same ship to Bantam, on his way home, on condition that he should remain a year longer after his contracted period if, on his arrival at Masulipatam, he found his services were needed there. The factors at Masulipatam wrote to the Company on September 20, 1636

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for supply of eight or ten factors well governed and able men, fit to take charge of factories ; besides two small vessels, well fitted, for the port-to-port trade.[34] Gerald Pinson and Thomas Clark at Masulipatam wrote on December 1, 1636 to the President and Council at Bantam, desiring three or four more factors, "but especially one that may take charge of our Bengal factories" where for want of good government and care the Company's business lies bleeding and will consequently perish if it be not suddenly revived.[35]

Cartwright, before proceeding to Bantam in 1635, handed over charge of the Balasore and Hariharpur factories to Thomas Clark, with whom he had violent disagreements. The stocks in the Bay at the time of his departure were valued at about 1,000 Pagodas, to which the Agent at Masulipatam, added upwards of 5,368 Pagodas sent to that place on June 28, in the *Thomas*.[36] Since Cartwright had already expressed his desire to return to Bantam, the President and Council, at a consultation on May 8, 1635, considered his successor Thomas Clark too young and inexperienced to take charge of the two factories in Bengal and he was therefore asked to return to Masulipatam as Second in Council and Accountant Wyche was asked to replace him in the Bay.[37]

The factors at Balasore and Hariharpur were negligent of the Company's interests and indulged in extravagance. The Coast could not send home goods ordered by the Company. Thomas Clark, Richard Hudson, Thomas Peniston, and Thomas Winter in their letter to the President and Council at Bantam dated, Masulipatam, May 17, 1638, said that the promise made last year was broken only because of the neglect of the Bengal factors.[38] If they failed again this year, an appeal would be made to Bantam for orders for dealing with them. The *Thomas* was sent to Bengal on June 23, 1636 with 20,000 rupees in rials

of eight and gold ; and on July 20, the *Expedition* followed with five chests of rials. The latter returned on December 5, bringing only 454 Pagodas in bare provisions ; the former on January 11, 1637, with a cargo amounting to 1,928 Pagodas 5 Fanams and 2 Cash ; the pinnace *Marigold* in February with 326 Pagodas in goods and provisions ; total 2808 (2,708?) Pagodas. The following year, "we verily expected double the sum they sent us, but ...they neglect us, for which they must give answer." The factors enclosed the invoices to corroborate their statements about the returns from Bengal.

The factors were so extravagant in Bengal that they, besides exhausting the Company's funds, borrowed money from local traders. There were occasions when the Agent at Masulipatam had to make arrangements for paying off their debts. The Masulipatam factors wrote in May 1638 to their colleagues reprehending their extravagance in giving the Nawab (Mir Jumla) a liberal present when they were so scantily supplied with funds. The factors at Masulipatam themselves were in debt to the amount of over 20,000 Pagodas, their credit was entirely gone, and they hardly knew where to turn to get money to buy even food ! In Bengal the debt exceeded 8,000 rupees, and the merchants were ordered to confine themselves to one factory (it is not told which) until funds were made available.[39] The Company's servants in Bengal were ordered to pay their debts on August 31, 1641 and come away, but the decision was deferred.[40]

Thomas Clark and Richard Hudson in their letter dated Masulipatam, January 24, 1638 to the President and Council at Surat explained the reason why so little sugar and gum-lac were sent.[41] The Bengal factors failed to keep up their promises ; indeed, unless "we had dispeeded Mr. Aron Baker and Mr. Thomas Penniston, into that Bay in September last, we might

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have gleaned after the reaper and gone without what we possess."

Clark and Hudson in their letter to John Yard and other factors in Bengal complained on May 28, 1636 that they had not heard from them for six months, "to any purpose, for their letters of January 13 and 21, did only fill paper and gave us no satisfaction in the Company's business."[42] They had sent the *Coaster* and *Unity* four months ago to Balasore but had not heard from the factors whether the vessels had reached their destination or not. "You write unto us that the Dutch have been with the Nawab, whom they have liberally *pishcasht*.[43] Do you think the returns which you have made us can animate us to be so liberal as them ? No !" Private advices stated that the factors should be so dormative as not to have sent them word. The Masulipatam factors were so destitute of money as their friends at Balasore, "for to speak the truth we have not present in the house, nor know where to procure 100 Pagodas ready money to defray our monthly expenses." This poverty was attributed to the neglect of their colleagues in Bengal. What had become of the money sent to them was a mystery. "If these endeavours seem well to yourselves, glory in their worth ; but know we are of a contrary opinion, and advise you in fair terms to recollect yourselves, which being done, we doubt not but you will see your error."

Andrew Cogan in his letter dated Surat, December 24, 1638 to one of the Committees (or Directors, possibly to Sir Hugh Hanmerly, whose daughter Cogan had married) advocated placing Masulipatam under the superintendence of the President at Surat since the control of Bantam encouraged the factors to indulge in extravagance.[44] He wrote : "Moreover, there would be less tendency for the Presidents (as recently at Bantam) to comport themselves like petty kings which gives occasion to their subordinate factories to live at that height of expense as lately they have done at Macassar and Masulipatam, which (if reports

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be true) is beyond all modesty. The Masulipatam factors live profusely, because they are under Bantam, and cannot from thence be so well reminded as from hence ; for, were that factory subordinate to Surat, an account would (as from others) be required monthly of the house expenses and of the cash ; that so extraordinaries may not be made a continual yearly custom. Indeed, in any case it would be well to place Masulipatam under Surat, for first, letters of advice might pass monthly or oftener, and secondly, as Bengal was under the rule of the Mogul, complaints relating to the settlements there could better be made from Surat than from Masulipatam, which was under another king." The Company lost no time in grasping the force of Cogan's reasoning and the Coast was placed under thc presidency of Surat in 1639.

The individual factors on the Coast were corrupt to the core and extravagant in the extreme. Cartwright in an affidavit [45] filed on January 16, 1639 declared that "Mr. Pinson and Clark did live at Masulipatam at a very high and extraordinary rate in the expense of the Company's means, putting them to the charge of keeping ten horses, two oxen, two palanquins, sometimes 40, other times 60, and at other times 80 servants belonging to the house. And when Pinson and Clark have gone out of town together (as it was usual) there did ride a trumpeter before them ; likewise there was the flags carried before them, and one of the country fencers going before the palanquins they ride in. After him followed the palanquins, by whose sides went roundeleeroes,[46] carrying of broad things like targets to keep away the sun or rain. They were also accompanied with horsemen and footmen, English and other servants ; and this was their manner of going abroad for recreation. Thomas Clark had belonging unto him and did him service usually 20 servants and slaves, whose wages were borne in part by the Company and the rest

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was paid by himself, as Clark said. That the said Clark kept a house of his own, wherein was a porter and three other slaves or servants."

Drunkenness and debauchery were the other vices of the factors and we have the testimony of Andrew Trumball[47] that Francis Day did not consider it unconscionable to realise extravagant rates from the Company's own servants. On July 24, 1642 the *Hopewell* anchored at Masulipatam where Trumball and other sailors remained twelve days during which time Day embarked some cloves, but "none of them belonging to the Company." During the ship's stay at Balasore (three months and sixteen days from August 14, 1642) Day charged 1,400 rupees for her provisions, "whereas by the estimation of all men that knows the place he could not expend above 60 rupees per month...a beef being constantly bought there for one rupee or one rupee and a half at the most, and all other provisions accordingly as cheap." They arrived at Masulipatam on December 8. From the answer of Trumball to Day's charges[48] (June 1643) we learn that Day himself was often drunk, both at sea and on shore. "Drinking with the Moors and Persians at Balasore, he so disguised himself in their presence that they sent him away in a palanquin, out of which he fell by the way..."

Not only were the factors in Bengal negligent, but they were also refractories. President William Fremlen, Francis Breton and Joyce Wylde, in their letter from Swally Marine (Surat) to the Company dated January 27, 1642 said :[49] "We shall not need herein more to enlarge of your Coast factors actions, because their own letters speak the *Reformation's* arrival, cargo, and dispeed to Bantam, the *Diamond* and *Endeavour's* dismission to the Bay of Bengal, to pay debts and bring your factors thence (who have often been fruitlessly called thence), and such other their proceedings as merit your notice ; of whose subordinacy we are

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heartily weary, and could (if you were pleased to think it fittest for your service) even wish them again submitted to Bantam, because our reprehensions (when we apprehend their proceedings unreasonable or improvident) though presented to them in a mild modest dialect, appear so offensive and grievous that they are again retorted uncivilly and unsatisfactorily, insomuch that we are somewhat troubled to resolve how to deal with them..."

The *Diamond* then departed on May 24 (1641) and reached Masulipatam on the 29th, "from which port she is since sent to Bengal to trim and bring thence those factors, for whose clearing she and another vessel bought needlessly by John Yard in the Bay, called the (*Endeavour*) carried goods and moneys to the amount of Pagodas 3,193.13.4 and freight goods and passengers paying for their transport Pagodas 681.13.6." (The *Endeavour* lost an anchor,[50] beat off her rudder and some of her sheating, while negotiating the bar at Balasore in 1644).

PRIVATE TRADE

Private trade was the main attraction of the Company's servants who came to India as the salary was indeed poor. It was the intention of every servant, whether he was a sailor or factor, to enrich himself, even at the expense of the Company. "In 1628 the Company induced the Crown to issue a proclamation which sought to deter private traders from their nefarious practices by threatening severe punishment in the Star Chamber, but it also allowed the Company's servants to trade freely in certain commodities and gave them a limited quota in others. By 1635 the Court of Committees had become partly reconciled to the existence of private trade and admitted that it could not wholly be suspended. All that they could do was to declare that the factors who brought home commodities in excess to the quantities

allowed them by the proclamation of 1628 were to have the whole amount confiscated."[51]

President Gerald Pinson had rightly pointed out the excessive private trade carried on by the factors in Bengal in 1636. He wrote to the Company : "It (Bengal) is a country abounding with admired plenty, witnessed in all thingswhich are ordinarily exported from thence : but what the mischief should be that our people should find no better success, but that such a ship as the *Speedwell* should loiter in that plentiful place so many months to return at last (when she could well stay no longer) with such a poor cargo, we do much admire ; and have been always laden, though your account has so little in them."[52]

Cartwright,[53] who was branded as a great private trader during his presidency at Bantam, did not indulge in this nefarious practice while he was the Chief at Balasoreand Hariharpur. Francis Day carried on a large amount of private trade.[54]

The commodities the East India Company had to offer to the natives in Bengal were not very much in demand ; but the goods from the Bay found a profitable market in England and elsewhere. Broadcloth, lead, silver, quicksilver, vermilion, etc. were the commodities that found acceptance in Bengal. Gold was not very much in demand on account of Islamic prohibition against it for personal ornaments. Gum-lac, sugar, silk and piece-goods were the commodities greatly in demand in England. Rice, wheat, butter, oil, spices etc. were bought bythe factors for coastal trade. Indigo and saltpetre had not figured in the trade of Bengal at this time. Part of the lead brought by the *Swan* in 1633 was disposed of in Bengal at 10 rupees the Jehangiri maund.[55] The broadcloth brought by the same ship had to be dispeeded for sale at Patna, a month's journey into the country : "as it seems there is no great hopes of selling such commodities near the seaside, and what markets they meet withal farther within the land we have

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not as yet been advised of."[56] The *Hopewell* sailed from Madrasapatam on July 19, 1642 and landed some broadcloth and eleven chests of silver.[57] "The latter was welcome but, for the cloth, it found no such acceptance, as in the former years, by the occasion of the great wars in these parts." Francis Day sailed from Masulipatam on August 7, 1642 to Balasore, reaching his destination six days latter. Here he sold or bartered some glasses, knives, lead, broadcloth &c. for sugar, Gurras, Sannoes, Cassaes, iron and Ginghams, all but the last being intended for Persia.[58]

Imports from Bengal : Silk and piece-goods were the commodities ordered by the Company for the home market. Gum-lac and sugar were probably meant for the Persian Gulf traffic. Bengal "yields store of exceedingly good powder sugar, which costs not there above two pence half penny the English pound with all charges aboard," wrote Thomas Joyce to the Company on October 15, 1634.[59] The Speedwell disposed of her Bengal sugar to very great profit and carried back the proceeds in specie, wrote the factors from Surat to the Company on January 2, 1636.[60] The *Coaster* and a small pinnace called the *Unity* sailed for Balasore towards the end of February 1638, carrying a stock of clove, with orders to bring back a cargo of sugar and gum-lac by the end of October.[61] Thomas Clark and Richard Hudson at Masulipatam confirmed in their letter dated February 24, 1638 to John Yard at Balasore the receipt of goods by the *Thomas* (November 16, 1637) invoiced at Rs. 20,707 and by the *Darling* and *Unity* 386 bags of sugar without invoice.[62] President Francis Breton and his Council at Surat wrote to the Adventurers in the Second General Voyage on January 31, 1649 that if large quantities of sugar were required in future, "they must be obtained from Agra and its neighbourhood ; but probably the Company will desire to be supplied from Bengal where it is better and cheaper acquirable."[63] They confirmed in their letter dated April 5, 1649 to the Company that they had made no purchase of sugar as that from Bengal was both better and cheaper.[64]

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"Gum-lac upon sticks is there (Bengal) to be had very cheap and is much required, as well for Macassar and Persia as for England", wrote Thoms Joyce from Masulipatam to the Company on October 25, 1634.[65] The factors at Surat wrote to the Company on January 2, 1636 that gum-lac on sticks was dear in the local market, because it yielded so much profit in Persia.[66] It fetched 30 Larins the Surat maund in 1635; the price early in January 1636 was 18 mahmudis. "This sort comes all from Bengal, where it is cheap and plentiful: insomuch that we do sometimes admire that you are no better furnished from thence. Masulipatam, we think, should also supply you with that which comes from Arracan and Pegu, which does afford to our knowledge a far deeper tincture and would therefore be more valued in the general use whereunto it is now employed".[67] The factors at Surat stopped buying gum-lac from the local market as it was priced 14 or 15 mahmudis per maund in April 1636 and as it could be procured from Bengal much more cheaply. The Agent and Council at Masulipatam confirmed to the Company on October 25, 1639 that when money arrived they would place order for buying gum-lac, but it was useless to do anything at that time.[68]

Silks and piece-goods : As we have already seen the scarcity of picee goods in Masulipatam in 1633 was the immediate cause for venturing into Bengal. The Company depended very much upon the factories at Surat and Masulipatam for supply of piece-goods to cater to the home market. These goods, in most cases, were named after the places from where they were procured. The Agent at Masulipatam had written to the Company on October 25, 1634 that Bengal afforded "store of white cloth at cheap rates, such as is suitable for England, Persia, and the Southwards : although the *Swan's* invoice from thence the last year gave no great testimony thereof, being freighted with

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divers sorts of odd ends that were scrapped together in two or three rainy months by unskilful buyers and in a place that they were then altogether unacquainted with. Silk there may be bought likewise yearly, to a great sum, at 4 or 5 Fanams the English pound. The sample sent by the *Mary*. Divers other things it affords for Persia, as Sashes, Stuffs, Allegas, fine white cloth, and the like...".[69] The Company in 1641 directed the *Hopewell* to proceed fromthe Coast to the Bay of Bengal for procuring "Sannoes, coloured Ginghams, Cassaes &ca." and afterwards to make a voyage to Persia.[70] Francis Breton, William Fremlen, Thomas Mary, Thomas Adler, William Thurston and Richard Fitch at Surat wrote to the Company on January 27, 1644 that the Coast of Coromandel and Bengal would best furnish other sorts of "Callico lawnes, as Cassadees, Goodlars, Hummony, Beetelas" &c. : but for "Sheerisadfs they are extraordinarily dear, almost out of use, and indeed not worth your owning."[71] The Company desired to get Bengal silk in 1648 and President Breton and Council at Surat wrote to their employers[72] on January 6 that year that the Court's wishes regarding the same were communicated to Agra whence the three samples were received. The first, rated at $2\frac{1}{2}$ rupees the double seer of 40 pice, was coarse, "yet of an indifferent good sort without side, but exceedingly false made up : wherein their art discovers an old accustomed deceit, which (it) is said they that deal therein are so used unto that it cannot be broken" The second sort, rated at $4\frac{3}{4}$ rupees looked good, but was also (though in a lesser degree) falsely packed ; while the third at $7\frac{1}{2}$ rupees, seemed quite satisfactory, though possibly the price might be thought too high. They expressed the hope to forward a bale or two of each sort by the next sailing for trial. The factors confirmed despatch of samples of Bengal silk with their prices ("which rather decline than rise") on January 31, 1649.[73]

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The Company could not procure various piece-goods which were much sought after at home, as there were few experienced factors in Bengal. President Peniston and Thomas Winter, writing from Bantam, to the Company on January 11, 1650 said :"...As for purchasing coloured Ginghams in Bengal, the only person available there is one William Nettlam, formerly left to look to the Company's house and not fit to buy or sell, being for most part every full moon distracted."[74]

Coast and port-to-port trade was lucrative, but the English Company was slow to take advantage of it. The Dutch were quick in grabbing any opportunity and were masters in this respect. They had almost monopolised the spice-trade in Bengal. The Masulipatam factors had written to the Company on October 25, 1634 : "Spice of all sorts sells there (Bengal) to good profit, but the Dutch freemen from Batavia, and Portuguese from Macassar did so stuff the markets therewith last year as now there is little or none required. Hereafter the Dutch Company (we believe) will do the like ; so we see not any great hope of gains by that commodity".[75]

Two pinnaces were purchased by the factors at Masulipatam for the coastal trade. One more (*Endeavour*) vessel was added to the fleet by John Yard in 1641. "Tobacco, iron, tin, and sundry other petty goods is yearly carried thither on the junks that sail from this place (Masulipatam) : and if we receive any encouragement from our friends there (in Bengal) to be trading in the like, we shall not omit to put it to practice," wrote the Masulipatam factors on October 25, 1634 to the Company.[76] Since the factors at Balasore were interested in trading for their own profit, they paid scant attention to the proposals of their colleagues at Masulipatam.

Cartwright had written[77] to Thomas Ewryn in 1634 that rice and butter were sent inthree *mallings*[78] and asked Hugh Braddock

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to check their receipt. On December 18, 1641 the pinnace *Diamond* arrived at Masulipatam from the Bay of Bengal with a cargo of goods invoiced at Rs. 1,377-5-0. "The particulars are *viz*. 155 maund coarse iron, 155 rupees, 40 ditto 7 seers (?) fine iron, 119 rupees 12 annas ; 186 maund wheat, 124 rupees ; 2 bales Sann[79] containing 150 pieces, 578 rupees. 9 annas ; one white horse, not worth a pagoda, rated at 400 rupees ; total-1,377 rupees 5 annas. Also as much freight goods as paid them in the Bay 283 rupees ; where she cost the trimming mere 2,000 rupees."[80]

Francis Day, writing from Balasore to the Company on November 3, 1642 said that finding the indigo of Masulipatam was far better than that of Madrasapatam, he had asked Peniston to send a sample to Surat, which, if approved there, no doubt a good quantity would be provided against the return of the *Hopewell* from Persia. On the other hand, the Murrees (Moorees) of Madrasapatam are far better and cheaper than those of Masulipatam, and so the former should be the place of provision.[81] Andrew Cogan, Henry Greenhill and John Brown writing from Fort St. George to the President and Council at Bantam on January 4, 1643 informed them that "here with us the times are so bad, in regard of the wars, that nothing will sell at any rate ; that makes us wish now (too late) that we had sent all the coral, quicksilver, and vermilion which we took ashre here into the Bay".[82]

Sailings : Direct sailings from England to Bengal during 1633-1650 were not frequent, but ships called at Balasore after touching Masulipatam, We learn that the *Speedwell* on her arrival from Masulipatam from Persia was sent into the Bay and returned from there on June 2. Cartwright and Clark returned on her, but they proceeded to their station in the same vessel shortly afterwards.[83] Small vessels from Bengal were

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despatched to other factories, In his account of the voyage of the *Discovery*, Richard Forder[84] has made the following entry in his log : 1634, November 5 : "There came a ship from Nassapore (Narsapur)[85] that belonged to Bengal that had a pass from our merchant and an English flag upon her poop." November 27. The *Jewell*, the *Speedwell*, and a small frigate called the *John*, arrived from Bengal. November 28. Roberts (master of the *Jewell*,) was taken ashore, being very ill ; but he died four or five hours later," The *Thomas*[86] which had been sent into the Bay in September 1637 under the charge of Baker and Peniston returned two months later but with a cargo that fell far short of expectations.

Thomas Godfrey, master of the *Coaster*, was instructed on February 22, 1638 to proceed to Balasore to refit his ship and return to Masulipatam calling at Harishpur Road, if required, to take in goods,[87] John Yard was asked on February 24, 1638 to see to it that as soon as the *Coaster* arrived she was brought over the bar of Balasore and placed in a convenient dock for trimming, the care of which was commited to her master, the factors supplying him with all assistance required.[88] Clark and Hudson in issuing these instructions to Yard expressed the hope that the *Coaster* would be ready by the beginning or middle of October and ordered goods to be kept in readiness to lade upon her. She was asked not to be detained more than 48 hours at Harishpur where goods were required to be kept ready for lading.

The *Diamond* [89] was sent to Masulipatam on May 24, 1641 and reached that port on 28th from where she was sent to Bengal for trimming and bringing the factors. She returned to Masulipatam on December 18 with a poor lading and few freight goods. The *Hopewell* reached Masulipatam on July 24, 1641 and sailed for the Bay of Bengal, accompanied by the

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Advice on August 6, and reached Balasore [90] on August 24. She left Balasore on December 8, and anchored at Masulipatam.. We learn from the letter of Andrew Cogan, Henry Greenhill and John Brown dated, Fort St. George, July 25, 1642 to the President and Council at Surat that the *Advice's* rudder became defective and was sent to the Bay to have it put right.[91]

The pinnace *Advice* left Balasore on November 7, 1642 and reached Masulipatam ten days later with a cargo for the Joint Stock amounting to Rs. 5,333-12-0, and freight goods, paying Rs. 486. The *Hopewell* quitted Balasore on December 1 with goods for the General Voyage invoiced at 15,879 rupees 12 annas, together with passengers and freight goods paying 6,345 Rupees. The *Endeavour* sailed from Balasore on November 25, and after calling at Hariharpur reached Masulipatam on December 18, and Fort St. George on 27th Her cargo included 4,857 rupees 3 annas for the General Voyage, 209 rupees 12 annas for the Joint Stock and freight goods 745 rupees, according to a letter from Andrew Cogan, Henry Greenhill and John Brown dated, Fort St. George, January 4, 1643 to the President and Council at Bantam.[92]

QUARREL WITH MIR JUMLA

The trade of the European nations in India depended upon the goodwill of the Mogul Emperor and those princes who retained their independence. The traders acknowledged the Mogul Emperor as the central figure of India. The Qutb Shahi kingdom of Golconda had managed to retain its independence during the reign of Shah Jehan when the English Company established its trading agency at Masulipatam. The English merchants had to deal with the Mogul Governor of Orissa when the Company established factories at Balasore and Hariharpur..

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Since Masulipatam was the port of the kingdom of Golconda the Company had also to keep good relations with the Sultan of that state.

Mir Jumla (=Mir Muhammad Said Ardistani, Muazzam Khan, Khan-i-Khanan, Sipahsalar, Yar-i-Wafadar) who had entered the service of the King of Golconda, some time in 1634, was appointed *havaldar* [93] of the port of Masulipatam by Sultan Adbullah Qutb Shah in 1636, considering his extensive commercial interests. The *havaldar* had reduced the Sultan to a mere figurehead in course of time and he was all in all in the kingdom of Golconda by 1643-44. The high dignitaries of the Moguls and Qutb Shahis were periodically propitiated by the European nations for their uninterrupted commercial activities.

The factors at Masulipatam wrote to the Company on September 20, 1636[94] that the Danes had two "ships arrived out of Europe, with a large cargo of silver, vermilion, quicksilver, lead, and broadcloth ; and notwithstanding they pay all customs of this country (from which we are free) have presented the king (Sultan Abdullah Qutb Shah ?) with one suite (of) rich armour with lances etc, one piece (of) fine scarlet, and...great saccules (of) clove".

The Golden *firman*[95] of February 26, 1634 procured by Agent Thomas Joyce from the Sultan of Golconda secured the English Company complete exemption of all customs in his kingdom. The factors at Masulipatam (Thomas Clark and Richard Hudson) wrote[96] to their colleagues (John Yard others) in Bengal on May 28, 1638 that "You write unto us that the Dutch have been with the Nawab (Mir Jumla) whom they have liberally *pishcasht*.[97] Do you think the returns which you have made us can animate us to be so liberal as them ? No." The factors at Balasore paid a visit to Mir Jumla in early January 1638 and gave him a present of 500 rupees and "more" be-

sides promising to supply pilots to navigate his junk to Persia. Clark and Hudson, in their letter under reference, ridiculed Yard for being too liberal and wrotel :

"You advise us in yours of the 13th January that you had been with the Nawab and that, in regard the Dutch had been so free to him, you must for your honour be so liberal as to give him 500 rupees and more ; but that more wee know not what it amounts to...The Nawab's request unto you for to supply him with a pilot and two or three English more to help navigate a junk of his to Persia, we believe you proceeded too far in your promise to furnish him with the same, knowing that our necessity was such that (we) are at present forced to entertain these country blacks to sail in our ships and boats. Now, judge, you, what reason we have to furnish Moors, whose affections towards us continue no longer than till their own turns are served. We desire you therefore to content the Nawab with *delassa*[98] and *reapa*,[99] for you cannot help him at this time...Should an Europe ship arrive this year, you may then expect to hear further from us : also the Nawab shall participate of such tophaies[100] as the Company shall please to send out unto us." Possibly they will in that case be able to furnish the Nawab with the sailors he wants, should he ask again, this excuse may be made.

From Hudson's account[101] of the events at Balasore, dated December 26, 1647, we learn that the English were attacked by Mir Jumla's forces without any provocation over the question of his junk. A Danish fleet of five vessels had seized a Moorish ship with eight elephants on board (which probably Mir Jumla had imported from Arracan). The Company's factors pleaded with the Danes for the release of the junk at the request of Malik Beg (local Governor ?), but could not prevail upon them. The Moors told the factors that as the Danes and the English were alike Christians. any damage done by the former would

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have to be compensated by the latter. Matters remained so until October 10. In the interim a letter was received from the Nawab (Mir Jumla), brought by a captain and 500 horse, The English were required to meet the missive four or five miles out of town ; but they refused to do so on the ground that this was a new custom ; and thereupon it was brought to their house. It proved to contain "an imperious command for our stay". The factors refused to obey, and their vessel "fell a little lower" as if to depart. On this perceived "some 1,000 soldiers were called from the adjacent places, and suddenly they made a mud wall and planted nine great guns (in the interim of our talking) : and that night they made three shot at us and spoiled some of our fore riggings. The next day they planted other two guns to play on our bows, and other two in the Nawab's junk in the dock, and other three pieces by the Prince's ship, all which in less than 300 feet of our ship. Perceiving this, and that there was no hopes to get down (nor could without the help of boats, which were denied), we resolved to stay longer, and would have carried our ship to a more convenient berth (because there was no probabilty of getting down, for they had staked the river in six or seven places and sunk three or four boats, and six or eight mallangees[120] boats filled with wood, straw, and such combustible stuff, to fire us), if it had been possible for us to have gotten past their fortification ; but were prevented by 10 or 14 shot from the shore and ships in the dock, with 200 small shot and many arrows. The tide being spent and the wind blow fresh at N. E., we were compelled to fall down to the first berth, where we rode till one or two of the clock without shooting; when it seems because of our sufferances they esteemed us their own, and like a flock of tigers with open mouths they came upon us, firing the *Friendship's* bankshall (i. e. warehouse) and heaving dust on us. At last our patience would hold no

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longer. We addressed ourselves to our guns, and for three or four hours we made warm work ; and truly I conceive each was glad to be at quiet. The Dutch have escaped no better, for their business was altogether stopped till the 6th or 7th December, when they also enjoyed licence, or rather forced it by landing 60 men and ten pieces of ordnance, which they mounted on their house and bankshall, keeping one of their three ships they had in Pipli always to scour the river, going down with the ebb and up with the flood." This attack was entirely unprovoked, "as under their hands I can shew."

Thus, the extension of English trade into Bengal did not produce any tangible results on account of the inefficiency of the merchants stationed in the factories at Balasore and Hariharpur. The large amount of private trade carried on by the factors also caused concern at home. The working of the factories at Balasore and Hariharpur made the Company wise and the authorities at home were left with no doubt that the establishment of trading lodges in the interior places such as Hooghly, Kasimbazar, Patna, Malda and Dacca were absolutely necessary to exploit the lucrative trade of Bengal. Broadcloth and other commodities imported from England found little demand in the coastal districts. The piece-goods and silk manufactured in the interior parts of Bengal had to be brought down to Balasore for sending home. Hooghly, where the Portuguese and Dutch had their factories, was the ultimate destination of the English Company.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Purab (Cf. note 14 to Chapter 1). Also see *Hobson-Jobson*, Crooke's edition, p. 724.

2. Copy of the *firman* from Emperor Shah Jehan dated 3rd November 1637 is included in the Trade Licences of the East India Company.

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3. Wilson, C. R., *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, vol. II, part I (London, 1900), p. 191

4. Wilson, *Early Annals*, vol. II, part II—*Surman Embassy* (1963 Asiatic Society Reprint), p. 355

5. Foster, William. *English Factories* (EF) *in India*, 1655-60, pp. 105, 106

6. Catalogue of Persian MSS at the British Museum, Addl MSS No. 24039 ; Foster, EF 1655-60, pp. 410-416.

7. EF 1637-1641, Introduction, page 20.

8. Chapter I regarding Shah Jehan's *firman*.

9. Sarkar, Jagdish Narayan, *The Life of Mir Jumla, the General of Aurangzeb*, Calcutta, 1951, pp. 2, 4.

10. The Company to the Agent & Factors at Masulipatam reminded on October 27, 1636 (Letter Book, vol. I, p. 127) that since November 1631 the following sums, in addition to what was received from Bantam and Surat, were sent them :

By the *Pearl* (November 26, 1631)— £ 10,480-9-4.
By the *Swan* (September 29,1632)— £ 22,254-10-7.
By the *Jewel* (October 20,1633) — £ 25,033-18-11.
By the *Coaster* (August 1635) — £ 11,000.0-0.
By the *Swan* (October 30, 1635) — £ 29,449-16-4.

(Foster, EF 1634-36, p. 318)

11. Bengal in this Chapter, as in the previous one, means only the Coastal areas of the present State of Orissa, or more particularly Hariharpur and Balasore from 1633 to 1642 and the latter place only from 1642 to 1650,

12. O.C. 1718 ; EF 1637-41, p. 179.

13. O.C. 1764 ; EF 1637-41, p. 287.

14. O.C. 1853, Cartwright to the Company dated January 10, 1644, EF 1642-45, pp. 133-34.

15. Yule, *Hedges' Diary*, vol. III, p. 181.

16. EF 1637-41, pp. 50-51.

17. O.C. 1750 ; EF 1637-41, p. 223.

18. O.C. 1585, EF 1637-41, pp. 3-4.

19. Foster, EF, 1642-45, Introduction, page 27.

20. O.C. 1836 ; EF 1642-45, p. 126 and note.

21. This extract is taken from *Hedges' Diary*, vol. III, p. 181. The text of Clavel's account is printed in the *Diaries of Streynsham Master*, (ed. R.C. Temple, vol. II, pp. 84-87).

22. Foster, EF 1637-41, Introduction, page xliv-xlv and pages 255, 263.

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23. O.C. 1787, *Hedges' Diary*, vol, III, pp. 181-182.
24. Gurras (Gora, one of the coarsest of cotton cloths).
25. Sannoe (probably the *Sahn* of the *Ain-i-Akbari*—Blochmann, p. 94).
26. O C. 1805, EF 1642-45, p. 78.
27. O.C. 1540, EF 1634-36, pp. 56-57.
28. O.C. 1553 (EF 1634-36, p. 180. President Methwold and Council at Surat to the Company, March 6, 1636. "In Masulipatam your Agent Thomas Joyce deceased the 29th of December last...")
29. O.C. 1572 (EF 1634-36, pp. 296-7) Masulipatam to the Company, Sept. 20, 1636.
30. EF 1637-41, pp. 76-77.
31. Choudhuri, K.N., *The East India Company*, London, 1965, p. 198.
32. O.C. 1582, EF 1634-36, p. 328.
33. EF 1634-36, p. 25.
34. O.C. 1572, EF 1634-36, p. 296.
35. O.C. 1580, EF 1634-36, p. 327.
36. Gerald Pinson and others at Masulipatam to Surat, August 3, 1636.
37. EF 1634-36, p. 110.
38. EF 1637-41, pp. 72-73.
39. Foster, EF 1637-41, Introduction, pages 32 and 36.
40. EF 1637-41, Introduction, pages 44-45.
41. EF 1637-41, p. 43.
42. EF 1637-41, p. 76.
43. *Pishkast* from *Pishkash*, a present.
44. O.C. 1654, EF 1637-41, pp. 90-91.
45. EF 1637-41, p. 46 note.
46. Roundell = Umbrella (*Hobson-Jobson*, pp. 770-71).
47. O.C. 1784, EF 1642-45, p. 72.
48. O.C. 1824, EF 1642-45, p. 105.
49. O.C. 1787, EF 1642-45, pp. 13, 20-21.
50. O.C. 1901. President Thomas Breton, Thomas Merry and Richard Fitch at Swally Marine to the Company, November 28,1614 ; EF 1642-45, p. 207.
51. Chaudhuri, K.N., *op. cit.*, p. 88.
52. Foster, EF 1634-36, Introduction pages 35-36 and page 204.
53. Balasore Chief, 21st April 1633 to 17th December, 1635. Afterwards President at Bantam. Returned to England on the *Mary* in 1646.
54. *Cf*, 47 above, Trumball's testimony,

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55. O.C. 1536 ; Thomas Joyce and Nathaniel Wyche at Masulipatam to the Company, dt. October 25, 1634 ; EF 1634-36, p. 49.

56. O.C. 1536, EF 1634-36, p. 42.

57. O.C. 1797, EF 1642-45. Francis Day from Balasore to the Company dated November 3, 1642, p. 65.

58. O.C. 1797, EF 1642-45, pp. 65-66.

59. O.C. 1536, EF 1634-36, pp. 41-42.

60. O.C. 1552, EF 1634-36, p. 140.

61. Foster, EF 1637-41, Introduction, p. 32.

62. EF 1637-41, p. 50.

63. O.C. 2115, EF 1646-50, p. 255.

64. O C. 2121, EF 1646-50, p. 258.

65. O.C. 1536, EF 1634-36, p. 42.

66. O C 1552, EF 1634-36, p. 146

67 O C 1558, EF 1634-36, p, 206

68 O C 1718, EF 1637-41, p, 180

69 O C 1536, EF 1634-36, pp, 41-42

70 Company to the President and Council at Surat, dated November 24, 1641 ; EF 1637-41, pp, 313-314

71 O C 1858, EF 1642-45, p, 137

72 O C 2062, EF 1646-50, p, 189

73 O C 2115, EF 1646-50, p, 255

74 EF 1646-50, p, 274

75 O C 1536, EF 1634-36, pp, 43-44

76 O C 1536, EF 1634 -36, pp, 43-44

77 O C 1546, EF 1634-36, p, 51

78 Apparently some sort of a lighter

79 Sanno—a fine white cloth manufactured in Orissa.

80 O C 1791, EF 1637-41

81 O C 1797 ; EF 1642-45, pp, 64-66

82 O C 1805 ; EF 1642-45, p 78

83 Foster, EF 1634-36, Introduction pages 36-37 and page 204

84 EF 1634-36, p 30

85 Narsapur (Narsapuram) near Madapollam

86 Foster, EF 1637-41 ; Introduction, p 31

87 Instructions from Thomas Clark and Richard Hudson to Thomas Godfrey dated February 22, 1638 ; EF 1637-41, p 23

88 EF 1637-41, pp 50-51

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89 President Fremlin and others at Surat (O C 1767) to the company, dt, January 27, 1642 ; EF 1642-45, pp 20-21

90 The voyage of the *Hopewell* from England to the Coromondel coast (Marine Records, vol LXV, p 1) EF 1642-45, p 32

91 O C 1791 ; EF 1642-45, p 40

92 O C 1804, EF 1642-45, p. 77

93 Sarkar, J N, *Life of Mir Jumla*, p 4

94 O C 1572, EF 1634-36, p 297

95 Foster, EF 1634-36 & 1637-1641 for details of the *Golden Firman*

96 EF 1637-41, p 70

97 *Pishcasht*—made a present

98 Encouragement

99 *Reapa*—hope

100 Persian *tuhfa*, a present, or goods suitable for that purpose

101 O C 2054, EF 1646-1650, pp. 174 75

102 Hindi *Malangi*, a salt maker

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CHAPTER

3

DID BOUGHTON OBTAIN TRADING PRIVILEGES IN BENGAL ?

Most writers on the early history of British trade in Bengal have repeated (with more or less reserve) the picturesque story according to which the concessions, that enabled the East India Company's servants to establish factories and to trade duty-free in that province, were obtained through the magnanimity of a surgeon named Boughton, who, "having cured, first an imperial princess, and then of the consorts of Prince Shuja, the Viceroy of Bengal, declined to receive any personal remuneration, but begged that in lieu thereof his fellow countrymen might be granted the commercial privileges they had long desired", says William Foster.[1].

Robert Orme[2], Charles Stewart[3] and Talbhoys Wheeler[4] have all agreed that it was on account of the influence of Gabriel Boughton at the Mogul court that the English were granted trading privileges in Bengal. The English had already advanced from Masulipatam to Balasore in 1633[5] and their further progress was restricted by the *firman*[6] of Shah Jehan. The English advance from Balasore to Hooghly was made possible by Boughton's assistance.

Orme in the second volume of his *History* says: "The trade of this Country (Bengal) was opened to the English by

means of a surgeon named Boughton, who in 1636 was sent from Surat to Agra to attend a daughter of the Emperor Shah Jehan, whom he cured, and the Emperor, besides other favours, granted him a patent to trade free of customs throughout his dominions, with which Boughton proceeded to Bengal, intending to purchase goods in this province and to carry them by sea to Surat. His patent would probably have been little regarded, if the Nawab of the province had not wanted his assistance to cure one of his favourite women, whom he likewise recovered ; on which the Nawab prevailed on him to remain in his service, giving him an ample stipend, and confirming the privilege of trade which he had obtained at Agra, with a promise to extend it to all others of the English nation who should come to Bengal. Boughton wrote an account of his influence to the English governor at Surat, by whose advice the Company in 1640 sent two ships from England to Bengal, the agents of which, being introduced to the Nawab by Boughton, were received with courtesy and assisted in their mercantile transactions, and the advantages gained by this trial gave encouragement to prosecute the trade."[7]

Stewart, in his *History of Bengal*, gives the same story a little more elaborately in these words : "In the year of the Hegira 1046 (A.D. 1636), a daughter of the Empereor Shah Jehan having been dreadfully burnt, by her clothes catching fire, an express was sent to Surat, through the recommendation of the Vizier Assad Khan, to desire the assistance of an European surgeon. For this service the Council of Surat nominated Mr. Gabriel Boughton, Surgeon of the ship *Hopewell*, who immediately proceeded to the Emperor's camp, then in the Deccan, and had the good fortune to cure the young princess of the effects of her accident. Mr. Boughton, in consequence, became a great favourite at court ; and, having been desired to

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name his reward, he, with that liberality which characterises Britons, sought not for any private emolument, but solicited that his nation might have liberty to trade, free of all duties, to Bengal, and to establish factories in that country. His request was complied with, and he was furnished with means of travelling across the country to Bengal. Upon his arrival in that province, he proceeded to Pipli ; and, in the year 1048 (A. D. 1638) an English ship happening to arrive in that port, he in virtue of the Emperor's *firman*,* and the privileges granted to him negotiated with the whole of the concerns of that vessel without the payment of any duties. In the following year, the Prince Shuja having taken possession of the government, Mr. Boughton proceeded to Rajmahal, to pay his respects to his Royal Highness : he was most graciously received : and one of the ladies of the *harem* being then indisposed with a complaint in her side, the English surgeon was again employed, and had the good fortune to accelerate her recovery. Owing to this event, Mr. Boughton was held in high estimation at the court of Rajmahal ; and, by his influence with the Prince, was enabled to carry into effect the orders of the Emperor, which might otherwise have been cavilled at, or by some underhand method, have been rendered nugatory. In the year 1050 (A.D. 1640) the same ship returned from England and brought out a Mr. Bridgeman and some other persons ; for the purpose of establishing factories in Bengal. Mr. Boughton having represented the circumstance to the Prince, was ordered to send for Mr. Bridgeman ; that gentleman, in consequence, went to Rajmahal, was introduced to the Prince, and obtained an order to establish, in addition to

* Stewart explains that this was the *firman* received at Surat in February 1634, giving the English permission to trade in Bengal, using Pipli as their port of entry. (See *The English Factories in India*, 1634-36, p. xxxv.)

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that at Pipli, factories at Balasore and Hooghly.** Sometime after this event, Mr. Boughton died ; but the Prince still continued his liberality and kindness to the English."[8]

Wheeler is his *Early Records of British in India* has repeated the story 100 years after Orme thus : "In 1640 the English obtained further privileges from the Mogul. Princess Jahanara, daughter of Shah Jehan, had been severely burnt in 1636 by her clothes catching fire. The factors at Surat were requested to send a surgeon to court. A certain Dr. Gabriel Boughton attended on the Princess, and effected a perfect cure. Shah Jehan was overjoyed, and told Dr. Boughton to name his own reward. The patriotic Surgeon requested that the English Company might be allowed to trade in Bengal without payment of any duty. The boon was granted. Boughton obtained the *firman* and proceeded overland to Bengal. He reached Pipli, and saved an English ship from the payment of duties. At that time Shah Shuja, the second son of Shah Jehan, was Viceroy of Bengal. Dr. Boughton paid his respects to the Viceroy. He cured one of the ladies of the Prince of some sickness. The English were then permitted to build a factory at Hooghly, but without fortification. Henceforth Dr. Boughton was the hero of the Company's service, and obtained a lasting name in the early annals of British India."[9]

Thomas Bowrey, a contemporary of Boughton, who paid three visits to Bengal from 1660 to 1687 in his *Geographical*

** Stewart here appends : "See *East India Records*, vol. XIV, p. 22"—a reference which no one has succeeded in explaining. There is no such series now in the India Office, nor is there any evidence of its having existed at the East India House ; and it cannot be linked in any way with the Memorandum of Board which is following.

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Account of the Countries Round the Bay of Bengal[10] has confused Shah Shuja with Mir Jumla. Yule prefaces Bowrey's story thus [11]: "I also find from a MS discourse by J. B., a Captain of a Company's ship, who was in India c. 1670-1680 (which I have seen just as this sheet is going to press, and which I have the owner's permission to quote), that the story of the acquisition of privileges for his countrymen by Gabriel Boughton (there called Bowden) was then current, though some of the particulars are given differently. Indeed, this MS curiously illustrates the inexactitude of even twenty years' tradition. For it seems impossible that Mir Jumla, who did not come to Bengal till 1659, should have been the Mahommedan patron from whom Boughton (who died some years earlier) obtained trading privileges for his countrymen. The passage in J. B.'s MS. runs as follows :

"Our Nation free from all Duties and taxes whatever in these 3 Kingdomes'

"In the before mentioned places in these 3 Kingdomes" ("ORIXA, BENGALA, and PATTUNA", i. e., Behar) "the English nation in generall hath freedome of inhabiting and tradeinge, free from all manner of taxes and customes, in or out, the like priviledges hath noe Other Nation besides.

"first granted by the Great and famous Warriour EMIR JEMLA"

"All which was procured by the Ingenuitie of Mr. GABRIEL BOWDEN (One of our owne Nation) and a very Eminent Doctor of Phisick, sometime Doctor in Ordinary to the great Warriour EMIR JEMLA : who took a very great Affeotion towards him, and was most courteous and ffree to him, Especially upon a Notable Cure of his owne Lady performed (Vnder God) by the Doctor, the Nabob callinge for him ordered him att that instant to demand what he would haue giuen him or had

most likinge to and it shovld be granted in Consideration of his Loyal Service and care of the best of his familie. The Doctor highly Surprised with this great Person's Generositie, Soone considered vpon it, yet soe as not to be greedy of any present Gaine (onely for himselfe) and now in the best of time, requested that the ENGLISH Nation might Settle ffactories in what parts of the Kingdomes they pleased and be free off all duties and Customes, which then was 4 per cent. in and the like out for all the goods dealt in, the which was noe Sooner demanded but as readily granted, with *Phyrmands* in the PERSIAN Languadge that the ENGLISH Nation Shold hold that Priviledge soe longe as they pleased to live and Settle in these Dominions, and many Other rewards Liberally bestowed Vpon the Doctor (one beinge very rare among the Mahometans) ..." But here this part of the MS breaks off.[12]

"All which priviledge was acquired by that ingenuous kind-hearted Countreyman of ours Doctor GABL : BOWDEN."

Bruce in his *Annals* has given the account of Boughton which is more in consonance with truth than those previously quoted : "The Surgeons of the English Indiamen had acquired for their skill in curing the disorders of the principal Mogul officers a reputation, which made them known at court. Assalat Khan, a nobleman of high rank, applied to the Presidency of Surat to recommend a Surgeon to reside at Agra, and they selected Mr. Gabriel Boughton, surgeon of the Company's ship *Hopewell* for that duty, who was afterwards appointed Surgeon to the Emperor. His success gave the English an influence in the Mogul's court, which, in sequel, we shall find to be the source of

the valuable privileges which the London Company acquired in Bengal."[18]

Since most of the historians have utilized one or the other of the extracts quoted above, a hunt for the original source from which Orme and Stewart derived their authority led Sir William Foster to locate it. There is no doubt both made use of the same authority. "What then was the common source ? We are guided to an answer by an examination of the Orme MSS in the India Office Library, where, among the materials used by the historian, will be found two copies (India vol. VII, p. 1726, and O. V. 12, p. 1)** of an unsigned memorandum, dated February 1685, on the origin of the East India Company's privileges in Bengal. To one of these Orme has prefixed a note that it was copied from a document by an uncertain hand, who appears to have been one of the Company's agents in Bengal during the Agency of Job Charnock, which I, R.O., first discovered in the East India House, in a book entitled Fort. St. George Letters Received, from the 28th July, 1687, to 18th February, 1687-88".

"This reference is precise enough to enable us to trace the memorandum, among the India Office Records, in what is now *Factory Records : Fort St. George*, vol. XXX (p, 35). The volume containing it is one sent home from Madras in 1688 for the information of the Company, and comprises (as noted by Orme) copies of letters received at that Presidency between July, 1687, and the following February. The document, in question, though dated in 1685, is entered without comment among letters received in September, 1687, but there is a

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**I am indebted to Mr. S. C. Hill for this reference. My attention had, however, been previously drawn by Miss Anstey to the early copy among the records relating to Fort St. : George from which Orme's transcripts were made.—Note by Foster.

possible explanation of this. It follows a letter from Thomas Davies, the interloper, protesting against his being kept a prisoner ; and ; it contains an accusation against him of being partly responsible for the troubles experienced by the Company in Bengal, it may have been recorded at this point in justification of his detention. Otherwise, one may guess, it would never have been entered at all, since it was not in the nature of a letter. Of the fate of the original, by the way, nothing can be traced. Apparently it is no longer among the records at Madras.

"The document is of such interest that it is worth quoting in full, premising that, while the spelling remains unaltered, as regards the punctuation and the employment of Capital letters we follow modern methods"[14].

A brief account of the rice and tenor of the Honourable English East India Companies priviledges, together (with) their losses of them and their present case as to the cutoms— Febr. Anno 1684 (i.e. 1685).

> "About the year 1636 there was one Gabriel Boughton, a chyrurgeon, at Madrass (in the time of Agent Cockaine), who design'd home for England, and according took his passage upon the *Hopewell*, Captain Gage Commander, and near the Cape met with very bad weather and in the storm the said ship sprang a leak, which to save themselves they threw overboard their lading, and made for the Morituous ; where they arrived and mett with the ship *Dolphin*, Captain Proud Commander, which ship in bad weather had lost her masts ; at which place both ships being fitted they went for Suratt. Mr. Boughton, haveing lost all he had, tarried at Suratt : during which stay Assut Chaune, the Emperours Buxy, writt to Suratt for a chirurgeon.

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to come to court: the Emperours daughter, by acciden. haveing her clothes set on fire, was burnt, for the cure of whom a chirurgeon was sent for. Mr. Boughton went and performed the cure. He was much made off, and allowed 7 rupies per diem and invited to serve the Emperor; but Mr. Boughton did not like to stay, and after some time travelled most part of India, and at last came down into Bengall. The Prince Shah Sujah then residing at Rajamaule, Mr. Boughton went thither. He had been there but a little while, when he was taken notice off by a great person that had seen him at the Emperours court, while he was performing the cure upon the Emperours daughter. And at that time there was one of the Princes concubines, which woman the Prince greatly loved, had a great pain in her side, andcould find no cure. The said great person acquaints the Prince that there was a chyrurgeon in the town that had wrought a great cure on the Emperours daughter: upon which the Prince sent for Mr. Boughton, who undertooke the cure and succeeded, curing the woman in a very short time; upon which Mr. Boughton was in very great favour and allowed by the Prince 10 rups. per diem. This Prince, Shaw Sujah, was the present Emperours elder brother, and had given him by his father the government and all the revenues of the provinces of Bengalla, and Orissa. He offers Mr. Boughton, if he would trade, he should be free from paying of custom and other duties, and gave Mr. Boughton two *neshauns* to that end. Mr. Boughton thereupon came down to Piply, and by a

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Moors ship then bound for Surrat writt to the President there and gave an account of all goods and merchandize that he could learn were here to be had. The President received the letter, and about two years after came a ship from England, whereof was Commander Captain Brookhaven, and upon the account of Mr. Boughtons *neshauns* was free of all duties. He was at Hugly and bought severall goods and returned : and after two years came the second time, and brought Mr. Bridgman Cheif, and several others to settle factories. And upon their arrivall Captain Brookhaven writt to Mr. Boughton, being then with the Prince at Rajamaule, thathe was come to settle factories. Mr. Boughton forthwith sent down his servant James Price to Hughly to fetch Mr. Bridgman up to the Prince ; who accordingly went up, and was presented by Mr. Boughton to the Prince to whom Mr. Bridgman made a present of some rarities ; and Mr. Bridgman took that opportunity to speak to the Prince for his *neshauns* for Mr. Bridgman to trade freely without the paying of custome or any other duties. The Prince gave it, upon Mr. Boughtons request : upon which *neshaun* Mr. Bridgman settled factories at Ballasore, Hughly, etc., which lasted till the United Company broke up. When the United Company broke up, there was one Mr. Paul Waldgrave Cheif of Bengal, who went from Ballasore over land to Metchlepatam, and in he way was rob'd and lost the Princes *neshaun*, with several perwannas grounded upon it. There was at that time a Company that went under the name of Maurice Thompsons Company here ; for

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whom there was Mr. Billadge Gordon and Chamberlaine, to whom joyned Mr. Blak, one that was the old Companies servant. But they haveing neither neshaun or perwanna, and Mr. Boughton dying about that time, they apply themselves to James Price, that was Mr. Boughton's servant and well acquainted at the Princes court, to endeavour to procure the Princes neshaun : which said James Price undertook to do them what service he could, and went up with Mr. Billadge from Ballasore to Rajamaulle, and did solicite for the Princes neshaun now in our hands, which they and this present Company after them had and did hold those priviledges during the Prince Shaw Sujahs time. But it was but little time before the King, the youngest brother, by several strategems got the crown, which no sooner he did possess but he sought Shah Sujahs (his brothers) life, sent a great army down to take him. Shaw Sujah fled to Arraca(n) where tis said he was kill'd. The King made Meer Jumla (the Generall that came down with the army) Nabob. Trad being small, the English few, by presents he allow'd the English to go on. He continued about four years. After him, about the year fifty-nine, came Daud Chawn to be Nabob. Still, the trade being small, etc., he allow'd the English free trade, being presented. The next was Shaw Esta Chawn, the present Nabob, who by presents was conduced to connive at the English free trade for about 16 years. The same Shaw Esta Chawn being Nabob from the year 1660 to 1677, was then turn'd out. Then came Sultan Azum, the present Emperours son, to be the

Nabob ; and at that time was Hodgee Suffy Chaun Duan and a great freind to the English, who by applycation made to him did greatly favour the Eng lish in procuring the Princes neshaun to be custom free, which was granted anno (blank). But the Prince continued but for one year, and Shaw Esta Chawn, the present Nabob, return'd again : and returning (being a most covetous man) came excee-ding eager now to make the best of his time. And finding that the Moors and Mogulls were not for his turne, being a lazy people and given to their plea-sure, he finds out a crafty fellow, a Gentue (who of all men are most cruell when they gett in power), a person suited every way to the said Nabobs temper and inclination, whose name was Boolchand. This person racks the people, gives the Companies affaire great disturbance ; so that it was thought adviceable that a Vuckell should be sent to endeavour to get the Kings phirmaund, they never having any law for the Companaes priviledges ; considering that the Nabob of Behar, residing in Pattana, would never take any notice of any of the neshauns or perwan-naes of the Princes and Nabobs of Bengalla, but alwayes gave great disturbance. The latter end Anno 1678 a Vuckell was sent to the Emperour, to get his phirmaund who after some time had admi-ttance to present his petition, which concerned prin-cipally those two things : first, that the English paying custom 2 per cent, and Jeidga $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. at Surrat they should be free of custom in all other places of his Empire ; secondly, that there should be no rewannas in writing demanded of what goods

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or merchandize for quantity or quality the English ship of. The petition was received and accordingly there was drawn up a phirmaund and presented to the Emperor. The Emperor read it and, it being incerted according to the petition that, there being paid 2 per cent custom and $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Jeidga at Surrat, the English should be free of custome etc. in all other places, and that no writing demanded of the English in any other place then Surratt, the former (viz. 'should be free of custome in all other places') the King struck out with his own hand, and added 'Let not one hinder or molest them'. The latter (viz. 'that no writings should be demanded of the English in any other place') the Emperor struck that quit out and added nothing. This I find the Vuckell adviseth Mr. Vincent, who returns an answer to this effect : 'If he could not gett it as he would, should gett it as he could.' The Vuckell procures the phirmaund at great expence and sends, which arrived here in anno 1680: which phirmaund thought by many not of much value. A translate of said phirmaund follows.

"In the name of God, amen. To all present and future rulers in Surrat that remain in the hopes of the Emperours favour. Be it known that at this happy birth of time it is agreed of the English Nation, besides their usuall custom of 2 per cent. for their goods, more $1\frac{1}{2}$ Jeidga or polemoney shall be taken. Wherefore it is commanded that in the said place, from the lst day of Shuvaal in the 23d year of our reign, of the said people three and a half

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rupees per cent. of all theirgoods on account of custome and polemony be taken for the future ; and at all other places upon this account let no none hinder or molest them for custom, rawdarree, peashcush, phirmaish, and other matters by the Emperours court forbidden : not to make any demands in these particulars : observe. Written the 23rd day the month Suffer in the year twenty three."

When the phirmaund came, though there was a dispute upon it, yet, Hodgee Suffy Chaun, being our friend, a perwanna was obtained of the Nabob and said Duan Hodgee Suffy Chaun for free passing our goodes upon the phirmaund, interpreting the said phirmaund in our favour ; and accordingly for the following yeare, the Hon'ble Companies affairs were not molested. But the next year Boolchand, having a coppy of the said phirmaund, puts a stop upon all affaires and gives great trouble, saying the phirmaund doth not at all concerne this place, it being directly to the Governours of Surrat, and the meaning was that those that paid custome at Surrat should not be molested in any other place, and if we would have a rewanna that we had paid custom at Surrat, he would not require it for what goods we imported : and thereupon a copy of the said phirmaund to the Nabob with his interpretation of it, and withall informing the Nabob the English, under a pretence that they were freed of custome by the Kings phirmaunde, give their dusticks to the natives of the Kings subjects and vassalls by which means the King was

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defrauded of his revenue. At which the Dutch get in and excite the Governour, alleadging they have paid four per cent custome ever since they have been in the country, which amount to a very great sum. which was hard measure on them when the English go free. The Nabob writes all to the Emperour, and the effect was a husbull hookum (or an order) from the Emperour to Hodgee Suffy Chaun, his Duan, to take of us 3½ per cent. custome: which came down the begining of anno 1682, a little before Agent Hedges etc. arrivall, who found a stop upon all the Honourable Companies affairs. And that which confirmed the stop was Mr. Vincents complying with the orders, paying 5 per cent. custome, which was exacted from them. A little before Agent Hedges etc. arrival Mr. Vincent had dispatcht a Vuckell to court, who was proceeded as far as Pattana when Mr. Pitt in the *Crown* arriv'd, upon whose arrivall Mr. Vincent orders the Vuckell to stay there till further order. When it was made known to the said Agent Hedges, that there was a Vuckell going to court, he, having a design to go to Dacca, pleads the great expence, hath it collected, and calls a consultation and there aggravates the expence and length of time etc., as may be seen in a consultation September 25, 1682. And having framed his designe to serve himself, as well in that particular as many others, he dissembled matters so artificially that an honest mind not entertain any thought of his hypocrisy: but it appeared by the event that to serve himself was his design, and therefore the

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Vuckell was remanded back. And to Dacca the said Agent goes and spends near 50,000 rs. and only obtains 7 months time (we giving in bills of entry at Houghly of all goods shipt off) to try what could be done in the procuring a phirmaunde (but did no more towards it then to trust the Nabobs promise to write on our behalf), and if a phirmaund could not be procur'd in said 7 months then he yeilded to pay custome etc. ; and give the security of a merchant at Dacca (which trap it was thought was laid for him), into whose hands was deposited 20,000 rs. for counter security. After the 7 months was some time expired no phirmaund came, the said merchant (into whose hands was deposited the 20,000 rs.) paies the custome upon the tallicaes (or bills of entry), which were giveing (*sic*) during the said 7 months, which was for the goods that went home per *Defence* and *Society* etc : the depositing the 20,000 rs. being a contrivance to draw into the fact, that they might have it entered into the Kings books that we had yeilded to pay custome and so be a president for the future, presidents in all cases being what these people build greatly upon, which they always plead as we do prescriptions in England. This paying of custome, although it was endeavoured to be hid by the Agent, yet it was rumored, and I told the Agent I heard that custom was paid : which as appeared afterwards was a real truthk, yet he the said Agent denyed it with the greatest asservation. Before the next shipping I told him again I heard that the merchant had paid the custom : the Agent still denyed it. After the *Prudent Mary*

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and the *Herbert* was gone, I told him I heard custome was paid for what we had given our Tallicas for 1683. He still denyed, and the said Agent in the first generall by the *Golden Fleece*, at a consultation, by reading the letters being put hard to it, with great asservation affirme that custome was not paid, when 2 yeares successively he knew it was paid, the 20,000 rs. being a cover to the design : but before the *Golden Fleece* went away in a second generall he acknowledges custom was paid for the 2 years past, and writes so to the Honourable Company so that now 3 years successively custom hath been paid for what goods hath been entered ; and that which is of vast prejudice to the Honourable Company, in that as well as in other respects, is Mr. Davis his offering to pay custom, as a motive to the procuring the Nabobs perwanna and his protection : who hath procured a perwanna upon these tearms, to build factories in any place in Bengalla ; and these Governours will not understand any difference of parties of the English, pretending more right one then the other.

From what I have gathered by searching into the rice and tenor upon which the Honourable Company have had and held their priviledges, and how now it stands with them, I shall note a few things as follows, viz :

1st. That Shaw-Sujah, that first granted the English those priviledges enjoyed, had by his father government and all the revenues of Bengall and Orisa given, and therefore might have (given ?) those priviledges as a right to the

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first English, but it could last no longer then his time.

2. That the Emperour hath never given any phirmaund (a phirmaund is an edict of law) but what is directed to the Governours at Suratt, the translate of which I have given your Honour.
3. Yet notwithstanding in the time of the several Nabobs and Duans we have had the priviledges continued from time to time till anno 1682, with much strugling and great bribes.
4. That the Emperour hath given his order to the Duan that he shall take $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the English, according as it is paid at Surrat, except we bring a rewanna that custom is paid there.
5. That the Duan cann't dispence with the Kings order ; and the said Duan that is now is, is a devout Musselman that will take no present to the value of a flower.
6. That Custome hath been paid this 3 years according to Agent Hedges agreement with the Nabob, that if a phirmaund could not be procured in 7 months then he should pay it.
7. That the Dutch upon all occasions excite the Governours to take custom of us, alleadging their case, whom they (as they say) have as much reason to be free of custom as the English, and yet pay 4 per cent.
8. That Mr. Vincent, and after his Captain Alley paying custome, and at last Mr. Davis offering to pay $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent ; if they might have the

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Nabobs perwanna, which was granted in the name of the Ld. Lumbly, was of great prejudice to the Honourable Company in this affair."

JAHANARA

Since Boughton is said to have cured Jahanara from the effects of her burn injury, it is worthwhile to digress, in some detail, about the princess and the fire incident.

Jahanara, first daughter of Shah Jehan, from Mumtaz Mahal, was born on Wednesday, the 23rd March A.D. 1614, 21st Safar, A.H. 1023. "One of the most beautiful examples of female modesty to be found in the annals of woman is recorded of this princess, celebrated in song and history as the heroic, the witty, the generous, the elegant, the accomplished, and the beautiful Jahan Ara Begam. One night (26th March, A.D, 1644 ; 27th Muharram, A.H. 1054), as she was returning from her father's apartments to the *harem*, in one of the passages which connect the latter building with the body of the palace, her flowing drapery was unhappily ignited by the flame of a lamp. Her noble dress, which was of the finest muslin, was instantly in flames, and of course her life was in imminent peril : but, knowing that she was then within hearing of many young nobles of the court, she would not raise an alarm, lest they should run to her assistance, and behold her unveiled, or lay their hands upon her in order to extinguish the flames. Heroically enduring all the agonies which fire could inflict, she withheld her cries, and rushed forward until she reached the women's apartments, and there sunk upon the floor, almost lifeless. For a long

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period, no hopes were entertained of her recovery, but she was ultimately restored to health by an English physician named Gabriel Boughton who was then at Surat, and had been sent for by the emperor her father then in the Deccan, although her beauty was cruelly impaired. The emperor, in reward for Dr. Boughton's services, besides other favours, granted him, at his disinterested request, a patent for his countrymen to trade free of customs throughout his dominions. The large masjid of red stone adjoining the fort of Agra near the Tripolia (now demolished) was built by her (or in her honour) in the year A.D. 1648, A.H. 1058, at a cost of five lakh of rupees. She died in the reign of her brother the emperor Alamgir on the 5th September, A.D. 1680, 3rd Ramzan, A.H. 1092, and lies buried in the yard of the mausoleum of Nizam-uddin-Aulia at Delhi. The name of Jahan Ara will ever adorn the pages of history as a bright example of filial attachment and heroic self-devotion to the dictates of duty, more especially when we view it in contrast with the behaviour of her sister Roshan Ara, who, by aiding the ambitious designs of Aurangzeb, enabled him to dethrone Shah Jehan. The amiable and accomplished Jahan Ara not only supported her aged father in his adversity, but voluntarily resigned her liberty and resided with him during his imprisonment in the fort of Agra. Her tomb is of white marble, open at the top, and at the head is a tablet with a Persian inscription inlaid in black marble letters, to the following effect : 'Let no one scatter over my grave anything but verdure, for such best becomes the sepulchre of one who had a humble mind'. On the margin is written, "The perishable faqir Jahan Ara Begam, daughter of Shah Jehan, and the disciple of the saints of Chisht, died in the year of the Hijira, A.H. 1092".[15]

Let us see what Niccolao Manucci, the Venetian who landed at Surat in January 1656 and remained in India till his death

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either at Madras or Pondicherry about 1717, has to say about Jahanara and the fire-incident.

"This Princess (Begam Sahib—Jahanara) treated herself to many entertainments, such as music, dancing, and other pastimes. It happened one night while engaged in such—like dances, that the thin raiment steeped in perfumed oils of the princess's favourite dancing-woman caught fire ; and from the great love she bore to her, the princess came to her aid, and thus was burnt herself, on the chest. From this arose great disturbance in the court, but what the greatest sorrow to the princess was that the dancing-woman died. In addition to these amusements, the princess was also fond of drinking wine, which was imported for her from Persia, Kabul, and Kashmir. But the best liquor she drank was distilled in her own house. It was a most delicious spirit, made from wine and rose-water, flavoured with many costly spices and aromatic drugs. Many a time she did me the favour of ordering some bottles of it to be sent to my house, in sign of her gratitude for my curing people in her *harem*. This liquor profited me greatly."[16]

The court historian Abdul Hamid Lahori, in his *Padshahnama* (vol. II) gives a detailed account of the fire-incident. He says :

"On the night of the 27th Muharram 1054 H. in the 17th year of the reign of the Emperor Shah Jehan, as Princess Jahanara Begam, otherwise called Begam Sahib, the best beloved daughter of the Emperor, was going to the sleeping apartment after she had made obeisance to her father, the edge of the lower part of Her Highness's garment came, accidentally, in contact with the candle that was burning there. As her dress, was of the finest stuff, and of delicate fibre, and was, in addition, smeared with fragrant oils, especially otto of roses called *itr-i-jahangiri*, the fire at once spread up to all her apparel. Four of Her Highness's attendants, who were present, rendered what

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help they could in extinguishing the fire. But in so doing their own clothes too caught fire ;conseqently they could do very little. By the time other servants were informed and water procured, Her Highness's back, both sides of her body and hands were dreadfully burnt and lacerated. Owing to this calamity His Majesty the Emperor did not come out on the following day. On the next day the Emperor went to the private and public halls but did not stay more than a *ghari*.

"His Majesty, who was very much upset, did not lose the equilibrium of his mind, or reliance on God. The treatment that was resorted to was at once spiritual (*ruhani*) and corporal (*Jismani*). Of the former, His Majesty sought the prayers of the faithful and the holy, and of those who had retired from the world. From the first to the fifth day of this dire calamity, again on the 22nd Safar, which was Her Imperial Highness's birthday, and also till her complete recovery, money was distributed to the poor, the needy and the distressed, most lavishly. Persons who had been in jail for a long time on account of various crimes were set at their liberty, pardoned, and given seven lakhs of rupees.

"Over and above these instances of Imperial clemency and favour, the Madad-in-Mash tenures were restored to their legitimate owners throughout the Indian Empire. Some time ago Sayad Sudur, Jalal, the Sadr'us, had reported that Musavi Khan had granted to several unworthy persons Madad-i-Mash and Wazifa (tenures) with-out His Majesty's knowledge and on fictitious sanads.On that it was decided that the produce of one season of those lands, whether under the crown or private landlords (with the exception of Suyrghals of those holders well known to Govern ment), should be stored in a third place, till the rights and titles there of were inquired into. As a consequence, occupiers of those freeholds had become disturbed and distressed. In order to mitigate

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distress, fresh orders were now promulgated to the effect that the hitherto confiscated produce should be restored to their present owners, and thenceforth stored as before till the completion of the enquiry by the headquarters Sadr and Provincial Governors and Sadrs.

"A detailed description of the corporal (i.e. medical) treatment which was undertaken for Her Imperial Highness has been given. All the skilful physicians and surgeons of the realm—those that were either at the capital in the service of His Majesty, or those that had been there from other parts of the Empire—did their best by the treatment of the august patient to cure the effects of the accident. The severity of the accident may be gauged from the fact that two of her servants died of the effects of the burn—one after seven, and the other after twenty, days; but the other two recovered. For a period of four months, there was very little hope of Her Highness's recovery, and His Majesty passed the time in sorrow and suspense, and appeared at the *Jharoka* of the Audience Hall late and for a very short time.

"Hakim Muhammad Dau'd, physician to the late Shah Abbas of Persia, arrived at court on the 20th day of the calamity and began to treat the princess. During the above four months various bad symptoms appeared. The Hakim prescribed some of the most successful remedies for their cure: soothing drugs of the nature of camphor and acids; for weakness of heart, *maul'lahm*. On a sudden, lassitude and prostration of body and flow (?) of blood (haemorrhage) set in, which gave rise to great trepidation in the mind of His Majesty. The Hakim, however, was of opinion that it was not proper to stop the flow of blood at that stage as it might lead to further disorders, but that they would be treated by and by. Hakim His Majesty, Momina, another physician, was, however, of different opinion.

on account of the sensation of the uneasiness and fatigue of the patient, permitted him to try his remedies. He proceeded to treat Her Highness cautiously and at last prescribed *zira*. Suddenly owing to the stoppage of the *madda-i-suwal-qunia*, and the appearance of swellings round her eyes, and on feet, His Majesty became more than ever anxious. The treatment of those further symptoms was again entrusted to Hakim Muhammad Dau'd, who treated them with the aqua of green *kasni* (endive) *majun atarji majun Qam ha*, and the disease gradually declined. When the disease was almost cured, Hakim Masihuz Zaman was summoned from Lahore. He, in consultation with Hakim Muhammad Dau'd, added *majun wardi*, and the recovery fully set in. It was to Hakim Muhammad Dau'd that the credit of the successful treatment was due.

'Although all other disorders were cured, yet for five months more, in spite of applications of various ointments, the ulcer caused by the burn was not healed. It was healed at last by an ointment given by one of His Majesty's servants, named Arif, which was used for two months.

The happy Jashn or feast held on Her Imperial Highness's recovery was observed on Shawwal. Her Highness bathed on her rocovery at the end of Ramzan and the Jashn came off on the 5th Shawwal (5th December) on which date the Begam Sahib came out of her rooms to make her obeisance to her father, the Emperor. The Jashn lasted eight days, a vivid description of which is given. In the course of those days costly presents were given to the above-mentioned physicians, and His Majesty's servant Arif. Titles, rank and other rewards were showered on high and low. Musicians and poets, one of the latter being Haji Muhammad Jan Qudsi of Mashhad, were paid handsomely. Again on the 24th Dil-Qada of the same year, Her Highness the Begam Sahib herself bore all the expenses of another Jashn,

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when all classes were entertained and rewarded.

"His Majesty, became now desirous of visiting the sepulchre of Khwaja Muin-uddin Chishti at Ajmer as a thanks-giving for the recovery of his daughter, and started for that purpose, from Agra on the 26th Dil-Qad. The overland journey proving too fatiguing for the princess, and the ulceration having consequently re-appeared, the visit to Ajmer was put off ; and the journey was next resumed on boat towards Lahore by the river Jumna. On the 10th Dul-Hijja Muhhad Ali, Faujdar of Sarkar Hissar, brought to His Majesty's notice that there was a poor Faqir, named Hamun, who had a very efficacious ointment. The man was sent for, and the remedy applied to the sores, proved most efficacious. After twenty-two days Her Highness's recovery was complete, while the court was in the jurisdiction of Delhi territory.

The historian (p. 409) says : "Although noted Surgeons—Musalmans, Firingis (Europeans) and Hindus—who were specialists on this branch of the subject, tried their best to prepare various ointments, but they did not produce the slightest effect. But the luck of Hamun and of Arif, who were quite unknown persons, was such that only did their ointment prove efficacious".[17]

BOUGHTON

A few words about Gabriel Boughton are required before we proceed to determine the presence of the British Surgeon at the Mogul court. The identity of Boughton is to be established first. Gabriel Boughton has been, sometimes, wrongly identified with Humphrey Boughton, a private adventurer, who died in 1615. Surgeon Major Norman Chevers, has recounted the story thus :

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"In the earlier pages of Sir Thomas Roe's narrative, allusion is made to one of his suite, Mr. Boughton, who evidently must have been the surgeon to the embassy (he was certainly not the Chaplain) was, upon their touching at Tamara, on the coast of Arabia, on their passage out, it appears that he alone was allowed to visit the house of the Mussalman King, when he was treated with "Cahu" a black liquor, drank as hot as could be endured, and which is supposed to have been coffee. No former allusion is made to Boughton in Sir Thomas' narrative : but the name not being a common one, and it being difficult to believe that two surgeons of high repute of that name were attached to the Company's service, nearly at the same period, it may be not unfair to guess that this was the Gabriel Boughton who, some say in the year 1636, when surgeon of the Company's ship *Hopewell*, was chosen by the Council at Surat as the person best qualified to attend the daughter of the Emperor Shah Jahan, who had been frightfully burnt by the accidental ignition of her clothes, and for whose relief all native skill having failed, her royal father had, by the recommendation of Vizier Assad Khan (probably 'Asaph Chan', the minister who is so frequently alluded to by Sir Thomas Roe, and who must have been well acquainted with Surgeon of the embassy), sent an express, requesting the aid of an English surgeon. Repairing to the Emperor's camp in the Deccan, he cured the Princess, and was desired by the grateful Emperor to name his reward. Standing, probably, alone in the world, but with a heart overflowing with generous and patriotic feeling, this noble gentleman requested that his masters, the Company, might be granted the long sought for and often denied privilege of establishing factories in Bengal, and of trading.there free from all taxation. This boon, which Jahangir had distinctly, nay, almost rudely refused to King James the First and to the Company, through their Ambassador,

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Shah Jehan at once conceded to the humble Surgeon of one of the Company's vessels. Repairing to Bengal with a view to secure and carry out the privileges thus granted, Boughton visited Rajmahal (this was nearly about the time at which Gaur was deserted), where he was honourably entertained by Sultan Sujah, Subadar of Bengal, the Emperor's third son, and where he gained additional credit and goodwill, by curing one of the ladies of the Prince's *harem*, of a disease in the side—and, consequently, obtained the fullest aid in establishing the Company's trade in Bengal. Upon Boughton's information, persons were sent out by the Company to occupy the new ports. The Prince desired Mr. Boughton to send for these gentlemen, and on their arrival, received permission to establish factories at Hooghly and Balasore, in adition to that at Pipli, which had already been thrown open by the Emperor's *firman*. We could add, that Boughton rceeived the full reward of generosity, in living to see his master's power firmly grounded in Bengāl, as the foundation of the mightiest colony that the world has over known, and in dying under his father's roof-tree, with tall sons and fair daughters around his bed. This, however, was not to be, he died in India, not long after the opening of the ports. Do the ruins of Rajmahal still enshrine that honourable dust, or have the waves of the invading river swept it down to that ocean, which was the only fitting sepulchre for so large and pure a heart."

'Dr. Chever's suggestion that the Boughton who accompanied Sir Thomas Roe was Surgeon to the Embassy, and was probably Gabriel Boughton, is mistaken. The dates are sufficient to show the improbability of the theory. Roe set sail for India, from Tilbury, in the *Lion* on 2nd February 1615, and sailed from India for England in the *Anne* in February 1619. His voyage to India was, therefore, more than twenty years before the earliest date

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(wrongly) alleged for Boughton's mission to Agra, 1636, and thirty years before the actual date, 2645," says Dr. Crawford.

Gabriel Boughton's appointment, salary and other service conditions are not mentioned in the Court Minutes.[19] However, his name is mentioned in the Company's Black Book.[20] There is no doubt, Boughton was in the employ of the Company and he was surgeon of the *Hopewell*. The authorities at Surat lent his services to Assalat Khan[21] who was the Mir Bakshi (Paymaster-General) as is evident from the following letter :

President Francis Breton and Thomas Merry in their letter dated Swally Marine, the 3rd January 1644 (1645) to the Company says : "Assalat Khan, a very great Umbra, gracious with the King and our very good friend, having long importuned us to supply him with a chirurgeon, we considering how advantageous it may be unto you, and having a fit opportunity, one Gabriel Boughton, late chirurgeon of the *Hopewell* being thereunto very well qualified, and being willing to stay, we have thought fit to design him to that service, wherewith Assalat Khan is so well pleased that lately when Mr. Turner was to leave Agra he accompanied Mr. Tash and Mr. Turner to the King who honoured them more than ordinary in a long conference he held with them, dismissing them with vests, and sending unto the President a *firman* and dagger, which not being yet received we know not what the former may import or the latter's value, but shall hereafter advise, and if the dagger be of any considerable worth it shall be sent you with the jewel before advised the Prince lately sent unto the President, both expected by Mr. Turner."[22]

Both Bruce and Stewart described Gabriel Boughton as Surgeon of the *Hopewell*, though Wilson,[23] in his *Early Annals* has stated that there was no record of his having been Surgeon of that vessel. Since he is described by the authorities at Surat as "late chirurgeon of the *Hopewell*" in their letter dated January 3, 1645,

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just quoted, there is no room for controversy. The *Hopewell* called at Indian ports several times since 1627.[24]

Since Beard's account declared that Boughton sailed with Cogan from Madras, Foster was at first inclined to identify the unnamed surgeon as Boughton but he corrected himself subsequently on identifying the physician as John Reynolds.[25]

Boughton was evidently at Balkh with his patron Assalat Khan. In his letter to the President and Council at Surat[26] (October) 4, 1646, he said : Nothing of importance has happened since his last of August 9. Obtained leave from Asalat Khan to go with his brother, Keyling (Qulin) Khan, to the King, to make an end of (the trouble) some business formerly by Your Worships as in letter specified ; but Asalat Khan has since changed his mind and will not let him go. Sadullah Khan has departed for Kabul, after writing to Mirza Amin, to treat the English with all possible courtesy. The King has ordered Asalat Khan to remain here as Governor during the winter, promising to relieve him in the Spring ; but this is uncertain, by reason of the King's wavering mind, which like a weather cock, turns with the wind. Boughton finds this "one of the unwholesomest countries that ever I was in my life, for never since my entrance into this city can I be in perfect health." Mr. Barnes begs that some salary may be allowed to him. "The King is now journeying towards Peshawar where report says he stays this winter ; after which he means to return again to Kabul, if not Balkh ; in the which place he intends his residence until the taking of Bokhara, the which is 250 or 300 miles from this place." Preparations made for the spring campaign. The rebel prince (Abdul Azim) is at Bokhara with a strong force. Many robbers executed by Asalat Khan. Will be happy to comply with any wishes of the Honourable Company my masters.

Shah Shuja, second son of Shah Jehan, was the Viceroy of

Bengal[27] from 1639 to 1658. After the death of Asalat Khan in 1647 Boughton must have proceeded to Bengal, for we find him next Sultan Shuja's court at Rajmahal. The date of Boughton's arrival at Rajmahal is uncertain. He was at Rajmahal in mid-1650 since Captain Brookhaven was already in correspondence with him and had promised to do the needful.[28] Brookhaven instructed Bridgman and others on December 14, 1650 to pay a visit to the surgeon at Rajmahal to get the Prince's *firman*. There is no doubt that Boughton was held in high esteem at the court of Shah Shuja as is evident from the *nishan* granted to the surgeon in the year A.D. 1649 (A.H. 1059). The *nishan*

> "Makes known to all officials, and to the guards of the imperial highways between His Highness's residence and Agra and the port of Surat, that Captain Gabriel Boughton, the English physician, is going to those ports to purchase goods for His Highness. Enjoins them to be very attentive to him, to provide him with escort, and not to delay him or molest him for duties."[29]

Shah Shuja's next *nishan* is dated 6 Ramzan, in the twenty-fifth year A.H. 1061 (i.e. 13th August, 1651, O.S.) which states

> "It has been represented to His Highness that the goods of the English Company are by an imperial *firman* exempt from duties, but that nevertheless the *mutasaddis* of Balasore and other ports of Orissa molest the merchants on that account, hindering them from buying and selling, and giving them trouble on the roads. His Highness now orders that none of the officials shall demand any duties from them, either at the ports or on the roads, nor obstruct them in any way."[30]

These two *nishans* which were not available to Orme, Bruce, Stewart and Yule when they wrote their histories, once and for

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all, bury all controversies about Boughton.. Foster also wrote his articles without seeing these two *nishans*..

There is now no more room for doubt as to whether or not Boughton had been in the service of Shah Shuja. The first *nishan* was perhaps a personal one to the surgeon, though the second is a confirmatory one granting free trade to the English Company by the Emperor, Shah Jehan.

Though our historians have not given any credit to Boughton for curing Jahanara from the effects of the burn injury, the story should not be altogether discredited. The fire accident took place on the 27th Muharram 1054 A.H. (8th April, 1644 N.S. or 26th March 1644, O.S) according to the official historian. Abdul Hamid Lahori and other contemporary historians. The letter of the Surat authorities lending the services of Boughton is dated January 3, 1645. Jahanara was completety cured by 5th December, 1644, The Princess had left Agra by January 1645 for Lahore *via* Delhi. Moreover, Asalat Khan was not at Balkh during the tragedy of Jahanara. Boughton's presence at the court, which was then at Agra and not in Deccan or Delhi, as some have maintained, cannot be ruled out. The court historian, Abdul Hamid Lahori, has clearly stated that "noted surgeons —Musalman, Firinghis (Europeans) and Hindus—who were specialists on this branch of the subject, tried their best to prepare various ointments." Not only English surgeons, but physicians of other European nationalities were also present at the court, according to the official historian. English were the only nation having a permanent trading lodge at Agra during this period. Of course, Portuguese missionaries were also present at Agra. The only surgeon known to the English Company during this period serving at Surat is Dr. Gabriel Boughton and we should conclude that Boughton was one of the physicians who treated Jahanara.

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After evaluating the circumstantial evidence as to the presence of Boughton at Agra, we shall now quote G. Yazdani,[31] an authority of this period of Mogul history. He was the only historian who maintained, in 1914, that surgeon Boughton was present at the Mogul court to cure Jahanara when Foster and Maulavi Abdul Wali[32] were discarding the English surgeon. Yazdani was also not aware of the two *nishans* quoted by us above at the time of writing. His deductions were entirely based on contemporary histories to which Orme, Foster, Yule, Stewart, Bruce, Wheeler and other English historians had no access. *Padshah-Nama* or *Badshah-Nama* of Abdul Hamid Lahori and *Amal-i-Salih* (or *Shahjahan-Nama*) of Muhammad Salih Kanbu (edited by G. Yazdani in four volumes) and other contemporary histories of Shah Jehan's period have not been translated into English in full,

Yazdani says : "I now proceed to narrate an incident in Jahanara's life, which is important in its relation to later history—the history of the growth of British commerce and power in India. I, therefore, discuss it at some length, and especially as there is a divergence of views among some well-known historians in regard to certain matters connected with it. On the night of 27th Muharram, 1054 A.H. (6th April, 1644 N.S.) Jahanara met with an unhappy accident, which evoked feelings of intense sorrow throughout the empire, She was retiring from the presence of Emperor to her own apartments, when the skirts of her dress brushed against a candle and caught fire (*Padshah-Nama*, vol. I. p. 363 and *Amal*-i-*Salih*, fol. 492 ; Khafi Khan places the accident in 1053 A.H.—1643-44 A.D., vide *Muntakhab Al-Lubab*, part I, p. 598 ; Manucci gives a distorted version of the history and his information seems to be based on hearsay as usual, vide *Storia do Mogor*, vol. I, p. 219). The four maid servants in attendance on her tried to extinguish

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the flame, but they failed and burnt themselves seriously, and the princess herself was severely injured. The incident created a great commotion at the court, and on the following day the Emperor did not appear in public as usual. He issued orders that prayers for the recovery of the princess be offered in mosques, prisoners be released, and alms be given to the poor. We are told by Mohd. Salih, how in the three days following the accident fifteen thousand mohars and as many rupees were distributed to the poor, and on the first of Rabi-u-l-awwal an imperial order decreed the giving away in alms of a thousand rupees every day until the recovery of the princess. Her injuries were serious, and her condition became precarious at intervals. The course of healing took eight or nine months and during this time besides the physicians and surgeons of the metropolis, several baidyas and *Hikamaye Firang* ("Firinghi Hakims")—European doctors—were called in from the different parts of the Empire. Aurangzeb heard of the accident at Burhanpur, and came by forced marches to Agra. Prince Murad, who was then at Multan, and Shaistah Khan, the brother-in-law of the Emperor, also arrived at the capital to see the princess.

"When Jahanara recovered from the injuries of this unfortunate accident, the Emperor held an eight-day feast at court and jewels were taken round her head thrice and given away on the first day of the feast. Shah Jehan presented her with a hundred and thirty pearls, estimated valued at five lakhs of rupees, for a pair of bracelets. On the next day she received costly Sarpech, an ornament for the head which had a large diamond and a pearl pendant. These rich and valuable gifts were accompanied by other precious jewellery, and gold and silverware. The port of Surat also which had a revenue of five lakhs, was assigned to the princess on this auspicious occasion. The stream of the Emperor's bounty ran free, and the princes

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and the grandees of the court were also honoured by Killuts, titles and promotions in their ranks ; while the physicians and the surgeons naturally enough got the largest share of rewards and distinctions.

"Hakim Mohd. Daud received the rank of *Do hazara Davist Sawar* commanding two thousand foot and two hundred horse, with a robe of honour, an elephant, a horse with a gold saddle, and a gold mohur weighing five hundred tolas, and a rupee of equal weight specially minted for the occasion. Hakim Momina and Hakim Masihuz Zaman, who were called from Lahore, were also handsomely rewarded. Arif a slave, whose ointment had been useful in healing the wounds, was weighed against gold, and favoured with a robe of honour, a horse, an elephant and seven thousand rupees in cash.

"The story of Gabriel Boughton coming to Agra to treat the princess is, in my humble opinion, in the main true, although some eminent modern writers have disputed its authenticity (*History of British India* by Sir W. W. Hunter, vol. II, p. 86). The Indian historians of the period are agreed in maintaining that the accident took place on the 27th Muharram, 1054 A.H. (6th April, 1644 N. S.) and the celebrations of the recovery were held on the 5th Shawwal, 1054 A. H. (6th December 1644 N.S.) after eight months and eight days had passed from the date of the accident (*Padshah-Nama*, vol. I, pp. 363 & 369). We are further told by Abdul Hamid, the court chronicler, that physicians and surgeons had been brought from different parts of the empire to treat the princess, and according to Khafi Khan and Mohd. Salih, *Hikmaye Firang* (European doctors) were also employed. In addition to this *Hedges' Diary* quotes a letter from Surat factory to the Company, in which it is related that Boughton had been sent across from Surat to Agra, at the special request of Asalat Khan, who was very much pleased at this service rendered by the factory, and did his best to push

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the Company's interest at the Court (*Hedges' Diary*, vol III, p. 183). This letter is dated the 3rd January, 1645, and it can be safely assumed that Boughton must have left for Agra some time in 1644, many months earlier than the 3rd January, 1645 ; otherwise the Surat factors could not report Asalat Khan's patronage of their interests at court to the Company on this date. Asalat Khan held the office of the second Bakshi (*Padshah-Nama* vol. II, p. 161) and during the illness of Jahanara he was present at the court, as we know from the fact that when Aurangzeb came from Burhanpur to enquire about the princess, Shah Jehan deputed him to receive the prince. It is quite in the fitness of the things that Asalat Khan, a trusted servant of the Emperor should have with his permission sent for a capable European Surgeon from Surat, with the factors of which he had intimacy. (Cf. *Hedges' Diary*, vol. III, pp. 182-185). These are in brief the facts which to my mind prove that Boughton must have come to Agra to treat the princess.

"When this part of the story is proved the latter part of it, that Boughton on the recovery of the lady did not accept any fee for himself but secured for his countrymen the right to trade free of duties in Bengal, is not at all impossible. In 1644 the servants of the Company were discussing the prospect of profitable trade in Bengal, and had referred the matter to the Court in London for decision (*Hedges' Diary*, vol. III, p. 182). At this moment Boughton's request is not an act of patriotism only, but is a matter of political necessity. Moreover, in view of the fact which I mention below, I am inclined to think that Boughton prayed for a grant of the right to trade free of customs in the whole of Mogul empire rather than in Bengal only.

(1) "In 1636 the piracies of the Courteen's Association had brought the Surat factors into disgrace with the Mogul Emperor, and deprived them of all their privileges and right which Roe's

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treaty had conferred on them. (Hunter's *History of British India*, vol. II, pp. 64-65 and Bruce's *Annals of the East India Company*, vol. I, p. 349, ed. 1810). Boughton coming direct from Surat could not forget the bad plight of the factory with which he was so closely connected and, therefore, instead of praying for a grant for Bengal only, he would have rather prayed for a grant for the whole of Empire.

(2) "In 1650 we find the Company's servants trying to get a *nishan*, an order from a Governor, through Boughton from Prince Shuja, who was then the Governor of Bengal. If the imperial *firman* had been for Bengal exclusively, there would have been no necessity of securing the *nishan* from Prince Shuja, for such a *nishan* would really be a reaffirmation of the general orders of the Emperor by a provincial governor.

(3) "In 1652, we hear that they have secured a *nishan* from Prince Shuja, and the document, a wrongly dated copy of which is still extant, speaks of an imperial *firman*, according to which the English were allowed to trade free of duties and customs in the whole of Mogul Empire (Bruce's *Annals*, vol. I, pp. 463-64 and Wilson's *Annals*, vol. I, pp. 27-8, note 2). This probably is the *firman* granted by Shah Jehan at Boughton's request. To make things more clear, I quote here the *nishan* granted by Prince Shuja.

"The Neshaun or Letters Patent of the most magnificent Prince Shuja, given the Sixth month in the year of Hijra One thousand sixty six, in the 28th year of the Emperor Shah Jehan his glorious reign.

"Be it known to all Great Governors, chancellors, farmers of the King's rents, colonels, captains, rent gatherers, farmers of customs, watchmen, ferrymen, and other petty officers that now are in place, and hereafter shall be in the Kingdom of Bengala and Orixa, that this

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day Thomas Billidge, an Englishman, humbly presented his suit, before our splendid throne, acquainting that the English Company's goods, according to the Great Emperor's Letters Patent, which are unalterable, are by his free grant therein specified, custom free all over his great Empire ; humbly desiring us that there may a privilege be granted them, by us, to trade custom free in these parts ; as also complaining that at present their trade with the country merchants, our subjects, is much hindered by our governors of port, town etc., demanding the English goods at their own rate, and forbidding any merchants to buy or sell with them, unless they condescend to their actions ; and that the officers in the port, town, etc, demand four in the hundred custom on all goods imported and exported, as also anchorage in, the roads belonging to these kingdoms of Bengla and Orixa.

"Upon due consideration had of all which, we were pleased to grant, and hereby command you, that according to the abovementioned Letters Patent of the great Emperor, whose words no man dare presume to reverse, the factors of the English company be no more troubled with demand of custom of goods imported or exported either by land or by water, nor that their goods be opened and forced from them at under rates in any place of the Govt. by which they shall pass or repass up and down the country, but that they buy and sell freely and without the impediment, whether let any molestation be given them about anchorage, as formerly has been, also wherever they have order to build factories or warehouses in any part of those kingdoms, that they be not hindered, but forwarded, as also where

there shall any just and due debts be coming to them in their recovery, giving protection to no weavers, merchants, or any other that shall appear to be really indebted to them. In all the aforesaid matters, especial regard is to be had that you carry yourself strictly in obedience to the great Emperor's Letters Patent, and this my *Neshan* now given the English Company having an especial care that you fail not a little (title ?) in your full compliance with our command therein stated."

"This *neshan* clearly shows that the imperial *Firman* referred to in it, which most probably had been granted at the request of Boughton, did not allow the English to trade free of duties in Bengal exclusively, but in the whole Mogul Empire. The suspicion as regards the authenticity of Boughton's story arose from a mistaken notion of the date of the Princess's accident. Stewart and Orme have placed it in 1636 A.D., Dow and several other writers, however, while speaking of Boughton's obtaining the *firman* in 1636, makes no mention of the princess's accident in this connection (Cf. Stewart, *History of Bengal*, p. 159 ; Dow's *History of Hindoston*, vol. III, p. 128). Sir Henry Yule does not find any record of Boughton's coming to Agra earlier than the letter of the Surat factory, which has been quoted above, and therefore, he remarks : 'It (the story) has become the staple of the popular historians, but I can't trace it to any accessible authority' (*hedges' Diary*, vol. III, p. 168). Wilson, it appears, had access to the *Muntakhab Al-Lubab* of Khafi Khan, in which the accident has been mentioned as taking place in 1053 A.D. (1643-44 A.D.) and he approaches very near the solution of the problem, but the force of Yule's opinion seems to have been too much even for his penetrative mind, and he dismisses the subject with these remarks: 'The accident happened in 1643-44. Boughton was sent, it appears, at the beginning of 1645, in which case he must surely

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have arrived too late. Besides the native historian, who tells of the accident also tells us that a famous physician was brought express from Lahore to treat the case' (Wilson, *Annals*, vol. I, p. 24 note 1). These historians could not have regarded the story as a 'petty invention' if they had read the contemporary Indian writers with more care."[32]

Messrs. Turner and Tash were stationed at Agra during this time as their names are mentioned in the letter[33] dated January 3, 1645 of the Surat authorities to the Company. The reason for Shah Jehan's special favours to Tash and Turner was significant since the court was mourning throughout the year 1644 on account of the tragedy that befell on Jahanara. Here is another hint that the English did render some signal service to the Mogul court, for otherwise why did the Emperor present the English robes of honour, besides a *firman* and a dagger? Since the tradition says Boughton cured Jahanara, we must take this as the signal service rendered by the English.

Though no *frman* of Shah Jehan of 1644 to English has come to light, the present of a dagger is testified by the Dutch Records. The *Dagh-Register*[34] of 1644-45 says that "on February 7 (N.S.) Mr. Turner, the late chief at Agra arrived in Surat, bringing (in return for the great present already mentioned) a present from King Shah Jehan to President Breton, consisting of a chinder (Hindi, *Khanjar*—a dagger) with a gold hilt set with diamonds, rubies and emeralds, and also a medal of the same, set with diamonds, the former being valued at 2,000 and the latter at 1,500 Ra (?Rupees)."

The only *firman*[35] granted by Shah Jehan during this period is dated 23 Shaban in the twenty fourth year of A.H. (i.e., 11th August 1650 O.S.) by which

> "Order is given to various officials, including those having charge of the roads, between Agra and Bengal

and between Agra and Surat, either by way of Burhanpur or *via* Ahmedabad, that the English, having paid the usual customs at Surat, Broach, or Lahri(bandar) are not to be troubled with any further demands. This injunction is to be considered as perpetual. Should any robbery be committed, the *jagirdar* of the place is to use his best endeavour to recover the goods, paying every attention to the English."

This *firman* was procured by Richard Davidge[36] and not by Boughton. The circumstances leading to its grant are not available in the Factory records. Shah Shuja's *neshan* of August 13, 1651, quoted above, is an explanatory one.

Boughton was probably living with his patron, Shah Shuja, during 1649-51. The procurement of the two *neshan*s from the Prince and one *firman* from the Emperor within so short a time of two years, is nothing short of a miracle when we consider the state of the Mogul court in those days. The records of the Company do not show any expense incurred for the procurement of these royal favours. But for the influence of someone who was held really in high esteem at the court, it would not have been possible to get these imperial favourson the part of the Company.

Surgeon Boughton had married a 'Mogullana'[37] (Mughalani) or Moorish woman. She was evidently a lady of charm, wealth and influence, for otherwise how could she have found two more Englishmen as her husbands ? Boughton was educated at Guy's Hospital, London, according to Beckles Wilson.[38] Nothing more is known about the personal history of the English surgeon. The Company's records do not show how and where the surgeon died and was buried. He was alive in 1652, but was dead before August 1653.[39] According to Lord Canning, Governor-General of India (1858-62), "the old graveyard to the north-west of the Hotel (at Rajmahal) contains the remains of the Surgeon, the man

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who, having gone from Surat to Agra in 1636, and cured the daughter of Shah Jehan, as his fee obtained a patent for his countrymen to trade free of customs duties. He went with this view to Rajmahal and there cured some 'of the lights of Sultan Suja's harem'. He remained in his service enjoying a splendid stipend and secured for his countrymen the privilege of free trade. In consequence of this the East India Company sent ten ships from England to Bengal, the agents of which were introduced to Sultan Shuja at Rajmahal. They were kindly received, and their views of extending English trade were promoted ; for the Sultan, like the great Akbar, was a friend to trade."[40]

The death of Boughton did not leave the Company in peace. There is reason for inclusion of his name in the *Black Book* for 1650-51 along with James Bridgman, though they ought to have found a more honoured place in the annals of the East India Company. They (Bridgman, and Boughton) despatched two vessels[41] (one of which was called the *Mayflower*) to Persia, in January 1652, commanded by Henry Cherry, carrying private goods and freight. Bridgman had three eighths share in the venture, Boughton a quarter, and Paul Waldgrave, Cherry and Mary one eighth each. Stephens had also an interest in the enterprise and Bridgman's share was probably larger.[42]

The funds for this adventure were largely borrowed from the Company's stock. Losing the monsoon, Cherry put into Goa, and there became involved in a law suit with one of the passengers. By making use of the Company's name and by the aid of letters obtained from Surat on the pretext that he was acting for the Company, he got free of his difficulties and reached Gombroon on November 11, 1652. Gaspar de Abreau[43] who rebuilt the Roman Catholic Church of Our Lady of Bandel,[44] Hooghly, was one of the passengers who went to Persia in 1652 in one of the vessels commanded by Cherry, and owned by Bridgman and

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company. Cherry sold a quantity of cinnamon belonging to Joao Gomez de Soito at a very good price. When de Abreau came away, Cherry was lying in the factory very ill and could not demand the money, as he had no authority from de Soito.

The Surat authorities had discovered the fraud by this time, and had written to the factors at Shiraz, to recover from Cherry the expenses to which they had been put in connection with his affair at Goa and to levy duties on his cargo. These instructions were duly carried into effect by the factors in Persia. Spiller and Park at Shiraz wrote to the President[45] at Surat on July 11, 1653 that the order received from him to seize what money they could find belonging to the Bengal factors was notified to Cherry (then very sick) who replied that most of it had been sent up to Lar in the custody of Littleton. The factors wrote to Littleton and an amount of 400 tumans was realised. This amount belonged partly to Bridgman and other factors, some of it being the property of 'Boughton the Chyrurgeon'. The Mogul Governor of Hooghly had sent eleven bales of goods on one of the vessels, freight free, entrusted to Cherry for sale. The factors confirmed that these would be looked into, as the Governor wassure to hold the Company responsible for his goods. Cherry died at Ispahan in September 1653 and the factors, doing their best to get in what debts were due to him, sold the *Mayflower* for what it would fetch. These actions led to a long succession of claims against the Company.

William Pitt(s), was one of the servants of the Company, who had married Boughton's widow.[46] He put forward his claim for refund of the money due to Boughton on behalf of his wife. "Your servants in the Bay", wrote the factors at Fort St. George to the Company in May 1657, "are much troubled by one William Pitts, who having married a Mogullana (Mughalani), or Moorish woman, the relict of Gabriel Boughton, became thereby

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interested in the adventure he sent on those junks that went under Bridgman's name and were seized on by the Surat President, which said adventure was provided with moneys taken up at interest of the Moors, who are very importunate for justice against us, and it is to be feared will force a payment, as they did formerly for Mr. Edward Steevens debt, and all that our friends could allege to defer present satisfaction was that ditto Pitts had written to England about it and it was not reason he should demand it in both places."[47]

The Mogullana married Richard Moseley,[48] the Company's dyer at Kasimbazar, after the death of William Pitt and we find him preferring his claim in 1676 to Streynsham Master, when he visited that factory in that year. Joao Gomez de Soito, whose cinnamon was sold in Persia at a good price, had procured the imprisonment of the Hooghly factors in 1657 until a sum of money was paid to him, and his son was still bent upon recovering the balance in 1676.

Boughton was indebted to one Churmull,[49] a Shroff in "Puttanah (Patna) between 5 and 6,000 rupees with its interest; from whom we have often received very many troublesome solicitations for payment of security for that debt, he (i.e. Boughton) being then under the notion of the Company's servant and did their business in Puttanah that year." Paul Waldgrave, in his letter to President Blackman at Surat, dated August 17, 1653, informed him that the money-lender was put off from time to time, hoping for the return of the vessel. Blackman's letter of May 17 gave the debtor some satisfaction.

The Court wrote to Fort St. George in their letter dated 31st December, 1657 : "It is that we much desire to be satisfied in, and that we might have the certain knowledge (if possible) in all particulars of those dishonest actions comm tted by Mr. Bridgman and his partners, by whose unwarrantable proceedings (you

now write) our factors in the Bay are much troubled by one William Pitts who married the relict of Gabriel Boughton, who having taken up moneys at interest of the Moors they very much press the payment thereof out of our estate, but we hope you have so managed this business, and given such advice to our factors that has armed them with such arguments, as to enable them to withstand and to oppose such unjust and unreasonable demands."[50]

Mrs. Boughton wanted the Company to pay the loss of the goods sent on the *Mayflower* by her late husband to Persia, the value of which was put at Rs. 17,000. This being refused, Moseley appealed to Malik Zindi, the *faujdar* of Hooghly, to help him to recover the amount claimed. In this Moseley was supported by John Norton, a freeman[51] at that place, and the two men were proposing to go to Dacca to pursue the claim before the Nawab. On 9th March 1677 they were arrested for getting two passes to proceed on this journey and abusing the Company, and were detained as prisoners in the factory, pending orders from the Bay Council. This in turn referred the question to the Agent and Council, who ordered them to be sent to Madras. Meanwhile on 7th May, Malik Zindi called on the factors at Hooghly to deliver up Moseley, which Reade refused to do on the ground that he was an Englishman and a servant of the Company. Thereupon the Governor, who was obviously annoyed, "sent as many horsemen as he had and abundance of peons, smiths, carpenters, and elephants, and broke open the factory gates, shooting in at the windows at us, being 6 or 7 English in the dining room, and one arrow hit Edward Reade's shoulder and afterwards they broke up Moseley's chamber door and carried him and Norton with them to the Governor." Malik Zindi detained the two Englishmen till November. They were released at the intercession of his father, Malik Kasim, Governor of Orissa. On

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November 3, when Malik Kasim reached Hooghly, on his way to Dacca, Reade and his Council lost no time in complaining to him about his son's conduct. There was a prompt response. On the next day, 'after some altercation, he caused the two men to be brought to the factory and handed over. Norton was deadly sick, and died four days later.' On 6th November Malik Kasim paid a visit to Reade, and begged forgiveness for his son's misdeeds, saying he had always been friendly and had severely checked his son. Consequently the factors agreed not to pursue their complaint against him at Dacca. On the 11th he sent men to repair the gates that had been broken in the attack. Moseley was subsequently shipped at Balasore to Fort St. George, to answer to his conduct before the Agent and Council. His wife remained behind, and Vincent hoped that, as she had fruitlessly spent so much money on her claim, she would keep quiet. Moseley was permitted to return to his family in Bengal on executing a bond for his good behaviour in February 1678. It is not clear from records whether Mrs. Boughton's claims were ever settled. However, her husband was living at Hooghly in 1684 as a freeman, keeping a tavern.[52] He drops out from the Company's records after 1684.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

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16. Manucci, Niccolao, *Storia Do Mogor, or Mogul India. 1653-1708*, 4 volumes, translated by William Irvine, London, 1906, vol. I, p. 219 (Calcutta Reprint, 1965, vol. I, p. 211). Manucci's information was derived from hearsay as he had not reached India at that time.

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20. Home Miscellaneous, vol. XXIX, 'A record of the Errors & Misdemeanours of the Company's servants", The entries for 1650-54 occupy ff. 37-51. Boughton's name is mentioned along with his partner, James Bridgman.

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21. Asalat Khan, title of Abdul Hadi, son of Mir Miran Yezdi, was a nobleman in the service of the Emperor Shah Jehan. He died in the year A.D. 1647—Beale, *op. cit.*, p. 81. (Mir Abdul Hadi, to whom the title of Asalat Khan had been given, had succeeded Salabat Khan as Mir Bakshi or Paymaster-General when that official was stabbed to death in the presence of the Emperor by Amar Singh on July 25, 1644—*Dagh-Register*, 1644-45, p. 332).

22. O.C. 1905 ; *Hedges' Diary*, vol. III, p. 182 ; Foster, *English Factories in India*, 1642-45, pp. 229-30. This is also quoted in Surgeon General M.B. Beatson's *Indian Medical Service*, *Pas* & *Present* (London. 1902).

23. We follow Crawford here.

24. Chaudhuri, K.N., *The English East India Company*, London, 1972, see Shipping List.

25. Foster, *Indian Antiquary*, 1911, p. 254. Foster corrected himself in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1912.

26. Foster has traced the history of Boughton's letter (Indian Antiquary for May 1912, pp. 114-116), besides reproducing the mutilated text.

27. Burgess in his Chronology (James Burgess, The Chronology of Modern India, Edinburgh, 1913) has stated Shah Shuja was recalled from Bengal in 1647 and Aitkhad Khan, an younger brother of Shaista Khan, put in his place. Shuja was again made Governor of Bengal in 1649.

28. O.C. 2186—Instructions from Captain Brookhaven to Messrs. James Bridgman, Edward Stephens, William Blake, and Francis, dated December 14, 1650, *English Factories in India* 1646-1650, pp. 332-34 for summary and for text, *Hedges' Diary*, vol. III, pp. 184-85.

29 & 30. These new translations are by Maulavi Muhammad Israil Khan, EF 1655-60, pp. 410-16.

31. G. Yazdani, Jehanara, JPHS, vol. II, pp. 155-59.

32. The main thrust of Maulavi Abdul Wali's arguments is that Boughton was not present at Agra during the burn-injury of Jahanara.

33. O.C. 1905 ; *Hedges' Diary*, vol. III, p, 182, EF 1642-45, pp. 229-30.

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34. *Dagh Register* 1644-45, p. 244 ; EF 1642-45, p. 230.
35. EF 1655-60, pp. 410-416, "Some Bengal Farmans, 1633-60"
36. EF 1646-50, p, 320, EF 1655-60. pp. 410-416.

37. In May 1657, the factors at Fort St. George wrote to the Company at home (O.C. 2610) : "Your servants in the Bay are much troubled by one William Pitt, who having married a Mogullana or Moorish woman, the relict of Gabriel Boughton..." (*Diaries of Streynsham Master*, vol. I, pp. 178-179).

38. Wilson, Beckles, *Ledger and Sword or the Honourable Company of Merchants Trading to the East Indies, 1599-1874*, 2 volumes, Longmans, London, 1903, vol. I, pp. 244:245. "...A young surgeon, Gabriel Boughton by name, said to have been trained at Guys Hospital, London, and attached to the Company's ship *Hopewell* was appointed..."

39. Diaries of Streynsham Master, vol, II, p. 61 note to the Testimony of Gaspar de Breau, Paul Waldgrave in his letter dated, Balasore, August 17, 1653 (O.C. 2336) to the President, Blackman, at Surat, says : "Mr. Boughton had a great share therein, who died in debt to one Mr. Churmull". (EF 1651-54, p. 193).

40. Rajmahal : its Railway and Historical Association", Calcutta Review, vol. (March-June, 1861), p. 124 ; P.C. Roychoudhuri, District Gazeteer of Santhal Parganas, Patna, 1965 pp. 56-57. H.E.A—Cotton Calcutta ; Old and New, Calcutta 1907 p. 519.

41. EF 1651-54 Introduction pages 29-30. Diaries of Streynsham Master vol. I pp. 175-185 for the story of the Mayflower and her cargo.

42. EF 1651-54, p 195 note ; O.C. 2336 (EF 1651-54 p. 193)

43. O.C. 2341. Testimony of Gaspar de Breau (Diaries of Streynsham Master vol. II, pp, 61-62) For a summary of this testimony see EF 1651-54 p. 201.

44. 1651-54, p. 201 note. Foster has not quoted his authority for this, It was Joao or John Gomez de Soito who rebuilt the Bondel Church (H. Hosten, A Week at the Bandel Convent, Hugli, Bengal Past & Present, vol. X, Ser. No. 19, Jan.-March 1915 p. 51).

45. O.C. 2332 EF 1651-54 pp. 188-89.
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48. Diaries of Streynsham Master, vol. I Introduction, pp. 35-36, pp. 496-97.
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50. Hedges' Diary vol. III, p. 186.
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CHAPTER

4

BALASORE TO HOOGHLY

The English trade in Bengal, confined to the lone Balasore factory, was in doldrums between 1640 and 1650 and the home authorities were aware of the sad plight of their business in the Bay. They were waiting for an opportunity to make an advance from Balasore to Hooghly. The Court of Directors were hopeful of extending the English trade from Balasore to different parts of Bengal as Gabriel Boughton, formerly surgeon of the *Hopewell*, had become a favourite of Shah Shuja, second son of Shah Jehan and Viceroy of Bengal. Boughton had already made a name for the English nation by curing the princess Jahanara from the effects of a severe burn injury. Assalat Khan, the Paymaster of Shah Jehan, was Boughton's patron and he exercised considerable influence at the Mogul Court in Delhi. There was no better opportune time to extend the English trade in Bengal than the close of the forties of the 17th century.[1]

The frequent wars, pestilence and famines[2] in and around Madras, Masulipatam, and other places had reduced the Company's trade on the Coromandal coast to ashes and there was no other alternative but the closure of the factories or their rejuvenation by opening fresh pastures in the rich province of Bengal.

The Court of Committies (=Directors) despatched the *Lioness* for Bengal in 1650 under the command of Captain John Brookhaven. James Bridgman, Robert Spavin and William Fairfax were sent on the *Lioness* along with a large cargo of money

and goods, all destined for Hooghly. Bridgman was charged with the special mission of establishing a factory at Hooghly in Bengal.

The *Lioness*[3] reached Madras on 22nd August 1650 and Agent Henry Greenhill lost no time in calling a consulattion[4] on August 27 which was attended by Brookhaven, Edward Winter and William Netlam (who had come down from Balasore to Fort St. George earlier). The Company had contemplated the taking of the *Lioness* right up the Hooghly river for establishing a factory but considering the great hazard of navigation, it was unanimously decided that she should go no farther than Balasore Road, whence Captain Brookhaven and his merchants were asked to proceed to Hooghly on some freighted vessel. Further alterations in the composition of the personnel destined for Hooghly was agreed upon. Bridgman was to be the chief with Edward Stephens (or Steevens) as his second and William Blake and Taylor as assistants, since Robert Spavin had expired on the voyage. Edward Stephens was thought more suitable than William Fairfax. Brookhaven was directed to seek the advice and assistance of Richard Potter, who formerly served in the voyage of the *Endeavour* to Pegu and was given a gratuity of £ 100 for his good service. He was to be found somewhere about Pipli, or Balasore and a letter was written to him by the Agent, desiring his assistance to Brookhaven.

Agent Greenhill and Robert Doughty confirmed these arrangements in their letter dated "Fort St. George the 18th January 1650"(51) to the Court and intimated the Committees that the management of the Bay investment was committed to Captain Brookhaven, assisted by Stephens instead of Fairfax.[5] Letter from H. Greenhill and Robert Doughty to the Court said :

"After a long and dubious expectation it pleased the Almighty of his goodness to period our cares, in the safe arrival of ship

Lioness at this port the 27th August, last, commanded by Capt. John Brookhaven...We also find 3 other factors designed on the *Lioress* for Hooghly in the river Ganges, Mr. Robert Spavin, Mr. James Bridgman, and Mr. William Fairfax, the first of whom lived not to see this place, the other two are safely arrived, whose disposure with the other aforesaid factors, ships and cargo must be the next subject of discourse...Knowing well the main bulk of the *Lioness* her lading was to be commenced in the Bay of Bengal, dispatched her the next day for Balasore with a cargo of monies and goods to the amount of £ 7336-17-5...We committed the management of the Bay investment unto Capt. John Brookhaven in chief, appointing for his assistants James Bridgman and Edward Steevens, which last as more proper for that business was sent instead of Wm. Fairfax, whom from England you had enordered with Robert Spavin deceased to the employment of Hooghly, also upon Wm. Netlam's petition was returned him again for Balasore, and wish his services there may be such as will deserve his wages, as expected from one that has so long resided in those parts, but because we know that Capt. Brookhaven might not have too much confidence in him and that the other two prementioned had little experience in the Bay, we directed him to use the advice and assistance of one Richard Potter who formerly had served you in the *Endeavour's* voyage to Pegu, and there fairly acquitting himself was gratified with £ 100 sterling for his service, and being now somewhere about Pipli or Balasore, he was enjoined by letters from the Agent to apply himself to Capt. Brookhaven and in this urgency of your affairs to afford him possible help. And whereas from England, you were pleased to design that the ship should voyage it up the river Ganges to Hooghly, and settle a factory there etc., we having formerly understood that passage to be full of danger caused it to be disputed in consultation before the departure, when it was unanimously

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voted against the ship's adventuring thither, therefore our instructions limited her to the Road of Balasore, but for the buying and bringing away of goods or settling a factory at Hooghly, with acquisition of the Prince's *firman* for free trade, was wholly referred to the said Captain's discretion."[6]

The *Lioness*, as we have stated earlier, left Madras on 28th August 1650 and reached Balasore in due course where she spent the next three months in *lading* her. Though the *Lioness* was ordered not to go up the Ganges to Hooghly on account of the hazards, Captain Brookhaven was free to take decisions on his own. The ship left Balasore on Dec. 16, reached Masulipatam[7] on December 27, and sailed for England on January 20, 1651 from that port.

Preparations were made by the end of 1850 for sending Bridgman and his party to Hooghly and the necessary instructions[8] were issued to them on December 14, thus :

> Instructions for Mr. James Bridgman Chief, Mr. Edward Stephens Second, William Blake and Francis Taylor Assistants in the factories of Balasore and Hooghly for the honourable East India Company.
>
> Dated (at the end), Balasore 14th Dec. 1650.

Sirs :

Principally and above all things you are to endeavour with the best of your right and power the advancement of the glory of God, which you will best do, by walking holily, righteously, prudently, and Christianly, in this present world, that so the religion, which you profess, may not be evil spoken of, and you may enjoy the quiet and peace of a good conscience towards God and men and may always be ready to render an account in a better

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world, where God shall be Judge of all.

Whereas it is the design of our Masters the Honourable Company to advance, and increase the trade in these parts of Orissa and Bengal, you are by all possible means to endeavour more and more to inform yourselves how best and most profitably to carry out the trade thereof, especially for saltpetre, silk and sugar. To this end, that you endeavour the sale of those goods remaining in the factories to the most advantage, thereby as soon as may be, to get moneys into your hands that so you may proceed to invest the same in the best time of buying the aforesaid goods.

Patna being on all sides concluded the best place for procuring of (salt) petre, desire you therefore to make a trial how you can procure the same from thence, wherein you may make use of WB*, who you know is able to inform you. You must so order that business, as he may have profit thereby and may be encouraged, by which means you will soonest arrive to our desire. In this commodity invest at least one half of your stock, and endeavour the refining of the same

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* Colonel Yule read these initials as W.B. in some form of old Court hand. Perhaps the person may be Wm. Blake (one of the factors addressed or Wm. Benis, mentioned in Masulipatam letter below (25th Feb. 1651). Sir William Foster (EF 1646-50, p. 332, note 3) considered the reference to Wilhelm Volger, the Dutchman, who is mentioned in the *Hague Transcripts* (Series 1, vol. XVIII, No. 550) as serving in Bengal in 1653. The reason for concealing his full name is obvious.

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at Hooghly. In case you run into debt, let it be for this commodity, yet I dare not advise you so to do, until you receive order from the Agent, and Council, the interest being (as you know) so exceedingly high.

In silk you know what great matters are to be done, therefore it does import the Company much, that you strive both by relation and your own experience to know how, and where best to carry on the manufacture thereof, where the best silks are procured, and where best conveniences are for fitting, and preparing the same for the sales of Europe, that so if the Company shall require large quantities you may be in a position to fit them all at the first hand. I suppose the order of the Dutch is very good, and will be freest from adulteration, the properest way will be to make three sorts, as Head, Belly, and Foot, each apart by themselves. You may also make an experiment of the washing thereof at Hooghly or elsewhere and send the Company a maund of each sort apart by the next shipping for a sample, with an exact account of the loss in washing, and charge of the same. In this commodity you may invest near three eight parts of your remains.

As for sugars, you know they are procured in many places, you may make a small trial in each. Herein I suppose you need but inquire secretly into the order of the Dutch, how, where, and when they proceed to buy the said commodity, and how the seasons do fall for bringing the same out of the country or down the rivers. I am informed that the quantity they last bought at Patna is well approved of, therefore I desire also that you procure some from thence by the same way or instruments that you make use of to obtain the saltpetre.

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You know how necessary it will be for the better carrying on the trade of these parts to have the Prince's *firman*, and that Mr. Gabriel Boughton, chirurgeon to the Prince promises concerning the same. To put matters out of doubt it is necessary that you forthwith after our departure, and the settlement of business here, and at Hooghly, proceed to Rajmahal with one Englishman to accompany you; where being come consult with Mr. Boughton about the business, who hath the whole contents of the Dutch's last *firman*, and together endeavour (if possible) that (according to Mr. Boughton's promise) the Company may have such a *firman* granted, as may outstrip the Dutch in point of privilege and freedom, that so they may not have cause any longer to boost of theirs. You know that I have written to Mr. Boughton about it, who (without doubt) will be very faithful in the business, and strive that the same may be procured, with as little charge as may be to the Company, knowing that the less the charge is the more will be the reputation, according to his own advice in his last unto me; what you shall present, or expend in the business I cannot advise, however what you do, let it be done with joint consent, and I pray you be as sparing as may be in a business of this import.

From the Fort you may expect as soon as may be the Agent's further order, with a supply of stock for these factories, that so goods may be procured in readiness against the coming of the next ships, conform to his promise.

The two assistants William Blake and Francis Taylor being without a known salary servants to the Company, you may let them have five or six pounds a year apiece for their maintenance in clothes until further order.

And whereas the accusations against Narrand the Company's broker are without proof, and indeed invalid, you are still to continue him, as he was in the Company's service and under

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their protection, giving him all convenient encouragement.

The trade at Balasore being now carried on in Rupees *Morees*,* desire you to continue all negotiations there in the same specie, supposing it most advantageous for the Company to do. And that you endeavour to keep a good correspondence with the Governors of Balasore and Hooghly, as also with all such as are the allies and friends of our Nation.

In every thing desire you to have a special regard not to put the Company upon any unnecessary charge, either of building, or repairing of houses, or in keeping any more servants than the necessity of their service doth require.

That all matters of concernment to the Company be declared to their servants who thereby may be the better enabled in the future to serve their masters, so that in case of sickness, or mortality (which doth often happen in these parts) the successors may always know how, what and where the Company's interests are, and how in all things their business do stand, to avoid the inconvenience, which might arise on the contrary.

That either yourself or Narrand procure a donation of that land on the west side of the Dutch house, and so down to the river on the small creek, so that in case the Company resolve to enlarge trade here they may there build a mansion house, and a house for refining of saltpetre close by the river, where meet conveniences for negotiations that nature do attend, and let them dig a trench round about the said land of five or six Rupees

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* *Muhri*? I do not find this rupee in Prinsep. It was probably the *round* rupee. See Blochmann's *Ain-i-Akbari* (English translation), p. 31. Akbar had also introduced square coins.—Yule.

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charge, to signify our bounds and interest in the same.

I understand the Nawab of Cuttack is to come down this way. Desire if he come that you present him with a remnant of fine cloth of the value of ten pounds or thereabouts and a sword blade or two of the best sort.

These are what I thought needful to advise you by way of Instructions, doubt not, but you will have such as are more ample by the first from the Agent, with stock to your content from Masulipatam, or Pegu, conform to the advice in any instructions. And herewith wishing you prosperity, for present take leave, and rest

Your very loving friend
J. B. (Captain John Brookhaven).

Bridgman's proceedings at Hooghly immediately after his arrival are not on record. However, there is no doubt that he was settled at Hoogly,[9] as we find the factors there asking their counterparts at Gombroon to send some Persian horses for the "Prince of that place" and John Lewis, Thomas Best and Matthew Andrews shipping a couple of them in the junk, piloted by John May, formerly master's mate of the *Lioness* which called at Gombroon on February 20 and which departed on April 10 with the cargo desired by Bridgman and his colleagues in their letter.[10] A temporary accommodation must have been hired for housing the English at Hooghly* in January 1651 itself as we find the

* The English factory at Hooghly was situated a little south of the Imambara, the locality being called Golghat or Golgot. The Dutch built their factory in 1625 at Golgot. The Dutch factory and storehouses were swept away by floods whereupon they shifted to Chinsura. The English also finding their factory exposed to floods built another, a quarter of a mile higher up, using the old factory as a store-house. A. K. Banerji, *Hooghly District Gazetteer* Calcutta, p. 692.

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Masulipatam factors reporting to the Company on February 28 that "proper dwelling will be required in Bengal with instruments for refining saltpetre, if that trade is to be continued."[11]

The Masulipatam factors (Agent Henry Greenhill, Christopher Yardley, Edward Winter, John Leigh, Thomas Chamber and Robert Doughty) resolved to buy a second-hand sloop at a consultation held on February 19, 1651.[12] The vessel was needed to carry a quantity of lead and broadcloth to the Bay and also "to navigate to and from Hooghly." The 70-ton sloop bought for 120 Pagodas was committed to the charge of William Bevis (master) and George Becker (mate). The sloop was renamed *Transport*, and armed with a cannon. The *Transport* was despatched on 27th February 1651[13] with a cargo of goods invoiced at about 614 Pagodas and estimated to yield 5,000 or 6,000 rupees.[14] This was the first vessel to sail up the Hooghly with the English flag on her, and piloted by an English master (William Bevis).

At the consulation held at Masulipatam by Henry Greenhill and his Council on February 19, Bridgman was referred to the instructions left by Capt. Brookhaven as regards business in the Bay.[15] Brookhaven had advised Bridgman to seek the assistance of W. V. the Dutchman (Wilhelm Volger) and for "attaining the Prince's *firman* it is thought most meet that a letter should be directed from hence to Mr. Gabriel Boughton, who can do much towards the attaining the same, and a *pishcash* to be sent him of three yards of scarlet and lace to make him a coat, that he the more vigilant in the Company's behalf for gaining their privileges of paying no custom through that Prince's dominions."[16]

There is no doubt that surgeon Boughton was instrumental in obtaining the privileges of free trade in Bengal, for which the factors spent Rs. 3000/- by way of presents as is evident from the letter of Agent Greenhill and William Gurney at Fort St. George

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to the Company dated January 14, 1652.[17] "And now that we are in the Bay, it prompts us to acquaint you that our friends there have been at the expense of 3,000 rupees at least to procure the Prince's *firman* for free trade without paying custom in his dominions ; which if it can be maintained in its full vigour, will in short time quit the charge." This was rather a wishful thinking as it was never the intention of the Mogul officials to grant the English Company free trade in the Empire. The Mogul officials never intended to grant a permanent exemption from customs, though they were willing to waive their demands for a time, in consideration of presents which were promised, but were not forthcoming. This arrangement suited the interests of the factors, who were only concerned to escape the payment of dues on their own goods and cared little what might happen to their successors or to their employers' stock.[18]

President Blackman and Edward Pearce, on reflection, found that the suspension of custom had done more harm than good to the Company as is evident from their letter dated Surat, January 18, 1654, to thc Court : "You have also been very badly dealt withal by your people at the Bay, in Balasore and Hooghly where by large presents they have gained a suspension paying customs, for the better advancing their own benefits and all other private traders, who have for these three years paid no custom there, and now they are called to account to pay the whole for all the time ; so that your stock must make good the customs of private traders."[19]

PROSPECTS OF TRADE

The prospects of trade in Bengal were given to the Company by Bridgman in his letter[20] dated, aboard the *Lioness* (at Balasore) December 15, 1650. Raw silk was better and cheaper

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than formerly, as the Hooghly invoice would show ; but the commodity should be bought in February or March, when the price was only 85 or 90 rupees per maund at which rate 200 or 300 bales might be procured. The silk was scarce and dear during the shipping season. Saltpetre was plentiful and cost at Patna only one rupee per maund though customs and freight raised the price at Hooghly to $1\frac{3}{4}$ rupees. That bought for the *Lioness* at Balasore cost about $2\frac{5}{8}$ rupees per maund, and besides this when buying at port, they are obliged to take any trash they could get, at whatever price the seller demanded. Sugar could be bought in February or March for $7\frac{1}{2}$ or 8 rupees the bale, but in the monsoon time cost 11 or 12 rupees. Thus in all things about 50 per cent could be saved if they had a stock of money before, while borrowing entailed a cost for interest of three per cent per month. Plenty of dry ginger could be brought from Patna which would fetch $2\frac{1}{2}$ or 3 rupees per maund at Hooghly ; the Dutch exported this commodity to Europe. He sent a bale of Hooghly Gingham which he could not commend much. Bees'-wax, long pepper, civet, rice, butter, oil and wheat might be procured at Hooghly ; all at about half the price of other places. Bengal will vend yearly 30 or 40 broadcloths, half of them red and the rest green, besides 100 pigs of lead (if private trade be prevented). Quicksilver, vermilion and red lead were in no demand. A small vessel of 30 or 40 tons, with six or eight guns, would be very useful for carrying goods to Balasore and conveying other vessels. Presents must be given occasionally to the Prince and the Governors of the towns ; so a few rarities such as globes, glasses, multiplying glasses, besides four or five good substantial house clocks, were required.

The trade prospects in Bengal are described by the factors in 1654 thus : "These places of Bengal and Orissa sufficiently manifest that there is room enough for the employment of a

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very great stock ; where although the Dutch invest at least £ 200,000 sterling, yearly, and some years find lading for seven and eight ships of burthen, nevertheless Your Worships, supplying this place with stock sufficient and honest men to manage it, will soon find as great business and as much profit ; when, besides for the shipping Your Worships shall design to return for Europe, there may be sufficient to employ to Persia, the Red Sea, Achin, Pegu, Tenasserim, and Ceylon, places which all of them return good profit from, and are all of them within the monsoons of this."

SALTPETRE[21]

Saltpetre[22] was one of the commodities for the procurement of which the Company set up the Hooghly factory. Repeated attempts were made in England to obtain saltpetre, an essential ingredient in the manufacture of gunpowder, by digging up floors of houses, stables, and pigeon-houses ; and the people were obliged to admit the saltpetremen to destroy their floors whenever they thought proper. Other projects were set on foot ; but they were all equally unavailing. The importance of saltpetre during war-time need hardly be over-emphasised for the defence of the country. The dependence upon any country in Europe for the supply of saltpetre was dangerous and the many attempts made to procure it at home produced only disappointment to the projectors and vexatious oppression to individuals.[23]

The earth (used for stables) required to be put through certain processes in order to extract the saltpetre. The operations of digging and extracting it have been graphically described by the writer of the article on saltpetre (*Dictionarium Rusticum*, 1717 ; compare H. Townshend, *Historical Collections*, 1680, p. 251). The only means whereby the state could supply itself with a

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sufficient amount was by the grant of patents. The holders were allowed to dig for peterish earth in grounds not only of the meaner sort, but also of the better sort, which had not been entered previously. The cancellation of the patent was not an effective remedy for the due supply of the Government. (D'Ewes, *Journals*, p. 653 & c. for a very vivid account of the patents granted by the Queen). The Company secured a licence from the Crown for the manufacture of gunpowder, but the venture proved a total failure and the loss sustained thereby was serious.[24] The Civil War in England increased the demand for gunpowder, and consequently that of saltpetre. At the same time fresh sources of supply were opened up in Bihar. The utility of the article, combined with its scarcity, made its importation a matter of national importance, and the Company became the sole provider of it to the Crown. The Company brought forward the importation of saltpetre as a justification for the maintenance of its privileges, and after accounting all the benefitsof that article, triumphantly asked, "Now, who will supply the Crown with this article, if the Company is dissolved ?" The argument was irresistible.[25]

"If the imports of Indian sugar continued intermittently in the first half of the 17th century, that of saltpetre did not begin until 1626 when for the first time a supply reached England. But unlike sugar, when once established, the saltpetre trade displayed a consistent growth, though the real expansion did not come till after the Civil War. In the early twenties the shortage of saltpetre in England and the increasing difficulty in obtaining supplies of gunpowder had turned the attention of the Company to the possibility of importing this chemical from India. In 1624 the Commissioner of the Navy had reminded the Company that the Dutch were in the habit of fetching saltpetre from the Coromandel Coast and the Court once again debating the issue, and 'finding it will be an acceptable service to the State', agreed to the

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proposal for lading a whole ship with this commodity from the East Coast of India. This ambitious plan, however, merely proved to be a display of well-meant intentions and the volume of saltpetre imports for a long time remained modest.[26] In 1631, the supplies brought home in the *Charles* were invoiced at no more than 700 churles and in the 30's the annual imports on an average came to about 200 tons. Some of these were re-exported to the Continent, mainly to Amsterdam, but after 1635 when the Government prohibited all private manufacture of gunpowder and declared it a royal monopoly, the Company undertook to sell all its stock of saltpetre to the King, as it arrived from the Indies, at a price of £ 4 per cwt. The undeveloped state of market at home and the official restrictions upon its free export and import, both in India, and Europe, due to its being a strategic raw material for warfare, explains why the Company's interest in this commodity did not stretch beyond what was considered an essential obligation to national needs. Commercially, as long as indigo was found to be profitable, saltpetre only ranked as an article of secondary importance", says Choudhuri.[27]

The factors in the Bay were instructed in 1651 by the authorities at Masulipatam to invest their capital, half in saltpetre and the remaining half (in equal proportions) in silk, sugar and cloth (Sannoes adatis). Commodities were cheap in February, 1651 and the Masulipatam factors could not afford to lose the opportunity and, therefore, resolved to borrow 3,000 old Pagodas to make an investment for Bengal, the amount to be repaid on the arrival of the *Ruby* from Pegu.[28] When Hooghly was found to be a dependable source for saltpetre, the importance of Agra, Ahmedabad, Rajapur and other places on the Coromandel Coast diminished. The saltpetre from Bihar was the best and cheapest in India. The Patna saltpetre cost the Company only Re. 1 per maund, though customs and freight raised the price at Hooghly

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to Rs. 1-4-0.[29] The cheap water transport down the Ganges enabled saltpetre boats to be sent down to Hooghly for lading the ships bound for Europe. The Committees[30] decided on January 28, 1650 to send £ 5,500 in money in the *Lioness* with lead, cloth, vermilion, etc. to the value of £ 1500 for her relading home : what remained over to be left at Hooghly to provide lading for the next year's shipping ; also that £ 5,000 of the £ 7,000 so sent was ordered to be laid out in saltpetre, sugar, calicoes or what the factors thought best. The President and Council of Surat was advised by letter overland to provide at least 300 tons of saltpetre and sugar on August 30, 1650.[31] The Company expected 300 tons of saltpetre from India in 1652.[32] The possibility of procuring saltpetre from Patna[33] was explored and the factors could also procure a quantity from Rajmahal. A quantity of saltpetre was stopped at Rajmahal for custom in 1654, and could not be brought to Hooghly till after the "next rains".[34]

Agent Greenhill at Fort St. George wrote to the Company on January 14, 1652 that saltpetre for which there was heavy demand at home, could be obtained in large quantities at Balasore, Hooghly etc. which could not be refined for want of suitable copper and pans.[35] Saltpetre required refining before its despatch to England. The factors at Hooghly had no arrangement for refining the saltpetre brought from Rajmahal. The trade in saltpetre is described by Agent Greenhill at Fort St. George thus :

"The general use here of refining is in great earthen pans ; but so tedious and troublesome for ridding of business, caused by the often breaking of those pots or pans, that to our certain knowledge above 200 of them fell to pieces in the curing of 600 bags landed here last year out of the *Lioness* to make room for richer goods. The Dutch are so well furnished with houses and

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all other conveniences for that trade annually they ship from Pipli near 2,000 tons of this commodity, and all refined, though they buy most thereof gross (as well as other commodities) up the said river as far as Patna and bring it down in boats, for whose security against the thieving Arracan *Jalias* they have certain sloops or small ships well manned and munitioned ; and so must you, if you resolve to continue this river trade to any purpose, especially for saltpetre, which is said to cost but half so much at Patna as in Balasore".[36]

The Company wrote to the President and Council at Surat on September 12, 1653 to provide the following goods : saltpetre, "being a commodity desired by our State and of great expense in those times of war between them and the States of Holland, 200 tons well refined". No Rajapur saltpetre was desired, unless it was extraordinarily well refined. Should the stock at Surat be insufficient to provide all the goods desired by the Company, the factors were ordered to give preference to saltpetre, sugar and pepper.[37]

The Company complained about the bad quality of the saltpetre lately received from India (April 1653) and it was ordered that in future this commodity should be sent in a refined state, as the charges for freight and customs were the same for the refined and unrefined.[38]

The best quality of saltpetre came from Patna and it was increasingly sought after as the commodity procurable from Rajapur, Agra and other places required refining. Bengal was free from wars till the rebellion of Shah Shuja. The frequent wars in the Deccan and north-western parts of India made it difficult for the Company to procure saltpetre in abundance. The President and Council at Surat wrote to the Company on Novemher 23, 1654[39] that a quantity of saltpetre was detained at Ahmedabad. They took the opportunity of Shaista Khan's

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impending departure to negotiate its release, and on their abating over £ 100 in the price of the tapestry received by the *Smyrna Merchant*, he allowed them to bring it to Surat just before the rains. The purchase of the further quantity required by the Company was deferred until the arrival of the Khan's successor, Murad Baksh, the fourth son of Shah Jehan. He gave them leave to buy what they wanted, and thereupon they contracted for a quantity. However, when part had been received and was being refined, an order came from the King's Diwan prohibiting them buying or transporting any saltpetre thence. This embargo was not removed, though promises were given them to do so from time to time; so they had to make arrangements for buying a quantity in the Deccan to make up the desired amount for England.

INVESTMENT

Bridgman, despite the large cargo brought by the *Lioness*, was short of funds for investment. He was authorised to recover certain debts in the Bay for Richard Potter, which the factors agreed to pay him at Masulipatam (at the usual exchange value).[40] This amounted to Rs. 8,000. The Pegu factors were instructed to raise money on their goods and transmit the proceeds by bills of exchange to Bengal.[41] The Fort St. George factors also sent some lead and broadcloth in order to keep the Hooghly factors supplied with money for the purchase of saltpetre.[42] They also expressed the hope that the Pegu factors would also (as before) make a remittance thither "by bills of exchange upon the pawnes". The *Transport*[43] with a cargo of goods invoiced at about 614 Pagodas and estimated to yield 5,000 or 6,000 rupees was sent on February 27, 1651. The

broadcloth was bought by the Nawab, but the factors could not dispose of the lead.[44]

The management of the Bay investment was originally committed to Captain Brookhaven, assisted by Bridgman and Stephens. Brookhaven gave Bridgman detailed instructions regarding investment at Hooghly before he left Balasore, as we have seen above.[45] Bridgman was advised to seek the assistance of "M.V. the Dutchman" (Wilhelm Volger) for investment.[46] Agent Greenhill and his Council at Masulipatam in their letter dated February 25, 1651 to Bridgman and others in Bengal, concurred with Captain Brookhaven's instructions, except the details of the investment. Their modification referred to caution money, which was to be accepted, if necessary, in lieu of the return of the borrowed ordnance.[47]

President Blackman and his council at Surat, wrote to the factors at Agra on January 27, 1652 that they had heard nothing of the proceedings of the factors at Hooghly, despite that they intended to despatch a ship thither at the end of the monsoon, and the factors there were asked to provide sugar and gum-lac against her arrival, drawing for this purpose on the Agra factors to the extent of 15,000 rupees, or else they were permitted to borrow the same amount.[48] A letter was enclosed for onward transmission to Hooghly. President Blackman and his Council wrote to the Company on December 10, 1652 that they had ordered the provision of goods at Agra for Europe ; also the remittance thence to Hooghly of 10,000 rupees to begin the sugar investment, as there was almost 40 per cent difference between prices in February and those in the time of shipping (August and September). Should it be impossible to transport the sugar by sea, it could be disposed of to profit inland, they added.[49]

The Bengal factors in 1652 could not, obviously procure enough freight. In fact they abandoned their intention of sen-

ding the new sloop *Transport* to Fort St. George with sufficient freight.[50]

It is not to be understood that the imperial *firman* of Shah Jehan and the *neshans* of his son, Shah Shuja, Viceroy of Bengal, gave the Company perpetual immunity from payment of customs and other duties. The *firman* of Shah Jehan[51] of the 11th August 1650, procured by Thomas Davidge, exempted the English from payment of road duties. Besides the recovery of Muizzul Mulk's debt, the *firman* obtained by Davidge from the King "have saved you some thousand of thousands of rupees in rhadarees betwixt Lucknow and Agra and betwixt Agra and this place ; and may save you much more in Bengala, whither Mr. Jesson (now Chief at Agra) has sent it upon the entreaty of Mr. Bridgman and Edward Steevens, factors at Hooghly, where they are settled for the provision of saltpetre and sugar etc.", wrote President Merry Edward Pearce, George Oxenden and Thomas Breton from Surat on January 10, 1652 to the Company.[52]

The futility of *firmans* and *neshans* is best illustrated by the fact that hardly the ink on Shah Jehan's *firman* was dry, the Company's saltpetre was forcibly detained at Patna. "Some abuses have also been offered in Hooghly notwithstanding those costly *firmans* and *neshans* that have been procured and commands the contrary...", wrote Paul Waldgrave on January 4, 1654 to John Spiller at Ispahan.[53]

Imperial *firmans* and *neshans* and other decrees were of no avail in the far-flung Mogul Empire as the local officials were all-powerful in their dominions. The trade of European nations depended upon the placation of local officials like *faujdars* and Governors. Petty officials were never wanting in excuses to stop boats laden with goods. The factors of the East India Company saw that it was to their advantage to grease the itching palms of these local officials. Nawabs and governors were satisfied with

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annual presents, but their underlings were required to be greased every now and then. The Balasore factors wrote to the Company that "some considerable and valuable present" be provided for the Prince and other great men yearly, especially as the Dutch did.[54a] The Hooghly factors were authorised to accept in satisfaction the money deposited when four guns were borrowed by certain "great men, rather than offend the latter by insisting on their return."[54b]

Private trade among the Company's servants in Hooghly during the first 3/4 years of the establishment of a factory there was not conducive to corporate investment. We have already described in the previous chapter how Bridgman, Boughton, Stephens etc. were involved in sending two ships to the Persian Gulf on their own account. The factors were not at all blameworthy for this misdemeanour, for Bridgman, the Hooghly Chief, was appointed to organise the Bengal trade on the basis of commission

It was arranged in England that the merchants intended to be left at Hooghly were to bear all their own expenses and those of the two servants allowed them, in return for a "provision" (i. e. commission) of five per cent on all goods they bought.[55] This arrangement was confirmed in their letter by Henry Greenhill and Robert Doughty dated Fort St. George, January 18, 1651, to the Company. The question cropped up because "as regards the three factors appointed for Hooghly, the Company arranged to allow them, in lieu of salary, &c. five per cent provision upon the £ 2,000 allotted that factory, but the stock actually available there was much less, and the commission upon it was scarcely sufficient to provide the merchants with diet ; moreover, Bridgman was the only one there with whom this agreement was made. The factors at Fort St. George sought clarification on the subject whether Bridgman should be allowed a regular salary ; otherwise he and Stephens must diet apart, the former paying his own

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expenses. William Blake and Francis Taylor, two assistants, who came out in the *Lioness* were not included in the agreement the Company had entered into with Bridgman and it was unreasonable to deprive them of wages and subsistence at the Company's expenditure. Brookhaven was, therefore, asked to see that these youngmen were provided with necessaries at the cost of the Company.[56]

The factors at Masulipatam did not consider it incumbent upon them to enjoin frugality on Bridgman, as he was aware that he had agreed with the Company to accept a certain commission in lieu of all expenses, and as the Company would also probably disallow any immoderate outlay.[57] Private trade was the only choice left with the factors at Hooghly. Moreover, the factors had no dedication to the Company's cause.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Chapter 3 for Boughton.
2. There were a number of famines in India during 1630-1650 which are vividly described in the accounts of Peter Mundy, Van Twist and other writers.
3. Foster, W., *English Factories in India*, 1646-1650, Introduction, p. 31.
4. O.C. 2170 ; EF 1646-50, p. 313.
5. O.C. 2179 : *Hedges' Diary*, vol. III, p. 197 ; O.C. 2200 ; *Hedges' Diary*, vol. III, pp. 186-7, and EF 1650-51, pp. 16-17, 20.
6. O.C. 2200 ; EF 1651-54, pp. 16-17.
7. O.C. 2210 Agent Greenhill & Council at Masulipatam to James Bridgman & others in Bengal, February 25, 1651, EF 1651-54, p. 47.
8. O.C. 2186 ; EF 1646-50, pp. 332-334 for a summary. The text printed here is from *Hedges' Diary*, vol. III, pp. 185-186. Text modernised.
9. There is nothing to mark the original English factory at Hooghly today.

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10. O.C. 2219 ; EF 1651-54, p. 63.
11. O.C. 2211 ; EF 1651-54, pp. 48-49.
12. O.C. 2208 ; EF 1651-54, p. 45.
13. O.C. 2211 ; EF 1651-54, p. 48.
14. O.C. 2210 ; EF 1651-54, p. 47.
15. O.C. 2208 ; EF 1651-54, p. 45.
16. The offer of broadcloth and lace by Masulipatam Agency to Gabriel Boughton as a *peshcash* is curious. *Peshcash*, or propitiatory present, is usually made to a superior ; here it is made to a servant of the Company. Yule justifies this *peshcashing* thus : "The word (*peshcash*) is a singular one to use in relation to an ex-employee ; but it will be seen that it is offered to him as the servant of the Prince Shah Shuja" (*Hedges' Diary*, vol. III, p. 187). The present is again mentioned in O.C. 2210 (Letter from Masulipatam Council to James Bridgman, &c. Ballasore dated, "Metchelepatam, the 25th February 1650-51 : "Also you may take notice of 3 Guz of scarlet and 16 yards of gold and silver lace in Wm. Benis (Bevis) his custody the which demand of him and present as a *piscash* from us to Mr. Gabriel Boughton who being the Prince's servant will be doubtless a great help unto you to gain his *firman*, which we cannot conjecture will be difficult to be obtained, considering the very great present you have given already, far in value exceeding what used to be given in preceeding years."—*Hedges' Diary*, vol. III, p. 187 ; EF 1651-54, pp. 47-48).
17. O.C. 2246 ; EF 1651-54, p. 97.
18. EF 1651-54, Introduction, p. 27.
19. O.C. 2360 ; EF 1651-54, p. 223.
20. O.C. 2188 ; EF 1646-50, pp. 337-338.
21. We are giving here a resume of the Company's saltpetre trade in India. Bengal silk had not figured in the Company's trade during this period.
22. We have consulted the following works, besides the *English factories* and *Court Minutes*, for the following 3 paragraphs :

Khan, Shafaat Ahmad, *The East India Trade in the XVIIth Century*, London, 1923, pp. 13, 165, 260-263.

Chatterjee, Anjali, *Bengal in the Reign of Aurangzeb* (1658-1707), Calcutta 1967, pp. 159-164.

Chaudhuri, K.N., *The English East India Company 1600-1640*, London, 1965, pp. 189-90.

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23. Macpherson, David, *History of European Commerce with India*, London, 1812, pp. 134-135 and note on p. 135.

24. The Thirty Years War gave a boost to the demand for saltpetre and the Company explored the possibility of importing it from India in 1626.

25. Khan, *East India Trade*, p. 13.

26. It was President Thomas Kerridge who initiated the saltpetre trade in India. In 1626 he procured a large quantity of saltpetre from Ahmedabad and sent it home to ballast the ships. He promised a like quantity on every ship. O.C. 1192 & O.C. 1264.

27. Chaudhuri, *op. cit.*, pp. 189-190.

28. O.C. 2208 ; EF 1651-54, p. 45.

29. O.C. 2188 (See 20 above) and Balkrishna, *Commercial Relations Between India and England*, p. 101.

30. Court Book, vol. XX, p. 466 ; *Court Minutes* 1650-54, p. 11.

31. Court Book, vol. XIII, p. 4 ; *Court Minutes* 1650-54, p. 57.

32. Court Book, vol. XXI, p. 187 ; *Court Minutes* 1650-54, pp. 171-172.

33. O.C. 2258. William Jesson & Thomas Andrews to the President and Council at Surat, dated March 2, 1652 say that the letter for Bengal factors was duly forwarded to Hooghly, and a copy per bazar conveyance to Patna, where probably one of the factors will be found. EF 1651-54, p. 113.

34. O.C. 2435 ; Paul Waldgrave and Thomas Stevens at Balasore to the Company dated December 28, 1654, EF 1651-54, pp. 303-304.

35. O.C. 2246 ; EF 1651-54, p. 95.

36. O.C. 2246 : EF 1551-54, p. 95.

37. EF 1651-54, pp. 196, 199.

38. EF 1651-54, p. 179.

39. O.C. 2399 ; EF 1651-54, pp. 299-300.

40. O.C. 2208 and O.C. 2210.

41. O.C. 2210.

42. O.C. 2200 ; EF 1651-54, p. 20.

43. O.C. 2210 & 2211.

44. O.C. 2257 ; Agent Greenhill (Fort St. George) to the Company, February 12, 1652 ; EF 1651-54, p. 111.

45. O.C. 2186.

46. O.C. 2208 ; EF 1651-54, p. 45.

47. O.C. 2210.

48. O.C. 2242 ; EF 1651-54, p. 110.

49. O.C. 2297 ; EF 1651-54, pp. 144-45.

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50. O.C. 2257 ; EF 1651-54, p. 11 (Agent Greenhill to the Company, Feb. 12, 1652).

51. See Chapter 3 for the text of the *firman*.

52 O.C. 2228 ; EF 1651-54, p. 84.

53. O.C. 2388 ; John Spiller to the Company dated April 10, 1654 ; EF 1651-54, p. 271.

54a. O.C. 2435 ; Paul Waldgrave & Thomas Stevens at Balasore to the Company, December 28, 1654 ; EF 1651-54, pp. 303-304.

54b. O.C. 2208, Masulipatam Consultation dated February 19, 1651. EF 1651-54, p. 45.

55. *Court Minutes*, 1650-54, p. 11.

56. O.C. 2200 ; EF 1651-54, p. 20.

57. O.C. 2210 ; EF 1651-54, pp. 47-48.

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CHAPTER

5

THE ENGLISH IN HOOGHLY

The East India Company's factory established at Hooghly by James Bridgman in 1651 could not make any headway on account of the dereliction of duty on the part of the factors managing it. We have already seen how Gabriel Boughton, Henry Cherry and Bridgman had embarked on a lucrative private trade.[1] The death of Boughton, return of Bridgman and other factors contributed in no small measure to the near-abandonment of the newly-established factory. Moreover, the Company's affairs at home were not in a good shape.

The Company's commercial activity was at its lowest ebb on account of the political changes in England.[2] "The civil wars did not promote the Company's trade,* but their tendency was

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* Mr. Bruce, a staunch Royalist, says, under the year 1644-45, that the King of Persia refused the usual *firman* to the Company because our agents did not take off the wonted quantity of silk. "It is a memorable proof", he adds, "of the effects of political distractions in England at this period, that the agent was compelled to explain to the King of Persia the reason of this change to be, the distracted state of the Government in England, in which the rigid and austere manners of the Republicans had rendered silks (an article of former luxury) less an article in demand than under the polished manners of a Court—a melancholy example of the effect of political anarchy on commercial prosperity.". It is not clear from this whether, in Mr. Bruce's estimation,

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to keep down competition, and so far they benefited the Company. But when the King's head had been brought to the block, and the monarchy for a time suspended, it was natural that the general vindication of liberty should embrace liberty of trade, and that the Company's monopoly should be in danger. During the first years of the Commonwealth, however, the war with the Dutch kept this experiment in abeyance, and it was not until the peace had been completed that the Company found that their exclusive privileges were again threatened. It was not even then that their charter was endangered by a general demand for license to trade with the continent and islands of India, but that some of the members of their own proprietary body urged their right to be emancipated from the trammels of the Joint-Stock, and under the name of the Merchant-Adventurers, set forth their grounds for desiring to substitute for the existing system "a free regulated trade." An eager controversy then ensued; argumentative petitions from both sides were laid at the feet of the Protector, and for a time it seemed that the

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the "political anarchy" of the times, or the "austere manners of the Republicans" had this disastrous effect upon the commercial prosperity of the country. The passage is not very logical as it stands. It would seem, however, that Mr. Bruce intended to build up an argument in favour of absolutism, for he goes on to say, "If the convulsed and austere manners of England thus struck at the prosperity of the Company's trade in Persia, it is a remarkable contrast to find, at the same juncture, that the settled, though absolute Government of Turkey, was favourable to the introduction of the Company's trade; because, under such a Government articles of foreign import found a ready sale for the luxuries of the great, whilst this luxury facilitated the exports of Turkish produce." (Note by Kaye, p. 115).

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charges of the contending parties were pretty equally balanced. .....The reasoning of the Company in favour of the United Joint-Stock was not unsound in its application to the existing state of things, and when the question at issue was referred in 1656 to a committee of the Council of State, that body, after hearing evidence, delivered a private opinion in favour of the Joint-Stock, but left it to the Council to pronounce an authoritative decision.** The Council declared in favour of the 'United Joint-Stock, exclusive of all others', and Cromwell ratified the decision.....

"But the days of the Commonwealth, adverse, doubtless, to corporations and monopolies, were numbered. The people of England, though erring and straying, for a little space, from their monarchical ways, like lost sheep, were eager to return to their old allegiance to a royal master ; and the Restoration was at hand. They were willing to try another of the false Stuarts, and Charles the Second was proclaimed."[3]

Sir William Foster explains : "Cromwell's hesitation to grant

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**Mr. Mill says : "These contending pretensions were referred to a committee of the Council of State, and they, without coming to a decision, remitted the subject to the Protector and Council, as too difficult and important for the judgment of any inferior tribunal." There is here discernible something of the *suppressio veri*. The historian ought to have stated that the committee reported that they had heard evidence on both sides, and that their private opinion was, that the trade ought to be conducted on an United Joint Stock, but that, as the subject was one of so much difficulty and importance, they deemed it expedient to refer it, with the papers, to the Council of State, for their formal decision. This is duly stated in *Bruce's Annals* to which Mill refers in the margin. (Note by Kay, pp. 116-117).

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a fresh monopoly of Eastern trade on the lines of previous charters was largely due to an acute difference of opinion amongst those concerned as to the advisability of continuing the joint-stock system. A strong party, including several merchants whose influence with the Protector was considerable, preferred the 'regulated system' followed by the Levant and certain other companies, permitting members to trade independently. The controversy lasted long enough to give the system of more or less open trade a trial ; for since the United Joint Stock virtually ceased to send out capital after 1654, while the charter restrictions were quite inoperative, for about three years the markets of the East were free to all comers. As we have seen, advantage was taken of this by a number of merchants, including many members of the Company, to dispatch ships to the Indies, but the results were far from satisfactory to those responsible for the ventures. In India itself there ensued a ruinous competition among their agents, both in the sale of their cargoes and in the purchase of goods for the return voyage ; while at home the rush to dispose of the latter produced a disheartening drop in prices. The merchants concerned soon realised that after all there are advantages in the old system, under which such competition was eliminated. A further sobering influence was exerted by the continued successes of the Dutch and their evident intention of ousting the Portuguese from their remaining possessions in India. The most likely method of countering such schemes seemed to be to oppose to them a united front such as could scarcely be expected from 'regulated' company ; and it may be added that the spectacle of the prosperity attained by the Dutch East India Company—itself working by means of a joint stock—probably went far to remove the prejudice which had been inspired against the system by the poor results secured by the English Company in recent years. It is therefore not surprising to find that by February, 1657, the principal merchants engaged in the

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trade, including many of the chief 'interlopers', were agreed in desiring the continuance of the joint-stock system. At the same time the existing Company resolved to endure no further delay, but to dispose by auction of all its rights and privileges and to withdraw from the trade. This quickly produced a decision on the part of the Protector and his advisers to grant a charter substantially on the lines of those of Elizabeth and James I ; and on 19th October, 1657, this document passed the great seal. Thereupon a new joint stock of nearly £ 740,000 was subscribed though as a matte r of fact only one-half of the capital was ever called up. The new stock, it is important to note, was to be a permanent one, with the proviso that periodical valuations (the first being fixed for 1664) were to be made, when share-holders were to be allowed to withdraw their proportionate shares of the assets. For the first time, therefore, the Company acquired a fixed capital, in lieu of successive stocks raised and distributed at short intervals."[4]

The Company had issued instructions for the winding up of all its factories from the Bay of Bengal in 1655. Thus, we find only two factors at Balasore (Paul Waldgrave and Edward Stephenson) and three at Hooghly (William Blake, Daniell Denny and William Pitt). These factors were evidently employed in trading on their own account. The Company's letter to Madras dated January 31, 1655 brought by the *Three Brothers* said :

"In the Bay of Bengal we presume we have a considerable stock ; which (if not already done) we would have invested into silk. And being there are many ships of private persons now coming for those parts, who peradventure may not be so overpressed with lading but that they would willingly accept off some tonnage upon freight, you may therefore give order to Paul Waldgrave (or whom else shall be there) to lade the same upon

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some good ship and consign it unto us by bill of lading, agreeing for the freight thereof ; which having performed, and cleared all accounts in that place, let them (we mean all our people in that factory) take their passage upon the same ship on which the silk shall be laden ; and come directly in her for England, and bring the accounts (perfected) along with them."[5]

These instructions were taken into consideration by the Madras Council on October 16 and "It was agreed, touching the Company's factories in the Bay of Bengal, that all the factors shall take passage from thence on some ship that shall touch at Masulipatam, or on pinnace *Mariner*, bringing with them all the Company's goods that shall be there invested, and all the plate and other household stuff of consequence ; and for such goods, debts, or houses that shall be there remaining, (they) shall be left in charge of Narrand*, the broker, taking a note of his hand for what shall be left with him. And that if William Pitt will accept to live in the Company's house in Hooghly, provided he will look after it, he may have licence to live there with his family, not putting the Company to any charge...Now if Mr. Waldgrave be refractory and not (willing) to come up, Mr. Stephenson shall be empowered with a private commission to compel him, and Capt. Gostline's** assistance be desired to aid him in this particular."[6]

There were some difficulties in winding up the Hooghly establishment as is gathered from the Madras Council's letter to the Company dated February 4, 1656 : "Touching Bengal, it was jointly agreed in ditto (Consultation that) all your servants should be recalled thence, as well in relation to your commands

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* Narrand (Narayan), the Company's broker at Balasore.

** Benjamin Gostline, commanding the private ship *Good Hope*.

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as to and some differences and disputes among them principally concerning Mr. Bridgman's debts, to pay which (your) sugar was sold last year by William Blake; so that it was well part of his estate fell into your hands by way of the Surat Presidency for making good such damages as has or may accrue by (his actions) there before he left that place. As for your goods resting (there, we have) order for its transport hither upon such ships as came thither and could take it in, together with pinnace *Mariner*, or, if possible, to lade a junk therewith; which last was put in practice, and what was formerly your own ship *Ruby*, fitted for that purpose and laden with saltpetre, came up in the *Vine*'s company, who has also brought another parcel in her, and assisted the other with an English pilot; the saltpetre being 1847 bags, besides 187 ditto sugar, but no invoice, occasioned through Mr. Waldgrave's extreme sickness keeping him ashore, after he had embarked himself with the goods in the *Ruby* all the rest being not come down from Hooghly, and he being so weak in Balasore, could not perform it. So that we cannot expect those factors, nor the rest of your saltpetre, with the Bay accounts until the *Good Hope*, *Lyon*, or your own pinnace *Mariner*, brings them away, which we fear will be too late for this year, especially to reach this place, the monsoon being so far spent."[7]

The Madras factors were expecting their colleagues in Bengal with the Company's estate, but none reached Fort St. George as was described in the following extract from the letter of the Madras Council to Surat dated July 7, 1656: "Nor have we been exempted altogether from trouble and difficulties in getting the Company's servants and goods from Bengal, by freighting the same on several vessels for Masulipatam, being all in a manner saltpetre and sugar...Twenty tons ditto saltpetre and sugar was coming from the Bay on ditto *Mariner* which by

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eontrary winds was put back with her lading for Balasore and (as we hear) rides there in safety. As for the factors, Mr. Blake stays in the Bay, having deserted the Company's service in fear, it seems, he should be called to account for his own or some others' misdemeanours. Mr. Stevenson and Daniell Denny came from Masulipatam with Captain Gostline on the *Good Hope*, who from thence set sail with the last for England. The former after two days' stay for company, came hither overland, and is now returning into the Bay to assist in the *Mayflower's* lading and to help examine some ill-preceeding passages."[8]

The Madras factors could not give any information regarding charges and stock in Bengal as Waldgrave. who was Chief there, was laid up at Masulipatam with serious illness. The factors, in their letter to the Company on November 10, 1655, wrote : "We can get no other answer than that your Worships have remaining in those parts, but are rather indebted to himself and Blake about 100 rupees ; at which rate their expenses will appear excessive large, as to the amount of pagodas 8,200-0-2, which is impossible. Therefore we rather conjecture a good part thereof is gone to pay the engagements left by Mr. Bridgman and Mr. Stephens ; for which Surat ought to credit us, having seized on their estates. Besides, they may have haply undercharged the saltpetre which came up last year, for we never knew any invoiced at such cheap rates by the one half at least, and therefore suppose it may be some error. Yet do not think it fitting to declare as much to Mr. Waldgrave, but leave it to his own finding out, when it shall please God to restore him to health, or attend the return of your Bay factors on the *Mayflower* ; by which time we shall one or the other way be better enabled to resolve you."[9]

The Madras factors had sent Thomas Stevenson, William Taylor and Timothy Cartwright on the *Mayflower* in July 1656

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to Bengal to supersede Waldgrave and invest an amount of Rs. 20,562-10-0 in saltpetre and piece-goods. The instructions issued to the merchants on board *Mayflower* dated July 7, 1656 make interesting reading : "It is not unknown to some of you that distractions of late has been in the Bay, and how the Company have been injured by the miscarriage of some of their servants : which we were in good hope here to have examined and rectified, but that it pleased the Lord to visit Mr. Waldgrave with sickness that he could not conveniently come hither, and William Blake, who had a chief hand in selling 666 bales of the Company's sugar to pay other men's debts, came not out of the Bay according to order. We (are therefore) forced to refer this business jointly unto you. And when you have persued thoroughly such papers as Mr. Stevenson has concerning the buying and disposing of the sugar, as also touching the expenses etc, you are to call ditto Blake to account accordingly ; also to exact a reason from him for not complying with order in coming up hither, but deserting the Company's service before he had given account of his actions ; for we do not believe Mr. Waldgrave cleared him, or could do so. Yet, having formerly written again him, he was to blame not to send him up per force, if fair means would not serve. So was he also in giving him a particular order to be Chief in Hooghly, who thereupon affronted Mr. Stevenson, that was his superior and Second in Bengal by command of President Baker and Council ; besides divers other passages come to our notice, too long here to relate (nor is it needful seeing they go along with you) ; which (we) desire (you to) take into consideration, and examine the brokers and such other servants as have had employment these late years since the last coming of Mr. Bridgman, who, we fear, was the original of these misdemeanours. We would not be understood hereby to judge Mr. Waldgrave unheard, whom we have and do

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still esteem to be an able, honest man, however he (as others) may be transported with passion through sickness; which we hope doth not continue violently, but that he will be able to accompany you into the Bay: in which case give unto him the respect due unto his quality and treat him with all civility. And though we cannot for some reasons return him Chief over all as before, having appointed you, Mr. John Leigh, to that employment as supervisor for this present voyage and business, yet we appoint him the next place, and so recommend him to you specially that no disgraceful usage be put upon him for we must be tender of the repute of our Chiefs in such places where they have commanded.....Mr. Stevenson we do appoint for Hooghly, where we suppose the greatest parts of your saltpetre and sugar is to be procured...Let the *Mariner* be sent up with the first of the monsoon, unless you detain her to bring down the Hooghly goods. Yet pray keep her not so long as again to lose her monsoons."[10]

The *Mayflower* reached Balasore on August 8, 1656, and we learn that by reason of sickness the factors aboard could not procure the full quantity of the piece-goods and saltpetre desired. The letter of the factors from Fort St. George to the Company dated January 28, 1657 stated that "Thomas Stevenson, William Taylor and Timothy Cartwright were employed thither to manage that investment whereof the two first have been sick the most part of the time that the ship stayed in those parts, which not only retarded her too long there, but has likewise made them come short of their proportion; for they sent up but to the amount of rupees 20,562.10 annas including what was last year provided and driven back thither on the *Mariner*. But what stock you have there remaining we cannot now resolve you, for the aforesaid factors came not back on the ship according to order, nor sent their accounts: which is also imputed

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by them to the said sickness ; whereof William Taylor was very weak at the ship's coming thence. As for Mr. Paul Waldgrave, after a long languishing (he) breathed his last about the beginning of this month ; being, never able in all this time to give us any account of the old remains. And whereas we supposed he might have been mistaken in the rate of saltpetre, being so cheap bought, we find from some accounts received from William Blake that no such error was as we imagined ; and Your Worships may perceive by this invoice that the 105 bags saltpetre refined bought last year and indented hither with the sugar and silk on the *Mariner* does not stand in so much as the coarse saltpetre bought this year by 60 per cent ; to such a price is the commodity risen through the abundance of shipping that went thither (chiefly for that commodity as the main bulk of their lading), striving to outvie one another, both in prices and *piscashes*, to the great benefit of the natives, who this year have reaped a glorious harvest. Moreover, your said servants in the Bay are much troubled by one William Pitts, who, having married a Mogullana or Moorish woman, the relict of Gabriel Boughton, becomes thereby interested in the adventure he sent on those junks that went under Bridgman's name and were seized on by the Surat President ; which said adventure we provided with moneys taken up at interest of the Moors, who are very importunate for justice against us, it is to be feared will force a payment, as they did formerly for Mr. Steven's debt ; and all that our friends could allege to defer present satisfaction was that ditto Pitts had written to England about it, and it was not reason he should demand it in both places. And this is all we can as yet inform you of the Bay affairs."[11]

Stevenson and Taylor were arrested in consequence of suits brought against them in connection with *Mayflower* and her cargo, but in February 1657, they were released on personal

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bonds, on condition that they would not leave Hooghly. They returned to Fort St. George in January 1658.[12]

The *Lion* which reached India some time in the summer of 1655 had brought a fresh batch of factors to Bengal, who were working for Maurice Thomson and his associates. This body was at first independent of the East India Company, but in 1657, when the United Joint Stock broke up, Maurice Thomson became the governor of the resuscitated East India Company at the end of the same year. These factors were headed by George Gawton and Thomas Billidge, who were formerly in the East India Company's service. They were, on their arrival at Balasore, joined by William Blake, one of the factors stationed at Hooghly in the old Company's service. Thomas Hopkins, Ion Ken, Richard Chamberlain, Edmund Bugden and Job Charnock were probably the other factors sent out by Maurice Thomson and his associates in 1655.

The newcomers had no *neshan* or *firman* for trading in Bengal. James Bridgman, as we have already seen, procured a *neshan* from Sultan Shah Shuja, Viceroy of Bengal in 1651, for free trade in Bengal. Gawton and his fellow factors found it necessary to procure a fresh *neshan* from the Prince. Thomas Billidge was, therefore, sent to Rajmahal to get a *neshan* from Shah Shuja. James Price, servant of the late Dr. Gabriel Boughton, who was well acquainted with the Mogul court at Rajmahal, helped Billidge in procuring the coveted *neshan*. Sultan Shuja's *firman* enjoined :

> *Translate of Sultan Shah Shuja's Neshan.* Letters Patent to English in Bengal.[13] (From a transcript by Sir Streynsham Master, appended to his Diary) "The Neshan or Letters Patent of the Most Magnificent Prince Sultan Shuja given the sixth month in the year of Hegira one thousand sixty six in the 28th year of the Emperor

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Shah Jehan his Glorious Reign," i.e., April 1656 A.D.

Be it known to all great Governors, Chancellors, Farmers of the King's Customs, Watchmen, ferrymen, and other petty officers, that are now in place and hereafter shall be in the Kingdom of Bengal and Orissa, that this day Thomas Billidge an Englishman humbly (laid) his suit before our splendid throne, acquainting us that the English Company's goods according to the great Emperor's Letters Patent, which are unalterable, by his free grant therein specified are custom free all over his great Empire, humbly desiring us that there may a privilege be granted them by us to trade custom free in these parts, as also complaining that at present their trade with the country merchants our subjects is much hindered by our Governors of port towns &c., demanding the English goods at their own rates, and forbidding any merchants to buy or sell with them unless (they) condescend to their actions, and that the officers in the port towns demand four in the hundred custom on all goods imported and exported, as also anchorage in the roads belonging to these kingdoms of Bengal and Orissa.

Upon due consideration had of all which we were pleased to grant, and hereby command you, that according to the above-mentioned Letters Patent of the great Emperor, whose words no man dare presume to reverse, the factory of the English Company be no more troubled with demands of custom of goods imported or exported either by land or by water, nor that their goods be opened and forced from them at under-rates in any places of Government by which they shall pass or repass up and down the country, but that they buy and sell freely and without impediment, neither let any molesta-

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tion be given them, without anchorage, as formerly has been, also whenever they have order to build factories or warehouses in any part of these kingdoms that they be not hindered, but forwarded, as also where there shall be any just and due debts, coming to them from our subjects that all persons in office be, helpful to them in their recovery giving protection to no weavers, merchants or any other that shall appear to be really indebted to them. For all the aforesaid matters especial regard is to be had that you carry yourselves strictly in obedience to the great Emperor's Letters Patents, and this my *Neshan* now given the English Company having an especial care that you fail not (even) a little in your full compliance with our commands therein contained."[14]

The desertion of William Blake to the company of Maurice Thomson and the success of Billidge was reported to the Company by the factors in Madras on November 10, 1656, thus : "As for Mr. Blake, whom we most desired hither, being able to give us better satisfaction than any other in Bridgman's business, (he) could not be drawn thence to give any account ; but, leaving your service before he had cleared himself fairly, went to reside with Mr. George Gawton, who has also settled a factory in Balasore with 8 or 9 assistants and procured a new *firman* for trade."[15]

CIVIL WAR IN INDIA[16]

The Civil War[17] in India following the illness of Emperor Shah Jehan disrupted the trading operations of the new, resurrected Company, under the governorship of Maurice Thomson. Shah Jehan fell suddenly ill of strangury and constipation on September 6, 1657 on his return from Mukhlispur to Delhi.[18]

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Dara Sukhoh, eldest son of Shah Jehan, was nominated by the Emperor to succeed him. This gave the signal to Sultam Muhammad Shah Shuja, Muni-ud-din Muhammad Aurangzeb, and Muhammad Murad Baksh, the second, third and fourth sons of Shah Jehan to contest the throne of Hindustan. Shuja and Murad crowned themselves.[19] Aurangzeb joined hands with his younger brother, Murad, and marched together with their respective armies, to Agra where they reached in the first week of June, routing en route all imperial armies. The aged emperor Shah Jehan was imprisoned at the Agra fort on June 8. Murad Baksh was treacherously made prisoner by Aurangzeb[20] on June 25. Dara was pursued and hunted like a hare in distant Lahore and Multan. He was captured alive on June 9 and brought to Delhi, where he was beheaded on August 30, 1659.[21]

Sultan Muhammed Shah Shuja, Viceroy of Bengal since 1642 staked his claim to the throne and proceeded to Agra. He reached Benares on January 24, 1658 and was checked by Sulaiman Shukoh, Dara's eldest son, who drove back his uncle. However, Sulaiman patched up a truce with Shuja on May 7, 1658 in order to be back at Agra to check the united forces of Aurangzeb and Murad. The truce had left Shuja master of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.[22] Aurangzeb, in fact, added Bihar to Shuja's viceroyalty.[23] However, Shuja, taking advantage of Aurangzeb's absence in the far off Punjab at the heels of Dara, marched from Patna to Delhi at the end of October 1658. He reahed Khajwa on December 30, 1658 where Sultan Muhammad, the eldest son of Aurangzeb, barred his path.[24] Aurangzeb himself reached Kora-Gautampur, 8 miles west of Khajwa, on January 2, 1659. Mir Jumla, who had joined the imperial service, also reached the camp of Aurangzeb that very day. The battle of Khajwa was fought on January 5, 1659, in which Shuja was routed.

Shuja's defeat at Khajwa is referred to in a letter from

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Balasore of March 2, 1659 : "This Prince of Bengal has received a very great overthrow, and this day came news that he was retreated into Patna, not for a siege, and Aurangzeb his son was with an army of 80,000 horse within three days march of Patna, pursuing him ; whose force this prince is not able to resist, but must retreat still. Here, as we conceive, in these parts are no forts or cities of strength to resist a potent enemy."[25]

On December 15, 1659, the factors gave the reason of Shuja's defeat. The Prince of Bengal lost about 12,000 men and that the chiefest occasion of his overthrow was "by a strategem of war which they use here, of fireworks made of bamboos (more desperate by far as they report, than grenades), which his enemies were well provided with, and he on his part had but few."[26]

Shuja fled to Monghyr via Allahabad, Benares and Patna, where he reached on February 19, 1659 followed by Prince Muhammad and Mir Jumla. The unfortunate pretender to the throne reached the garden of Jafar Khan, in the suburbs of Patna on February 10. His son Zain-ud-din was married to the daughter of Zulfiqar Khan Qaramanlu. Sultan Muhammad arrived at Patna[27] on February 22. However, from the letter of Chamberlain, who had reached Patna on February 11, written days later, we understand that "The Sultan Mamood is here, but it is said will march forward toward Monghyr speedily, where will be good fighting, it being the last refuge of our Prince."[28]

Sultan Muhammad and Mir Jumla had reached Patna on February 22, eight days after Shuja had left the city.[29] Learning that Mir Jumla had been made governor of the province, Chamberlain paid him two visits and found him full of resentment on account of the treatment he had received in the matter of his junk. The factors feared that he would retaliate by stopping the trade, but in any case the purchase of saltpetre at Patna was for the time out of question. The native merchants had fled on the

approach of the contending armies ; while, should they venture back, it was unlikely that the officials would allow any saltpetre to be sent down the river, for fear of its falling into the hands of Shah Shuja. A week later a second letter gave fuller details. From this it appears that Chamberlain's second visit was paid on February 21, the day Sultan Muhammad and Mir Jumla started for Monghyr.

Shuja fled from Monghyr on March 6 at the approach of Mir Jumla and the desertion of Rajah Bahroz from his service. Shuja retreated to Sahibganj and halted there for 15 days[30] (March 10-24). He moved from Sahibganj to Rajmahal (about March 27) at the approach of Mir Jumla. The factors at Balasore learnt all these developments and wrote to the Company on April 12, 1659 that the imperialists had made a turning movement through the hills, with the result that they had forced Shah Shuja to evacuate Monghyr (on March 6) and to continue his retreat eastwards.

"Mir Jumla with half of his army came from Patna down to Monghyr, where the Prince of Bengal was ; and in the interim Sultan Muhammad with the other half of the army fetched a large circumference through the woods to come on this side of the said Monghyr. The issue of what at present known is that Monghyr by the Mir Jumla is taken, the Prince of Bengal retreating within five leagues of Rajmahal, and Sultan Muhammad come to Burdwan,[31] some 50 leagues from Balasore, some 25 leagues from Kasimbazar, and some 40 leagues from Rajmahal. So that now the country is lost to the Prince of Bengal, his enemies being in the heart of it ; and the next news we expect to hear is of his flight to Dacca (?) where he cannot be intercepted among the hills and rocks ; only he may continue to be a thorn

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in the sides of the people of these parts, when the rains are over, by intruding again."[32]

Shah Shuja hastened to Rajmahal (by March 27) after evacuating Sahibganj. He crossed the Ganges at Dogachi (13 miles south of Rajmahal) on April 4 and encamped at Baqarpur on the opposite bank. He made Tanda (about 4 miles west of the ruined city of Gaur) his base. He foiled the plans of the imperialists to sneak into his camp. This is confirmed by the factors at Balasore in their letter dated December 15: "The Prince of Bengal, with his women and all the boats thereabouts, having before hand withdrawn himself, with what army he had left (which we conceive not above 8,000 horse) on the other side of the Ganges opposite to Rajmahal, where he has encamped himself, and daily fires off his great guns into the city, but to little purpose. By his seizing and manning of the boats he has as yet the command of Ganges; so that Sultan Muhammad cannot get over to him. What strategems he will use to effect the conquest we know not, which must (if this year) be done before the rain comes. It was not by any here expected that the Prince of Bengal, after his loss of Rajmahal, should have stayed any longer, but should have fled directly for Dacca, which borders on Arracan; but it seems he will try the utmost first, and can but fly at the last. The misery of all is to the natives and people trading here; both armies now lying so near, and their daily bickering causes a stop on all sides of trade."[33]

The factors added that, according to the general report, Mir Jumla "is to be left at Rajmahal Governor of Bengal and Orissa; so that we shall be all under his command. Sultan Muhammad and the Nawab Mir Jumbla are about some 20,000 horsemen, able Moors, all soldiers. He had in his camp about 14,000 horse of Rajputs, which made up 34,000; but upon some discontent or other a month since[34] all the Rajputs left him and

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are departed to their home, which is about Patna (*sic*). This is as the report goes."[35]

The Balasore factors have described the respective positions of Shuja and Mir Jumla in their letter under reference thus : "The Prince of Bengal flying down as far as a fort of his called Monghyr, some 40 leagues above Rajmahal, he held that out a little, and so retreated to Rajmahal, his chief city. But finding no security there, he left that also, and passed over the Ganges, with what army he had left, to the opposite part of Rajmahal, and there encamped himself. His enemies, *viz*. Sultan Muhammad and the Nawab Mir Jumla, suddenly after his retreat seized upon Rajmahal, the Prince of Bengal in the mean time playing upon the city from his camp with his great guns, of which he was indifferently well stored and his enemies not any, only a flying army of some 50,000 horse. But notwithstanding the Prince of Bengal's weakness by land, yet his seizure of the boats he was master of the Ganges, which gave at present a stop to his enemies farther pursuit of their victory ; and withal one accident happening which did very much secure the Prince of Bengal from any farther flight at present, which was, a sudden rising of the waters in the Ganges some 14 days sooner than customary. Otherwise, it is reported, Sultan Muhammad and the Mir Jumla would have marched over at a place in the Ganges called Sooty (=Suti), where at the dry season of the year it is fordable for horses : which if they had passed, the Prince must of necessity have fled to Dacca, the extremest border of his kingdom, joining upon Arracan, here not being in all the Bay any fort of consequence, neither will the Great Mogul, although his son governed in these parts, suffer any to be built, for fear of rebellions of his own children. Sultan Muhammad and the Mir Jumla having got so much of Bengal and seated in Rajmahal, they were esteemed in a manner as

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conquerors of the country. So they divided themselves, finding the waters risen and the rains come. Sultan Muhammad stayed at Rajmahal, and Mir Jumla came to a place called Sooty, some 15 leagues on this side Rajmahal, endeavouring to get what boats he could, and sent Governors to several places, as Hooghly and Kasimbazar etc., but here to Balasore as yet his power is not come. So that the Prince of Bengal had lost all command on one side of the river, and had on the other some 40 or 50 leagues power by his roving up and down with his boats."[36]

Mir Jumla's attempt to cross the Ganges and land some of his men in 75 boats at Tanda on May 3, 1659 was foiled by the vigilance of Shuja's devoted officer Sayyid Alam of Barha. This incident is described in Edmund Foster's letter from Kasimbazar (dated May 8, 1659).

"The news of this place at present is that the Mir Jumla have lost about 1000 men with going to fight with Shah Shuja by water, they being in small boats and the others in jalias.[37] But he has sent for all the carpenters he can get to make boats, and all the boatmen he can ; and likewise do stop all great boats which come down the river ; so that none can pass Murshidabad.[38] It is likewise reported here Muhammad Sharif is to be Governor of Hooghly again, if he be not already ; and that all the Portuguese are to depart from thence. This I suppose was done by the Dutch when they went to (visit the) Mir Jumla, they being so much their enemy. I suppose, if it lies in their powers, they will do as much by us. I fear that, if old grey beard (Mir Jumla) be not satisfied for what they at the Coast did anger him, the business will not go well on our sides this year ; for Mr. Ken was asked by the new Governor of Murshidabad if he was not afraid to go see the Mir Jumla, and likewise by another merchant which came to the house to buy cloth, if the English were not sorry that he is come, but Mr. Ken made the best of it

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(he) could. He (Mir Jumla) has likewise sent to the Dutch for all their gunners and their doctor."[39]

The letter of Balasore factors dated May 18, 1659 to their colleagues at Masulipatam has described the respective positions of Shuja and Mir Jumla thus : "Sultan Muhammad, with part of the army, (is) in Rajmahal ; Mir Jumla, with the other part, at Sooty, 15 leagues on this side Rajmahal towards Kasimbazar. The Prince of Bengal (is) encamped on the other side of the Ganges, opposite to Rajmahal, and has the command of the river, being strong in boats ; so that Sultan Muhammad nor Mir Jumla cannot pass the river. Lately they endeavoured, but (were) beaten back (with a loss ?), as report goes, of nigh 1000 men. But Sultan Muhammad is master of all the country on this side, and the other side of the river except that place the Prince of Bengal is encamped in, and the way to Dacca. The conquerors have sent several governors to towns here, and orders to others to acknowledge Aurangzeb ; but as yet not reached Balasore, but expected : which when come, the Governor will willingly embrace the surer side."[40]

Daud Khan, Governor of Bihar, was urged by Mir Jumla to cross the river Ganges at Patna and march along the north bank in order to assail Shuja's right wing. "The Nawab of this place with 5,000 horse are crossing the river to get on the same side with Shah Shuja. What the event will be, must refer to fate", wrote Pickering from Patna on May 16.

Chamberlain in his letter of the next day (May 17) added : "Our Nawab is this day gone on the other side of the river : it is said, to encounter with Khwaja Mishki,[41] who is one of Shah Suja's Nawabs and lies with some 30 jalias and stop the passage, so that not so much as one dinghy[42] can pass to the assistance of Sultan Muhammad."[43]

Daud Khan could not make much headway on account of

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the flooded condition of the rivers and the strength of Shuja's flotilla ; he halted opposite Bhágalpur where he remained until towards the close of the year. Shuja was able to seduce Sultan Muhammad[44] to his camp with the promise of the hand of his daughter Gulrukh Banu ("Lady Rose-cheek", to whom he was betrothed in 1652) and the throne of Hindustan. Sheldon gives this news to Davies in a letter dated June 11, 1659 : "Just now comes a letter from Mr. Ken with news that Sultan Muhammad and four or five of his women with some few jewels have left his lascar and are gone to Shah Shuja : his intent being to marry the Prince's daughter. Mir Jumla has seized all his treasure which he left behind."[45]

The details of the Prince's defection are given by the Balasore factors in their letter of December 15, 1659: "Sultan Muhammad (lying in Rajmahal) was formerly in love with his uncle the Prince of Bengal's daughter, which then was denied him ; but now the Prince, finding himself declining, made means to have the suit renewed. So all parties being agreed, provided Sultan Muhammad would come in person himself to her ; he, forgetting his place of command and his father's orders, stole privately with some two or three with him in the night, carrying some few jewels ; so into a boat he went away to his said uncle the Prince of Bengal ; which gave matter of admiration (i.e., wonder) to all ; Mir Jumla, having advice of this, came presently to Rajmahal, and, calling the grandees etc. together, informed them that this was a rash youthful enterprise, which he had undertaken to fulfil his present pleasures, or that he was charmed thither by witchcraft ; but, however, he ordered everyone to keep quietly in his particular command, himself seizing upon all the treasure left and would be responsible for it to his father. So this Nawab being a person of that great worth among the soldiers and indeed all (the other having but a name, and not being

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above 21 years old), they were all quitted, the Mir Jumla returned to his quarters at Sooty. Now although Sultan Muhammad brought not with him any soldiers, yet his presence gave much an encouragement to his uncle, the Prince of Bengal, that he was resolved now to abide the utmost extremity of the war, having at the last cast a good pledge by him as the eldest son of his brother Aurangzeb : which resolution have so far profited him that by intercepting still provisions which Mir Jumla sent to Rajmahal, which in the depth of the waters could not be done but by boats, Rajmahal being in the rains environed in a manner with water (at leastwise that part where provisions were to come), that they in the city were necessitated to abide in a manner of famine. So at the last the Prince of Bengal sent Sultan Muhammad against those which formerly he commanded ; where he overpowered them and again gave possession of Rajmahal to the Prince of Bengal."[46]

Shuja, emboldened by the defection of Sultan Muhammad, surprised Rajmahal and recaptured it on August 22, 1659. He gave a free hand to the zamindars in robbing any merchant or soldier of his money, horses and goods provided they sided with him and supplied him with whatever elephants they captured. He also commissioned Mirza Ispandiar, his governor of Hijili, to advance towards Hooghly.

"Mir Jumla had not, apparently, succeeded in subduing the southern parts of Bengal ; but a letter from Ion Ken dated September 22 showed that the Mir's troops were then in possession of Hooghly. They occupied Midnapore early in September, whereas Shuja's forces could only reach upto Naraingarh, about 17 miles south of Midnapore. Hopkins wrote from Balasore to Hooghly on September 6 thus :

"Mir Jumla's soldiers at Midnapore : the Prince of Bengal's at Narrangpur[47] : the way wholly stopped."[48]

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Shuja did not stop at retrieving Rajmahal. At the close of the rainy season he started from Rajmahal *via* Dunapur, Dogachi, and Sooty to Balighata (on the banks of the Bhagirathi, about 8 miles south of Sooty) where he was opposed by Mir Jumla's army on December 6, which consisted of 8,000 mail-clad warriors. The Nawab's forces were posted at Balighata and there on December 15 they were attacked by Shuja. The engagement was indecisive ; but Mir Jumla, who was weak in artillery, found himself compelled to withdraw towards his former position near Murshidabad. Shuja crossed the Bhagirathi and marched down the eastern bank, hoping to cross again lower down and intercept his opponent. He had just transferred his forces to the other side, at a point about twelve miles north of Murshidabad, when (December 26) he got the alarming intelligence of Daud Khan's resumption of his eastward march early in December, brushing aside the troops sent to hold him. Daud Khan was advancing rapidly upon Malda. Shah Shuja at once retreated towards Sooty, pursued by Mir Jumla, who had just received the expected reinforcements, including a number of heavy guns. The enemy was overtaken at Chilmari, near Sooty, on December 26. A few skirmishes followed, and then on January 1, 1660, Shuja continued his retreat to Dogachi. Eight days later he managed to get his army across the Ganges, abandoning all attempts to hold the country on the right bank. On January 11, Mir Jumla's troop's occupied Rajmahal. Thus the contending forces were once again in the positions which they had held before the flight of Sultan Muhammad to his uncle.

Shuja had pushed Mir Jumla's men and reached Nasirpur, 12 miles south of Murshidabad, on December 26, 1659. Daud Khan, the Governor of Bihar, was on his way from Patna to the rescue of Mir Jumla and reached Akbarpur, east of Sikrigali. This is confirmed by Chamberlain in his letter dated December

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1, 1659 : "The 25 past departed hence Mukhlis Khan,[49] an Omrah of Aurangzeb, with 40 lakh of rupees and 6,000 (horse ?) towards Mir Jumla. There are two Omrahs with money and horse upon the way. If Shah Shuja cannot fight Mir Jumla alone, he will hardly be able to encounter the force that is coming down upon him. We have news that there went a lascar (army) to take Sulaiman Shikoh, Dara Shikoh's son, whom he received so much to their disadvantage that he quite routed them (and) took all their moneys and artillery. Since Naurang Shah has left Delhi, and is gone toward him. The truth of this I much question. it being only a report."[50] (Chamberlain was wise in being sceptical as to the accuracy of the report he mentioned. Since the summer of 1658 the unhappy son of Dara Shikoh had been in Garhwal, and the story of his success over the imperial troops was obviously false).

The return of Prince Muhammad into the Mogul camp at Dogachi on February 8, 1660 gave the signal for Shuja's misfortune. Shuja packed up on April 6 from Tanda for Dacca, which city he reached on April 12. Mir Jumla was coming hot foot on his trail and he left Dacca on May 6, and sailed for Arracan on 13. He was roasted alive by the Arracanese on February 7, 1661.[51]

The East India Company did not lend its support to either of the contending parties to the throne, though the Dutch rendered material help to Mir Jumla in respect of men, arms. ammunition and provisions. Mathias Halstead in his letter dated September 13, 1660 has explained the part played by the English at Hooghly : "The last year the management of the Company's affairs at Hooghly, from the first of January to the last of Novem'ber, was in my charge, and then there was twice the trouble and danger to what is now ; being between two armies and bound to please both ; each demanding guns and ammuni-

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tion, and when were assisted, the opposite party was grieved and sought revenge : yet I behaved myself so to both parties that I delivered to neither guns nor ammunition, and yet got love and reputation of them both ; whereas the Dutch had all their goods seized on at Dacca upon this account and their persons grossly abused. At Hooghly also the Second of the Dutch was imprisoned ten days, and narrowly saved his life ; nay, they could not have a letter pass but under my cover....."[52]

Though the Company did not lend its support to either Mir Jumla or Shuja, interlopers and brigands were employed by the Nawab in his service. Agent Trevisa went up in a small vessel manned by six or seven English sailors from Hooghly to Dacca in August 1660 and the Englishmen were detained by Mir Jumla and employed in his service.[53] The object of the Agent's visit is not, however, stated. A gallivat which the Dutch had built at Hooghly for the Nawab and manned by 6 or 7 English runaways under Captain John Durson reached Dacca about the end of May 1661. Mir Jumla also employed another Englishman, Thomas Pratt by name, in building boats and making ammunition for river-fighting. William Pitt was not entertained by the Nawab in his service.[54]

TRADE

The trading operations of the Company during 1655-1660 were carried on under the most trying conditions in India on account of the Civil War following the illness of Shah Jehan. Shuja's ambition to occupy the throne of Delhi brought the war into Bengal.

George Gawton, Thomas Billidge, William Blake, Thomas Hopkins, Richard Chamberlain and Ion Ken were the factors sent out in 1657 by Maurice Thomson and his syndicate to manage their investment in Bengal. "The Governor, Deputy, and Committees for the new Joint Stock for India" in their

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letter written on the last day of 1657, informed the factors of the grant of an exclusive charter and the subscription of a new stock and the despatch of the *Blackamoor* and other ships. The factors were empowered to dispose of the cargoes of these vessels, and to arrange for their relading, "without having any subordinacy to our Agent etc. at the Coast", saltpetre, sugar, raw silk, cotton yarn, turmeric, bowgees (cowries, from Portuguese *buzios*), gum-lac, taffetas, 'Sannaes Adaties', and cinnamon (which they could procure from the Dutch or other merchants). Gawton and his colleagues were told that the "whole trade appertains singly unto us, exclusive unto all others", and were charged not only to refuse any commissions from private adventurers, but also to hinder any investment being made on behalf of such interlopers.[55] Extracts from the commission to Gawton are given below :

From a Paper of same date (i.e. 31st December, 1657), being a Commission and Instruction to Mr. George Gawton, Mr. Tho. Billidge, Mr. William Blake, Mr. Thomas Hopkins, Mr. Richard Chamberlain, and Mr. Ion Ken.

....."The several commodities which we do enorder to be provided and returned on the two forementioned ships are as follows, *viz.* :

By our factors on the Coast.....

and by yourselves in the Bay

Cotton yarn.....

Saltpetre.....

Bengal Silk.....

Sannoes Adaties.....

Cinnamon.....

Taffeties.....

Bowgees and Turmeric...

Gum-lac.

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Also from the same letter : "Mr. Blake who was not able to give you satisfaction on Bridgman's business would not be drawn thence to give you any account, but deserted our service before he had fairly cleared himself thereof, and for Mr. Waldgrave who was taken sick in the Bay, and would not come by sea unto you, but rather made choice to journey by land and bring our accounts, *firmans* &c. along with him, whereby they were unhappily lost, and he neither sending their copies by sea, or leaving copies of them behind in the factories, gives us cause to believe that Mr. Blake deserting our service, and Mr. Waldgrave bringing away our accounts &c. (and pretending them to be lost) was purposely done, that Mr. Bridgman's and their own unwarrantable actions, might not be discovered."[56]

These instructions were sent by the *Blackamoor*, which after calling at Madras, probably reached Balasore towards the end of July, 1658. Another copy went by the *Anne*, which quickly followed her consort from the Coast to Bengal.

The Directors wrote to "Our Agent and Factors at Hooghly" on February 27, 1658 : "Since dispatch of our prementioned of 31st December, we have proceeded and made some good progress as to the settling of our several factories in all parts of India. And have concluded to reduce all factories both to the northward and southwards, Persia and the Bay, to be subordinate unto our Presidency which we shall settle in Surat. We have likewise resolved to establish 4 agencies, *viz.*, one at Fort St. George, one in Bantam, a third in Persia, and the other at Hooghly, which last place being your residence, it most necessarily requires your knowledge of what we have determined in relation thereunto, which is as follows, *viz.*

At Hooghly we do appoint

Mr. George Gawton to be our agent whose sallary we have settled at £ 100 per annum.—Second at £ 40, Mathias Halstead,

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third at £ 30, William Bagdale, 4th at £ 20 ; Thomas Davis 5th at £ 20 (per annum).

At Balasore

(Thomas Hopkins Chief at £ 40 ; Walter Rogers second at £ 30 ; William Daniel third at £ 30 ; Joshua Wright, fourth at £ 20)

At Kasimbazar

(Ion Ken, Chief at £ 40 ; Daniel Sheldon, second at £ 30 ; John Priddy, third at £ 30 ; Job Charnock, 4th at £ 20)

At Patna

(Richard Chamberlain, Chief at £ 40 ;—second at £ 30 ; William Vassell, third at £ 30 ;—4th at £ 20).

"These are the 4 factories which we determine shall be settled in the Bay of Bengal, and that they shall be accountable and subordinate to the Agency of Hooghly and from time to time follow all such directions as they shall receive from you."[57]

The factories in Bengal were thus constituted into an Agency, independent of Fort St. George, but under the control of the President and Council at Surat, in the middle of February, 1658. The Company sent these instructions by the *Love* which was the next vessel despatched from England. The *Love* also brought William Bagdale, Walter Rogers, Joshua Wright, Daniel Sheldon, and Samuel Cutler, a youth, to serve at Balasore. William Vassell was sent in the *Persian Merchant* and John Priddy took his passage in another ship not named. William Court was at first nominated second at Hooghly, but his nomination was subsequently cancelled as he wanted to take a servant with him.[58] Jonathan Trevisa was, therefore, nominated in his place to go out to Bengal. Trevisa embarked in the *Persian Merchant* and was much delayed by the shipwreck of that vessel. Even when he reached Madras, he was in no hurry to proceed to his post at Hooghly ; and since Gawton was already dead when the *Love*

arrived, the Bengal factors were left without a head for more than a year.[59]

The appointment of Trevisa was notified in a letter of March 27, 1658 sent in the *Merchant's Delight*. This necessitated certain other changes. Vassell was promoted Second at Patna, Samuel Bayley (now sent out) was appointed Third there, and Henry Aldworth (already in Bengal) was made Fourth. Daniell was transferred to Petapoli ; Wright succeeding him as Third at Balasore, and John Offley being appointed Fourth. A postscript authorised the engagement, for any vacancy, of "one Mr. Pickering, of whom we have had some good report," and who was understood to be on the spot. The list of factors, as thus altered, had suffered considerable changes by the end of the year. Apart from the substitution of Trevisa for Gawton there were gaps by the non-arrival of Vassell (now a prisoner in Ceylon), by the transfer of Daniell to Petapoli, and the deaths of Bagdall, Wright, Offley and Bayley.

A letter from Balasore to Madras dated December 3, 1658, gives the actual arrangement as follows :

At Hooghly—Hopkins, Rogers, Charnock, and Thomas Gifford ;
At Balasore—Ken, Sheldon, and Cutler ;
At Kasimbazar—Halstead, Davies, and Priddy ; and
At Patna—Chamberlain, Aldworth, and James Pickering.

Of these, Gifford and Pickering had been recruited on the spot, the latter in consequence of the permission received from the Company.[60] The *Love* reached Balasore on September 22, 1658, and the *Merchant's Delight*[61] on October 11.

The investment in Bengal[62] in 1658 was of the order of £ 23,000. William Blake (both Gawton and Billidge being dead) took possession of the stock brought by the *Love*, *Merchant's Delight*, *Blackamoor* and *Anne*, on the strength of the Company's letter of December 31, 1657, although later dispatches showed that he was not included in the new establishment. Hopkins and

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the other factors protested on discovering this, as a result of which Blake yielded to them the management of the *Merchant's Delight*, retaining, however, that of the preceding three vessels. This was reported to Madras in a letter of November 7, 1658. Hopkins and Ken complained of Blake's action in excluding them from the control of the cargoes of the three remaining vessels. He promised to give them an account of all his transactions in the matter and to hand over any balance remaining. They, therefore, maintained a show of friendship with Blake so "that the natives might not take notice of any altercation and so expect double visitations with presents."[63] The Company had, in its letter dated February 27, 1658, issued instructions for valuation and turning out to the General Stock any remaining goods etc. of the United Joint Stock.

Bengal silk, as we have already seen, was, one of the commodities which the Court of Directors directed (February 27, 1658) the factors to procure in 1658. "In our preceding letter you will perceive that we gave you order to furnish us with Bengal silk to the value of £ 3000, and desired that it might be sent us in long skeins, if so procurable. But since the dispatch of those advices, we have had some conference and received directions from a workman, who from experience advises us to contradict that our order of having the silk in long skeins, because their lengths cause them in winding very much to break, and will not part without much trouble. We therefore herewith send you a skein of silk for a pattern, of which length we desire that our parcel may be procured ; and entreat you to take especial care that it be well sorted and chosen, that the insides of the skeins may be answerable in goodness to the outsides, and that it may be made a perfect thread, singly reeled, and not two threads together. And if you shall send us any of that sort of silk which usually goes here under the name of Pigtails, alter not the lengths

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of the skeins from that formerly, but take a more than ordinary inspection into this sort, which used to come very artificially covered with fine silk, and the middle of the skein extraordinarily coarse and foul, to the great disparagement of the commodity when it comes to sale."[64]

The *Merchant's Delight* was sent back to the Coromandel Coast on November 15, 1658, carrying a letter from Hopkins, Halstead, Rogers, and Davies (of that date) to which complaint was made against her commander (Thomas Bell) for not sailing nine days earlier. The factors expressed the fear that anchorage dues would have to be paid for the *Merchant's Delight*, but they intended to evade this, if possible, and the next year, by addresses to the Prince, &c. "to break this new custom, at first brought on particular ships and now demanded of all."[65]

The *Blackamoor* sailed from Balasore on December 5, with two letters from Madras (dated two days earlier), one from Blake and the other from Hopkins and his colleagues. Blake reported that the governor, Malik Beg, had been "very abusive, exacting what presents he pleases ; if not, hinders all proceedings." Hopkins and his colleagues had a similar tale of trouble, but expressed the hope that they would be allowed to trade the following year, " by complying somewhat more than ordinary with the governors in these parts."

The *Love* reached Masulipatam on January 9, 1659, and Madras on 14th. Blake attributed the short supply of saltpetre sent in the *Love* to an unwillingness on the part of Hopkins and his colleagues to assist ; but the real reasons were (according to the letter) that "the last year his brother Billidge (deceased) and himself sent hence a great part of their estates" ; that what Blake had left was in broadcloth, &c. which could not be trucked for saltpetre ; and that he had borrowed so freely before that he could not get credit "in these troublesome times." Hopkins and

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his colleagues proposed to give out orders for Patna for 25,000 maunds of saltpetre, and about "Hooghly or Chandrakona"[66] for 3,000 bales of sugar, for the next season's shipping.[67] Blake managed to dispatch the *Anne* on December 29, 1658 to the Coast with a cargo valued at Rs. 34,842.

The year 1659 was a trying one for the Company's servants in Bengal. The Civil war had put a stop to all tradiug operations. Trevisa, who was appointed Agent in Bengal, in the vacancy caused by the death of Gawton, reached Madras in October 1658, but lingered there for some time and again at Masulipatam, alleging want of opportunity for a passage to Bengal and the necessity of waiting for money to provide presents. He reached Balasore on August 23, 1659 and proceeded to Hooghly sometime in November. The merchants on the spot, in the meanwhile, had dispatched the various vessels which were sent on from the Coromandel Coast for their lading in Bengal.

The Court of Direetors had asked, in their letter dated January 28, 1659, the Bengal factors to remit £ 5,000 annually to Patna where, it was stated that, saltpetre could be bought 40 or 50 per cent cheaper than at Hooghly. The stock[68] received in Bengal in 1659 was valued at £ 10, 371. An amount of £4,000 was be to sent each year to Kasimbazar for investment in raw silk, taffetas and cotton yarn. The investment at Kasimbazar in 1658 amounted to Rs. 50,000. The long taffetas cost at Kasimbazar from Rs. 4-8-0 to 4-12-0 and short ones Rs. 18 a scere ; silk[69] ready wound was about Rs. 3-12-0 per seer. The price anticipated there were about 9 shillings per piece for taffetas and 5 or 6 pence per lb. for cotton yarn ; and the factors were warned by the Company to see that, in the case of the former, the warp as well as the woof was boiled before dyeing. The taffetas, the Company added, would be gummed in England and would then be as glossy as Italian silks. The

Court advised the factors to fill the spare space in the ships with sugar (tor sale on the Coromandel Coast), turmeric, cowries. and rice.

Chamberlain made a contract for over 20,000 maunds of saltpetre at an average price of Re. 1-2-0 per maund of 75 lbs. in 1659 when the scene of Civil War shifted from Patna to Rajmahal, according to the Balasore letter of May 18 to Madras. The factors knew very well that there was little chance of bringing the saltpetre down the river, as usual, unless the Imperialists succeeded in forcing a passage across the river and routing Shuja. Even if the river passage were made available there was difficulty in procuring the necessary boats, so many having been burnt by Shuja and the remainder having been requisitioned by Sultan Muhammad. Overland transport to Sooty and thence to Hooghly at great expencee was the only alternative.[70]

The Court also authorised, the factors in Bengal to purchase yearly from 8,000 to 10,000 pieces of long taffetas, 5,000 pieces of narrow, 800 tons of saltpetre (at about £ 6 per ton), 700 tons of sugar, 100 bales of silk (at 90-100 rupees the maund), 4000 bales of cotton yarn (in short skeins and not cross-reeled), 30 tons of turmeric, 1,000 pieces of 'adatay sannoes', 2,000 pieces of 'Sannoes Harrapore,'[71] and as much cinnamon as could be procured in order to provide cargoes in good time.[72]

Chamberlain was looking for an opportunity to send down the saltpetre to the ships Necessary boats were secured to take the saltpetre to Monghyr and for onward transport to Sooty (thus avoiding the strip of land under Shuja's control) and so by water again to Hooghly. The defection of Sultan Muhammad and the withdrawal of the forces of Mir Jumla from Sooty upset Chamberlain's plans and the saltpetre was not brought down at all during the season. Chamberlain wrote from Patna to Trevisa on December 1, 1659, explaining the impossibi-

lity of sending down his saltpetre and suggested that he should now keep it back till the next summer and then bring it down himself. He anticipated no difficulty in despatching the goods as he had *parwanas* from Mir Jumla, Daud Khan and the Emperor's Diwan.[73]

Shah Shuja had encouraged the zamindars to loot the merchants and soldiors of the imperial camp on condition that they made over all elephants to him. Mirza Ispandiar (Major Splindar of the English records) was asked by Shuja to march from Hijili to Hooghly. This is evident from Edmund Foster's letter from Kasimbazar dated July 5 to Davies : "It is reported that Shah Shuja has sent to all the zamindars in the country that, if they will fight for him, they shall have all they get, both money and horse or goods from either merchant or soldier ; only what elephants they take they must return to him. The zamindars have begun already to stop the way between us and you, so that no merchants dare pass with goods for fear of being taken from him, nor a peon cannot pass with a letter. This I send by James (Price ?) because he is a man well known and he says he does not fear but to get to Hooghly. Yesterday another faujdar came towards you with 500 horse, which perhaps may clear the way for the present. He hopes to conquer your town of Hooghly again, and then to go to Midnapore and take that ; but I believe he will find more trouble then he is aware of. It is reported here that Major Splindar (Mirza Ispandiar), who is Governor of Hijili is coming towards you with 6,000 foot and 500 horse and some jalias, in case that your Governor should not be strong enough to hold out the town. The Mir Jumla is coming very near us with a great part of his army. He has begun to make bungalows and some houses within 9 Coss of this place, by a great tank called Shaik Tank[74] which at the sight of the new moon intend to remove thither."[75]

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Mir Jumla's troops were in possession of Hooghly and his soldiers at Midnapoor ; "the Prince of Bengal's at Narrangpur :[76] the way wholly stopt,"[77] wrote Hopkins from Balasore to Hooghly on September 6. Ken and Sheldon thought of quitting Kasimbazar to go down to Hooghly and return when the season for investment came. However, Ken gave up the idea and resolved to "fear up in the employment I am now in."[78]

Ken, writing from Murshidabad on October 6, 1659 said : "I fear we shall ship off nothing year. God send the Agent to please the Nawab ; also we are undone. Mir Jumla is 20,000 strong in horse. The other day he gave 1000 horse to the new Sahib Suba,[79] that would borrow money of me, as I wrote the Agent."[80] Mir Jumla instructed the Balasore Governor to levy 4% (according to the letter dated November 23, 1659 it was 5%) on all English exports, besides anchorage dues on their ships.[81] The factors were obliged to pay 5% customs duty. The letter of Balasore factors dated November 23, 1659 says : "Soon after the arrival of Trevisa, the Governor of Balasore announced that he had received an order from Mir Jumla to cause the English to pay 5 per cent of what goods soever they shipped from this place, although most of the goods (nay, all we buy about Balasore) has paid custom by the natives aforesaid : by which means we are now worse than any Hollander, Moor, or Gentoo (Hindoo), and this upon the Nawab's difference with the English about his junk ...The Governor of this town not knowing how to deny the Nawab Mir Jumla's order, yet withal fearing to declare openly for him until the Prince of Bengal be routed, or some other power came hither, he acquainted your Worship's Agent that as yet he would not receive the 5 per cent, only book it in the King's books ; and if the English could clear this with the Mir Jumla, it should be all unvalid...Before the Agent's departure, we being molested with a rebel, one Kalapi (who came likewise the

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last year), the Governor here, to save the town and himself, presented a Gentoo Raja an elephant, whose value he placed at rupees 5,000 ; for repayment of which he taxed Your Worship's factory at Rupees 500. Your Worships' said Agent Trevisa spoke the Governor, desiring him not (to) levy upon the English, who were merchants strangers, such unwarrantable taxes ; but he would not release it. This happening just at Mr. Trevisa's departure for Hooghly, some two days afterwards the Governor sent for the money. So Thomas Hopkins went to him, desiring his desisting for some time, until we could acquaint the Agent at Hooghly, at which he was very angry that we should scruple such a matter, which he had once mentioned before the Agent's departure : withal wondering we should question to be sharers in the charges of remedying a common evil ; and withal would not suffer the least business to be done or effected before he was satisfied by the payment of said sums : of which finding no avoiding, we have paid."[82]

The Civil War and Mir Jumla's displeasure did not hamper the prospects of English trade in Bengal. The factors saw bright future for English, "...if God send us peaceable times and a conclusion of this unhappy, troublesome, and chargeable business with the Nawab Mir Jumla...", wrote Ken and Halstead on November 23, 1659.[83]

The *Merchant's Delight*, which sailed from Balasore on December 15,1659, had brought only a stock of about £ 5000 while Blake had handed over a few goods and Rs. 2425 in cash. As the factors had furnished £ 4,000 for investment at Patna, they had little capital left to procure cargoes for the returning ships. Moreover, rebuilding of the factory dwelling had cost them about Rs. 1000.

Finance was the stumbling block in the procurement of goods. The factors continued : "All the goods we have bought this year

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for your Worships account have been with rupees borrowed at interest upon pawns of pieces of eight : the Banians fearing to lend it otherwise, by reason of Mir Jumla's former threatening to seize on all Your Worships' estates, for that he has not satisfaction for his junk etc. So that thereby (we) have had extraordinary troubles in procuring these goods sent home this year, and been at great expenses, besides the hazard of being embargoed.[84] But, thanks be to God, (we) have hopes that we are secure at present."[85]

The prospects of introducing Bengal silk in England were underlined by the factors thus : "And also in Kasimbazar some conveniences must be made (besides what already built for lodging) for silk winders, weavers, and warehouse room, if you intend to trade in those commodities ; which we doubt not but you will be encouraged thereto by the musters (samples) of taffetas mentioned in our last, and of that silk we herewith send, being $9\frac{1}{2}$ seers, which we got wound off in your house at Kasimbazar, and is only to let Your Worships see what sorts can be made there, because the silk of Bengal has been formerly thought to be very coarse and starky (stiff), but we doubt not but in a small time (these troubles being over and we all settled) we shall be able to procure better goods than hitherto have been procured by any that have formerly lived in Kasimbazar. The said silk comes out to us at five rupees per seer, the coarser being all taken out of it. But by our next (we) shall give Your Worships a more exact account of the trade of these parts, which (we are glad for it) is the risingest trade in India, if God send us peaceable times and a conclusion of this unhappy, troublesome, and chargeable business with the Nawab Mir Jumla...We shall take care for the future that there be no moneys given into the weavers' hands as formerly, and, they being poor men, those that trusted them were forced to receive any taffetas, though never so

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bad ; but we shall buy the silk rough and wind it in your house, cleanse it, and dye it ourselves, and give it by weight to the weavers, which will prevent the taffetas being rewy (streaky) and of several colours...Here inclosed we send you a muster for taffetas, which we got made at Kasimbazar, and send it only to show Your Worships that the weavers may be brought to make good work, if we had a stock beforehand, that we might continually employ workmen ; for if they are not kept all the year in employment, they will not serve us, nor make taffetas, better than they were formerly made..."[86]

Cotton yarn, the Balasore factors wrote to the Company on November 23, 1659, was procurable (at the best season) for Rs. 14 per maund (75 lbs.). Little gum-lac was to be had. The stick-lac forwarded by them cost Rs. 7-8-0 per bale after cleansing. The price of sugar was Rs. 9 to 9-8-0 per bale all the year. The information about saltpetre provided by the factors in the same letter is worth quoting : "Saltpetre, none is made here, but what comes from Patna ; some years 1000 maund, sometimes 2 or 3,000 maunds. It is brought down by oxen, who carry up salt in return ; but this year little came down. The Raja of the Woods etc. Gentoos, meeting with them by the way, buy up the saltpetre, and knowing that these two or three years the English are very desirous of it, will not sell it again in the vacancy of shipping, but keep it until the ships come, and then enhance the price according as they find our necessity, as they have done by this year."[87]

The necessity of establishing a mint was felt as early as 1659 as "pieces of eight for the lack of a mint, goes very low here in respect of rupees ; at present difference 10 per cent in buying commodities with the one and the other" (Balasore letter dated December 25, 1659 by the *Madras Merchant*).[88]

The question of payment of anchorage and customs cropped

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up in 1660. President Andrews and his Council asked Trevisa to furnish details of the payment of customs : "...And state the business of the customs so fully that we may understand it ; as, for example, whether by grant from the former King you were to pay none, or whether it is only the courtesy of the Governor, and for how long time you have not paid it etc. As for the anchorage of your shipping, we will not allow of the payment of any, because in no port under this King is any demanded, nor in any port in this part of the world where we trade are we so dishonoured ; and therefore upon no consideration will we submit to pay an unworthy custom. If it has been the practice formerly in open trade, yet the Honourable Company are not to be so dealt with..."[89]

The President and Council at Surat advised Trevisa to "piece the fox's skin on the lion" and get the saltpetre and other commodities down by fair promises to Mir Jumla regarding his junk. They also desired the Bengal factors to keep the Nawab in good humour even by promising help to rout Shah Shuja.

"The ships appointed to your port will be with you before these arrive, and something acted also. We can only desire you to take such care that the saltpetre may be brought down and what now bought not left up in the country ; which must be for the present to stop Mir Jumla's mouth with a present, and that something large, as also promises of restoring his vessel, and that without fail. You may also give him good words to cause a hope from him of the rest : but give no promise of things you never mean nor there is no reason to perform. It may be, they seeing shipping so large to arrive (and also, if possible, brought up the river). it will affright them into compliance, because now also they may have occasion to desire your assistance to stop the flying Prince : which you may promise largely, but have a great care of giving any thing under your hand ; and

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there be many ways to escape such a promise fairly, for he will be certainly out of your way, and if he flies to see, excuscs are enough. We can say no more than this : you must *piscash*, and piece the fox's skin on the lion."[90]

Withdrawal from Bengal was also contemplated if Mir Jumla persisted in his demands : "And if you find, when your business is done (that is, saltpetre etc. goods down), that we shall persist in his unreasonable demands and not be content with what we have rehearsed, you must follow what formerly advised. Call down your factors : keep yourselves together, ready to be out of danger ; to that purpose keep a sloop by you to be ready on all occasions and well victualled. This is all we can advise at the present. For the loss of trade, we must redeem hereafter as we can ; for if this Governor stays here, we are not to stay, and without doubt must break also."[91]

Mir Jumla stopped all the trade in Bengal in August 1660 and summoned Trevisa to Dacca. He went there in a small vessel manned by six or seven English sailors and they were detained by the Nawab and employed in his service. Possibly their services were utilised to cut off Shuja's escape.[92] This information is contained in the undated postscript to a letter of September 29, 1660 from Surat to Madras : "This day was received letters from the Agent in the Bay of 16 Augnst, which advise us that all trade is stopped at present in the Bay, and that Mir Jumla has commanded the Agent up to him, who has sent Mr. Ken. What the issue will be, as yet know not. There is already provided in Patna, Kasimbazar, etc. 1200 tons saltpetre. So you see what shippiag will be required to fetch it of, and what lading there will be. So that, if you can furnish them with a little money extraordinary, their business will be done, notwithstanding their rumour of war."[93]

The Surat Council advised the factors in Bengal onNovember

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3 to quit the Bay if the Nawab persisted in his demands. The Council also admonished Trevisa for making the customary annual present to the Nawab in lieu of the customs. The Surat letter of November 3, 1660 in reply to the one (undated) from Trevisa, which mentioned his impending visit to Mir Jumla, said: "You do very ill to continue the ill custom begun by interlopers, of so great presents to petty governors as 3,000 rupees—as much as we give to the King. Beside, we have advised we will not pay anchorage, nor do we in any port wherein we trade."[94]

Trevisa's mission to Mir Jumla was a success and he was able to release the 15,000 maunds of saltpetre frozen by the Nawab for shipment. The Agent in his letter to Fort St. George dated January 11, 1661 had reported that "their business is likely to run well with the Nawab."[95]

MIR JUMLA'S JUNK

The appointment of Mir Jumla as Mogul General and hiscommandof the imperialforces in Bengal during the Civil War brought him close to the English who, in the meanwhile, had established factories at Patna, Kasimbazar, and Hooghly. Agent Greenhill at Fort St. George had seized the Nawab's Red Sea (Mocha) junk, a large country vessel, together with four pieces ofordnance from it in August 1656 as a retaliatory measure. This high-handed action on the part of Greenhill gave the English Compay infinite trouble. Mir Jumla, while he was Wazir of Karnataka, laid seige of Madras under Lingum Nayak on December 18, 1656. The English factors at Fort St. George agreed to restore the junk and the goods of the Mir detained by them. The Mir's General Tupaki Krishnappa Nayak and his Governor Bala Rau, under orders of Mir Sayyid Ali, had laid a second siege of

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Madras (September 1657-April 1658) which was ineffective. The siege was raised on April 19, 1658. Mir Jumla gave up his interests in the revenues and customs of Madras on payment of a consolidated annual rent of 380 Pagodas by the English according to the agreement entered into between Agent Greenhill and Tupaki Krishnappa in April 1858. The relations with the Mir had been thus patched up when he was appointed commander of the imperial forces in Bengal.

The Surat authorities advised the Madras factors on November 27, 1658 to resolve the junk affair. The junk was sold by Agent Greenhill to Edward Winter who had refitted it for his private use. The Committee of New Joint Stock disclaimed any responsibility in the matter and warned the factors of the evil consequenes of interfering with local political dlsputes in future.

Mir Muhammad Husain Tapa Tapa, Agent of Mir Jumla, demanded the restoration of the junk from Winter, on the strength of a *firman* by Emperor Aurangzeb for its recovery. The Masulipatam factors were also pressed for the release of Qazi (Muhammad Hashim ?), a general of Mir Jumla, who was probably captured by the English, on the refusal of Winter to restore the junk. Agent Chamber, successor of Greenhill, had persuaded Winter to surrender the junk to Mir Jumla's Masulipatam Agent, but he subsequently recaptured it.

The Civil War and the strained relationship between Mir Jumla and the English were hurdles on the smooth flow of trade in Bengal. The Mir reached Patna on February 22, 1659. Learning that the Nawab had been made Governor of Bengal, Chamberlain paid him two visits and found him full of resentment on account of the treatment he had received in the matter of his junk. The factors feared that he would retaliate by stopping their trade ; but in any case the purchase of saltpetre

at Patna was for the time out of question. The merchants had fled on the approach of the contending armies ; while, should they ventured back, it was unlikely that the officials would allow any saltpetre to be sent down the river, for fear of falling into the hands of Shah Shuja.

Chamberlain, on his second visit to Mir Jumla, on February 21, 1659, offered the Nawab a present costing Rs. 600 and solicited "his dastak (to say, licence) for traffic : which present was by him in scorn refused, answering that he would not accept anything from the English by way of gift (who were no better than pirates and robbers) before he received full satisfaction for theloss of his ship and goods takenfrom him at the Coast : withal affirming that he did him a great favour that he had not seized upon what effects was there of the English and detaining their persons prisoners ; admiring, with what face the English (considering their actions to him) could appear before him. Mr. Chamberlain in the meantime endeavouring to possess him with a belief that we were particular (i.e. private) people an divided fromthem of Coast, and that there was no reason we should suffer for what was perpetrated by others ; but in vain, he persisting still that we were all one company, or at leastwise English, who would of them he paid wheresoever be found them : resolving not to let any goods be carried by any English from Patna before he be satisfied."[96]

Chamberlain gave Mir Jumla an assurance that the Coast factors would return the junk to the Nawab's agents there, or make him satisfaction. He asked for $4\frac{1}{2}$ months' time to get confirmation of this arrangement from the factors on the Coast. He obtained from the Nawab a "licence to trade in Patna" through the mediation of friends. He wrote at once to Balasore, urging the factors there to press the Madras Agent to take necessary action to fulfil the agreement. The success of Mir

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Jumla over Shuja made it all the more urgent to pacify the Nawab ; so the Balasore factors again urged Chamberlain to settle his claim and forward "authentic papers signed by the Mir Jumla's servants there, which is his desire for hls satisfaction."[97]

Mir Jumla from his camp at Sooty, only 25 miles away from Kasimbazar, ordered seizure of all "great boats which come down the river, so that none can pass Murshidabad. It is likewise reported here Muhammad Sharif is to be Governor of Hooghly again, if he be not already ; and that all the Portuguese are to depart from thence. This I suppose was done by the Dutch when they went to visit the Mir Jumla, they being so much their enemy. I suppose, if it lies in their powers they will do so much by us. I fear that, if old grey-beard (Mir Jumla) be not satisfied for what they at the Coast did anger him, thc business will not go well on our sides this year : for Mr ; Ken was asked by the new Governor of Murshidabad if he was not afraid to go and see the Mir Jumla; and likewise by another merchants which came to the house to buy cloth, if the English were not sorry that he is come, but Mr. Ken made the best of it (he) could. He (Mir Jumla) has likewise sent to the Dutch for all their gunners and their doctor."[98]

The Nawab summoned the Dutch factors from Kasimbazar to his camp at Sooty to enlist their assistance in artillery. He expected the English would wait upon him, but the factors were not anxious for an interview. They decided to make no move until forced to do so. Mir Jumla, thereupon, issued orders to Kasimbazar "that their doors should be closed up and no man buy or sell with them, before they had been to visit him." The factors managed to restrain the messenger from actually shutting up the factory with a gift. Ken, the chief of Kasimbazar factory, wastherefore, forced to proceed at once to Sooty and had two

interviews with Mir Jumla. Thc result of the visit is related in a letter from Ken and Sheldon at Hooghly (May 18, 1659) :

"Yesterday I. Ion Ken, arrived here form him ; he denying us any trade, and also his dastak. till he had satisfaction for his ship, which was laden with rice, and three voyages freight, which he said the English had made in her. We have written to Balasore to all our friends there, and by for cossids have desired their approval of what we shall act ; which they must give us, that no more troubles ensue and that our persons may not suffer. for we are in the country like enemies and may be abused by every rogue- Mir Jumla expects we should visit him again shortly, giviug me, Ion Ken, leave to go Kasimbazar, that I might get orders from the English with speed to come to a conclusion with him."[99]

In a private letter to Davies of the same date. Ken said : You may now know in what a strange unlucky time we live in and that our persons for every hour in danger of violenee. It was ill done of the Company not to clear all troubles in India before we engaged in their service, which inevitably draws us these inconvenionces. Mir Jumla is a very civil person and the chief general of Aurangzeb, What he says is a law ; and there fore he must be satisfied in some reasonable manner."[100]

While his colleague, Sheldon, writes (May 18) to the same carrespondent - "If the news be true, I wish I was in England. I would venture one broken pata more, which I dare not do against (Mir) Jumla."

Mir Jumla, not only refused to accept the customary *nazar* in gold tendered by Ken at his first interview with the Nawab, but he also refused to receive anything from the English while his claims were still unsatisfied. The Nawab demanded 30,000 Pagoas for his actual loss and as much again for interest. At a second interview, however, which took place four days later, he lowered

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the amount to Rs. 40,000 contingent, it would seem, on the ship itself being returned, The Nawab agreed to wait two months (from May 14) for the payment of the money, so that Ken could, in the meanwhile, communicate with his colleaguse and superiors on the Goast. Ken was required to execute a personal bond for payment of the sum ; otherwise the Nawab threatened to stop all trade and seize the English saltpetre in part satisfaction. Ken pleaded his lnability to do anythlng without concurrence of his colleagues at Hooghly and Balasore, and so was allowed 18 or 20 days to get an answer from them. The Balasore letter of June 5, added that "the Mir Jumla has privately sent letters to the Governor to come and visit Sultan Muhammad ; that the Nawab of Shah Shuja, Prince of Bengal, lying at Getachi, some 50 leagues from his place, with about 3,000 horse and foot, and not as yet forsook old master, occasions a fear in our Governor to act any thing as yet for Aurangzeb's party."[101]

Mathias Halstead reached Kasimbazar on May 23 from Hooghly, bringing a letter from one of the officials there to Mir Jumla interceding for the English: This was forwarded to the Nawab, and evoked a reply in which "he did not give us full satisfaction of all things we demanded, but according as he pleased." Ken in his letter to Davies dated May 26, added ; "No news at present but expectations of the removal of the lascar seeing this rain hinders them to eat chawal (rice), upon the dry ground."[102]

Ken was asked to proceed with his negotiations by the Balasore factors and they assured their concurrence in any arrangement he might make "to end with Jumla, if can be made with 25,000 rupees"[193] Halstead was probably empowered by his colleagues at Hooghly to pledge their support to Ken in whatever arrangement he made with the Nawab, Both Ken and

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Halstead set out to Sooty on Jnne 2, to continue the negotiations. and the following extracts from Halstead's letter dated June 4, described what hadpened in their first interview : This morning we visited Mir Jumla. Upon our admittance we made our salams and sat down upon the carpet about six yards from him, close by Mahomed Shariff,[104] our late Governor. We acquainted him that, according to his command, letters were dispatched to our friends in these parts to know their advice concerning the business in question ; who answered that they expressed to the Coast by six several conveyances the trouble was likely to fall upon us, if they did not speedily advise how the case stood and what course to take ; and that we could not possibly make an end till we had an answer from the Coast. His expressions by way of answer was very civil ; insomuch that there is hopes of a fair conclusion."[105]

The progress of the negotiations was described in the joint letter of Ken and Halstead dated June 8 : "Mir Jumla hath offered us his dastak, if we would give him a note that he should be by us satisfied for all his damages, *viz*. his ship's lading of rice freight and three voyages, and the ship itself, within a month (in circa), whether or no our Agent (i.e. Trevisa), letters, or ships arrive. This we being not able to give him, we remain as formerly. The sum total as yet we know not ; but the next time the weather permits him to sit out, we shall demand it and know the utmost (if he will tell us), which as yet he hath concealed. We much doubt the Director's[106] arrival will do us a great prejudice, especially being the Nawab's Diwan told us in the durbar the Dutch were not our friends, and that he thought their coming would do us hurt, if we concluded not with Mir Jumla. As anythtng worth notice, of our actions in this business, or of Mir Jumla's removal hence, which (as they say will be) to a place near Murshidabad at the new moon, we shall inform you."[107]

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The defection of Sultan Muhammad to Shah Shuja's camp put an end to the negotiations and Ken was back at Kasimbazar by June 14. Mir Jumla summoned Ken to Murshidabad in the beginning of September to await the arrival of Agent Trevisa from Balasore. He wrote in his letter dated September 8 thus : "You are before this (I hope) certified in what a condition I was forced to this unhappy visit of Mir Jumla...I am here as a person not taken notice of. I visit the Nawab every day once or twice, but he neither speaks to me of his ship etc. nor any thing else. I know not what is in his mind to do with us. Enemies we have, but no friends, and that is a sad condition. Well, do not our friends at Balasore enjoy themselves, whilst we here in these parts are in a very bad condition, God knows ?[108]

"The Nawab, without all doubt, will keep me here till our Agent (Trevisa) comes, if that be all...If his Worship miscarries (which God forbid) we are all undone. I am sure I am, end for end.[109] The Prince is in Rajmahal and Sultan Muhammad at Dogatchi.[110] It is reported Mir Jumla will go to Sooty in two or three days. He is very strong 20,000 horse and about 30 or 40 elephants, and for ought I see fears, nobody. If I hear His Worship is on the way from Hooghly (and he must be hastened), I (will crave?) the Nawab's leave to meet him...At $\frac{3}{4}$ day I must to the durbar, where I have nothing but to expect the Nawab's frowns. However, I bear up."[111]

Ken obtained leave from Mir Jumla to visit Hooghly, but the Nawab sent for him, 'commanding the Governor of Hooghly (where he was) not to suffer fire, water, or victuals to be brought them till he was set forward.'[112] Ken feared a long detention at Mir Jumla's camp : "I am (and we all may be) confident he will keep me there prisoner till not only promise of satisfaction, but payment also of at least a 100,000 rupees."[113]

Agent Trevisa, regardless of Ken's predicament and the urgent

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appeals to him from Hooghly, was lingering at Balasore. He resolved himself to wait a little longer before setting out for Hooghly in view of the danger of travelling and as the outcome of the Civil War was s ill uncertain. Moreover, he excused himself from going to Hooghly and thence to Mir Jumla's camp on the plea that he had no suitable present to offer the Nawab. He forwarded a letter from President Andrews to Mir Jumla, promising satisfaction to the matter of his junk, and another from the latter's agent at Masulipatam. He advised the Hooghly factors to write a letter in Persian in his name, assuring Mir Jumla of his eagerness to see him. Trevisa thought that this and the President's letter would pacify the Nawab. He was not prepared to satisfy Mir Jumla as the outcome of the Civil War was uncertain.

Mir Jumla's peremptory order to the Governor of Balasore to send up Trevisa put an end to his dilly-dallying. Ken was permitted to go down to Hooghly to meet the Agent. Trevisa, before leaving Balasore, addressed a strong letter to the Madras Agent on October 28, 1659 in which he pointed out the mischief that was likely to ensue from the delay in satisfying the Nawab, who was not satisfied with anything less than immediate payment. The English were likely to lose all their privileges if the Nawab's claims were not settled, Trevisa added in a postscript dated November 3. He left Balasore in November in a sloop sent by Mathias Halstead to fetch him and reached Hooghly by the end of that month.[114]

Trevisa and Ken left Hooghly on December 1, 1659 for Mir Jumla's camp. The Nawab had not much time to attend to the business of his junk, as Shah Shuja had again taken the field.

The authorities at Surat were sensible of the possible hindrance to the English commerce in Bengal and they urged the factors to settle the Mir's claims arising from the seizure of his junk. The settlement the factors made with Winter, including

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the purchase from him of the *Winter Rose*, excited no small indignation at Surat, and on February 25, 1660 the President and Council addressed the Masulipatam factors in severe terms thus : "The delivery of the Nawab's junk upon a promise, when you have all written formerly that his (Winters') word is not to be believed in any thing, yet a business of such consequence as the welfare of all our friends in the Bay and privileges of the Honourable Company is to depend upon a bare promise. You will say the junk is not in Masulipatam, but we say you are to blame that she is not, and the only cause of all these troubles and disputes. Had you followed order, you need not have taken any man's word...for had you seized on the vessel, as ordered, and the rest of Mr. Winter's as also the estate of interlopers (among the rest his) then the Honourable Company's affairs had not been hindered. Therefore we positively enorder you to seize on the junk at arrival, and deliver it up ; as also what estate shall return on it of Mr. Winter's, that the Honourable Company may be the less damaged in the Bay, or a recompense taken for such expenses as are caused there by reason of his detaining and employing the junk...giving us an exact account of it, that we may acquaint our masters of yours and our proceedings. The reason they themselves will be sensible soon enough of : their loss in the Bay, caused by Mr. Winter's action, as appears by a letter received from the Agent the 22nd. current, complaining of the Nawab's discourteous entertaining him, and the reason is what mentioned."[118]

The Surat Council, in reply to Trevisa's letter dated December 26, 1659 wrote to him on February 24, 1660 that Winter had promised the delivery of the junk. They provided the guidelines for settling the compensation. "We are very sensible of the troubles you are involved in. The courts of these princes afford nothing else. Remedy is not in our hands. What the event of

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war is, Providence only produces...As to his (Mir Jumla's) unreasonable demands of the lading of her, it is to no purpose to enlarge...If his power be so great with this new King, for only this injury done him to continue his practice of abuses to you and losses to the Honourable Company, notwithstanding our petitioning the King for right, and intention to send a person of quality to treat with (the) King on this business, we say, if these courses will not prevail, that we may enjoy our privileges in the Bay and trade freely as formerly, we shall then soon enorder your leaving of the place ; and we shall also to northward do the same, if constrained, and then act much more to the benefit of your masters, first, by seizing on their shipping, spoiling both those that go to sea and in harbour ; which in the next place will constrain them to seek a peace ; for the poor weavers, being such multitudes, without trade at sea cannot live. Therefore our advice is, if that possibly you cannot agree with the Nawab on reasonable terms (and that which we mean by reasonable terms is, not to pay for any lading, but to deliver the ship and present him a piscash of value something extraordinary of what has been formerly given to a person of his quality), for a little more or less of that nature to conclude, and not to prejudice the Honourable Company so far in their estates as to pay for the folly of another (for we cannot but resent his calling of us pirates, and hope our worthy masters will give us power to teach such unmannerly persons better : had we heard it, we should have given him answer, but shall be patient and put it in the front of affronts, to remember it and seek remedy), we shall suddenly advise the King and (according as the times produce event, for wars are uncertain), so take hold of opportunities to proceed to the assisting of you with our advice and help at court...hoping that, having the army removed, the way will be open to carry the saltpetre from Patna to the port."[116]

Trevisa had a month's (December 1659) protracted negotiation with Mir Jumla and it was agreed betwen him and the Nawab to refer the question of the quantum of compensation to arbitrators, nominated by them. It was agreed that (i) the junk shall be returned to the Nawab with the goods captured, (ii) the quantum of compensation was to be determined by the Nawab's Masulipatam Agent Tapatap (Mir Muhammad Hussain Tapa Tapa) and Messrs. William A Court and William Jersip (Jearsey) within four months' time. Trevisa notified the Surat authorities about these terms on January 12, 1660 ("wherein he advises us of the agreement made with the Nawab", as the Surat Council put it in their letter of February 27, 1660 to Fort St. George). The details were also communicated to factors at Bantam by Trevisa in his letter dated February 24, 1660. He wrote to them: "My last unto you was the 28 November...At that time I were going for the lascar, to treat with Mir Jumla, the Great King's general, about a junk Agent Greenhill and Mr. Winter took from him about four years since, and being in great power (he) has troubled the affairs of the Bay, to the dishonour of our nation and loss of our honourable employers ; we having been detained in his army and our factory common to the will of every roguing officer, so that (I) were forced to go to the laskar and conclude the business with Mir Jumla : which, after my being 30 and odd days with him (in which time there were several fights betwixt the Great King's party and the Prince of Bengal, whose armies lay very high each other, so that many men were slain) (I) brought it to this conclusion that his junk is to be returned him, and all thing else which (it) shall be made appear the Agent etc. upon the Coast took from him ; referring the business for the ending thereof to his friend at Masulipatam, called Taptap, and I to Mr. Wm. A. Court and Mr. Wm. Jersip (Jearsey), and that they were to end it in four months. This business has cost me much trou-

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ble, as well as other friends here, and our nation much vilified about that business ; so as I thought (I) should have got no liberty till he had received satisfaction of all his demands. But (thanks be to God) it proved otherwise. So (I) have got his dastak,[117] in which he confirmed the former privileges we enjoyed, which were granted to us by the old king and the Prince, the former of which Aurangzeb, his son, who now sits Great King, has imprisoned, and the latter, the Prince of Bengal, Aurangzeb's brother, (is) likely to be beaten out of his country. But, however, the privileges our nation formerly had here are confirmed, and (I) hope will not be diminished for the future. The wars in these countries and troubles of Mir Jumla hinders our saltpetre coming from Patna ; so that the small stock sent us hither this year (I) was forced to lay out for this year's kentledge to a small matter. So that for any bnsiness we have (except that formerly mentioned) (we) may keep every day holiday, but I believe our masters will resent it, when (they) have knowledge thereof...News we have none, more than the war is not yet concluded, but hopes (it) may suddenly, which God grant..."

The authorities at Surat did not, evidently, approve the exclusion of Johnson, agent at Masulipatom, from the negotiations. Johnson was ordered to be substituted as one of the arbitrators nominated by Trevisa. The arbitration proceedings were protracted in the usual oriental fashion, the demands made on the part of the Nawab being, according to a letter of May 19 from Masulipatam to Bantam, "upwards of 20,000 Pagodas, besides the denying of payment of 32,000 Pagodas, which he owes the Company."

The Surat factors urged Trevisa to enquire the Nawab if he would be satisfied with his junk, now repaired and refitted. The factors were advised to leave Bengal if they were harassed. They expressed their dissatisfaction with the trend of negotiations.[118]

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"Therefore are resolved and have concluded that, if the Mir Jumla will be satisfied with the return of his vessel as she is now, well repaired and made fashionable at the expense of much money, give us a full discharge, suffering us to trade quietly without affronts or abuses.....If the Nawab will not be satisfied with this...but shall proceed to molest you in your trade or abuse you in your persons, we hope, being forewarned, you are forearmed, and ready to leave the country, that so we may proceed against the Moors in another manner of language...And should they seize on all the Company'e estate with you, yet do you all endeavour to leave the country, though you lose all the estate ; for we shall soon recover it.."[120]

President Andrews and his colloagues were contemplating to petition the Emperor to get redress for their grievances as "Mir Jumla, we suppose, will deceive you, and (we) believe that he will not be satisfied but with what we cannot give."[121] Retaliation was also not ruled out by the Surat factors. "That therefore we may the better back our intended purpose of using force for our right, (we) desire that you furnish us with what just aggrievances you lie under, what abuses have been offered."[122]

Mir Jumla, dissatisfied with the outcome of the negotiations, stopped English trade at Kasimbazar. Andrews, on receipt of this news on August 26, contemplated retaliation, but desisted from the use of force, as negotiations were pending at court, which was expected to secure a favourable settlement. He urged Trevisa (August 29) to proceed cautiously in the matter. He was advised to promise the Nawab the return of his junk, without fail and assistance in stopping the "flying Prince" (Shah Shuja).[123]

The President and Council authorised the Masulipatam factors on October 1, 1660 to seize Winter's house in that town ("which since we understand is effected"), as also any estate of

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his that might be found on the Nawab's junk. This is confirmed in reply to a protest received from Winter's representatives in Masulipatam.[124]

The junk was neither returned to Mir Jumla, nor the Nawab's claims on account of its seizure were settled during his life-time. The factors promised to restore the vessel to Tap Tap, the Nawab's Masulipatam agent or brother of Mir Jumla's son, Muhammad Amin. The junk was laid up at Malacca, on its return from Quedda to that port. The Masulipatam factors were advised by their counterparts from Fort St. George to inform Ali Beg, successor to Tap Tap, of the condition of the junk and intercede on their behalf for moderation of the Nawab's claims. They expressed the hope that Muhammad Amin had forgotten all about the matter on the death of his father. The death of Mir Jumla on March 31, 1663 (April 11, N. S.) half an hour before sunset (Wednesday, 2nd Ramzan, 1073 A.H.) on board his boat four miles above Khirzpur (Assam) perhaps put an end to his claims for compensation. There is no record that throws light how the East India Company settled the claim for compensation for Mir Jumla's junk.

SOCIAL LIFE IN HOOGHLY (1651-1660)

What sort of a life did the Englishmen lead in Hooghly, Patna, Kasimbazar, and Balasore during the first decade of the existence of the East India Company in Bengal? The answer to this question is naturally imperfect since we have no records at our disposal to reconstruct the social and cultural life of the English factors in Bengal during this period. The Englishmen staying in Bengal during this period were either East India Company's servants or interlopers. There were also one or two

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prominent Englishmen who were in the service of the local princes.

The East India Company's servants in Bengal were merchants first and foremost. They had little time at their disposal to devote for social and cultural activities. Moreover, the number of Englishmen, both private and servants of the East India Company, was not more than a dozen or two. There was little communication between the Company's servants and the private adventurers. Life was confined to the four walls of the factories at Hooghly, Kasimbazar, Balasore and Patna during normal times unless it was the shipping season. There were no churches, balls, taverns, or games and sports. Gambling, duelling and other vices were not practised. Modern means or media of communication were not born during the period under review.

No description of the original English factories at Hooghly, Balasore, Kasimbazar and Patna have come down to us. The English factories in Bengal were probably no better than thatched mud hovels as no brick and mortar buildings were constructed those days.

The English factory built in 1651 at Hooghly was situated at a place called Golghat.[125] Near the middle of the Hooghly town, for the space of about three hundred yards, a small indentation occurred on the bank of the river Hooghly, forming a diminutive whirlpool, whence the Bengalees called it Golghat and the English the 'hole'. Golghat* is a little south of the Imambara, a handsome mosque built by Haji Mohammad Mohsin in 1845. The original English factory situated on the banks of

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* Golghat is 44 kilometres from Howrah Railway Station by rail, the station for it is called Hooghlyghat. The place is between Bandel station of the Eastern Railway (Howrah Division) and Naihati Station (Sealdah Division) on the suburban route. Hooghlyghat station comes next after Bandel, but before Gorifa

the Hooghly was in the low-lying area of today where vegetables are grown. In Orme's *Historical Fragments*, Job Charnock is described as "Governor of the Factory at Golgot near Hughley." The unhealthiness of the place spelt disaster.

Ion Ken's letter [126] dated November 23, 1659 to the Company in this respect is worth quoting : "We have advised you of the death of several friends, the most of which died in the time of the rains, when most of the country is overflowed ; and cannot impute it to nothing more than our ill accommodation by lying in low rooms, having in this house no other. Besides this, the river is come so near this house that it threatens its ruin the next year. So that there is necessity of putting Your Worships to the charge of building a house here ; in which (we) shall use our utmost frugality."

Master Thomas Bowrey, who paid three visits to Bengal between 1669 and 1687, has left the following account of the Hooghly town : "This River (Hooghly) is so named from the great town of Hooghly situated upon the banks of it, near 150 miles up from the braces or shoals that lie at the entrance thereof. The town or city of Hooghly is a famous and sumptuous place, adorned with many fine structures, and very populous,

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and Nalhati. Golghat is just below the Jubilee Bridge that spans the Hooghly river. A private bus (Route No. 2) runs from Bandel Station to Chinsurah touching Bandel Church, Imambara, Hooghlyghat, Golghat and Hooghly town.

The original English factory built in 1651 stood midway between the Jubilee bridge and the present Hooghly Jail, half a mile south of the Imambara. There are some traces of the factory tn the ruined brick walls that run into the river. Four cannons were excavated from the river-bed recently where the original factory stood and these have been set up on the walls of the jail. The factory was threatened by floods and consequently

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and what adds to the beauty hereof, it is well furnished with gardens, fine groves, a very large bazar or market place, one of the finest choulteries (or free lodging houses for all travellers) that is contained in this kingdom, and, more especially, the two fine European factories, namely the English and Dutch. But I must needs confess the Dutch building here far does exceed ours, although their privileges and good name by the inhabitants in general comes far short.

"The town is not very uniform, but is a very good and pleasant place, inhabited with some of the richest merchants of the kingdom ; and all sorts of commodities that Orissa, Bengal, and Patna do afford are here daily to be bought and sold in the public bazar, commonly called the great bazar, by reason there are many where only cotton, coarse calicoes, provisions, &c. are to be sold.

"The English factory here in Hooghly is the head or chief factory in the three beforementioned kingdoms, and residence of the Chief in place.

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it was converted into a warehouse. A new factory was built just behind the Imambara, where now the Office of the Executive Engineer of Public Works Department, Government of West Bengal, is situated. The maidan in between the Hooghly Basic Training College (formerly Hooghly District Court) and the Executive Engineer's office was also included in the compound of the factory. No records have come down to us regarding the original site of the first factory, except Ion Ken's letter dated November 23, 1659. However, there is no difficulty in fixing the sites of the old and new factories as the lands occupied by the Jail and the P.W.D. Office are the two parcels owned by the Government from time immemorial. The lands are still in the possession of the Government. The author spent a day on February 16, 1975 and travelled on foot from Bandel Station

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"The Dutch factory is also situate upon the banks of the river, about one English mile from ours, lower down the river, on a most delicate and even piece of ground, which is comely enough to be admired, and their buildings no less, being a most compact and very decent structure, carrying the name of the largest and completest factory in Asia, and no more than in my judgment it deserves.

"So that now they may, and do largely boast of this new and comely building, but not a word is heard from them

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to Chinsura examining all the sites of historical importance and interviewing a number of officials (like Jail Superintendent, District Information & Public Relation officer) and prominent citizens.

Golghat was also the site of the Porto Piqueno of the Portuguese which the Moguls demolished in 1632. Etymologically speaking, Gholghat means (*ghola*, being the eddy) the risky underwater whirlpool of the Ganges. The English factory at Golghat was abandoned in 1713 as is evident from the Fort William consultations of April 14 & 20, 1713. "April 14th, 1713. —The Company's House at Hugly being very much out of repair Order'd Mr. Eyre and Gunner Cooke go up thither and take a Survey of what is wanting to repair it and also how it may be secured from being washt away by the River." April 20, 1713 : "Mr. Eyre and Gunner Cooke having been at Hugly and took a Survey of the House there according to the Order of Consultation, give it as their opinions that it will cost as much as the House is worth to repair it and afterwards it will be impossible to secure it from being washt away by the river. Therefore agreed that the Company be at no farther Charge about it". (Wilson, *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, vol. II, part I, p. 114). Luillier's (*Voyage*, English translation, 1715, p. 259) reference to Golgotha in 1702 is not to Golghat, but to Calcutta.

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concerning the Old factory that adjoined to that of the English, about the time of the horrid massacre of the English at Amboyna (27th February, 1623).

"Those two factories, then door neighbours, stood within 20 paces of the river side, in which side the river gained much upon the dry land, *viz*, upon the larboard side going up, in so much that a strong fresh, caused by the great rains that fall here sometime before the breaking up of the monsoon, came down the river with all such violence that it seemed to be displeased with all that were here, more especially the Dutch, and shewed them displeasure at once, taking away all their whole factory, store houses &c., and hurried them into the river, and a great depth too, for in the very place where the Dutch factory stood, we ride with our ships and vessels, in no less than 16 fathom, and it is called the Hooghly Hole.

"The English factory (adjoining that of the Dutch) was by the computation of men very likely suddenly to follow it, but the fresh abated and it stands to this day with all store-houses and walls that surround it.

"But for fear such another or worse fresh should happen and take them unprovided with necessaries, and time whereby to remove the Company's goods &c., they have by order of the said Company built a very fine new factory about a quarter of a mile higher (from the river side), where now the Chief and Council &c. factors of Hooghly reside, and the old one is not as yet become unserviceable.

"The freshes are wholly caused by the great rains that fall at such and such seasons of the year, not with what fall here nor a considerable way further up, but a great way up as high as Patna, yea as high as South Tartaria, which is mountaneous, and rains there for a year together ; and rushes down the Ganges and arms thereof with such violence th at these rivers afford no issue

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for it, unto the sea, until a considerable time be spent and an abatement made : but, like unto the great river Nile, overflowing its banks in many places for some miles compass. These waters are at their full height generally in the month of September."[127]

Sir Richard Carnac Temple in his notes on the text of Bowrey's above description says : "The factory at Hooghly was established in 1650 under the *firman* said to have been obtained by Gabriel Boughton. In 1657, Hooghly was made the head factory in the Bay, the factory of Balasore being subordinate. The factory house in T. B.'s time must have been the one which was in process of building in 1665 as described by Schouten (Schouten, Gauther, *Voiage aux Indes Orientales 1658-1665*, 2 volumes, Traduit due Hollandois, Amsterdam, 1707, vol. II, p. 157) : "When we were there (in Hooghly) the English were building a new factory, because the inundations of the Ganges had by degrees mined the walls of their old edifice which threatend to fall."

Delstre (*Relation ou Journal D'un Voyage Fait Aux Indes Orientales*, Paris, 1677, P. 188) says : "A league distant from the Dutch factory (at 'Oughly') the English have one, on the same side of the river, the left going up."[128]

The factory, which was under construction when Schouten visited Hooghly, was quarter of a mile up the river.

Life in Hooghly is described by Bowrey thus : "A great multitude of Portuguese inhabit the Kingdom of Bengal, especially in Hooghly and some other creeks or rivulets of the river thereof .....all sorts of provisions being here very cheap. A very good cow is sold for four shillings six pence, viz. 2 rupees, a good hogg for 3/4 of a Rupee, 45 or 50 fowls for one Rupee, fish also in great plenty, by reason of which plenty of all sorts of belly timber (i.e. provisions) and cloths fitting for the climate very cheap also, this Kingdom is well inhabited especially by

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foreigners which make Bernier's[129] opinion of it to be to the purpose 'That the Kingdom of Bengal has many doors into it, and but one out of it, which is very true, for thousands that were born in other countries do live and end their days with old age in Bengal."[130]

"As regards the Kasimbazar factory, I have not been able to ascertain whether it had been regularly occupied much prior to the Court's appointment of factors to it in February 1659. The letter to Mr. Pickering on the preceding page indicates its occupation at least in 1658", says Sir Henry Yule and adds in a footnote : In a letter to the Company from Paul Waldgrave, dated Balasore, 28th December, 1654, I find : "Your servant Edward Stevens, who deceased in Kasimbazar at Capt. Brookhaven's being here, and very much insolvent, not only to your worships but several creditors in Hooghly to the amount of 4200 Rupees".....So that occasional agency at least seems to have been employed there as early as 1653 or 1654[131]

The English factory at Kasimbazar was established in 1658 with Ion Ken as its Chief. Thomas Davies paid a visit to Ken's house at Kasimbazar on March 13, 1659 and his description of the same together with furniture in it may be taken as the representative of the typical Englishman's lodging during the period under review. Davies arrived at "Mr. Ken's chank and mud (house ?) at Kasimbazar where if there had been but two more if as strong an appetite as myself, we had made an absolute famine for a fortnight...I am at present forced to content with the Prophet's furniture, a cot, a table, stool, and a candlestick."[132]

Bowrey's description of the Kasimbazar factory during his days is quoted below : "Kasimbazar : A very famous and pleasant town in many respects and chiefly for its great commerce and plenty of very rich merchants, the only market place in this kingdom for all commodities made and vended therein, whence

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it received the name, *Cossum* (Kasim) signifying the husband or chief, and a *bazar*, a market. (Next para) The English and Dutch Companies have each a very stately factory here, but the English outdo them here both in trade and also in their factory and factors too. (Next para) Our Honourable East India Company has a very considerable investment annually in this place, more than in all the kingdom besides. The chief here is second to all their affairs in Orissa, Bengal, and Patna. He keeps many tradesmen at work here by order of the Company, as dyers, weavers, throwsters, &c., being Englishmen sent on purpose for ordering their silk after the English custom, and for dyeing a good black, a colour the natives could never dye well. (Next para) We go up by water Hooghly, *viz.*, through the rivers, I judge it is 150 miles up, commonly 3 days going up, very pleasant all the way, a fertile soil and a delicate air, being a most healthy climate"[133]

Tavernier had noted : "Kasimbazar, a village in the kingdom of Bengal, sends abroad every year two and twenty thousand bales of silk ; every bale weighing a hundred pound...The Hollanders usually carry away six or seven thousand bales."[134]

The English factory at Patna was situated at Singhiya, near Lalganj, 13 miles north of the city, on the left bank of the river Gandak. [135] Though the refinery for saltpetre was at Singhiya, the Chief of the Patna factory did not stay there, as the English had no house at Patna, but lived at Hajipur in a house rented on Rs. 3-8-0 per month.[136] The English preferred Hajipur because they wanted to be near the saltpetremen. Bowrey's description of Patna is as follows : "Patna : A very large and potent kingdom, but long since become tributary to the Emperors of Hindostan (or Great Mogul). This is a country of very great traffic and commerce, and is really the great gate that opens into Bengal and Orissa, and so consequently into most parts of India.

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viz. from the northern kingdoms or empires (by land), namely, Persia, Carmania, Georgia, Tartaria, &c. The commodities of those countries are transported hither by *kafila*, who also export the commodities brought hither by the English and Dutch, as also of this kingdom. (Next para) The Chief city whereof is called Patna, a very large and spacious one indeed, and is situated near to the river of Ganges, many miles up, not less than 1000 or 1100 miles above the town of Hooghly.....

"The English East India Company have a factory in Patna adjoining to the city, whence we have all (or, the most part) of the saltpetre sent yearly for England...(Next para) The Dutch have a factory here also, for procuring of saltpetre, but live with little freedom or enjoyment of any worldly pleasures here, daring not to presume to enter any of the gates of the city without leave from some of the great officers. (Next para) All the saltpetre is sent hence to Hooghly in great flat-bottomed vessels, of an exceeding strength which are called Patellas ; each of them will bring down 4, 5, 6000 Bengal maunds...(Next para) The only commodities of this kingdom that are yearly sent for England are saltpetre, of which great quantities are sent to England and Holland with a considerable investment of each nation in cod musk, which is here found to be very good. It is in general taken from a small deer of about 2 foot high, of which this country does mightily abound. They take it out upon the full of the moon, but not every full moon out of the same deer, by reason it comes not to maturity in so short a time. It is the naval of the deer, which although cut out, doth wonderfully grow as before. (Next para) The great quantities of musk brought from Cochin-China and China itself is for the most part taken from this little animal whose shape is as follows (Plate XIII)."[137]

The original English factory at Singhiya was a mud hut and was levelled to the ground by the rains in I669 or some time

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ago. On the 12th December, 1669, the Council at the Bay wrote to Fort St. George : "The factory house we desired your licence to build without Patna was instead of that built since Mr. Blake being Chief at Singhiya and levelled by the rains. Patna itself is not a place to manage the saltpetre trade in, yet that being the residence of the Nawab that governs that country, the chief must sometimes repair thither...if the factory be without the city, nigh the place where the saltpetre is made, the convenience will be great in increasing the investments and securing the saltpetremen from selling what we have bought of them to others..."[138]

Regarding the trade of the East India Company in Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa, Bowrey said : "From Kasimbazar, sundry sorts of raw and wrought silk, fine sashes and stripes interwoven with gold and silver. From Hooghly and Balasore Sannoes, Ginghams, Orammalls (=Boomauls) cotton yarn, &c, which goods are embaled in the beforementioned factories, and, according to order from the Honourable English East India Company, are sent on board the English ships that yearly do arrive and anchor in Balasore Road, and thence do set sail in the month December, bound up to Masulipatam and Fort St. George, where their full lading is prepared, and in a few days shipped. On board, and about the latter end of January do sail intending (God assisting them) for England. The staple commodities brought into these three kingdoms (namely Orissa, Bengal, and Patna) are scarlet, breodcloths of divers colours, vermilion, quicksilver, brimstone, lead, copper, Ryals of 8, and coral. All which, although they produce but little per cent., yet they are here as good as ready Rupees in procuring the best of goods in the kingdom without any loss, but rather 15 or 20 per cent gain, where to bring Europe, *viz*. English, Dutch, or French coined moneys, the loss is more than so much per-

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cent. But the voyage homeward does make sufficient amends. In the beforementioned places in these three kingdoms, the English nation in general has freedom of inhabiting and trading free from all manner of taxes and customs in or out, the like privileges has no other nation besides."[139]

The English merchants procured the goods by advancing money to middlemen. The articles required by the company were obtained through the influential Indian merchants by regular contracts. This system of entering into contract with the local merchants was known as Dadani. The word Dadani comes from the Persian term *Dadan* (to give). Hence this word means an advance made to a craftsman, a weaver, or the like by one who trades in the goods produced.[140]

"The usual intermediary between the English and the local producers and consumers was the Indian broker, who was sent out into the districts round the factory to buy on the Company's behalf in the cheapest markets. He had to give a security and was rewarded by a brokerage of three per cent on all transactions. Another way was to invite the merchants living in the town by the factory to send samples, and buy through them. But in whichever way the purchases were made, passes were given to the broker or merchant in the English Company's name, so that the goods might be freely conveyed to their destination ; and in the same way, whatever the Company sold, whether for ready money or on account, they gave with it a free pass, so that the buyer might not have to pay duty."[141]

There was a chief broker at every factory. We have already seen that Narrand (Narayan) was the chief broker at Balasore which was the entrepot of Bengal during those days.[142]

The Agent and sometimes the Chiefs of the factories went down to Balasore during the shipping season to see loading and unloading of the commodities and for taking delivery of the

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Company's incoming letters and treasure. They returned to their respective stations when the ships bound for home left Balasore.

The Agent of the Beagal factories, who was stationed at Hooghly, was accountable to the Company for all trade. He was all in all in respect of administration. The Agent at Hooghly and Chiefs of the factories at Balasore, Kasimbazar and Patna were allowed palanquins for going out[143] (O.C. 2691). Coaches were not the fashion in Bengal as palanquins were cheap.[144] The factors were permitted to ride on horses while going out on errands. There were no soldiers, but a number of peons were entertained for retinue, when Englishmen went outside the factory. Umbrellas ("Roundels") were restricted to the Agent and Chiefs of factories.

There were no proper gradation of the Company's servants into Writers, Merchants and Senior Merchants. They were designated simply factors. „Seldom was anyone recruited into the Company's service from India unless he happened to be an Englishman. Except Thomas Gifford and James Pickering, nobody else seems to have been recruited from Bengal during this period.[145]

Though rules were laid down as to the giving of security, the signing of covenants &c. on similar lines to those prescribed to Surat and Madras, they were not strictly enforced during the first decade of the existence of the Bengal factories. For instance, Job Charnock did not enter into any covenant till about 1680.

The life of the Company's servants was confined to the four walls of the English factories. The life within the factories was regulated after the fashion of a college. The hours of work were from nine or ten till twelve in the morning, and again in the afternoon till about four if work was pressing. Ordinarily there was not much to do, but during the shipping time the place was.

filled with busy hum of men. At midday they all dined together, in the common hall, seated strictly in the order of seniority.

The Court of Directors had fixed an annual allowance of £ 300 for all four factories in Bengal for house-keeping with an addition of £ 15 for each factor above the number of fourteen. This was insufficient because "provisions are now three times as dear as formerly," the factors represented to the Court on December 3, 1658 to which the Committees desired a detailed account, on receipt of which the matter was to be reconsidered.[146]

The table was loaded with every sort of meat and fish which the country could afford, prepared by Indian, Portuguese, English and sometimes even by French cooks. There was a plentiful supply of plate. A silver ewer and basin was used at the beginning and end of the meal for washing the hands.

On Sundays and holidays the factors had game to eat, and drank the healths of the King and the Company and of every one at table, down to the youngest writer. Englishmen in India were fond of oriental delicacies like pickles and *hilsa* fish (a favourite with Bengalis). Pickering's testimony in this respect is worth quoting : "...If your Comprador (—house-steward) can find any achar or fish sable (=hilsa), you will oblige us by sending a little."[147] Englishmen returning home took with them oriental delicacies and we have it on record that Ralph Cartwright had taken some "Sweetmeats, Sareetores, syrups, pupe, achar, etc."[148] Mango and other Indian fruits were also taken in season.

The favourite drink of the Englishmen during this period in India was the Punch or "Bouleponge", a drink composed of arrack, a spirit distilled from molasses, mixed with lemon juice, water and nutmeg ; it was pleasant enough to the taste, but most hurtful to body and health.[149] In the matter of drink the

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letter of Thomas Bateman at B
Balasore (?) August, 1658. "
cannot forget my friends thou
choose rather to be impertin
forgetful, you have been freq
friends when upon the bubbi
since your absence is not so wel
are all generally so sensible o
you have been often wished fo
yet recovered, but has every oth
Job (Charnock) begins to droop
ness. I hope by this time you a
Dutchmen that you may be able
choly thoughts that assault the s
your health, with a *vivat Jacobu*
ly and safely return to exhila
him, amongst whom you may pl
Thomas Bateman". (Postscrip
know has no time to stay in
act anything in my behalf, pray
and hear from you as soon as yo
Mary send their loving repects t
these, Kasimbazar.[151])

The English had no place of

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Happy Voyage at Bandel was originally built in 1599, but it was destroyed in 1632. An improvised prayer house was built in 1663 by Father John de Soito.[152] It was pulled down in 1676 for making room for a permanent structure. During Bowrey's second visit to Hooghly, the Bandel church was in the process of reconstruction. He says : "Nevertheless, the Moors do take all advantages to screw moneys out of them, as for instance, Anno Domini, 1676, the Portuguese having collected a good sum of moneys to the end they might build a very large and decent Church, they now make preparations to work. Having provided stone, brick, lime, timber, they pull down the old one, and begin the new foundation, but ere one fourth finished the Moors by order of their Governor stopped the work, commanding the workmen upon pain of imprisonment not to proceed, to the great grief of the Fathers, and alias."[153] The construction was perhaps completed in 1681.[154]

There were perhaps no mechanical clocks during those days in India and the Englishmen had sundials at their factory gates. "The English and Dutch have them (sundials) at the gates of all their inland factories in this kingdom or others in Hindostan, verifying the old proverb, *cum fueris Romae*, &c." says Bowrey.[155] They could also compare their time with the water-clocks or clepsydra used by the local inhabitants. Bewrey's description of the water-clock is worth quoting : "The way that is most used by the Moors for the exact account how the day and night passes away is very remarkable, being so different from any in Europe. They use no sun-dials, clocks, or watches, nor glasses, for indeed I think they are not so ingenious to make them, but considering that, they have invented a very good method for the certain noting how that precious jewel, time, hastes away. They fill a great bowl or basin with very clear water, and a small copper dish that will hold between $\frac{1}{2}$ a pint and a

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Balasore, Kasimbazar and Patna factories did not provide married accommodation. Consequently, some of the Englishmen in Bengal, as at Fort St. George, married native women or Portuguese ladies. At Fort St. George Andrew Cogan, Agent Henry Greenhill, and Sir Thomas Chamber and Edward Winter at Balasore had found wives among the Portuguese inhabitants.[157] We have it on record that Ralph Cartwright, who initiated the trade in Bengal, was detected in an intrigue with the wife of a Muhammadan dwelling next door to the English house at Hariharpur, whereupon the Nawab not only imprisoned and fined him Rs. 1000.[158] Similarly, Gabriel Boughton, who was instrumental in bringing the English to Hooghly, was married to a 'Mogullana', a Muslim lady. Boughton's widow was next married by William Pitt. She was then remarried by Richard Moseley.[159] Job Charnock was also married to a native woman. Records are silent on the issues born out of the marriage of Boughton, William Pitt and Moseley to one and the same lady.

Most of the factors sent out to Bengal came from families of good social standing. Among the new factors sent out by Maurice Thomson two were closely related to prominent ecclesiastics. Ion Ken (whose Christian name is often given wrongly as John) was the elder brother of the celebrated bishop.[160] Daniel Sheldon was a son of Ralph Sheldon, and nephew of Gilbert Sheldon, the well-known Archbishop of Canterbury.[161] On Daniel's arrival in India he was introduced to Pickering, in a letter from Thomas Otway at Masulipatam as "Nephew to learned and loyal Dr. Sheldon, and cannot be imagined but richly stored with ingenuity and honesty."[162] Job Charnock's brother, Stephen, was a reputed Puritan theologian and was chaplain to Henry Cromwell, son of Oliver Cromwell, the Protector.

No doubt, the factors appointed to Bengal were men of talent and accomplishments. Ken was a gifted musician. A letter of

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October 16, 1658 shows that he had written to a friend asking that a bass vial should be purchased for him, if possible, from one of the English ships calling at Masulipatam, and that this was effected accordingly. In a subsequent letter (July 14, 1659), Ken made inquiry about "a pair of organs that I hear are to be sold in Hooghly."[163]

The social habits and intellectual attainments of the factors could be best illustrated from the extant correspondence of the period. The personal correspondence which has survived also shows the extent of the private trade carried on by the factors. James Pickering and Thomas Davies were the intellectual leaders of the time.

The Company's servants in Bengal, being confined to the four walls of their factories, on account of the Civil War in India, spent most of their time in reading books. They read the works of Hobbes and Thomas Brown as avidly as those of Baltac and Robert Burton. A few private letters that have survived bear ample testimony to the erudition and literary tastes of the factors.

Thomas Bateman's letter from Hooghly[164] dated October 14, 1658, evidently in reply to the one received from Pickering, making some display of his erudition sets the tone: "Ciceronian Sir: Your elaborate lines have so puzzled my uncultivated intellect that it was some time ere I resolved whether by silence to incur the censure of uncivil negligence, or by writing to discover my foolish impertinence at length, (because thereby I shall least wrong my friends) and *ex malis minimum eligendum*. I fell on the latter, choosing rather to render myself ridiculous than my friends displeased. But from a chip of a rough hewn log he that looks for better than wooden phrases will starve his expectation; *ex quovīs enim ligno non fit Mercurius*. (Next para) I was never yet so good a proficient in the schools.

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of literature as to know what deity to invoke for those Heliconian irrigations which should so sublimate my thoughts as to make me capable of returning an answer suitable to the sublimity of your style. But in their stead Heaven has been so propitious as to afford me some divine revelations sufficient to advise you that hereafter you account not your solitude a curse, since it produced such rare effects in our late sovereign. Remember Dr. Browne's *Nunquam minus solus quam cum solus.* Now is the only time for you to commune with your own heart, and by the publishing of your pious soliloquies there may be hopes in time you may be preferred to be one of Mau. Thomson's planters and propagators of the Gospel in these heathenish parts ; which if you may so prove you shall not want the prayers of him who is/Pathetically yours. Thomas Bateman."

The following extract from the letter[165] of Thomas Stephens shows that Sir Thomas Browne's[166] books were then circulating among the Bengal factors. "Extract from Thomas Stepehens, dated Balasore the 12th January 1658/9 to Mr. James Pickering, Merchant (to be delivered) in Hooghly....Mr. Bateman sent by me which is gone as in either Mr. Ken's or Mr. Chamberlain's chest for yourself, *Vulgar Errors*, *Religio Medici*, and *Treatise on Bodies.* I have from Mr. Ken received satisfaction for the 2 butts of arrack ; not else, wishing you success in your approaching journey,/Remain/Your very loving friend."

The most erudite among the members of the English community in Bengal during the period under review was Thomas Davies, a "Merchant for the Rt. Hon'ble Company" at Hooghly, whose possession of a collection of Greek books is mentioned in his letter. He writes in a rigmarole style, with quasi-classical allusions.[167] Here is a specimen : "Hooghly, March 17, 1658/9. For Mr. James Pickering and my very good friend/Though I suppose you have ere this taken your leave of Kasimbazar, yet

I am encouraged to venture this rover at you, out of a confidence that it will at length find you, if not there, in some other place more (like yourself), pleasant, fruitful, and delight-some. However if you don't meet with it till Plato's great year, I am sure you can be, by that delay no loser, since it carries with nothing but my poor and unprofitable, though cordial service. Sir, your own disavowing inability or rather not desiring, to compliment will I hope always for the future plead with you an excuse for my Doric dialect. Be confident my want of verbal expressions shall always get supplied as any occasion offers itself, by my serious endeavour to testify how much I am/Your real friend and servant/Thomas Davies".

Pickering's reply from Kasimbazar, dated March the 23rd, 1659, says[168] :"...Sir, your Doric dialect transcends my intellect. I beseech you therefore let your next be in a language intelligible, for I believe all Patna affords not a lexicon..."

Ken was not so irreverent, and he wrote to Davies with an unfailing deference that was evidently sincere : witness this note of March 2, 1659 : "I desire you would ever abase your style, that I might be in a capacity of corresponding : for to the height of this you now write I shall never be able to soar, except my unfledged wings are strengthened by the warmth of your understanding."[169]

Ken begged Davies to lend him Seneca's Epistles on May 21 and five days later he desired to know his opinion of "Mr. Hobbes his book of *Human Nature*.[170] In my small intellect, it is the only thing I ever saw that was truth ; and if by you commended, I am resolved never more to read any books but the Bible and the mathematics, all antiquity either having been erroneous in fundamentals, or we in this latter age have been unfortunate in the loss of their knowledge."[171]

The reply of Davies is not extant ; but Ken (June 14, 1659)

is fervid in his admiration of his correspondent's wisdom : "I need not Seneca's *Epistles* or Balzack's *Letters* where you are pleased to communicate your mind by writing...Nevertheless, you will oblige me much to send it (the *Seneca*) by the next boat, and the rather because you mention annotations and, being yours, I am greedy after the sight of them. As for Hobbes, if I mistake not, his *Leviathan* and some others are indeed mysterious enough ; but that small treatise I mentioned is (if I may so speak) natural philosophy demonstrated logically and mathematically."[172]

Evidently Davies was flattered by his young disciple's enthusiasm ; but he replied with affected modesty (June 20). "As for those embryos of my brain, or those buds and blossoms of my heart, my letters which I frequently send you, I never can think them in any other respect to be valued but because yours are thereby occasioned...What thoughts were created in me by your discourse of Hobbes were the mere shadow of your own substance. I shall think I sufficiently oblige the world by being the post against which you strike your pregnant head (like Jove) to produce your Minervas."[173]

Ken wrote to his "dear tutor" on October 14, 1659 thus : "To my sadness you are burrage, to my melancholy hellebore, and to my hole body Dr. Burton (or Democritus Junior).[174] Your letters fill me with the streams of Aganippe's font.[175] I am mad with myself I am not like you. But it won't be."[176]

Most Englishmen in Bengal dressed exactly as they did in England, despite the sweltering heat, humidity and sultry weather. They imitated the European change of mode though, of course, at a respectable distance. The costume of the 17th century, large hose, peasecod-bellied doublet, short cloak or mantle with standing collar, muffs that were, of twelve, or sixteen lengths a piece set three or four times double, and conical crowned hats of

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velvet or taffeta ornamented with great bunches of feathers was peculiary cumbersome and oppressive in a tropical climate. Perukes were not probably brought to India till long after its introduction in England by Charles II and men wore their long, flowing cavalier locks.[177] But in time the English came to feel and understand the necessity of adapting their dress to the climate and environment. In 1658 a good cloth coat with large silver lace was all the fashion, and was considered to be the badge of an Englishman. Without it, or something like it, a man got no esteem or regard. No portrait of an Englishman in Bengal during this period (1650-1660) has come down to us ; hence this description is entirely imaginary. Most of the Englishmen must have worn ample wigs, but those who consulted comfort cut the hair short and condescended to "enter into the Moor's fashion." Aldworth's letter to Davies is interesting in this connection.[178]

"From Mr. Henry Aldworth to Mr. Thomas Davies, Dated, Rajmahal, Pro. Feb. 1658/59. Mr. Tho. Davies—And esteemed friend : yesterday arrived this place where found the bazar almost burnt and many of the people almost starved for want of food which caused much sadness in Mr. Charnock and myself, but not so much as the absence of your company, which we have often remembered in a bowl of the clearest punch, having no better liquor: Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Charnock are going tomorrow to Patna ; Mr. Charnock for the quicker dispatch of his voyage, is now cutting of his hair, and intends to enter into the Moor's fashion this day. I would have sent you one of his locks to keep for an antique, but Mr. Chamberlain has promised to do it ; pray Sir : be pleased to receive of Bullomaleck 4 Rupees and 5 Annas which overpaid him, and forgot to remember at Kasimbazar, as per his account enclosed will appear. Not knowing else at present save kind respects to yourself praying to God to send you

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much health and happiness as myself shall cease from troubling you but never from being/Your assured loving friend/Henry Aldworth. (Postscript. Mr. **C**harnock tenders respects to you and so we do both to Mr. Wm. Pitts.)"

Evidently, comments Sir William Foster, it was not unusual for the English merchants, when travelling upcountry, to adopt Indian dress, as being at once more comfortable and less conspicuous than their ordinary habit.[179]

The Dutch were the neighbours of the English at Hooghly and Balasore and probably there were friendly intercourses between them in times of peace. According to Pickering, one of the troubles of the Balasore factors was the demand made by the Dutch upon their hospitality. He wrote from Balasore in the middle of February 1659 thus : "When I am sober, I may unhappily be so vain as to conceit I can write sense ; but now I make affidavit against it. We are so pestered with the visits of the Belgians (i.e. Dutch) that we are forced daily to send them in couples like rabbits in dorcers.[130] ...When anything is worthy the informing you, it shall not escape my bamboo pen. At present this place is so barren of novels (news), it affords not a line.[181]"

The Civil War in India made the cost of living of the East IndiaCompany's servants in Bengal pretty high. Some of them even repented for joining the Compan's service. But their remarkable fortitude stood them in good stead. There was little trade in 1658-60 on account of the fratricidal wars among the sons of Shah Jahan for the throne of Hindostan. Life was also in danger. Ken and Sheldon thought of quitting Kasimbazar and going down to Hooghly and returning to their headquarters when the season for investment began. Ken asked Davies's advice on this point on July 16, 1659. They wrote : "Here we live at a great expense in all respects. Rice is now but 30 seers for a rupee,

and will be much dearer ; by that you may guess at all other things...Our expenses here, being not extravagant, yet amount to above 300 rupees per month.....I am quite out of heart as to my employment. Since my arrival here it has cost me in several expenses above 1400 rupess, of which I charge the Company not with one cowry ; and all this to bear up the credit of my place and understand the trade of the country."[182]

Ken did not lose heart and gave up the idea of quitting Kasimbazar and resolved to "bear up in the employment I am now in". He was summoned by Mir Jumla to Murshidabad and his life there is better told in his own words : "...A fiddler lives batter than the chief of Kasimbazar. I protest I am at my wit's end. God keep me from a calenture : yet (if ever) I have now reason to expect it. I am more fit for a cot and chamber than the fields and vexations—God, I hope, will some way or other deliver me from my present condition ; yet I shall always remember these things. I am in a condition now that nobody of my quality and trade could ever cxpect to be plunged into."[183]

Ken lived at Murshidabad close to a piece of ground used as a public latrine. He says (October 10, 1659) : "and if that be not a good scent, I have the odour of several dead oxen and camels to help it. All that dies lies stinking above ground ; and if this were not the best air in Bengal, there would certainly a plague follow. Yesterday, at two minutes past three[184] in the afternoon, several kites flew near Mir Jumla's bungalow. Of what a sad and ominous portent these things may be, I leave to the understanding augurs."[185]

Rice was cheap at Murshidabad in 1659 and Ken's letter from there dated October 6 shows that things were really cheap even at the height of the Civil War : "Rice is cheap : one rupee per maund ; all other things excessive dear : oil, 8 rupees : butter 16 rupees (per maund).....My rack (i.e. arrack) is almost

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gone, and I am not very well. This is a very good air : the best, I think, in Bengal...I will now drink a small cup (though not a bowl) of punch, in remembrance of you and honest Dan. Sheldon."[186]

Ken, who was in Murshidabad in obedience to the summons of Mir Jumla, visited the Nawab every day once or twice "as a person not taken notice of" ; [187] but did his best to keep up his spirits. He wrote on October 10, 1659 to his "honoured tutor", Davies : "Though it is October, I am now (I think) upon the March. God send I am not taken for a spy : if I once come upon suspicion, I am gone, for I never in all my life looked so like one. God forbid you should be here, for they hate all tall lean men like the devil. Without a man has a punch six times as big as Falstaff, he cannot be a Sir John."[188]

The factors at Kasimbazar were hard pressed for cash to meet their own expenses and to propitiate the local *faujdar* and other Mogul officials. Sheldon asked the Hooghly factors on October 10, 1659 for a remittance of Rs. 400 or 500 to enable Ken "to defray the excessive charges he is at : for he pays the peons batta all the while they stay at the lascar, or else none would have gone with him. Pray write him some comfortable letter, for by his to me (although in all he bears up) I find he is extremely cast down."[189]

And on October 19, he begged again for a remittance since "I have not six rupees in the house, nor, if my life lay out, can-not procure 100 rupees."[199] Hooghly, the head factory in Bengal, was without a Chief for most part of the period under review. Trevisa, who was appointed Agent for Bengal (Gawton being dead) did actually reach Hooghly only by the end of November 1659. He was a haughty and difficult man to pull on with, as a result of which his subordinates had nothing but complaints against him. Chamberlain's letter from Hooghly

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dated December 15, 1660 to some correspondent in London (possibly the Governor of the Company) and another also from Hooghly dated 17th of the same month and year addressed to Alderman John Robinson contain an outspoken criticism of Agent Trevisa.

"Our books of accounts have been here with him these nine months, and still remain unregistered. A greater procrastinator I never met with. His own books I dare say he is ignorant off, and ashamed to show them. We do our duty when (we) deliver them here ; but when he will send them home we know not... His abilities as to the place he has undertaken (are) far short : and if ever Your Worship etc. expect a good and ample account of your business, he must be supplied with an able solid man for his second, that may carry it on, for he himself never can. He is the carelessest man, both in his books and papers, as ever I saw, nothing but confusions, blottings, etc. Everything that is acted is like himself. He is as fit for the employment he has undertaken as I am to be king of this country."[191]

Mathias Halstead, Second at Hooghly, managed the affairs at that place since his appointment. He was put in irons by Trevisa. The difference between them seemed to have arisen from the Agent's refusal (most unreasonable) to recognise Halstead as his Second until he was formally confirmed in his post by the Company. Their disputes culminated in a scuffle, in consequence of which Trevisa put Halstead in irons for some months "upon pretence I threw him down, when as himself was the peace-breaker, by endeavouring to kick me out of his chamber for none other reason than delivering my opinion upon a necessary occasion."[192]

Trevisa reported Halstead's misdemeanour to the President and Council at Surat who concurred with the strong action taken by him for insubordination. Halstead made a piteous appeal to

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Ken, Chamberlain and Charnock on July 3, 1660 to secure him for a trial or release. However, Trevisa set him at liberty shortly "with as much reason as committed, that is, without counsel or advice, only upon a sudden motion and dictate of passion..." He appealed to President Andrews to transfer him to a post in some other Agency or else send him home as he found it impossible to live contentedly with Trevisa.[193] It must be remembered that Halstead was the only Englishman who remained at Hooghly during most part of the year 1659, since Thomas Davies was dead. His letter to President Andrews written nearly a year later (September 13, 1660) says : "...I am the first Englishman that ever conveyed Chandrakona [194] commodities by water ; besides the discovery of the trade of Ourdagunjay[195] and places adjacent, abounding in sugars, silk and other commodities proper both for Persia and Guinne, as Charconnaes, Chuclaes, Roomauls, Cattaries (=Cuttanees), all varieties of silken, cotton, and herba (grass) clothes ; besides the convenience of lying near the sea and upon a branch of the Ganges. The Governor of Hooghly had a strict order from Mir Jumla the last year to hinder the shipping off of our goods and stop our trade ; nevertheless, I sent down the sloop to Balasore to fetch up Agent Trevisa (for there was no possibility of coming by land) to treat with Mir Jumla, and afterwards shipped off and conveyed all the goods safely to Balasore. A good part of this time I had no Englishman to assist me ; Mr. Thomas Davies, my consort, being deceased."[196]

The salary of the Company's servants in India was nominal. We have already seen that the Agent of the Bengal factories received only £ 100 per annum, the Second at Hooghly and Chiefs of Balasore, Kasimbazar and Patna factories £ 40 per annum. The Seconds at the subordinate factories and the Third at Hooghly received £ 30 per annum. The factors were paid

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£ 20 per annum. The salary was paid either in India or at home. The salary paid by the Company to their servants was no index to their real income as they received free boarding and lodging, besides various allowances. Every servant of the Company had a right to free quarters in the factory, dinner and supper at the public table, lights and attendants. There were few married servants in the company's establishments in Bengal, living apart, during the fifties of the 17th century.

The Court of Committees assured the Company's servants in Bengal that they would get increments in their salary according to their abilities and responsibilities entrusted to them. In their letter of February 22, 1660 brought by the *East India Merchant* about August of that year, the Court said : "We have concluded to reserve unto ourselves the increasing and confirming of salaries ; and therefore, whereas you say that your hopes are that, as you shall come into greater places of trust, your salaries shall be advanced accordingly, we do hereby assure you that we shall be very ready and willing to gratify all such our servants whom we shall find faithful and industrious in the management and discharge of those affairs with which they shall be entrusted."[197]

There were few factors in Bengal, or for that matter in the Company's service elsewhere in India, who did not indulge in private trade. The Company granted them the privilege of permissive trade. There were certain commodities, the trade of which was exclusively reserved for the Company. The Company's servants could trade in all other goods. The Commission to Wyche (7th April, 1658) shows the Company's monopoly commodities : "The particular commodities which we have appropriated to ourselves and prohibited all others from trading in, both such as may not be imported hither from India or exported hence for India, are as follows : *viz.*, from India and all other places within the limits aforesaid) we do prohibit all calicoes, indigo,

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cinnamon, cloves, cardamoms, benjamin, saltpetre, pepper black or white, nutmegs, maces, and cotton yarn, or any of them ; and outward from England for India etc. broadcloth, lead, quicksilver, vermilion, coral, and elephant's teeth, or any of them."[198]

Thouh the Company had debarred their servants from trading in the commodities reserved for them, few of them desisted from that temptation. The extent of the private trade carried on by the factors in Bengal during the period under review was not extensive as the scope was limited on account of the Civil War. The private correspondence of the period is a mirror of such trade. Richard Chamberlain's letter to Pickering is an illustrative one :[199] "Rajmahal : Proximo. February 58/59—Kasimbazar or elsewhere—James—I am sending your namesake James P. to wait upon you and to transport my lead, cloth, tin, quicksilver, if this encounter you at Hooghly stay there, if in the way stay at Kasimbazar, pray bring all my goods to Patna where they will find the best market, your careand pains herein will find a thankful acknowledgment from your very loving friend—Richard Chamberlain. (P.S. It will be 6 in days before he can leave the place because he must dispeed Hall before us. Job and I go by water ; he comes upon my palanquin by land when my Kahars come)."[200]

There were some interlopers in Bengal during the fifties of the 17th century who gave trouble to the Company. William Pitts, Captain John Durson and Thomas Pratt were the most prominent among them. Hopkins in his letter dated December 3, 1658 sent by the *Blackamoor* to Fort St. George reported that "Captain John Durson and Mr. William Pitts, we fear, will be somewhat troublesome to us, and how to convey them away per force we know not, the one (i.e. Pitt) being married here to one accounted a Moorish woman, and the other being enter-

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tained in the Prince of Bengal's service."[201]

Durson had some sixteen years earlier commanded one of the vessels sent out by the Courteen's Association, and had now been for a long period trading on his own account in India. He had a standing grievance against the Company's factors on account of some chank shells of his which had been seized and sent to Bengal for sale. In a letter of 20th December 1658, the Balasore factors reported that Durson had complained to the Governor about the matter, but that functionary had refused to interfere. They on their side had exhibited the Company's letter ordering the withdrawal of all unauthorised Englishmen, and had asked the Governor to seize and deliver Durson to them, to be sent home. Malik Beg declined to do this, though he assured the factors that he would not hinder them from seizing Durson themselves. However, they feared lest in that case they would be made responsible for the money he owed in Bengal ; besides, his funds were running low and his credit declining, and so he was not likely to give much further trouble. If the Madras Agent thought differently, they suggested that he should write himself to Malik Beg, desiring him to arrest Durson and send him to the Coast ; or else a power of attorney should be obtained from some of Durson's creditors, authorising the Bengal factors to demand an account from him. The same letter announced that the remains of the United Stock at Hooghly, Balasore, and Kasimbazar had been duly valued and bills drawn on the New General Stock for the amount. Mention was also made that Blake was preparing to send a sloop to Pegu, carrying chiefly freighted goods, but also certain prohibited commodities on his own ; but the factors would endeavour to frighten the Moors from lading any goods, by warning them that these would probably be seized on arrival.[202]

Captain Durson and his 6 or 7 runaways were entertained in

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the service of Mir Jumla about the end of May, 1661.[203] Thomas Pratt[204] was another Englishman who was employed by Mir Jumla in building boats and making ammunition for river fighting.

All attempts were made to open up the Hooghly navigation as transhipment at Balasore was beset with difficulties. The Court's directive (dated February 22, 1660) in this connection are worth quoting :

> "If it be necessary that a sloop be provided to go up to Hooghly (i. e. from Balasore) as a convoy from the rivers, we give our consent thereunto. And for our shipping going up into the river Ganges, thereby to reduce the Governor of Balasore to better friendship and break off his demand for anchorage, we also approve thereof and recommend its prosecution unto you. But be we would willing that a trial might first be made with shipping of small burthen, before you venture on such great shipping as the *Smyrna Merchant* or the like. However, if upon consultation with the masters and the experiences which you have made of the depths of the river, you shall conclude it to be feasible and without hazard, we leave it unto your discretions.[205]

The Court of Directors also advised : "If the procuring of a new *firman* from the Prince be such consequence unto our affairs as you infer it to be, we hope, if you have or shall obtain the same, you have or will take especial care that all convenient privileges which may be advantageous unto us shall be therein inserted and confirmed, and that also you have been and will be as good husbands for us, in all particulars, as may be."[206]

In concluding this chapter, we should note that the Civil War had such a devastating effect on the Company's trade in India that not only evacuation was thought of from Bengal more than

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once, but the life of Englishmen was also in danger. Life was not secure during fratricidal wars. But for the remarkable fortitude of the factors attached to the Bengal factories, the Company would have been forced to quit Balasore, Hooghly, Kasimbazar and Patna. It was no mean achievement on the part of the Company's servants in Bengal that they carried on trade without joining either of the contending camps. The sagacity of the Company's factors deserves a word of praise here.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

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2 *Political changes in England*—1642 Charles I attempts to arrest the Five members ; Outbreak of English Civil War—1647. Charles I handed over to Parliament. Charles I seized by Army. Charles I flees to Carisbrooke Castle. 1648. Second Civil War. 1649. Charles I executed. England governed as Commonwealth. 1651. Cromwell, now master of all Britain. 1653. Cromwell dissolves Rump, becomes Protector. 1658. Death of Cromwell. 1660. Restoration of monarchy in Britain. Charles II.

3 Kaye, John William, *The Administration of the East India Company*, London, 1853 (Indian reprint, Allahabad, 1966), pp. 115-17.

4 Dodwell, H. H., *The Cambridge History of India, vol.* V, *British India*, (Indian reprint), chapter IV, 'The East India Company, 1603-1740', by William Foster, pp. 94-95.

5 Foster, William, *English Factories in India*, 1655-60, Oxford, 1921, p. 46.

6 *English Factories* (EF), 1655-60, p. 46.

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8 EF 1655-60, p. 105.

9 EF 1655-60, p. 106.

10 EF 1655-60, pp. 106-107.

11 EF 1655-60, p. 108.

12 EF 1655-60, p. 108.

13 This is taken from *Hedges' Diary*, vol. III, pp. 199-200. Yule says the original in the India Office is marked P. R. FF. B. 3.

14 See Appendix on Trade Licences of the East India Company for a modern translation of this *Neshan* from the original Persian by Maulavi Muhammad Israil Khan.

15 EF 1655-60, p. 110.

16 Sarkar, Jadunath, *History of Aurangzeb* (in five volumes, volumes, I & II combined ; Orient Longmans 1973 reprint, vol. I-II has been taken as our authority for the history of Aurangzeb and Civil War).

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21 Sarkar, *Aurangzeb*, vol. I-II, p. 339.

22 Sarkar, *Aurangzeb*, vol. I-II, p. 294.

23 Sarkar, *Aurangzeb*, vol. I-II, p. 295.

24 Sarkar, *Aurangzeb*, vol. I-II, p. 296.

25 EF 1655-60, p. 279.

26 EF 1655-60, p. 279.

27 Sarkar, *Aurangzeb*, vol. I-II, p. 352.

28 EF 1655-60, p. 280.

29 Foster (EF 1655-60, p. 280) says two days ; but Sarkar (*Aurangzeb*) says 8 days. There are slight discrepancies in the dates of Shuja's departure from Patna in the Factory Records

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and official accounts. These are immaterial.

30 Sarkar, *Aurangzeb*, vol. I-II, p. 353.

31 It seems doubtful, from Sarkar's (*Aurangzeb*) narrative whether the imperial troops came as far south as Burdwan—Foster, EF 1655-60, p. 281.

32 EF 1655-60, pp. 281-82.

33 EF 1655-60, p. 282.

34 The defection of the Rajput contingent (which really numbered only about 4000) took place towards the end of March. It was due to rumours that Dara had won the battle of Deorai (March 12-14, 1659)—Foster, EF 1655-60, p. 282. (For details, Sarkar, *Aurangzeb*, vol. I-II pp. 354-355 and *Life of Mir Jumla*, pp. 157-58 for other reasons for the desertion of the Rajputs).

35 EF 1655-60, p. 282.

36 EF 1655-60, pp. 283-284.

37 Jellares in the original. Jalia is the war-boat of Bengal.

38 Muxadavad in the original. Maksudabad, the name (prior to 1703) of the city of Murshidabad comes from *Makshsusadbad*, which means the 'Select City' or *Maqsudabad* (the Desirable City). It was also called *Massuambazar*, the market town (*Masuma*, a chaste lady). (For a good account of old Murshidabad, read Sir Jadunath Sarkar in *Krishnanath College Centenary Volume*, 1853-1953, Berhampore, 1954, pp. 131-134). Maxumabazar mentioned frequently by English factory records of the period, was some part of Murshidabad, if not the city itself. Tavernier (*Voyages*, edition, 1676-7, vol. II, p. 82) calls the latter Madesou-bazarke.

39 EF 1655-60, p. 284.

40 EF 1655-60, pp. 284-85.

41 Cojo Muskee in the original. Khwaja Mishki (Itibar Khan) was Shuja's admiral.

42. Dingey in the original, changed into Dinghy (a small boat, or skiff).

43 EF 1655-60, p. 285.

44 For defection of Prince Muhammed on June 8, see Sarkar, *Aurangzeb*, vol. I-II, pp. 363-64 ; *Life of Mir Jumla*, pp. 170-72.

45 EF 1655-60, p. 289.

46 EF 1655-60, p. 289.

47 Narrangpur in the original. Naraingarh, about 17 miles south of Midnapore.

48 EF 1655-60, p. 291.

49 Muslus Cawne in the original. Mukhlis Khan was appointed *faujdar* of Rajmahal by Mir Jumla on April 19, 1660 and continued in that office in 1661. *Life of Mir Jumla*, pp. 201, 214).

50 EF 1655-60, p. 299.

51 Alexander Hamilton in his *A New Account of the East Indies* (London, 1930, two volumes, new edition by William Foster, reprinted from the original 1727 edition), in chapter XXXV (vol. II, pp. 15-16) gives an account of Sultan Shuja's tragic death. We reproduce it verbatim *without modernising the text*. "Arackan is the next maritime Country to the Southward of *Bengal* and in former Times made some Figure in Trade. It was into this Country that the unfortunate *Sultan Sujah* came a Supplicant for Protection, when *Emirjemal* chased him out of Bengal. He carried his *wives* and Children with him, and about Two hundred of his Retinue, who were resolved to follow his Fortune, and he carried six or eight Camels Load of Gold and Jewels which proved his Ruin, and in the End, the Ruin of the Kingdom of *Arackan*.

"When *Sultan Sujah* first visited the *King of Arackān*, he made him Presents suitable to the Quality of the Donor and

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Receiver, the *Arackaner* promising him all the civilities due to a great Prince, with a safe *Asylum* for himself and Family. When *Emirjemal* knew where *Sultan Sujah* had taken Sanctuary, he sent a Letter to the King of *Arackan*, wherein he demanded the poor distrest Prince to be delivered up to him, otherwise he threatned to bring his Army into his Country to take him by Force. The threatning Letter wrought so far on the base *Arackaner* that he contrived Ways and Means to pick a Quarrel with his Guest to have a Pretext to oblige *Emirjemal*, at last he found a very fair one.

"*Sultan Sujah* having a very beautiful Daughter, the King of *Arackan* desired her in Marriage, but knew well enough that *Sultan Sujah* would never consent to the Match, he being *a Pagan* and she a *Mahometan*. Her Father used all reasonable Arguments to diswade the *Arackaner* from prosecuting his Suit, but in vain, for the *Arackaner* grew daily more pressing, and *Sultan Sujah* at last gave him a flat Denial, on which the base King sent him Orders to go out of his Dominions in Three Days, and forbad the markets to furnish him any more with Provisions for his Money. *Sultan Sujah* knowing it would be Death for him to go back to *Bengal*, resolved to pass over some Mountains overgrown with Woods, into the King of *Pegu's* Dominions, which were not above 100 miles off, and so next Day after Summons, with his Family, Treasure, and Attendants, *Sultan Sujah* began his March, but the barbarous *Arackaner* sent a Strong Party after him, who overtook him before he had advanced far into the Woods, and killed most of *Sultan Sujah's* Company and seized the Treasure; and brought it back in an inglorious Triumph. What became of *Sultan Sujah* and his fair Daughter, none could ever give a certain Account; whether they were killed in the Skirmish, or whether they were destroyed by Wild Elephants and Tigers in the Woods, none ever knew, but the *Arackaners*

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alledge they were destroyed by the wild Beasts of the Woods, and not by the more savage Beasts in human Shape."

Shuja's fate was for long a mystery, but there seems to be little reason that he was killed by the Arakanese in February 1661 (*Dagh-Register*, Batavia, 1661, p. 115 ; Ef 1655-60, p. 383).

The circumstances leading to Sultan Shuja's tragic death are given in detail by Manucci in his *Storia Do Mogor* (vol. I, pp. 352-358, Indian reprint) and Irvine has given all Dutch records to support Manucci's theory. Hamilton's statements are probably taken from Manucci's book. See also, Harvey, *History of Burma*, for a detailed discussion on the subject. For Thomas Pratt's account of Shuja's death, see

"The Travels of Richard Bell(and John Campbell) in the East Indies, Persia and Palestine" (printed in the *Indian Antiquary*, vols. 35 & 36, 1906 & 1907)

52 EF 1655-60, pp. 294-95.

53 *Dagh-Register*, 1661, p. 240 ; EF 1655-60, p. 410.

54 EF 1661-65, pp. 70-71, & 193.

55 EF 1655-60, p. 188.

56 *Hedges' Diary*, vol. III, pp. 188-89.

57 *Hedges' Diary*, vol, III, p. 189. (When the English factory at Patna was officially recognised the personnel of the staff was as follows : Richard Chamberlayne, Roger Seymore, William Vassal and France Farrier. Farrier was succeeded by Henry Aldworth and Samuel Bailey succeeded Seymore—Radha Krishna Choudhuri, *History of Bihar*, Patna, 1958, p. 224).

58 The Court reconsidered the matter and appointed him Chief at Viravasaram on March 8, 1658. EF 1655-60, p. 188.

59 EF 1655-60, pp. 188-89.

60 EF 1655-60, pp. 190-191.

61 EF 1655-60, p. 191.

62 O. C. 2665, EF 1655-60, p. 191.

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63 EF 1655-60, p. 192.

64 EF 1655-60, p. 191.

65 EF 1655-60, p. 192. A note on this page says : A letter (December 20, 1658) reported the Governor had obliged the English broker to pay on this account rupees 300 Brada, being rupees 318¾ Moree. A similar tax was levied on each of the other three ships.

66 Chandrakona, (Chandrecone in the original), in Midnapore district, West Bengal.

67 EF 1655-60, pp. 192-93.

68 Letter of Ion Ken from Kasimbazar dated April 4, 1659 ; EF 1655-60, p. 275 note.

69 Letter of Ion Ken from Kasimbazar dated March 26, 1659 ; EF 1655-60, p. 275 note.

70 EF 1655-60, p. 285.

71 Sannaes from Hariharpur. Adaties Sannaes came from the same neighbourhood. (EF 1655-60, p. 275 note).

72 EF 1655-60, pp. 275-76.

73 EF 1655-60, pp. 297.

74 Possibly the Shaikh-dighi, a large tank about 22 miles north-west of Kasimbazar.

75 EF 1655-60, pp. 290-91.

76 Narrangpur = Naraingarh.

77 Same as reference 48 above.

78 EF 1655-60, p. 291.

79 Saib Suba = Sahib Subah, often applied to the governor of a province, seems here to mean (as in Fryer) a local commandant—EF 1655-60, p. 292 note.

80 EF 1655-60, p. 292.

81 Trevisa's letter dated October 28, 1659 ; EF 1655-60, p. 294.

82 Letter of Balasore factors dated December 1659 to the

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Company sent by the *Merchant's Delight*, EF 1655-60, p. 297.

83 EF 1655-60, p. 295.

84 Imbarg'd in the original.

85 EF 1655-60, p. 295.

86 EF 1655-60, pp. 295-96.

87 EF 1655-60, pp. 297-98.

88 EF 1655-60, p. 298.

89, 90 & 91, EF 1655-60, p. 392.

92 Both the Dutch and the English were pressed to lend vessels to cut off the "Flying Prince's Escape"—*Dagh Register*, Batavia, 1661, pp. 6, 43.

93 EF 1655-60, p. 393.

94 & 95. EF 1655-60, p. 394.

96 EF 1655-60, p. 281.

97 EF 1655-60, p. 282.

98 Letter of Edmund Foster from Kasimbazar dated May 8, 1659 ; EF 1655-60, p. 284.

99 & 100. EF 1655-60, p. 286.

101 & 102. EF 1655-60, p. 287.

103 Sheldon to Davies, June 4, 1659 ; EF 1655-60, p. 287.

104 Mahomet Chariffe in the original.

105 EF 1655-60, pp. 287-88.

106 The Dutch Chief (Directeur), Mattheus van den Broucke, was on his way from Hooghly to Mir Jumla's headquarters. Halstead's letter of 3rd June mentions a rumour of "Merjumeblowes offring the government of Heughley to the Duch and the report of theire lending him two lack of rupees". The mission is again referred to in a letter from Sheldon of 5th July, which says : "The doctor was here yesterday, and told me privately that the Directore had engaged to Mere Jumbler to aford him all assistance possible, and that he had ordred all theire great gunns to be put abord their sloopes for the keepeinge the river". EF

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1655-60, p. 288 note.

107 EF 1655-60, p. 288.

108 EF 1655-60, p. 291.

109 To the utmost.

110 Dogatchi (Dowgatchee in the original) thirteen miles below Rajmahal.

111 EF 1655-60. pp. 291-92.

112 Ken's letter dated September 22, 1654 and Balasore letter dated October 28, 1659 ; EF 1655-60, p. 292 and note.

113 Ken's letter dated September 22, 1659.

114 The exact date of Trevisa's arrival at Hooghly is not recorded.

115 EF 1655-60, p. 389.

116 EF 1655-60, pp. 389-90.

117 More accurately a parwana ; for its terms see the Appendix on Company's Trade Licences in Bengal.

118 EF 1655-60, pp. 390-391.

119 Surat to Trevisa dated June 21. 1660.

120 EF 1655-60, pp. 391-92.

121 EF 1655-60, p. 392.

122 EF 1655-60, pp. 392.

123 EF 1655-60, 392-93.

124 EF 1655-60, p. 393.

125 Golghat was also a sobriquet applied to Calcutta.

126 EF 1655-60, pp. 295-96.

127 Bowrey, Thomas, A Geographical Account of the Countries round the Bay of Bengal, (edited by Sir R. C. Temple for Hakluyt Society, 1905), pp. 167-172 text.

128 Bowrey, *op. cit.*, note on p. 168.

129 The correct statement of Bernier is : "The kingdome of *Bengale* has a hundred gates open for entrance, but not one for departure" (*Travels In the Mogul Empire* by Francois Bernier,

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edited by Archibald Constable, Indian reprint, third edition, New Delhi, 1972, p. 439).

130. Bowrey, *op. cit.*, pp. 191-194.

131 *Hedges' Diary*, vol. III, p. 194, note 2.

132 EF 1655-60, pp. 278-79.

133 Bowrey, *op. cit.*, pp. 213-215.

134 Bowrey, *op. cit.*, p. 213 quoted by Temple. Kasim is however, a common Muhammedan proper name, and the town had its name no doubt from some eponymous Kasim Khan (*Hobson-Jobson*, p. 263 Crooke's edition ; also *Indian Antiquary*, vol. 28, p. 294).

135 *Hedges' Diary*, vol. II, 45, 47 note 1. Another name for Singhiya was Jahanabad. Some of the letters bear the date-line, "Singe or Jahanabad." Singhiya was called Jahanabad according to Shafaat Ahmad Khan, *John Marshall in India*, Oxford 1927, Introduction p. 13. The Company had a warehouse at Patna. The saltpetre refinery was at Naunagar. The Dutch factory was situated at Chapra.

136 Choudhary, Radhakrishna, *History of Bihar*, Patna, 1958, chapter 10, p. 223 ; Raye, N.N., *The Annals of the Early English Settlements in Bihar*, Calcutta, 1927, chapter III, p. 65.

137 Bowrey, *op. cit.*, pp. 221-235.

138 Bowrey, *op. cit.*, p. 224, note by Temple.

139 Bowrey, *op. cit.*, pp. 230-33.

140 Basu, B.K., 'Trade of Bengal from the earliest times', *Journal of Indian History*, vol. VI (1927), p. 279.

141 Wilson, C. R., *Early Annals of the English in Bengal* vol. I.

142 EF 1655-60, p. 47 for Naranna or Narayan.

143 *Hedges' Diary*, vol. III, p. 193. Richard Chamberlain

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in a postscript to his letter dated "Rojamall pr. February (16) 58(9) to James Piekering says : Job and I go by water, he (James Pickering) comes upon my palanquin by land when my Kahars come". Kahar—Palanquin-bearer. See also note 200 below.

144 Bernier's Minute upon the Establishment of Trade in the Indies' dated 10th March, 1668 found out and translated by Sir Theodore Morrison and published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain* for 1933, pp. 1-21, for organisation of trade.

145 EF 1655-60, pp. 190-191 (Balasore letter to Madras dated December 3, 1658) for approval of the appointment of Gifford and Pickering, Court's letter dated February 22, 1660, EF 1655-60, p. 407.

146 EF 1655-60, p. 407.

147 EF 1655-60, p. 278.

148 Chapter II, Ref. 64.,

149 Bernier's *Travels*, p. 441. The Bengal arrack was held in great repute in those days. Ovington in *A Voyage in the year 1686* (London, 1696) says of it, "Bengal is a much stronger spirit than that of *Goa*, though both are made use of by the Europeans in making punch" (Note by Constable.)

150 Raye, N.N. *op. cit.*, p. 57. The factors of Bencoolen (20 persons) were reprimanded by the President at Surat for drinking 74 dozen bottles of wine and 24 dozen bottles of Burton's ale in one month.

151 *hedges' Diary*, vol. III, p. 192 for full text and EF 1655-60, p. 194 for an extract.

152 See Chapter III, note 44. Foster says that it was Gaspar de Abreau who rebuilt the Bandel Church (EF 1651-54, p. 201 note.) According to Father Hosten (*Bengal Past & Present*, vol.

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X, No. 19, January-March 1915, p. 51) it was John Gomez de Soito who rebuilt the Church. The *Imperial Gazetteer* (Oxford, 1908, vol. VI, p. 358) aud H. E. A. Cotton (*Calcutta Old and New*, Calcutta, 1907, p. 1009) give credit to de Soito. The official history of the Church (1972, p. 121) also credits de Soito.

153 Bowrey, *op. cit.*, pp. 194-95.

154 "Catholicism in the East Indies in 1680-81. From the Latin of Fr. A. Thomas, S. J., Siam October 30, 1681", translated and edited by Fr. H. Hosten, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. IV, No. 4 (1939), p. 524.

155 Bowrey, *op. cit.*, pp. 195-196.

156 Bowrey, *op. cit.*, 195-197.

157 EF 1655-60, p. 402.

158 EF 1634-36, Introduction p. 36 and *Dagh Register*, 1630-34, p. 415.

159 Chapter III, notes 46-48 for Boughton's Moorish wife and her husbands. See also note 201 below.

160 EF 1655-60, p. 190. Ken, after his return from India, was employed in the home service of the Company, beginning as an assistant to the auditor (October 1673) and rising to the post of Cashier-General (April 1682); in the following year, however, he got into trouble and was dismissed.

161 EF 1655-60, p. 190. Daniel Sheldon and his brother Joseph (Knighted in 1666 and Lord Mayor ten years later) were the Archbishop's executors and residuary legatees.

162 O. C. 2664; EF 1655-60, p. 190. Sheldon returned to England (doubtless with a fortune) in 1666, and served as a committee (Director) of the East India Company in 1672-74, 1676-78, and 1680. He married Judith, daughter of George Rose and relict of Sir Maurice Diggs, and settled at Ham Court, Surrey.

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Evelyn visited him there on August 25, 1678 and noticed the "many curiosities of India" in his house. At the end of 1697 Sheldon became one of the securities for Thomas Pitt, on the latter's appointment as Governor of Fort St. George (*Heges' Diary*, vol. III, p. 34).

163 EF 1655-60, p. 190 note.

164 O. C. 2673 ; for full text, *Hedges' Diary*, vol. III, pp. 192-93 ; EF 1655-60, p. 195 for a revised transcription.

165 O.C. 2685 ; *Hedges' Diary*, vol. III, p. 193 ; EF 1655-60 p. 195 for a notice.

166 Sir Thomas Browne (1605-82), author of the *Religio Medici*, was a London physician and antiquary.

167 O.C. 2724 ; *Hedges' Diary*, vol. II, p. 121 for details of Davies ; EF 1655-60, p. 276 for an extract of the same.

168 O.C. 2725 ; *Hedges' Diary*, vol. II, pp. 121-23. Also, vol. I pp. 124, 148, 167 and 193 for notices ; EF 1670-1677, pp. 281-82.

169 EF 1655-60, p. 277.

170 This was *Human Nature, or the Fundamental Elements of Policy* by the celebrated Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679), published in 1650. His *Leviathan* was published in 1651.

171 EF 1655-60, p. 277.

172 EF 1655-60, p. 227.

173 EF 1655-60, pp, 277-78.

174 Robert Burton (1577-1640), English clergyman and scholar, was the author of *The Anatomy of Melancholy*. He used this pseudonym.

175 A fountain at the foot of Mount Helicon in Boeotia, sacred to the Muses.

176 EF 1655-60, p. 278.

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177 Anderson, P., *English in Western India*, p. 22 ; Raye, N. N., *op. cit.*, p. 55,

178 O. C. 2690, *Hedges' Diary*, vol. III, p. 194 for text.

179 EF 1655-60, p. 278 for an extract of O. C. 2690 and comments.

180 Dossiers, i. e., pairs of panniers.

181 EF 1655-60, p. 278.

182 EF 1655-60, p. 291.

183 EF 1655-60, pp. 291-92.

184 Ken had, evidently, a pocket watch or a clock with him.

185 EF 1655-60, p. 293.

186 EF 1655-60, p. 292.

187 Ken's letter dated September 8, 1659, EF 1655-60, p. 291.

188 EF 1655-60, p, 293.

189 EF 1655-60, pp. 293-94.

190 EF 1655-60, p. 294.

191 EF 1655-60, p. 409.

192 EF 1655-60, p. 409.

193 EF 1655-60, p. 410.

194 Chandrakona in Midnapore district, West Bengal.

195 Now called Oodaypur, south of Kanakul (Cannacoel), Kana Dwarkeshwar.

196 EF 1655-60, pp. 294-95.

197 EF 1655-60, p. 407.

198 EF 1655-60, p. 150.

199 O. C. 2691 ; *Hedges' Diary*, vol. III, p. 193.

200 *Kahar*, Hindi, a palanquin-bearer.

201 EF 1655-60, p. 193 ; see note 159 above.

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202 EF 1655-60, pp. 193-94.

203 EF 1661-64, pp. 70-71 for 'Dortson' ; see 54 above.

204 *Indian Antiquary*, vol. 35 & 36, pp. 173-74 note and Manucci's *Storia Do Mogor* vol. II, p, 87 & 87 note ; 103, 104 note & vol. IV, p. 430—These are for in Indian reprint, volume II, pp. 80, 96 & 446.)

205 Court's letter to Bengal dated February 22, 1660 ; EF 1655-60, pp. 407-408.

206 EF 1655-60, pp. 408.

CONCLUSION

The quest for trade brought the English merchants to India. Bengal was a "kingdom of most singular fertilitie within the Compasse of his (Mogul's) dominion", Thomas Coryat told them in 1617. Bengal "feedes this countrie with wheate and rise : it sends sugar to all India ; it hath the finest cloth and pintadoes, musck, civitt and amber", wrote Sir Thomas Roe to the factors at Surat and advised them to establish a factory there. Sir Thomas during his Embassy at the Mogul court tried to get a *firman* for English trade in Bengal. However, Jahangir's advisers opposed concessions to the English in Bengal on the ground that the struggle between the Portuguese and the English would extend to other parts of India. Shah Jehan, then viceroy of Gujarat, moreover, apprehended that the English would pack up from Surat once they got trading privileges in Bangal. Jahangir would not grant trading privileges to the English in Bengal without his favourite son's consent. Thus, the time was not opportune to extend the Company's trade from Agra, Surat, Ahmedabad, Broach and Masulipatam to Bengal.

The East India Company had established itself permanently at Surat in 1613. A factory at Masulipatam on the Coromandel Coast started functioning in 1611. The Company was granted trading privileges throughout the Mogul Empire on September 7, 1624 under an agreement signed between President Thomas Rastell and "Issopff Chawn", Governor of "Guzzeratts". The first clause of this agreement said : "It is agreed that the ENGLISH shall freely trade at their pleasure in the Ports of SURAT,

CAMBAYA, BAROCH, GOGA, BENGALA, SCYNDA, and in other of the cities of the Kings Dominions". The Company's servants at Masulipatam were unwilling to explore the possibilities of trade in Bengal. President Rastell sailed for England on February 15, 1625 and the plan for extension of the Company's trade into Bengal was, therefore, kept in abeyance. As soon as Rastell returned to Surat on September 26, 1630, he urged the Masulipatam factors to prosecute the Company's design on Bengal. The factors sought an imperial *firman* from Shah Jehan and they got one on February 2, 1634 which "gives Libertye of trade vnto Vs, in the whole country of BENGALAE, But restraines the Shippinge only vnto the ports of PIPLYE".

Three futile attempts were made from Masulipatam in 1630, 1631 and 1632 to extend East India Company's trade initially into Orissa. War, pestilence, and famine necessitated the Company to pursue a forward policy and advance into Bengal. At this juncture three opportunites dawned upon the Company's servants on the Coromandel Coast. Shah Jahan, who had personal wrongs to avenge the Portuguese, ordered Kasim Khan, to drive away the foreigners from their citadel at Hooghly. Hooghly was assaulted and fell on September 29, 1632. The most difficult hurdle on the way to Bengal trade was thus removed. The immediate cause for pressing the English advance to Bengal was the famine that ravaged Golconda and certain parts of Northern India for three years from 1630. The great mortality of "poore people in Meslapatan and other townes adjacent, occasioned by the greate dearth of rice and other graine" threatened the very existence of Englishmen on the Coromandel coast. The English merchants could not make any private gain in the face of scramble for trade among the Dutch and Portuguese under these trying times. Under the circumstances, the Company's chief at Masulipatam, John Norris, decided to send Ralph Cartwright

and Thomas Colley to Bengal by which geographical entity he meant ports of Orissa.

Ralph Cartwright, William Bruton and others left Masulipatam in a hired country vessel for Bengal on April 6, 1633. Cartwright, Bruton and John Dobson after reaching "Harssapoore", left that place on April 27 for Cuttack to call on the governor of Orissa. The English merchants had an audience with Agha Muhammad Zaman Teharani, who had just succeeded Baqir Khan Najam Sani in the governorship. Agha Muhammad Zaman granted a licence on May 5, 1633 to the English vessels for trade in the ports of Orissa "without payment of any dues whatsoever". Cartwright met Mir Kasim, governor of Balasore, at the Nawab's court, who promised all help. A factory was established at Hariharpur on May 12, 1633. Cartwright and two others proceeded to Balasore on June 15, 1633, where they established a factory. Robert Littler, one of the English merchants in the Company's service, left Hariharpur on October 4, 1633 to pay a visit to Puri and Jagannath temple and returned on October 16. Bruton was sent to Puri on November 5. His description of the great Jagannath temple at Puri is interesting. He visited the temple on November 8.

The settlement of factories in Orissa in 1633 heralded an extension of the Company's trade and scope for further personal gains to the merchants stationed on the Coromandel coast. The alarming mortality among the Englishmen on account of the inhospitable climate of Orissa, opposition of the Portuguese who were still struggling at Pipli and want of small vessels for coastal traffic checked further advance of the Company's trade into Bengal.

The establishment of factories at Hariharpur and Balasore in 1633 did not bring any immediate return to the Company, though extension of trade added colour and variety to the goods

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from India. There were few capable English merchants to manage the trade in Orissa and the authorities at home, therefore, contemplated the closure of the Balasore and Hariharpur factories. However, the merchants at Masulipatam, Surat, and Bantam prevailed on the home authorities in 1639. The Hariharpur factory was, however, closed on August 31, 1642 on account of the silting up of the river Patua. The factory at Balasore was continued despite opposition from Bantam. The President and Council at Fort St. George advocated sending capable factors to Bengal, rather than closing the factory at Balasore. The merchants at Masulipatam had picked up a quarrel with Mir Jumla who then was their harbour-master. Thus, we find that the Company's trade in Orissa from 1633 to 1650 could not make much headway on account of private trade and the apathy of their servants on the spot.

While the East India Company's trade in Orissa was languishing, Gabriel Boughton, a surgeon in the Company's service, had become a great favourite with Sultan Shah Shuja, the second son of Shah Jehan, who was the viceroy of Bengal from 1639 to 1658. Boughton had earned a name for himself and his nation as a surgeon by treating Jahanara, Shah Jehan's favourite daughter, for a severe burn-injury. Boughton got the privilege of free trade for himself in the Mogul dominions from Sultan Shuja in 1649 and there is no doubt that he was instrumental in getting a confirmation of the imperial *firman* for free trade to the English Company from his patron on August 13, 1651. These two *neshans* prove that Boughton rendered signal service to Emperor Shah Jehan and his son Shuja. Though Shah Jehan's *firman* of 1646 has not come to light, Shuja's *neshan* of August 13, 1651 confirms it. Shah Jehan's *firman* to the English Company dated August 11, 1650 exempting payment of customs duties was an

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explanatory one. This *firman* also confirmed a similar one granted by the Emperor on November 3, 1637.

Frequent wars, pestilence and another famine (1646-50) in and around Madras, Masulipatam and other factories had put the Company's trade on the Coromandel Coast to a severe strain. There was no other alternative but the closure of the Balasore factory or its rejuvenation by exploring the possibilities of trade in the rich province of Bengal which had escaped the ravages of wars and other natural calamities. Moreover, Gabriel Boughton was still held in high esteem at the court of the viceroy of the province. The authorities at home lost no time in taking advantage of this opportunity. Accordingly the *Lioness* was despatched to Bengal in 1650 under the command of Captain John Brookhaven. James Bridgman was entrusted with the task of settling a factory at Hooghly. The *Lioness* reached Madras in due course and left that port for Balasore on August 28. Bridgman (chief), Edward Stephens (second), William Blake and Francis Taylor (assistants) left Balasore in a hired vessel by the end of December, 1650 and reached Hooghly sometime in January, 1651. They rented a temporary accommodation for the English at Hooghly. Bridgman perhaps proceeded to Rajmahal to get a *neshan* from Sultan Shuja with the help of surgeon Boughton. Shuja confirmed the imperial *firman* of his father, Shah Jehan, of August 11, 1650, which exempted the English Company from payment of duties at Balasore and other ports of Orissa.

The prospects of trade in Bengal were very bright. Saltpetre, for the procurement of which the Company set up the Hooghly factory, was available in plenty at Patna, but the commodity was coarse and had to be refined. The demand for English woollen cloth in Bengal was poor. Consequently the factors could not procure enough freight in 1652. Moreover, the greed for private trade among the Company's servants at Hooghly during the first

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three or four years of the establishment of a factory there was not conducive to corporate investment. They could not help it as they were engaged on commission.

The first English factory at Patna was settled on 3rd July, 1620 by Robert Hughes and John Parker for procurement of stout calicoes of narrow width. The factory was closed on September 13, 1621 as the experiment did not succeed. Peter Mundy, who was second at Agra, was sent in August 1632, to establish a factory again at Patna. Mundy returned to Agra on December 22, 1632 as in his opinion the time was not ripe to settle a factory at Patna.

The East India Company's fortunes suffered badly in conseqence of the proclamation of Commonwealth in England and Civil War in India. The Company's affairs at home were unsettled from 1650 to 1657. Despite the clamour for a "regulated system", good counsel prevailed on joint stock and Cromwell granted an exclusive charter to the Company on October 19, 1657. After the restoration of the monarchy in 1660, Charles II conferred on the Company a new charter. Though the internal re-organisation of the Company was completed in 1657, its affairs in India were in bad shape as the country was ravaged by Civil War that followed the illness of Shah Jehan. Shah Shuja, the viceroy of Bengal, staked his claim to the throne, but he was driven away to Arracan by Aurangzeb's general, Mir Jumla. Shuja was killed by the Arakanese on February 7, 1661, paving the way for Aurangzeb, who had in the meanwhile, was crowned Emperor on July 21, 1658. The Company's servants played a neutral role in the Civil War.

When the winding up of the Hooghly factory was contemplated in 1655 on account of political changes in England. William Blake deserted the Company's service and stayed back. He joined hands with George Gawton, Thomas Billidge and

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other merchants sent out to Bengal by Maurice Thomson and his associates when the "regulated system" was in force. Maurice Thomson's merchants were at first independent, but they became the Company's servants when he himself became its Governor in 1657. Gawton sent Thomas Billidge to Rajmahal to get a *neshan* from Shah Shuja. Billidge procured a *neshan* from the viceroy with the help of James Price, servant of the late Gabriel Boughton. Shuja's *neshan* of April 1656 granted the Company custom free trade in his dominions of "Bengala and Orixa".

Armed with the privilege of free trade in Bengal, the Company pursued a vigorous trading policy in that province. Instructions were issued on February 27, 1658 to open new factories at Patna and Kasimbazar and reorganise the ones at Balasore and Hooghly. These four factories were constituted into an Agency subordinate to the Presidency at Surat. Hooghly was the residence of the Agent. Jonathan Trevisa, who was appointed Agent on March 27, 1658, reached Balasore on August 23, 1659 and proceeded to Hooghly in November.

Mir Jumla, who had in the meanwhile entered the service of Aurangzeb, was appointed the Mogul General and his command of the imperial forces in Bengal during the Civil War brought him face to face with the English. The English Company had incurred his displeasure as Agent Greenhill at Fort St. George, Madras, had seized his Red Sea junk as a retaliatory measure. Mir Jumla persisted in the restoration of his vessel. He was all in all in Bengal during the Civil War, though he became Governor only in 1660. The Company's factors on the spot promised restoration of his refitted vessel and the quantum of compensation due to the Mir was left to arbitrators for decision. The terms and conditions of the agreement were drawn on January 12, 1660, but the death of Mir Jumla on March 31, 1663 put an end to his claims. Mir Jumla confirmed on February 9, 1660

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the imperial *firman* granting free trade to the Company. The Company's trade prospered under the long reign of Aurangzeb, who granted the English a new *firman* on June 26, 1667, freeing them from payment of road duties, provided they paid 2% customs at Surat. The annual values for imports to Bengal and exports from there to England are given wherever figures are available, but it has not been possible to give statistics as records are scanty for the period 1634-1660. One vessel with an average of 730 tons, was despatched annually from Surat to England from 1632 to 1638. Five ships with thc same tonnage were despatched to England in 1639-40, but there was no shipping in 1641. During 1642-1658, 28 of the Company's ships left Surat and Coromandel for home with an average of 700 tons per annum.

There was practically no social life for the Company's servants in Bengal as their number never exceeded three or four at one particular station. There were no churches, balls, taverns or games and sports for these merchants, who were confined to the four walls of their factories. All English servants of the Company lived in the factory itself. They dined together taking their seats in strict seniority. There were no English women residing in Bengal during the period under study. Most Englishmen kept Portuguese women. Some like Dr. Boughton married Muslim ladies. Intrigues were not uncommon, but discretion was the better part of valour.

The Agent at Hooghly and chiefs of the factories at Balasore, Kasimbazar and Patna were allowed Palanquins for going out ; others were content with horses to ride on. Umbrellas were restricted to the Agent and chiefs of factories. The merchants spent their time looking after the Company's business or conducting private trade with the help of native brokers. Englishmen ordinarily drank indigenous "Boulepounge", as European liquors

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were a luxury. The habit of reading was cultivated and the merchants conformed to their religion. Most of them were reasonably educated and came from families of good social standing. Job Charnock was the only merchant who distinguished himself in the history of India as the founder of Calcutta. Englishmen were not averse to imbibe oriental food habits and mode of dressing. Their salaries were poor, but they made it up by private trade.

The East India Company's servants in Bengal were merchants first and last. They put up with the Civil War and change of the Company's fortunes at home, but they never lost hope. But for the fortitude of these pioneers, most of whom lie buried in unmarked graves, the Company would not have got a firm foothold in Bengal. The years subsequent to 1660 ushered the Company into a remarkable era of prosperity. We leave the Company firmly established in Bengal.

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APPENDIX I—TRADE LICENCES

1623

I. THE FUTURE REGULATION OF THE TRADE (O.C. 1179)*

"For the better conservation of amitie, peace and free commerce of trade with the English, whoe have justlie complained of sundrie abuses and hindrances thereunto for the passed, it is agreed and granted unto Thomas Rastell, President, with his Councell, for and in the behalfe of that nation, that they shall freelie for ever hereafter enjoye the benefitt of these graunts and priviledges hereunder written.

1. They shall bee permitted free trade as well in the ports of Surratt, Cambaya, Goga, Sinda, and Bengala as in all other citties and places within the dominions of Jangere Paudshah, without prohibition of any commoditie to bee brought in or exported out of the kingdome, neither limitation confininge them either unto places, times, or quantities, where, when, or how much of any marchandize, gould, or rialls they shall soe bringe in, carrie away or transporte from place within or without the aforesaide dominions.

2. There shall no governours, customers, or other officers, for or in the namme of the Kinge or Prince engroce unto themselves in the way of marchandizeinge such commodities as the English doe usually bringe and sell in these parts, more then what shall be properlie needfull for use of the Kinge or Prince theire circares.

3. The house of Cojah Hassen Alle in Surratt, with the garden, stable, and other conveniences thereunto belonginge, shall bee lett them to lease for the tearme of seven Yeares immedia-

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* Chapter 1, Reference 38.

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telie followinge the date hereof, they payinge for the same the annuall rent of (*blank*) ; and after that time expired shall have theire lease renewed, or som other house of the like conveniencie given them for theire money.

4. They shall have free licence either for the buyinge or buildinge in Surratt, Barroach, or Gundivee of four frigatts a yeare, with libertie of theire portes, rivers, and dockes for the sheathinge or careeninge of theire shipps, and that no materialls or workman for performance thereof be denied them for theire money.

5. Neither cartes nor boates in a sufficient number shall att any time bee denied or prohibited for transporte of theire goods either to or from the shipps, or any water forbidden them upon pretence of any duties to bee paide to the present or future governours of Urpall (Olpad) whoe shall cease to demaund or exacte the same any more hereafter.

6. The actions of any other Christian nation whatsoever, whether damageable unto forraigne Mussellmen or the subjects of this Kingdome, shall bee no way imputed to the English for them to bee liable.

7. The exacted radaries or duties att the Uncklisеare, Dita, Bayara,[2] Kerka,[3] or any other places of the Kingdome shall forever hereafter bee remitted them.

8. There shall henceforwards noe vilence bee practized by assaultinge of their house, people, or servants ; and if in defence of themselves anie maime of (*sic*) manslaughter should in such case happen to any subject of this kingdom the English shall bee free of any punishment or fine whatsoever for the same.

9. There shall not any theire caphilaes be hindred in theire despatch or stopt in the way upon any pretence whatsoever ; but the difference that might cause the same shall bee referrd for triall and accomodation twixt theire cheefe and the Governour,

&ca., in Surratt.

10. They shall bee permitted to bee instant possessours and masters of theire owne goods and rarities whatsoever at the present landinge thereof, which no Governour, Customer, or any other officer shall deteine in custome house or inforce from them at theire own rates, but suffer them quietlie and speedilie to house them into theire owne warehouses, where and nowhere elce shall bee the place of recourse for theire marketts..

11. They shall quietlie and freelie exercise theire owne religion, weare armes for theire defence, and execute justice on theire owne people, though the offence bee donn to a Mussellman.

12. Theire broker shall have free libertie of speech before any Governour, to deliver the minde of the English, without threats, punishments, or interuption ; whoe shall not bee abused or dailie find, imprizoned, or deteined by every inferiour officer upon slight and triviall occasions.

13. And for the avoidinge of all future delaies in custome house, the goods, rialls and other treasure, jewells, &c. of the English, as well that which they importe as whatsoever they shall exporte, either in or out of the aforesaide dominions, shall for ever hereafter bee free of the accustomed duties which hath bin usuallie paide by that nation in Surratt ; with condition onlie that for customes that might arise from the date of these presents till the finishinge of this monzoone [which wee limitt to the 16o (1st ?) Narouse] they shall pay unto the Kinge Circare the full somm of 3,000 (mahmudis), and from that time forwards shall give a constant rent of 40,000 m(ahmudis) per annum ; provided that the first payment of the aforesaide 30,000 m(ahmudis) bee foreborne them till the usuall time of theire next shipps arivall out of England, and for the followinge rent of the 40,000 m(ahmudis) aforesaide they bee also priviledged from that day twelve month immediatelie followinge for its payment, and so

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from yeare to yeare, to bee so constantlie paide in consideration of the duties of all such goods, jewells, treasure etc. as they shall yearlie bringe in or carrie forth as aforesaide, which shall not bee stopt, hindred nor delaied in custome hous or elcewhere, neither theire people searched upon any pretence whatsoever, but they shall despose of theire goods either too or from shipps with freedome both for time and convayance, either when or which way themselves shall thincke fitt.

14. In case of mortallitie hapninge either unto the Cheefe himselfe or any substitute of his, or whatsoever other degree of the English in generall within the aforesaide territories, the estates, whether in goods, money, jewells or other, of the partie or parties do deceased shall remain the survivinge cheefe and the rest of his nation, without any ceasure or other impediment thereunto whatsoever ; and in case of no English lefte livinge to demand and possess the estates of the deceased as aforesaide, then shall the Governour, Cazie, &c. of the towne or place where such goods are so remaininge, take them by account into theire own safe custodies before witnes, and reserve the same to the use and behofe of such other English as shall hereafter com to challenge and possess the same.

15. Lastlie, the passed or present stoppage of the Kinge, Prince, or his subjects junckes shall not bee imputed to the English as a crime or offence, seinge that the want of justice upon sundrie abuses, outrages, prohibitions, and losses sustained hath justlie inforced them to that extremittie as not able longer to supporte them ; wherefore they shall not bee liable to the surrender of any parte or parcell of whatsoever goods or treasure which hath bin either taken or delivered them out of any of the aforesaid junckes towards satisfaction of the damages, losses, and hindreances pre-mentioned ; neither shall the Cheefe or any other of the English nation bee hereafter calld in question for

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the same or any restreints or punishments inflicted on theire persons : with an absolute remittance of all thinges, never hereafter to bee questioned". (Copy 3pp. *Endorsed* : A copie of the articles of agreement betwixt the English and the Guzeratts upon the seizure of theire junckes, anno 1623).

NOTES

1. Rahadari, charge for guarding a road.
2. Probably Viara, on the Surat-Burhanpur Road.
3. The 'Curka' of Finch, 'Corka' of Jourdain, and 'Kerkoa' of Tavernier who places fifteen *kos* west of Navapur. It is not found on modern maps.

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1633

(II) Extract from a letter of William Methwold etc. dated Surat 21 February 1633 to the Court of Directors, East India Company, London.

"The 2nd present, we have received from Agra the King's Firmand*, which gives liberty of trade unto us in his whole country of Bengala ; but restrains our shipping only unto the port of Piply, which Firmand was sent unto us by a servant of our own, which was dispeeded unto Agra."

1633

(II-A) Copy of the Parwana granted by Mutakid Khan, Governor of Orissa dated May 3, 1633 and confirmed by his successor Agha Muhammad Zaman Teherani to Ralph Cartwright.

Copy of a Parwana under the seal of the Nawab, dated 25 Ardibihust in the sixth year of the reign.

Upon the suit of the English Captain, Mr. Cartwright, permission is granted for English vessels to trade in the ports of Orissa, without payment of any dues whatsoever. The English merchants are to be allowed to sell their goods and to carry the remainder wherever they please. If they buy goods in the province, no one is to hinder them from exporting the same freely. They are to be permitted to purchase or repair vessels, and for such work payment is to be accepted at the usual rates. A wooden house may be erected at any place which Cartwright may choose, but no compound is to be attached to it. Order is given to all officials to treat the English well and not to molest them for duties. Any dispute arising among them is to be settled by themselves without interference. No obstacle is to

* This *farman* of Shah Jahan dated February 2, 1633 has not been traced.

be placed in the way of their returning to England when they please. Cartwright is enjoined to bring into the province curiosities and articles of European manufacture from Wazirabad* and Masulipatam ; and for such services he will be honoured and amply rewarded.

1637

(III) Copy of a farman from the Emperor Shah Jehan dated 24 Jumada II in the eleventh year, A.H. 1047 (i. e. 3 November 1637. O. S.)

It has been represented to the Emperor that the English merchants frequenting the ports of Surat and Broach pay there the customary duties, and that they hold a *farman* from His Majesty to the effect that no one shall make any other demands in respect of their goods in any place. Now the *mutasaddis* (accountants) of Mumtazabad which is by Akbarabad (i.e. Agra), demand the same payments from them on their goods brought from and taken to Purab, &ca ; as are paid by other merchants. Order is therefore given to those and other officials not to molest the English for duties or other payments on their goods, but to allow them to pass freely from Mumtazabad Ghat and other ferries on the Jumna.

1649

(IV) Copy of a Nishan from Sultan Shuja (Governor of Bengal) dated in the twenty-second year A.H. 1059

Makes known to all officials, and to the guards of the imperial highways between His Highness's residence and Agra and the port of Surat, that Captain Gabriel Boughton, the English physician, is going to those ports to purchase goods for His.

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* Zerbad—Java & Sumatra. See EF 1668—69, p. 164 for explanation.

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Highness. Enjoins them to be very attentive to him, to provide him with escort, and not to delay him or molest him for duties.

1650

(V) Copy of a farman from the Emperor Shah Jahan, dated 23 Shaban in the twenty-fourth year, A.H. 1060 (i. e. 11 August 1650, O. S.)

Order is given to the various officials, including those having charge of the roads between Agra and Bengal and between Agra and Surat, either by way of Burhanpur or via Ahmadahad, that the English, having paid the usual customs at Surat, Broach, or Lahri (bandar) are not to be troubled with any further demands. This injunction is to be considered as perpetual. Should any robbery be committed, the *jagirdar* of the place is to use his best endeavours to recover the goods, paying every attention to the English.

1651

(VI) Copy of a nishan from Sultan Shuja dated 6 Ramzan in the twenty-fifth year A. H. 1061 (i. e. 13 August, 1651 O. S.)

It has been represented to His Highness that the goods of the English Company are by an imperial *farman* exempt from duties, but that nevertheless the *mutasaddis* of Balasore and other ports of Orissa molest the merchants on that account, hindering them from buying and selling, and giving them trouble on the roads. His Highness now orders that none of the officials shall demand any duties from them, either at the ports or on the roads, nor obstruct them in any way.

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1656

(VII-A) SHAH SHUJA'S NISHAN DATED SIXTH APRIL, 1656

BE IT KNOWN to the present future *mutasaddis* (accountants) and managers of affairs, *jagirdars*, *faujdars*, *karoris* (revenue collectors), *zamindars*, *rahdars*[1], *guzarbars*,[2] chaukidars and the guards of the imperial highways extending from Akbarnagar (Rajmahal) to the boundaries of the provinces of Bengal and Orissa and the ports of the said provinces, that now Mr. Thomas Billidge[3] through the courtiers has represented to His Highness that, though the goods of the English Company are exempted from duties, in accordance with the inexorable commands, throughout His Majesty's dominions, still in some places they (the officials) open them to purchase by force, and prevent the local traders from dealing with them (the English Company); they realise four per cent. from the *gumashtas* (factors) of the English, and make a demand for anchorage as well. His Highness now orders that, according to the commands of His Majesty, none shall molest the *gumashtas* of the English on account of anchorage etc. They (the officials) shall not open the goods of the English, either on roads or on ferries, to buy them forcibly. Considering their goods as exempted from duties on the strength of the said commands, no impediments shall be offered to the *gumashtas* of the English in any circumstances in passing them; so that they may, with their minds at ease, bring the goods from the neighbouring ports and sell them to local traders and such other persons as are acquainted with them and willingly

1. Collectors of road duties.
2. Collectors of tolls at ferries.
3. The name is indistinct the Persian version.

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desire to have transactions with them. Every assistance shall be given to the *gumashtas* of the English in whatever place they store their goods and sell them. If the traders and weavers be in debt to these English people, every facility shall be offered to them to realise the amount actually due. At no time concession shall be allowed or favour shown to any particular person ; so that none may oppress the *gumashtas* of the English. All are required to act up to the positive comand and august *nishan*, which they must never infringe*

1656

(VII-B) Translate of Sultan Shauh Shujahs Neshaun, Letters Patent to the English in Bengala A. D. 1656 A. H. 1066

The Neshaun, or Letters Patent of the most magnificent Prince Sultan Shujah, given the sixth month in the year of Hegira, one thousand sixty six, in the year of the Emperor Shah Jehaun his glorious reign.

Be it known to all Great Governors, Chancellors, Farmers of the King's rents, Colonels, Captains, Rent-Gatherers, Farmers of Customs, Watchmen, Ferrymen, and other Petty Officers, that now are in place, and hereafter shall be, in the Kingdoms of Bengala, and Orixa, that this day Thomas Billidge, an Englishman, humbly presented his suit before our splendid throne, acquainted us that the English Company's goods, according to the Great Emperor's Letters Patent, which are unalterable are, by His free grant therein specified, custom free all over his great Empire ; humbly desiring us that there may a privilege be gran-

* (New translation of Shah Shujah's Nishan by Maulavi Muhammad Israil Khan, printed in the English Factories in India, 1655-1660, pp. 111-112).

ted them, by us, to trade custom free in those parts ; as also complaining that at present their trade with Country Merchants, our subjects, as much hindered by our Governors of Ports, towns, etc., demanding the English goods at their own rates, and forbidding any merchants to buy or sell with them, unless they condescend to their actions ; and that the officers in the port, town, etc. demand four in the hundred custom on all goods imported and exported, as also anchorage in the roads belonging to these kingdomes of Bengala and Orixa.

Upon due consideration had of all which, we were pleased to grant, and hereby command you, that, according to the above mentioned Letters Patent of the Great Emperor, whose words no man dare presume to reverse, the factoryof the English Company be no moretroubled with demands of custom for goods imported or exported either by land or by water, nor that their goods be opened and forced from them at under rates in any places of government by which they shall pass or repass up and down the country ; but that they buy and sell freely, and without impediment neither let any molestation be given them about anchorage, as formerly has been ; also, wherever they have order to build factories or warehouses in any part of these Kingdomes, that they be not hindered, but forwarded; as also where there shall any just and due debts be coming to them from our subjects, that all persons in office be helpful to them in their recovery, giving protection to no weavers, merchants, or any other that shall appear to be really indebted to them. In all the aforesaid matters especial regard is to be had that you carry yourselves strictly in obedience to the Great Emperor's Letters Patent, and this my Neshan now given the English Company having an especial care that you fail not a little in your compliance with our commands therein contained.

(Diary kept by Streynsham Master, pp. 346, 347 No. 120)

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1660

(VIII) Copy of a Parwana from Muazzam Khan (i. e. Mir Jumla, dated 7 Jummada II in the first year of the reign (of Aurangzeb) (FEBRUARY 9, 1660 O. S.)

Jonathan Trevisa, the English Agent, has represented that the goods of Company are by imperial *farman* free from all duties. It is therefore ordered that, in obedience to that command, all officials in Bengal and Orissa shall refrain from demanding anything from the English on this account.

(On the margin is a note by the Diwan, Ray Bhagwati Das, that the order of the deceased Nawab must be carried out in the same way as in the past)

1667

(IX) The Phirman granted by Shaw Orung Zeeb to the Hon'ble Company, Anno 1667, translated out of Persian.

Bee it knowne to the Governor, Prefects and Officers of affaires of the Port of Surat, present, and to come, confideing in our Royall favour. That at this present tyme joyned to happiness, certaine notice is come to our eares, that whereas formerly the rate for custome of goods belonging to the merchants of the Dutch Nation was on everie hundred rupees three and a half rupees, and afterwards having an eye to the profitable condition of ye said people two rupees was only ordered. And whereas the merchants of the English Nation have made their request that ye rates for the customes of their goods may be confirmed according to the Dutch constitution and that a Phirman may pass from our excellent and noble Court that the goods and merchandize which ye said merchants having brought in Bengala, and in the Royal seat of our Kindome Ecberabad, and other Countreys and great cittyes, doe transport by the way of Berhanpore and Ahmadavad, to sell them in ye Bunder of Surat, may not be stopped by any person in their passage on pretence of taking Rhadaryes, or other dutyes, or on any prohibition whatsever. And in case any of the goods belonging to the aforesaid

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persons be robb'd in ye way, that officers and guards of the said place, doe in the recovery of said goods make all diligent search. And whereas a petition was directed to our exalted throne, upon the sight of a letter which Ghyas Aldien Khaan, Governor of Surat, hath written unto the trusty protector of our riches ; the rosponse and glorie of our Kingdome ; the pillar of our Councellors emblems of honour ; the flower of our Princes high in dignity, the Provident disposer of our Kingdomes and estates ; the open way to riches and plentie ; worthy of all grace ; a rewarder of all degrees of men ; a Lord of pitty ; the marke of felicity ; Chancellour of our Kingdomes and sole manager of our affaires Jafer Khaan ; to this effect, that in case any favour be shewed to the English Nation (who are well wishers to the riches of our Court, by their services which they have performed to our benefitt, have so approved themselves formerly and hitherto in an oblidging manner) it will be well deserved by them. And whereas the instant desire of our minds knowne in truth, and the perfection of our heart, esablished in justice, is expended on the ancient state and universall benefitt of all people at the agreeable petition of the merchants of the English Nation, having forgiven them one rupee of the summ of three rupees (the accustomary dutyes of their goods), I have now ordered them to pay but two rupees. Therefore from this tyme forward on everie hundred rupees valew of goods belonging to the English Nation two rupees must be taken in the aforesaid Bunder. And the Governours, Captains of guards, Leiftenants of Countreyes, Guards of Passes, and the Highwayes of the Provinces and Great cittyes aforesaid, shall not give any molestation or opposition to the aforesaid merchants on pretence of Rhadaryes, or other demands whatseover, which are prohibited in our Court and high Pallace. And in case, in any place, the least part of their goods and merchandize be stolen, that in ye recovery of them all strict search and enquiry

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be made, and the theives together with the goods stolen being apprehended, the goods may be delivered to the owners and the theives to punishment. In this affaire let them observe all extraordinary diligence towards our Court, and be very circumspect and cautious to abstaine from the breach hereof. Written the 11th day of Maharum in the tenth yeare of our high Reigne, which is our 26th June 1667.

1670

(X-A) *An attestation given by the customers and brokers of Balasore concerning the English Privileges in the import and export of their goods and disposing of them in that port*

An Attestation given the 27 : day of the third month in the one thousand eighty one yeare of the Hegira (July, 1670) by Bunwalled (? Banwali) as the Substitute of Rajeeb Ray Conoongvoy (Rajab Rai-*Kanungo*) of Cheife Customer (customs officer) of Orixa (Orissa), and Debaullsdass (Debal Das), Substitute of Kissindew (Kishn Deo), Cheife farmer of said Province and (*torn*) Chowdry (*Chaudhari*, district revenue officer), and Ancoor Mehtur and Kisso Mehtur (Ankur Mehta and Kishn Mehta) (*torn*), under Customers, alsoe Sebram Cullaun (Sibram Kalyan) and Sebram Coor (Sibram Kuar), broakers of the Port Towne of Ballasore, Sheweth that the English for many yeares have used this port of Ballasore, and that they have all along used to unlade their goods from aboard their ships in the Roade and to send them on Purgoes (barges) to their Factory in this place without being opened or Searcht by any Officer or person in Government whatsoever ; but as soone as they have unladed their ships and got their goods ashoare into their Factory as aforesaid, they are accustomed to give notice that their goods are all safe ashore. And whenever the Merc-

hants of this Port bought any of those goods of the English they allwayes carry along with them one of the Governours Servants, who wrote downe the Perticulers of said (goods), but if the English were minded to send any of those goods to Hugly, or any other Place by land or sea, without Disposeing of them in this place, they sent one of their Servants to give the officers or persons in Government notice of it, on which they went away as they came in, without being opened or Searcht or perticulars taken by any one. This has all along binn the custome of the English in their importing and exporting their goods into or from this Port ever since they have traded in these parts. In testimony wee, the above-said Persons, have hereunto sett our hands the day and yeare above writen etc.*

1671

(X-B) **TRANSLATE of Ruffee Ckauns (Rafi Khan), Nabob of Orixa (Orissa), his order or Grant for Confirmation of the English privileidges in said Kingdome.**

The Phyrwana or order of Ruffee Ckaun,[1] dated the 15th day of the 10 : moneth in the thirteenth yeare of the Glorious reigne of Shaw Aurung Zeeb (February, 1671), the Emperour of the world. To all great Governours and Officers, to all Farmers of the Kings customes, Farmers of the Kings rents, Collonnells, Captaines of forces, watchmen and other officers that now are or shall be belonging to the Kingdome of Orixa, decla-

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* From the *Diaries of Streynsham Master*, two volumes, edited by R. C, Temple, London, 1911, vol. II, pp. 87-88. Temple says in a note on page 87 that "this attestation is placed at the end of Master's Diary with the Appendix of collected papers. The document is torn and words are missing."

1. Query Mirza Rafi Kham Bazil, who was in command of the fort of Gwaliyar, in Aurangzeb's reign. He died in 1711.

reth that, according to the Letters Patents of the great Emperour and the Orders or Grants of severall Prefects of this Province given thereupon, whatever goods the English Company import into any part of this Kingdome, which they have brought from their owne Country, as alsoe whatever they shall carry out hence to be returned thither, is wholly released to them and become custome free, and wherever their Ships ride at anchor in any Ports of this Province, that they are not to pay any anchorage. Upon consideration of all which, I have alsoe given this order or grant for Confirmation of the above-mentioned privileidges, ordering that whatever goods they shall from any Port Towne import into any place of this Province, or whatever trade they shall drive in any part of the said (province), or whatever goods they from any place in it shall carry to be export(ed), that you give them noe manner of hinderance on accompt of custome or any other demands whatsoever, as alsoe that you take noe anchorage for any of their ships, but lett them drive their trade quietly, that where they think best they may carry on their Negotiation without trouble, and in whatever places of this Kingdome their Factors doe buy and sell, in case any due debts shall be comeing to them, that, without favour or affection, or protecting any such Debtour, you assist them in its recovery. See that you give good heed to what herein ordered.*

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* From the Diaries of Streynsham Master, two volumes, edited by R. C. Temple, London, 1911, vol. II, p. 25. Temple notes : There is a copy of this *parwana* in "Charters and Treaties, vol. II, pp. 39-41 where the date is given as 1678".

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1672

(X-C) Translate of Nabob Shausteh Caune, Lord of the Noblemen, his Confirmation of the English Privileges in the Kingdom of Bengala A. H. 1083, June A. D. 1672

The Phyrwana, or Order, of Shausteh Caune, the Lord of Noblemen, dated this third day of the 3rd month, in the 15th year of the glorious reign of Auranzeb, Emperor of the World—

To all Great Officers, Chancellors, Farmers of the King's Customs, Farmers of the King's Rent, Colonels, Captains, Rent-Gatherers, Custom-Gatherers, Watchmen and all under-officers, now in being, and that shall be, in these Kingdomes of Bengala and Orixa *Declareth*, that Walter Clavell, the English Captain, this day presented his suit before me, averring, according to the Letters Patent of the Mighty Emperor (Shah Jehan), and Prince Sultan Shah Shujah, as also by the Phyrwana, or order, of Meer Jumbla, the Cawne, of Cawnes, deceased, the customs of all goods exported and imported, bought or sold, belonging to the English Company, to be released.

Whereupon, I also give my confirmation of the same ; and order, that according to the said Letters Patent, etc. you govern yourselves : and whatsoever goods the said Company shall import from Ballasore, or any other place near the sea-side, up to Hugly, Cossimbzar, Patana, or any other place, in these two kingdoms ; as also what saltpetre, or any other goods they shall export from Patana, or any other place, to Ballasore, or any other port to the sea ; that you let them pass custom free, without any let, impediment, or demands whatsoever : And wherever they have factories or warehouses, that you help their factors in getting in their due debts from any weavers, merchants etc. that really appear to be indebted to them, without giving protection

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to any such person so indebted whereby they may any ways be wronged. And whatsoever boats, etc. whether their own or freighted, let them not be stopped on any pretence whatsoever, but suffered to pass without molestation. And notwithstanding I have lately by reason of a great outrage committed by the Dutch, absolutely forbidden them any trade in these Kingdoms aforesaid, so that Governors and other officers have took occasion to stop and hinder the English trade, which I have not interdicted, with that of the Dutch, which I have strictly forbiddean, I do declare that the English never commited any offence of so high a nature that their trade should be hindered; and therefore I resolve and order, as before, that according to the above-mentioned, and as their trade has for so many years quietly and without impediment gone on in these kindgoms aforesaid, that it now also be not hindered, but that whatever their factors and other servants shall buy or sell as aforesaid beno ways letted or impeded And that I may hear no more complaints from the English in this matter, see that this my order be strictly observed.*

A Diary kept by Streynsham Master, 1675, 1676. No. 120, pp. 343-49.

1676

(XI) Translate of Letter from Shausteth Caukne (Shaistah Khan) Lord of the Noble men, Prefect of Bangala, in answer to one received from Wares Cawne (Waris Khan), the Great Chancellour of the Province of Bearra (or Pattana) / Bihar or Patna / about the English privileidges in those parts of the Empire of Shauh Aurung Zeeb (Shah Aurangzeb), Emperour Hindoostan, etc. :

Nabob Shausteh Ckaune, Lord of the Noblemen, of the 5th moneth in the 18th yeare of the Glorious Reigne of Shah Aurung Zeeb, Emperour of the World (July, 1676), to the most Excellent

* Another version of this Parwana is given on pp. 301-303, received per *Orange* 1692, No. 275 A.

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and Honourable Warees Ckaune, greeting. Your letter have received, wherein you write that the English have told you that according to the Emperours letters Patents, their companyes goods are made custome free, but they doe not produce any such Originall Letters Patent to Confirme what they aver, and therefore desire advice from me that you may accordingly governe yourselfe in this affaire. To which I answer that the English have such a Phyrmaund or Letters Patents from the Emperour aforesaid* upon which I also gave them grant of the said Privileidge in this Province that, in their buying and selling, exporting and importing of goods, noe one on that accompt may molest or hinder them, according to which and the said Letters Patents you ought not to trouble or impede their trade on accompt of paying custome which is released to them etc.

1680

(XII) Copy of the Emperor Aurangzeb's Firman, A. D. 1680, A. H. 1091.

Be it known, that at this happy birth of time it is agreed, of the English Nation, besides their usual custom of 2 per cent. for their goods, more $1\frac{1}{2}$ jezia, or Poll-money, shall be taken.

Wherefore it is commanded, That in the said Place, from the first day of Shuvaal, in the 23rd year of our reign, of the said people, 3 and a half rupees per cent. of all their goods, on account of Custom and Poll-money, be taken, for the future. And at all other Places, upon this account, let no one hinder or molest them for custom, rawdarree, peashcus, Phirmaish, and other matters by the Emperor's Court forbidden, nor to make any demands in these particulars : observe : Written on the 23rd day of the month Suffer, in the year twenty-three.

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* By 'the Emperour aforesaid' Shah Jahan, and not Aurangzeb, must be meant.

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In the name of God, Amen

To all Present and future Rulers in Surat, that remain in hopes of the Empeor's favour,

(The obscure part of the paper, and which gave rise to the disputes, commences with "And at all others").

1690

(XIII) Copy of the Phirmaund given by the Mugal Aurangzebe to Nabob Ebrahim, Caun for Bengal, dated the 23rd of April, 1690, and in the 33rd year the King's reign. A.H. 1101

You must understand, that it has been the good fortune of the English to repent them of their irregular past proceedings; and their not being in their former greatness, have, by their Vackeels, petitioned for their lives, and a pardon for their faults, which, out of my extraordinary favour towards them, have accordingly granted: Therefore, upon receipt hereof, my Phirmaund, you must not create them any further Trouble, but let them trade freely in your Government as formerly: and this order I expect you see strictly observed.

(XIV) Copy of a Phirmaund of Emperor Aurangzeb, dated the 23rd of the month Jummaudee Auvull, in the 33rd year of the most glorious reign A. H. 1101. Sent from Surat 1690

All the English having made a most humble, Submissive Petition, that the ill crimes they have done may be pardoned, and requested a noble phirmaund, to make their being forgiven manifest, and sent their Vacqueel, to the heavenly palace, the most illustrious in the World, to get the royal favour, and Ettimet Caun, the Governor of Surat's Petition to the famous court equal to the sky, being arrived, that they would present the Great King with a fine of 150,000 rupees to his noble treasury, resembling

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the Sun, and would restore the merchants' goods they took away to the owners of their, and would walk by the ancient customs of the port, and behave themselves for the future no more in such a shameful manner : Therefore His Majesty, according to his daily favours to all the people of the world, hath pardoned their faults, mercifully forgiving them : and out of his Princely condescensions agrees : that the present be put into the treasury of the port ; the goods of the merchants returned the town flourishing ; and they follow their trade as in former times ; and Mr. Child, who did the disgrace, be turned out and expelled. This order is irreversible.

1691-92

(XV) Translate of the Nabob Ebrahim Cawn and King's Diwan's General Perwanna, for the English their paying only Rupees 3000 yearly for their trade. A. H. 1002-3 A.D. 1691-2

To all Mutsuddies, Carrowries, Jaggerdars, Gomastehs, Phousdars, Jimmedars, Conogees, belonging to the subahship of Bengal, now in service or that shall be hereafter.

Be it known, that, before this, an ample Husbull hookum for the pardoning all the faults of the English has arrived to me from the King, under the seal of Lutfullah Cawne, since that, another Husbullhookum, under the Seal of Assud Cawne, arrived from the King to Kafait Cawne, his Duan, the copy of which is arrived in my Secretary's office from said Kafait Cawne, which is, viz : That he should according to ancient custom, take rupees 3000, as a Pishcash of the English in lieu of custom, yearly ; and not demand, or ask, on any account whatever, more than that : the Copy of which Husbullhookum is write on the backside of this Perwana. For this reason I write you, That, from the beginning of the 34th year of Jealoise (or the King's reign),

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according to the King's order, ye, instead of custom, take but rupees 3000 of them yearly; and that in their buying and selling, you take not a pice more; that they may contendly continue their trade in the places of their former residence as Hugley, Ballasore, etc. under the government of this Subahship; and that ye assist their gomastehs, in their lawful and just business upon all accounts, And that not one, upon the account of Rawdari, Jimmedarie, or Firmash, etc. be suffered to defraud or molest them, it being forbidden by the King. God forbid that in any one's government robberies be committed, but, if so, that the Phousdars of said places use their endeavours to find and restore said goods to the owner. Dated the second day of the moon, in the 35th year of Jealoise.

(Received per *Orange*, 1692. No. 265 A.)

(XVI) Translate of an Husbullhookm, under Assid Cawn's Seal, upon Kefait Cawne, Duan of Dacca, for the English's paying Three Thousand Rupees annual Pishcash, in lieu of custom (Procured by the aforesaid Cawn's Letter), dated the Twenty-first of Jemadestanny, in the Thirty fourth year of the King's reign, or February the Tenth, 1691. A.H. 1002

Petition being made, That you writ that an Husbullhookum, under the seal of Lutfoola Cawn, was come to the Viceroy, that the English should trade according to ancient usage: that of that Nation two or three were arrived in the port of Hugley and that Mahmood Eckbar, Officer of said Port, had given the encouragement, and taken an obligation from them that they would give custom on their merchandizes as hereafter should be determined; that the said Husbullhookum nothing was mentioned concerning the receipt of custom, neither was it under the Vizier's seal what had been determined, that their ancient usage, to your

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knowledge, was rupees 3000 annual Pishcash, for which they carried on their trade and business : that after that, is was determined for them to pay custom $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. as they did in Surat, and that now, for the receipt of custom for this nation, you would act according to order, and that it was agreed on formerly for them to pay 3000 rupees annual pishcash ; that in the year 1090 it was resolved they should pay $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. included poll money, and that in Surat they pay the same now. What would His Majesty please to order ? Upon which the King gave order that Pishcash should be received of them according to ancient usage. Therefore I write you, That you act according to the Phirmaund ; and advice of the contents hereof.

(Received per Orange 1692 No. 275. A)

(X-C) SHAISTA KHAN'S PARWANA OF 1672

"Translation of Nabob Shaster Caoun the Prefect of Bengall his Phirwanna or writing for a free trade granted to the Honble. East India Company in Decca June 1672

Bee it knowne (in the third day of the Moone and Month Raboull Onul And in the 15th yeare of the reigne of Aurung Shaw) to all Ministers of State, farmers of the Customes &ca. Commanders and Officers that now are or hereafter shall be in place under the Kings Government from Decca to Rojamall and Albear, the Government of the Kingdome of Bengall and Orixa, that I have Lately received a Complaynt from Mr. Walter Clavell Englishman, that whereas the English Companys trade and negotiations have all along by a Gratious Edict graunted by Shaw Jehan : Backed by another in their favor by Sultan Sujah and Continued by Nabob Cauon Caunah and my Selfe, bin

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Custome free and without any Molestatfon, Now the said Companyes business every where meetes with a Stopp the which on examination finding to be true and that is proceeded out of Mistake, being involved in the Inbargue Laid on the Dutch Companys Commerce in respect of a great enormitie their Chiefe Lately Comitted at Hughly of which no fault Can be Layd to the English Companys Charge. I therefore give strict order to all Sorts of Governours and Officers in the two Kingdomes above Mentioned that according to the aforesaid Edicts, they carry themselves in their respective places of Comand and that whatever Goods the English Company shall send from Ballasore or any other place whether by water or by Land up into the Countrey or bring downe Goods from any place within the Countrey whether they bring it by Land or by water to Ballasore or any other place Let them not be hindred or Molested by any manner of Embarque or exaction, but let them freely goe, And where under their Factoryes are Setled in all equall thinges be helpefull to them and in case it shall appear that any one with whome they deale shall be indebted to any of their Factors imployed in any place under this abovesaid Government you force them to pay what found really due without giving protection to any debtor whatsoever, or trouble to any such Factor And whatsoever boates whether of their owne or hired, they Send with their Goods to any place, Let noe Stopp or Molest, Now whereas the Dutch Companyes business in respect of enormityes by them Committed, by my strict order hath bin and Still is Stopped and that all officers and Governours Not discerning the ones business from the other, have Stopped both I doe give Order in that the English have not Committed any Such fault that their trade

should not be molested That or (?as) heretofore the English Compañyes business hath bene Carryed on without Stopp or Embarque that it now be Soe continued. What I hereby signifie to all and every of you in your severall places of trust and Government severely Commanding that I heare no more Complaynts from the English Concerning this matter.

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APPENDIX—II
ENGLISH COMMERCE WITH INDIA (1608-1658)*

By

WILLIAM FOSTER, C.I.E.

(361) The calendaring of the India Office Records has now reached a point from which it is possible to look back upon fifty years of British trade in the East. It was a period of many experiments and many failures ; but by its close, so far as India itself was concerned, the trade settled down upon the main lines on which it was conducted, with striking success, during the remainder of the seventeenth century. The subject is a complicated one, for the operations of the East India Company's servants extended from Arabia and Persia on the West to China, Japan, the Philippines and the Moluccas on the East, while many of the lines of traffic were interwoven in a somewhat confusing manner with the direct trade between India and England ; and since the time at my disposal will not permit me to survey the whole field, I have thought it best to confine myself to the consideration of the actual exchange of commodities between our own country and its future dependency. This is the aspect of most interest to a British audience, and it is one (362) concerning which little is to be found in the ordinary textbooks.

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* *Journal Of The Royal Society Of Arts*, Vol. LXVI (66, No. 3, 413) Friday, April 19, 1918. (Proceedings of the Society —Indian Section). A meeting of the Indian Section was held on Thursday, March 14th, 1918. The Right Hon. J. Austen Chamberlain, M. P., in the chair. The paper read was—"English Commerce with India (1608-1658). pp. 361-372.

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It is a matter of common knowledge that a direct commerce with the Indian peninsula was not the main object of the East India Company at the time of its establishment in the year 1600. The immediate aim of its promoters was to compete with the Dutch in fetching from the Malayan Archipelago the pepper and spices which were so much in demand in the Europe of that day. Consequently the goal of the Company's fleets was for long the port of Bantam, in Java, which was at once a good centre for pepper and a convenient starting point for the further voyage to the Spice Islands. It was, however, quickly discovered that English commodities were in small demand in those parts, while, on the other hand, the products of India, especially calicoes, found eager purchasers ; and thereupon it was arranged that the outgoing fleets should call at Indian ports, in order to dispose of their European goods and to procure in return some more suitable for the Far Eastern markets. From this resulted the foundation of factories—as the Company's commercial establishments were termed—in the dominions of the Mogul Emperor of Northern India, particularly at Surat, the chief port of Gujarat. This was in 1608, and a few years later trade was opened up for a like purpose on the other side of India, where a factory was settled at Masulipatam, the chief port of the independent kingdom of Golconda. The latter commerce was for long entirely subservient to the needs of the Bantam market ; it was not until 1629 that a vessel was sent direct from England to the Coromandel Coast, and none went home from thence until twenty years later. As regards the trade with Western India, the next stage was for one or two of the outward-bound fleet to turn back at Surat, carrying home Indian and Persian products, while the remaining vessels went on to Bantam. This development took place in 1615, nearly seven years after the first arrival of an English ship at an Indian port : and that date may be taken as the real commencement of

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the direct trade between the two countries, though already many English commodities had been sent out for sale in the Mogul's dominions, while a certain amount of Indian products had reached the home markets by way of Bantam.

INDIGO

When the Company's servants at Surat had to decide what goods to send for England, their choice naturally fell in the first place upon indigo, which was already, in some demand in Europe for dyeing purposes. By far the most important English export was woollen goods (chiefly broadcloth), and the making, dressing, and dyeing of these formed the chief industry of the nation. Blue was a favourite colour ; yet a suitable dye was not easily obtainable. For a long time the principal agent employed was woad, of which considerable quantities were imported from the Continent for that purpose. As an alternative, logwood for a while came into favour, but although this afforded a wide range of tints, its colours could not be fixed, and on this ground its use was forbidden by Act of Parliament in 1581 and again in 1597.* In the meantime amore satisfactory substitute

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* Acts 23 Eliz. c.9, and Eliz. c. 11. The prohibition was not formally removed until 1662 (13 & 14 Chas. II C. II). It seems, however, to have been disregarded, for in July, 1615, a certain Richard Giles obtained a patent authorising him to enforce it by seizing and destroying logwood wherever found. The East India Company naturally approved of his activities, as tending to encourage the use of indigo, and in October, 1617, they gave him £ 20 towards his expenses, while in the following July they agreed to pay him a regular tariff on all his seizures. They also induced the King to issue a proclamation threatening punish-

had been found in indigo, which was brought from India to Lisbon by the Portuguese and from Turkey to London by the ships employed in the rising trade with the Levant, and was in some demand, not only in England, but also in France and other Continental countries. So promising did this new commodity appear to be that in 1582 we read of instructions being given to an English traveller to endeavour to procure in Egypt some indigo plants or seeds, with a view to their being acclimatised in England. Hence it is not surprising to find that in 1615 the "Hope" took home from Surat over 1,400 bales of indigo, procured chiefly at Ahmadabad. The rest of her lading consisted of calicoes, cotton yarn, carpets, ginger, aloes, etc.

Thenceforward indigo became the principal constituent of the cargoes sent home from Surat. The chief centres of supply were Sarkhej, near Ahmadabad, and Biana, near Agra. The method of manufacture in these districts were different, the result being in the case of the former a coarse kind of indigo, often much adulterated, while the Biana variety was hard and of a superior quality. The distinction was known in London some years before the arrival of the "Hope", for in April, 1609, we find the East India Company writing that Sarkhej indigo was (363) then worth 5 s. a pound, while the Lahore kind (by which they meant the Biana indigo, which then came mostly overland from Lahore) was fetching 8 s. When once the importation by the Company had become established, these prices dropped to about 5 s. 6d. or 6 s. for the Biana variety, and 4 s. or 4 s. 6 d. for that from Sarkhej. In March, 1646, when the dyeing industry

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ment to all concerned in the use of logwood ; and a further proclamation to the same effect appeared in 1636. The statement made by some writers that the use of indigo was prohibited by Act of Parliament appears to have been due to a confusion with the ban placed upon logwood. (Note on page 362).

was doubtless disorganised by the Civil War, the Company wrote that these had gone down to 4 s. in one case and 3 s. 4 d. in the other, and that, unless an improvement took place, the indigo would have to be of specially good quality to be worth importing. Some nine years later the price had improved to about 4 s. for Sarkhej and nearly 6 s. for Biana indigo. Besides these two kinds, we hear of a medium quality obtained from Sind from about 1638 onwards; in 1646 this was fetching 3 s. 4 d. a pound, and two years later 2 s. 8 d. Some indigo received from the Coromandel Coast was sold in 1644 and 1645 for a little over 1 s. 3 d. and in 1657 for 1 s. $5\frac{1}{3}$ d. It was evidently of a very inferior quality.

The comparatively high price fetched by this article led to an attempt in England to utilize indigo dust (bought at a cheap rate from the Company) by working it up into an imitation of the ordinary balls or cakes. In July, 1634, William Bolton obtained a patent for this process, much to the indignation of the Company, whose remonstrances were so vigorous that in the following December the patent was cancelled. It is worth noting that Bolton alleged that the Biana indigo, as sold by the Company, was too hard for general use, and that his patent covered a process by which this was soaked and ground down, being afterwards made up, with the addition of indigo dust, into a substance more nearly resembling Sarkhej indigo. The latter kind, by the way, was the one most favoured by English dyers, though they admitted that one pound of the Biana variety went as far as a pound and half of the Sarkhej indigo.

The prices at which the indigo was purchased in India varied according to the abundance or deficiency of the crops, and the amount of competition on the part of buyers. To avoid the enhancement due to the latter cause, the Dutch and English merchants on several occasions combined to buy in common, though

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at other times the competition between them was severe. On an average the cost appears to have been about 1s. a pound. Gerard Malynes in 1623 put it at 1 s. 2 d., and the average proceeds in England at 5 s. At either rate, allowing 2 s. or 2 s. 6d. for shipping and other charges, there was still a fair margin of profit. In 1652 we find the Surat factors writing to the Company that indigo "hath heretofore bin your most gainefull comodity".

The adulteration to which indigo was subjected by the makers, particularly by the admixture of sand and earth, led to many complaints from the Company. The Surat factors in 1644 explained that this was a long-standing practice, the object being to give greater consistency to the indigo. As their employers were still unsatisfied, the factors in 1646 bought a quantity of indigo leaf themselves, and had it manufactured under their own superintendence ; but though the quality was improved, the cost was, if anything, higher than if the indigo had been purchased in the usual way, and after a second attempt, two years later, the experiment was abandoned.

A large proportion of the indigo imported by the Company was sent to the Continent, much of it going to the Mediterranean for sale in Southern France and Italy, while a certain quantity found a market at Hamburg, Danzig, and even in Holland, though the Dutch were, of course, bringing their own supplies from India. In 1625 it was stated that the merchants of the Turkey Company, who at one tine had regularly imported raw silk, indigo and spices into England from the Levant, were now actually buying those goods in London, and carrying them to the Mediterranean. This re-exportation of indigo continued down to the end of the period with which we are dealing, in spite of the wars that were waged with various Continental Powers in the time of Charles I and the Commonwealth.

Meanwhile the Company's trade in this article was already

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being threatened with competition from the West Indies. As early as January, 1633, mention is made in the Court Minutes of some indigo from Guatemala having been brought into England from Spain ; and later on the English planters in the West India Islands, as well as in Carolina and Georgia on the mainland, cultivated the plant with some success, though, according to Macpherson (*European Commerce With India*, p. 201), they were never able to produce indigo equal to that of Guatemala or of San Domingo. All these competitors had a great advantage over the East India Company in the cost of transporting their produce to the European markets, and during the latter part of the seventeenth and the early part of the eighteenth centuries the importation from India was limited to the (364) better qualities, grown in the Agra neighbourhood and purchased at Surat. The anarchy that set in after the death of Aurangzeb doubtless restricted the supply and enhanced the cost ; and after the year 1724 the Company omitted indigo from the annual list of commodities to be purchased. In 1729 the Bombay Council sent home (unasked) a large quantity, which could only be sold at a very heavy loss; and thereupon the directors peremptorily forbade any further dealing in the article. For half a century indigo ceased to figure among the Company's imports ; and then a change in the situation made it once more an object of interest. About the middle of the eighteentn century its cultivation in the West India Islands was abandoned—according to Macpherson, because of a high duty imposed upon it, but Sir George Watt suggests that the real reason was the higher profits yielded by sugar and coffee. This left the markets to the Americans and the Spaniards, and both sources of supply were stopped in 1775 by the War of Independence, in which Spain took sides against Great Britain. The consequence was a revival of the demand tor the Indian commodity, and the establishment, about 1779, under the Com-

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pany's auspices, of a flourishing indigo industry in Bengal. The subsequent history of this is well known.

CALICOES

Returning from this digression, we have now to examine the second branch of the Company's importations from India in the early days, *viz*. the cotton goods generically termed at home Calicoes. In this case there was little or no existing demand for the commodity. The ground was occupied by the linens imported from France, the Netherlands, and Germany—as still evidenced by the names of hollands, silesias, lawns (from Laon), and cambrics (from Cambrai). The British and Irish linen industry were as yet nonexistent, and so the gradual displacement of the foreign linens by Indian calicoes was viewed with complacency, particularly as a large proportion of the latterwere re-exported—a traffic which, beginning with Turkey (where cotton goods were, of course, well known,) spread gradually into other countries which had hitherto used linens. In August, 1623, the Deputy-Governor of the Company (Morris Abbot) reported a conversation which he and Mr. Thomas Mun had had with King James, who asked "What vent they had for the greate masse of Callicoes (that) came yeerlye. They answered that much of it is very usefull and vendes in England, whereby the prizes of lawnes, cambrickes, and other linnen cloth are brought downe ; for the rest, England is now made the staple for that comoditie, which having first served His Majesties dominions, the overplus is transported into forrayne partes in the nature of a home bredd commoditie. The King approoved exceedingly thereof, and said that this was the ready way to bring treasure into his Kingdome". In the following April Abbot (now Governor) declared that, whereas for-

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merly England paid to the foreigner for hollands, lawns, and cambrics £ 500,000 per annum, now half of this outlay was saved by the importation of calicoes ; and about a year later he told the Company that "the commodities of Zuratt doe vend heer much better then in former tymes : for example...callicoes.. hath found such vent in forreyne parts as, if the Company had 100,000 or 200,000 peeces, they wold bee uttered in short time."

By 1630 the Company were ordering from Surat 100,000 to 120,000 pieces of white calico alone. Then came the depopulation of Gujarat by the terrible famine of 1630-32, which ruined the trade for a time, as calicoes became too dear for the London market.* In October, 1636, the Company wrote that the absence of supplies had "caused our linnen drapers here to find out other sorts of cloath to supplie the wants of their accustomed sorts of callicoes," and consequently "our Callico trade hath suffered much on its wonted use and expence, and will require some tyme to bring that Commodity intoworth and reputation againe." Eighteen months later they declared that all sorts of Calico were out of favour in England, and that those brought were chiefly used for "dyeing into colloures." However, as time went on the industry gradually revived in Gujarat, while the opening up of English trade in Sind (1635) provided a fresh source of supply of good and cheap calicoes, and there was also a steady importation into England of piece-goods from the Coromandel Coast which found favour in France and other Continental countries.

One effect of the famine of 1630-32, in which so many skilled weavers perished, was a great deterioration in the quality of the cloth produced ; and this again operated

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* Owing to the heavy charges incurred for shipping and factors, besides expenses at home, the Company held it necessary to realise three times the prime cost of their calicoes, if they were to be considered profitable (f.n. P. 364)

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unfavourably upon the demand in Europe. Writing in November, 1641, the Company declared that calicoes had hardly yet recovered their formcr (365) reputation, lost by the poor making and bleaching of previous consignments, while the enhanced price made it difficult to compete in the London market against "the Germaine, Scotch, and French lynnens". The difficulty was aggravated by the general depression of trade which set in about 1640, and was intensified by the Civil War that followed ; and the Company, finding no demand for the calicoes sent home, repeatedly distributed them to its members by way of dividend, leaving the recipients to get rid of them as best as they could. By 1653 the demand had revived, possibly owing to the stoppage of linen imports as the result of the war with Holland ; and in September of that year the Company wrote to the Surat factors to send as many calicoes as they could procure. Then eame the period of open trade, when private English ships resorted freely to Indian ports in defiance of the Company's privileges. The resulting competition forced prices up in the East and down in Europe. However, the grant of a fresh charter by Oliver Cromwell in 1657 improved the Company's prospects, and we leave them confident of a great future in calicoes—a confidence which was soon justified.

It is interesting to note how the endeavours of the Company and its servants to procure calicoes of suitable dimensions and quality broke against the conservatism of the Indian weaver. At the beginning of 1628 the Surat factors wrote that they had tried in vain to secure the more substantial making of the cloth. The weavers objected, on the score that more yarn would be used, while the price of the finished article would not increase in proportion, adding that they could sell all they made in their usual fashion to other buyers, if the English did not want them. Some twenty years later the Company demanded cloths

of special lengths and breadths : but again the makers demurred, pointing out that such goods would not easily find a market elsewhere, if rejected for any defect. Numerous complaints from London show that the calicoes provided varied considerably in size and in quality, while no improvement could be secured, because the demand in India from other and less fastidious quarters was sufficiently great to warrant the producers in refusing to alter their traditional methods.

Before passing from the subject of Cotton, something may be said regarding the references to cotton yarn and raw cotton that occur in the Company's records at this time. Yarn was a fairly constant article of import from 1615 onwards, partly for export to France and Holland, and partly to meet the home demand. From 1616 to 1628 the price obtained by the Company was about 2 s. 6 d. a pound. In the latter year no less than 525 bales came home from Surat, and in March, 1630, the Company wrote that they could sell from 600 to 700 bales yearly. Then came a check. The Gujarat weavers objected to the English merchants competing with them for yarn, and combined to withhold their cotton cloth until the factors agreed to stop their buying : while on top of this trouble came the great famine. In spite of this the supply was kept up and good prices were realised in England. The Company wrote in November, 1641, that "of late workemen here have found many uses" for the yarn, and that the finer qualities were much in demand. In 1650 orders were sent out to reduce the supply, with the result that in 1625-55 we find prices at home ranging from 4 s. to 4 s. 6 d. the pound. Then came a drop to the old level of little more than half-a-crown, probably because of heavy importations by private traders.

Raw cotton, or cotton wool, figures at the Company's sales as early as November, 1621, but it was merely "packing wooll"

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which had apparently been brought home wrapped round the bales of piece-goods for their better protection and it fetched only 6 d. a pound. In 1622 an order was sent to Surat for a special supply, with the result that we find sales effected in 1624 at 14½ d. and in the following year at 13 d. per pound. Some difficulty was experienced as regards stowage aboard the ships, since the commodity was too bulky to waste space upon it, if more profitable goods were available. In 1628, and again in 1636, the Surat factors urged that implements should be sent out for compressing the bales (as was done they said, in Turkey); but no notice was taken of these suggestions, and the cotton continued to be sent home, if at all, loose in the hold, much to the detriment of its condition when received. By this time the manufacture at Manchester of goods, such as fustians, in which cotton was mingled with other materials, had become well established. The cotton used for this purpose came, however, from Cyprus and Smyrna. With a commodity at once so cheap and so bulky, the cost of freight was the most important factor, in the sale price, and it was probably for this reason that the Company made no attempt to compete with the Levant traders. For the remainder of the period with which we are dealing the sales at the East India House of raw (366) cotton were only of small quantities originally used in packing, which fetched from about 4 d. to 15 d. per pound, according to its condition and the momentary demand for it. The omission in 1650 of cotton-wool from the list of goods in which private trade was prohibited is a further proof of the small importance attached by the Company to this article of commerce.

SILK

Raw silk is the next item on our list of the Company's imports.

The efforts made by James I to encourage the manufacture of silk in England are well known, and to the demand for the raw material the East India merchants responded at first by importing Chinese silk from Bantam. In 1616, however, their servants succeeded in establishing trading relations with Persia, where large quantities of silk were produced in the provinces bordering upon the Caspian Sea. The sale was a royal monopoly ; but the Shah was eager to prevent the traffic from passing through the dominions of his enemy, the Turkish monarch, and he welcomed with effusion the overtures made by the English, and later by the Dutch, for its diversion to an all-sea route. The first consignment went home from Surat in 1619, and sold for 26 s. 10 d. the great pound of 2403. As the cost in Persia was only from 8 s. to 9 s. a pound, this yielded a handsome profit, and the Company showed some eagerness to develop the trade. In 1622 Persian silk to the value of £ 93,000 was received from Surat, and in the following year this figure rose to £ 97,000. Much of the silk seems to have been exported to France, Italy, and the Low countries, in spite of competition from that brought overland from Persia to Aleppo, as well as from that imported direct into Holland. However, the Persian officials made the most of their opportunities by debasing the quality and raising the price ; and in January 1625, it was noted that the cost in Persia was now 12s. 6 d. per pound, while the proceeds in England were not more than double that figure. The Dutch, moreover, were competing vigorously in its purchase, and probably their imports were lessening the demand in England for export to the Continent. In November, 1626, the Surat factors pointed out that their other goods yielded more profit than silk, and advised that their colleagues in Persia should abstain from further purchases, remitting instead to Surat, for investment there, any money realised by the sale of English goods. Evidently, however, a certain quantity of

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silk still went home, but the price dropped gradually to 15 s. a pound, on a prime cost of 10 s. 6 d., and the Company in 1641 forbade any further investment. As already noted, this was a period of general depression of trade in England, and such an article of luxury as silk was bound to feel its effects. By 1648, however, prices had risen again, and orders were sent out for a fresh supply : while, during the war with Holland in 1652-54, as much as 27 s. 6 d. and 28 s. per pound was obtained in London for the small quantity of Persian silk brought home. By July, 1656, the price was down again to 18 s. 8 d. ; and writing to Surat in March, 1657, the Company said that raw silk was in small demand.

In addition to Chinese and Persian silk, the Company during this period imported a certain quantity from Bengal. As early as 1614 some samples, procured at Agra, were sent home from Surat, and these crossed a letter from the Company in which the factors were encouraged to furnish a good supply, provided that the silk was obtainable in long skeins and at a cost of not more than 7 s. a pound. In reply it was stated that supplies were not regularly available at Agra, and that the silk was mostly in small and short skeins which it would be unprofitable to rewind. The despatch of a couple of merchants from Agra to Patna in 1620 gave an opportunity for fresh investigations. They reported that silk could be provided at a cost of about 6 s. 6 d. a pound, but that none could be procured that came up to the Company's requirements in other respects. With commendable enterprise they started a workshop in which an attempt was made to wind the silk from the cocoon in the manner desired ; but no success attended their efforts, and the recall of the factors in 1621 put an end to the experiment. The Company had already made inquiries from the Masulipatam factors whether Bengal silk could be obtained by that route : the reply was, however, unfavourable,

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and so for a time all thought of that commodity was abandoned. Peter Mundy, who was sent from Agra to Patna in 1632, expressed the opinion that raw silk could be purchased elsewhere of better quality and at lower rates.

The establishment in the following year of English factories in Orissa seemed to open up a prospect of procuring Bengal silk by a new route. In 1634 we hear of trials being ordered at home of two bales of that commodity ; but as nothing more is said upon the subject, we may conclude that the results were unfavourable. Eleven years later some Bengal silk (probably in poor condition) was sold by the Company at a low price of 9 s. 1 d. per pound. (367) About this time the cessation of supplies from Persia seems to have revived interest at home in the silk of Bengal, for in 1647, a letter was addressed to Surat making fresh inquiries on the subject. Some samples, procured at Agra, were accordingly sent home, and fetched 18 s. per pound of 2403 ; but, writing early in 1650, the Surat factors said that they would refrain from further purchases, as they considered the Persian silk, the trade in which had now been resumed, to be equally profitable. The establishment of a factory at Hugli in 1651 enabled the merchants there, to provide Bengal silk at cheap rates and to pick out the better qualities, with the result that in 1653 the Company were getting from 25 s. 3 d. to 32 s. d. a pound. This appreciation, however, was probably due in part to the war with Holland, for by 1657 the price had fallen to 16 s. To follow the subsequent development of this traffic, as factories were established at Patna, and other places in Bengal, would carry us beyond our present limit ; it may be noted that, until improved methods of winding were introduced under the Company's direction, about the middle of the eighteenth century, Bengal silk found little favour in England, and its use was chiefly restricted to the sewing silks and other items of haberdashery.

In manufactured silks the Company appear to have taken little interest, though some of the piece-goods imported consisted of mingled cotton and silk, whilequilts, made often of both materials, figure in the early cargo lists. As regards other textiles, there was at first a considerable importation of carpets, either bought ready-made or else manufactured to order at Agra. In 1619, however, the factors at that place wrote : "We perceave, by experience of a few bespoken here, that the tardiness, slowness, and poverty of the workemen to be such that it is endless labour to bespeake them, and those bespoken to cost dearer then others ready made", adding that, when finished, the carpets specially manufactured were neither so well made nor so good in colour as those imported from Persia. In subsequent years purchases were made by the factors in the latter country ; but by 1628 the Company had forbidden further investments in the article, and from 1632 carpets were allowed to be brought home as private goods. It is perhaps unnecessary to mention that at this period Oriental carpets were chiefly used as table covers, not trodden under foot.

SPICES

As regards pepper, for a long time the favourite sources of supply for England were Java and Sumatra, both because the cost was lower and because access to the pepper ports on the Western side of India was rendered difficult by the hostility of the Portuguese. As, however, the Dutch hold on Malay Archipelago tightened, the English East India Company became more and more desirous of obtaining Indian pepper, especially as its superior quality enabled a slightly higher price to be demanded at home. In 1622 and 1630 Malabar pepper was costing in India about 6 d. a pound, which was more than double the price

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at Bantam ; but it was shot loose into the ships' holds and the expense of freight was therefore small : while at home it realised from 1 s. 7 d. to 1 s. 9 d. per pound. The bulk of that brought to London was evidently re-exported. In 1631 one merchant purchased the whole quantity received, to the value of from £ 30,000 to £ 35,000, and two years later the bargain was repeated with another merchant, for the express purpose of sending the pepper abroad. The conclusion in 1635 at Goa, of a convention between the Viceroy and the English President of Surat, opened the Portuguese harbours to English ships, and facilitated access to the Malabar pepper ports. Courteen's Association, which was largely founded to take advantage of the agreement, at once started factories at Bhatkal and Rajapur, whence large quantities of pepper were sent to England. Not to be outdone, the Company ordered their servants at Surat to procure a good supply ; but most of the pepper procurable there came overland from the Balaghat and was consequently dear : while, as prices at home steadily declined, the trade was soon deemed scarcely worth following. Between 1644 and 1650 the Company found it expedient to ship pepper to Italy, owing to the small demand in England itself. The competition of private trade lowered prices still further, and in August, 1657, the Company were getting only 7 d. per pound. In the previous November it was stated that the consumption of pepper in England was less than one-fifth of the 7,000 bags imported annually : that its average cost in the Indies was 3 d. a pound, which was raised to 10d. by shipping and other charges: and that the remaining 5,600 bags, if sold on the Continent, would realise £ 70,000 at 1 s. 8 d. per pound. Evidently in this, as in many other branches of the Company's trade, reliance was placed rather on the export market than on the actual home demand.

Of spices in general, India was rather a (368) consumer than

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a producer. Cinnamon was occasionally obtained by English merchants at some of the Malabar ports or bought surreptitiously from the Portuguese, especially when the frequent blockades of Goa by Dutch fleets prevented its transmission to Lisbon ; but the conclusion of a truce between Holland and Portugal in 1641 put an end to this traffic. The renewal of the war in 1652 was followed by a sustained attack by the Dutch upon Ceylon. Colombo was captured in 1656, and the other Portuguese settlements in the island were quickly mastered, with the result that the cinnamon trade, like that in other spices, became virtually a Dutch monopoly. A coarse kind of cinnamon, growing on the Malabar Coast, was still procurable ; and the dearness of other kinds of spices, especially during the Anglo-Dutch war of 1652-54, led to some demand for cardamoms, obtainable in the same localities, and realising in England from 3 s. 4 d. a pound. In general, however, the English found it hopeless to compete any longer with their Dutch rivals in the spice trade.

SALTPETRE

From about 1628 saltpetre figures prominetly in the cargo lists of the homeward-bound vessels. The Dutch had for some time imported from the Coromandel Coast this necessary ingredient of gunpowder, and it may seem strange that the English were so slow in following their example. It must be remarked, however, that saltpetre was under strict Government control in England, and could neither be exported without permission nor sold to any but the King's powder-maker. Students of the time know the strange expedients resorted to in order to meet the supply was soil impregnated with nitreous animal matter ; and the saltpetremen (as they were called) were empowered to enter

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upon any premises and dig up any earth, especially in stables, dovehouses, etc. ; which was suspected to contain the precious material. To such an extent was this interference carried that in 1655 a royal proclamation was issued, forbidding the paving of stables, etc. or the hindrance of any saltpetreman from digging where he pleased. The quantity thus procured was, however, insufficient for the needs of the powder-makers, and supplies had to be imported from Danzig and other places. In February, 1624, the Commissioners of the Navy urged the East India Company to imitate the Dutch in bringing saltpetre from India : while at the close of the same year the Master of the Ordnance declared that the royal mills could no longer furnish the Company with powder, and that, if they wanted a regular supply, they must set up their own mills and bring in their own saltpetre. Thereupon instructions were sent out to the Surat factors to arrange for a supply, a consignment, procured at Agra and Ahmadabad, was accordingly despatched to England. Meanwhile, the Company had (1626) obtained a licence to establish mills for the manufacture of gunpowder for their own use. This proved an unfortunate speculation. The first mills set up at Egham, were ordered to be removed, as the noise disturbed the royal deer in Windsor Forest : whereupon the Company rented some mills at Chilworth, near Guildford—a locality ever since associated with the manufacture of munitions. The King's powdermaker complained loudly of this infringement of his patent, and for a time the concession to the Company, was withdrawn. Finally, in February, 1637, they assigned their lease to Samuel Cordwell, who had secured a contract from the King in the previous November, and thus ended the Company's concern with the manufacture.

In India some difficulty had been experienced in procuring saltpetre, since its export was forbidden on account of its utility

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for warlike purposes.* Usually a bribe to the local officials removed all obstacles; but in March, 1628, the English and Dutch factors at Agra were imprisoned for a time for having bought and transported saltpetre without express permission. Ten years later, the Company finding that at home they were forced to sell their stock to the Government at prices much below the market rate, ordered that a preference should be given to other goods; and, in obedience to these instructions, the Surat factors first reduced, and then ceased their purchases. In 1643, however, they recommended sending home a supply pointing out that saltpetre was now cheap, and was moreover very useful as ballast, being shot loose into the vessel's hold.

The civil wars in Britain, followed by hostilities first with Holland and then with Spain, naturally produced a great demand for saltpetre. At the same time fresh sources of supply were being opened up in India. The development of trade with Rajapur and other ports on the Malabar Coast enabled the Company's servants (369) to procure large quantities at a reasonable cost, though the expense and trouble of refining it at Surat induced them still to rely in the main upon purchases in Gujarat or at Agra. The same difficulty was felt upon the Coromandel Coast. The Madras factors wrote in 1652 that they could obtain an unlimited supply of saltpetre in Bengal, but must send it home unrefined, unless they could obtain from Surat some copper pans for boiling it, the earthen-ware pans used by the Indian refiners being troublesome and ineffective. They added that the Dutch shipped annually from Bengal nearly 2,000 tons, buying it raw

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* In 1636 Prince Aurangzeb, the Viceroy of Gujarat, strictly prohibited the exportation of saltpetre, on the ground that the gunpowder made from it might conceivably be used against Mohammedans. The restraint was continued until his recall and appointment of a less scrupulous successor. (Note on P. 368).

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at Patna and refining at Pipli. Then, as now, saltpetre was abundant in Bihar, and a letter of December 1650, says that the price at Patna was only one rupee per maund, though carriage and customs nearly doubled the cost by the time the saltpetre reached Hugli. As the Patna maund seems to have equalled about 78 lb., while at home saltpetre was fetching from £ 4 to £ 5 per hundredweight, it is evident that the commodity, though a bulky one to transport, yielded a handsome profit, after allowing for all expenses, including refining; and the numerous private ships that resorted to Bengal and the Malabar coast during the period 1655-58 made their returns largely in this article. In July, 1657, Maurice Thomson and his associates, who were prominent in this traffic, declared that they had imported from Patna large quantities of saltpetre ; much of which, after the needs of the English Government had been satisfied, they had exported to France, Sweden, Hamburg, Holland, and Italy, and that they hoped to make London the chief magazine in Europe for this branch of trade. In November, 1657, however, a note from the Company's servants at Surat states that on their side of India the exportation of saltpetre had been stopped owing to the outbreak of civil war, which ended in placing Aurangzeb on the imperial throne.

The remaining commodities imported by the Company may be dismissed more briefiy. Lac—either in the form of stick-lac for dyeing, or of seed—and shell-lac for miscellaneous uses—was sent home from Surat at intervals during the greater part of the period, while supplies came also from the Coromandel Coast, obtained mostly from Bengal or Pegu. Sugar—both palm sugar from Gujarat and cane sugar from Bengal (procured partly by way of Agra)—was brought to England with fair regularity, though the Company attached little importance to this commodity, as evidenced by their placing it, in 1632 and again in 1650, among the goods which might be imported as private trade. The price real-

ised in London was at first about £ 4 per hundredweight ; it rose as high as £ 6 8 s. in 1650, but declined to £ 3 or less in 1657, owing, possibly, to the competition of West Indian sugar. Other miscellaneous imports were ginger, borax, myrobalans, and various drugs, such as aloes (originally from Socotra), olibanum, benzoin, cassia, and spikenard. Cowries (obtained from the Maldives) were brought to England in 1647-50, but not in any great quantity ; they were sold, it seems, for export to Africa. Coffee was a regular feature of the Company's trade in the East, their ships fetching it from Mokha for sale in India or Persia or at Basra, but although samples had been sent home in 1628 (apparently in response to a request), it was not until the end of 1657 that the Company ordered a supply for England ; and the first time that it figured in their London sales was in August 1660.

In the foregoing list we miss several items which today figure prominently in the export trade of India. Tea or jute or hides we should not expect to find. Wheat was carried from Gujarat to Goa, and even to Bantam, for the use of the Europeans there ; while biscuits made at Surat helped to provision the English ships for their long homeward voyage ; but, of course, no one dreamt of carrying the raw material to England. Tobacco was another article which it would not have paid to send home, in view of the competition of Virginia. Rice figures at times in the Company's London sales ; but it seems to have come from Bantam—not from India.

ENGLISH PRODUCTS

We have now to consider the commodities which the Company sent to India for sale there. Of these the most important was woollen cloth, the preparation of which, as already remarked, then constituted the chief industry of this country. It need

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scarcely be said that broadcloth, which the equivalent of from 21 s. to 28 s. or more per yard was demanded in India, was not likely to be purchased for wear by ordinary people. As a letter from Surat (February, 1615) observed, the Indians could make three suits of clothes for the price of one yard of English cloth. But the Emperor and his nobles used this material to some extent for apparel, and still more for elephant trappings or saddles for horses ; and, the custom once started, the officials of the imperial household could usually be induced to buy a considerable quantity on behalf of His Majesty. Bright colours (370) were chiefly in demand, especially reds, greens, and yellows. It is interesting to note that in December, 1639, the Surat factors reported that, whereas Jahangir had always preferred scarlet cloth, his more orthodox successor, Shah Jahan, would wear none but green. Throughout the period, though the demand varied considerably (partly owing to competition of Dutch cloth, which was often superior to that brought by the English), broadcloth was a stock article of export, both to Surat and to the Coromandel Coast.

The other English products carried out were mainly lead, tin, and at first iron, though it was soon discovered that English iron stood no chance in competition with the cheaper Indian article. Lead—used mainly for making shot but also for conversion into the red oxide for decorative purposes—was in constant demand in all parts of India. At Masulipatam in 1630 it was yielding 150 percent profit. The Surat demand was estimated in 1616 and again in 1628 at from twelve to thirteen thousand maunds per annum ; while in 1639 the factors at that place declared that they could sell to the Governor for the Emperor's use almost any quantity that could be brought. The lead was chiefly in pigs or bars ; but it came also as sheet lead, wrapped round the bales of broadcloth, and in that form it was stated to be yielding, in

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1626, about as much profit as the broadcloth itself—a profit estimated, two years later, at 40 per cent. English tin found at times a market ; but it was always exposed to competition from the tin of the Malay Peninsula, which commanded a much better price ; and after a while the Company ceased to send any out. The considerable demand in India for copper was largely met by imports from Japan, brought by Dutch ships ; and although the Company twice at least included a supply in their cargoes, it was found to be unprofitable and was given up accordingly. Quicksilver, on the other hand, was a favourite article of export from England to India, in spite of the trouble caused by leakage, and throughout our period considerable quantities were regularly shipped. It seems to have been mostly converted into vermilion (of which, however, a separate supply was often sent), and then for decorating buildings, sacred and secular, or for toilet purposes. Both the Portuguese and the Dutch brought quicksilver to India from China, while some came from Europe by the Red Sea route.

Another favourite item of commerce was coral, obtained originally from the Mediterranean, though here again there was competition on the part of that brought by the more direct Red Sea route. It was much in demand for personal adornment ; while in the Deccan, we are told, it was used for burning with the dead. In 1626, and again in 1630, the profit made at Surat on this article was about 60 per cent ; at Goa in 1642 a consignment yielded 90 per cent. advance ; and at Masulipatam in 1636 it was estimated that coral costing in England 14 s. 6 d. per pound would realise 100 Pagodas per maund of 26 pounds, or over 170 per cent. In 1640 this commodity was declared to be the most profitable of all those sent to India. About 1647, however, a change set in, and prices went down owing partly to large supplies brought by the Portuguese and the Dutch ; though

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in 1659 we find the Company still purchasing a quantity for export to India. Coral beads were sent out as an experiment about 1645 ; but the prices were found to be too high as the Indian workmen could make beads from imported coral at a much cheaper rate ; while some of those received were unsaleable because they had crosses on them. Amber beads, by the way, were a profitable commodity between 1619 and 1629.

If it seems strange that Mediterranean coral could be carried to India with profit by such a roundabout route, it is stranger still to find that elephants' tusks, of which the main source was Africa, formed an important branch of the Company's early commerce, though a more natural route was that from Mozambique and other East African ports to Goa. The explanation seems to be that supplies received by the latter channel were too irregular and too small to meet the very considerable demand in India for ivory for carving and inlay-work. However, suitable tusks were not always procurable in London at prices that would yield profit in India. From 1630 the export of this commodity virtually ceased until 1648, when a consignment sent out fetched a higher price than usual. In January, 1652, the Surat factors told their employers that ivory would always yield a profit.

Besides these ordinary items of merchandise the Company sent out, especially in the early days, sword-blades, knives, mirrors and many other articles for sale at the imperial court, including jewels, tapestry, satins, damasks, cloth of gold, and trinkets and curiosities of all sorts. The swords sold fairly well, though a regrettable preference seems to have been manifested for those made in Germany. The tapestry, manufactured mostly at the works started at Mortlake (371) in 1620 by Sir Francis Crane, was at first very popular at court ; in 1628 the factors reported against further consignments, as such hangings were now produced in India itself of a more suitable size. Some specimens sent

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out about 10 years later were returned because no buyer could be found ; while in 1652 the Surat factors declared that such articles were difficult to sell, especially if they had imagery on them. In that same year the English merchants were still endeavouring to recover from the gallant Chhatrasal of Bundi the value of some tapestry which had, unfortunately, caught the fancy of his grandfather over twenty years before ; and it is doubtful whether the full amount had been paid when the Raja fell, fighting for Dara against Aurangzeb, in 1658.

Sir Thomas Roe, during his embassy to India, urged strongly the advisability of sending out valuable jewels, of which he was convinced the Emperor and his nobles would buy up to £ 100,000 worth yearly. However, it was soon discovered that Jahangir, at all events, was a keen bargainer for such wares, and that any jewels refused by him or by his principal courtiers were difficult to dispose of, as no one dared to risk displeasure by purchasing them. In 1628 the factors advised that no more jewels of an ordinary character should be sent out, though large and rich pearls or rubies might sell to advantage. Apparently, however, the Company did not care to take any further risks in this direction, and so the trade in such rarities was left open to private speculators.

In spite of the Company's efforts to find suitable goods with which to fill their India-bound vessels, they could not avoid sending out a far greater value in coin or bullion as well, if return cargoes were to be provided. Statistics of these supplies of treasure are not often available, but we know that in the first twenty-four years of their trade the values of goods and money respectively sent out to all their Eastern settlements were in the proportion of about seven to fifteen ; while in five later years the consignments to India itself showed a still greater disproportion—*viz.* about two to seven. As is well known, this constant

export of the precious metals was the cause of many and bitter attacks upon the Company, and they would gladly have avoided it if they could ; indeed signs are not wanting that for this reason they were content to continue sending out certain commodities so long as their proceeds would cover the bare cost of so doing. The usual form in which this treasure was carried was foreign silver coins, especially Spanish reals of eight (which were generally of high standard of purity), though German or Dutch dollars, Florentine crowns, and silver ingots were also taken out. Whether coined or not, this silver had, of course, only a bullion value, since it had all to be turned into rupees at the Indian mints before it could be made available for the purchase of goods. The Company's charter permitted only the exportation of foreign silver ; but in 1626, when, in consequence of the war with Spain, Spanish reals could not easily be procured a licence was obtained from King Charles to export foreign gold. In the following year English gold or silver was allowed to be used, if necessary ; while, later still, there were several grants for the exportation of foreign or English gold. On the Coromandel Coast, and in Southern India, generally, gold was the standard currency ; and even in Northern India that imported by the English proved in general more profitable than silver. In passing I may mention that in 1628 the Surat factors declared that, of the various kinds of gold coins sent out, there was "none that vends readier or yields more proffitt then 20 s. peices English coyne". A little later, however, they reported that the demand for gold had fallen off, and advised that for the future only one-third, or at the most one-half, of the treasure sent out should be in that metal. The famine of 1630-32 depreciated still further the value of gold, since no one could afford to hoard it, and much that had been put away was now brought out and spent upon food. However, gold

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continued to be in demand on thc Coromandel Coast ; and in 1646 the Surat factors wrote that it was once again in favour in their parts of India, as the Dutch had not of late brought any from China. There was, indeed, no falling-off in the exportation from England down to the end of our period ; and the acquisition by the East India Company of the Guinea Campany's settlements in 1657 was prompted by a desire to utilize in India the gold dust procurable on the Western side of Africa, and thus to reduce the amount of coin or bullion sent out from home.

SHIPPING

Before concluding, something may fitly be said regarding the volume of trade during the period under review. Unfortunately, the information available is very scanty, and such statistics as exist are of little use for our purpose, owing to the fact that they seldom apply to India alone. The outward cargoes included supplies for Persia, and sometimes for other countries as well ; while those sent home from (372) Surat similarly comprised goods from Persia, and, in a few cases, some that had come from Bantam. The following figures, relating to the vessels despatched to England from Surat may, however, be given. The only ship that returned in 1616 carried goods to the value of £ 15,670 ; in 1619 the figure was £ 36,000 ; and in the following year £ 28,000, one ship being despatched in each case. In 1628 no less than seven vessels went home, with cargoes amounting to £ 193,440 ; while the ladings of the three ships of 1629 cost £ 51,150. Three more in 1639 carried home goods to the value of £ 109,570, and the cargoes of the two that returned in 1643 were invoiced at £ 58,770. Between 1648 and 1652 (both years included) the total for nine vessels was about £ 196,700, and in 1654 the lading of the "Welcome" cost

£ 13,800. The figures, however, vary so widely, and the information is so defective, that no average can be struck. A safer guide is afforded by the tonnage of the ships sent home, as on that point the evidence is more complete. First, we distinguish a period of six years (1615-20), during which one vessel returns yearly with an average burden of 500 tons. Next come eleven years (1621-31) of increased trade, during which twenty-five ships go home, of an average of 590 tons, making 1,340 tons of merchandise per annum. Then, as a consequence of the Gujarat famine, the exports fall of, and from 1632 to 1638 only one vessel is despatched each year, with an average of 730 tons of goods. A spurt is made in 1639-40, five ships being despatched in the two years ; but this effort spends itself, and the year 1641 is a blank. After this comes the Civil War in England, the increasing pressure of competition by private traders, and the troubles over the renewal of the charter. As a result, during the period 1642-58 we find only twenty-one of the Company's ships leaving Surat for England in the seventeen years, giving an average of 550 tons of merchandise per annum ; but to these we may add seven sent home from the Coromandel Coast, raising the average of goods imported by the Company from India to nearly 700 tons per annum.* These figures, it must be remembered, include goods from Persia, etc. Moreover, they relate only to the Company's shipping, and the amount of Indian merchandise they imported into England was largely increased, first by the vessels employed by Courteen's Association, and then by those of private traders during the period when the East india Company's charter was in abeyance.

Placed beside those of the present day, these figures may

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* For purposes of a rough comparison, it may be pointed out that a modern cargo liner bring home at one time seven or eight thousand tons of merchandise.

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seem quite insignificant, as indeed all statistics of that period look when compared with those of an age when commerce has been immensely stimulated by the progress of inventions and the resulting facilitation of intercourse between distant countries. At the same time it must be remembered that there were many reasons for the tardy development of trade between England and India. Harassed at home by an insufficiency of capital, by competition on the part of other traders, and by the troubles of the Civil War —impeded abroad by the hostility of the Portuguese and the Dutch, as also by the arbitrary and oppressive attitude assumed at times by the governments of the countries into which it sought to penetrate—the East India Company was beset with difficulties throughout the half century with which we are dealing ; and, moreover, it had to serve a long apprenticeship, and experience many disappointments, before the possibilities of commerce between the two countries had been fully explored. At the close of the period, however, we leave the Company firmly established, both in India and at home, with a new charter, ample funds, and a monopoly secured by including in its ranks the most strenuous of its competitors. The result was seen in the great development that took place during the second half of the seventeenth century, and steadily continued until the trade of the Company was merged into that of the nation generally.*

(* For a discussion on the above paper, see the same volume, pp. 384-387.)

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(2) BERNIER'S MINUTE, 1668

MINUTE BY M. BERNIER UPON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF TRADE IN THE INDIES*, dated 10th March, 1668. Found and translated by Sir Theodore Morison.

(I) (*Note by Translator :* In 1658 Francois Bernier was on his way back to Europe after a residence of eight years at the Court of the Great Mughal. At Surat he met M. Carron, who had been sent by Colbert, the great Finance Minister of Louis XIV, to lay the foundations of trade between France and India on behalf of the French East India Company (la Compagnie des Indes Orientales) which had been founded in 1664. It was at Carron's request that Bernier wrote the Memoir which is here published in an English translation. ➤

The Memoir itself is preserved in the "Archives due Ministere des Colonies" in Paris ; it is written in a large clear, and easily legible hand ; on the first page of the Ms is a marginal note, believed to have been written by Colbert himself, which begin thus : "I have read the whole of this Memoir and have found it very sensible and full of good and useful instructions for the establishment of commerce in the Indies". This document has not hitherto been accessible to students of Indian history. It does not appear among the published works of Bernier ; no reference is made to it by Archibald Constable, the indefatigable editor of

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* From the Journal Of The Royal Asiatic Society Of Great Britain And Ireland, for 1933, pp 1-21. The comments of J. Ph. Vogel published on page 411 of the same volume is incorporated at the end of Bernier's Minute. Figures in brackets indicate the original page numbers in JRAS.

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Bernier's writings on India. M. Paul Kaeppelin, the historian of la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, appears to have known it only in manuscript. I was for some time under the impression that it had never been published, but thanks to M. Paul Roussier, the Archiviste of the Ministere des Colonies, I have discovered that a transcript of it did appear in 1885 (2) in the proceedings of the Societie Nationale d'Agriculture, Sciences et Arts d'Anger, where, though technically published, it is not more accessible than in the archives of the Ministry ; morever, the transcript, made by M. H. Castonnet des Fosses, is grossly inexact and of little value for historical purpose.

In the translation which is now published, I have aimed only at the faithful reproduction of the original, and though the style is often cumbersome and involved, I have not attempted to alter it.)

I HAVE some grounds for suspecting that our rivals have spread the impression at Court that the French belong to a King who is very powerful and that we are a warlike, domineering and turbulent nation. Therefore it seems to me that it would, at the beginning, be a good thing to try to remove from the mind of Aurangzeb and the Ministers every ground for fearing that we should one day become too powerful in these regions. For at the Court people remember well what the Portuguese used to be and already they are beginning to be very jealous of the power of the Dutch because they hold, as it were, at the door of the Mughal empire, all these fortresses of Ceylon, Paliecatte, and Cochin, that they sell spices and copper at an exorbitant price, dearer than ever did the Portuguese, that they do justice for themselves by force, threatening and capturing their ships from Moka which carry their Hajis or pilgrims there for Mecca, and that they return laden with the riches of the goods, which they take there with them and that they attempt by all sorts of devices

to ruin the trade of the people of the country. This being so, it will be enough, in my opinion, for the present to speak little of the power and greatness of our King, contending ourselves with saying simply that he is one of the great ones of Frangistan (Europe) and not to insist so much as to say that he is greater than the King of England or of Portugal or of Denmark or of Holland, for these are the only ones they know ; God helping they will in time learn well enough how matters stand. The time is not yet. Furthermore, it seems to me that (3) it would be expedient not to reveal and perhaps even to deny that our King has a share in the capital of the Company[1]. Furthermore, it seems to me expedient to make but a moderate show in the embassy to Delhi and that for this reason it would be enough if either Monsieur Carron or Monsieur de Faye went there alone ; during which time one or the other should stay here (i.e. Surat) to control all these new-comers and to put a stop to the discord which will certainly arise, as I see already well enough ; or alternatively that he should go on the embassy to Persia at the same time as the embassy to Indostan which might remove a cause of jealousy from the King of Persia. And although it would be desirable that it should be a Frenchman who should go as Ambassador to Delhi, I cannot help thinking that it would be more expedient that Monsieur Carron[2] should be the one to go there. I do not say this because I have any doubt of the capacity of Monsieur de Faye, but because he would possibly not find all the satisfaction which he might expect ; for this Court here is very different to that of Persia, where from Policy and for reasons of State there is a show of doing honour to the Franks ; and lastly, to tell the

1. Louis XIV had, in fact, subscribed one-fifth of the capital.

2. Carron was a Dutchman, recruited into the service of the French East India Company because of his experience in the East.

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truth, more patience and self-control are needed here than would be believed.

Indeed, I am of opinion that twelve to fifteen persons, well made, well mannered, and of good understanding would be enough. The Dutch in their last embassy had not half the number. One Palleky (palki), two handsome carriages, and some horses would it seems to me be enough, without at the same time pretending to such a mob of servants of this country ; it is not this sort of thing which shows what we are. There would be no harm if everything at all times gave the impression of the merchant, of the stranger newly arrived who has not got all his equipment. The thing to take care about is to have (4) a handsome and costly present and not to forget to give part of it to Jafar Khan, the Vizir. The success of our business depends principally upon him and on him depend the weightiness, the tenor, and the despatch of those different firmans which are necessary for the establishment of factories, and those letters of recommendation which he may write to the governors of the provinces ; if there were something handsome to offer to his son Namdarkam (Namdar Khan) and his wife it could not fail to be of much use. This young Omrah (nobleman) is very ready to oblige and does not dislike the French, and the wife is one of the most powerful, domineering, and intriguing ladies of the Court. Do not forget also to win over by presents and promises one or other of his chief officers. No one could believe how useful these people can be in forwarding and despatching business. There is in his household a man called Mullah Salle (Saleh), who has much power, and who is even rather well disposed to the Franks, at least he was a great friend of the late father Buzee, Jesuit, and was very useful to him. But I do not think that this will be enough ; upon this point full and tactful inquiries must be made. I have seen Monsieur Adriean, Commander of Surat, the Ambassador for

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the Dutch, who found himself in considerable trouble because he wished to make use of another Omrah in place of the Vizir ; when he thought that he was advancing his business it went back and was continually postponed. These Omrahs are very jealous of one another so that I think that it would almost be best not to go further than Jafar Khan and his household. Nevertheless, if it were thought expedient to employ someone else, to make sure, in fact, that Jafar Khan was acting in good faith, I will tell you that there is one who is called Dinanetkan,[3] whose son Restamkam (Rustam Khan), a great friend of mine, speaks Portuguese and Latin, the same is very influential with the King, very ready (5) to oblige and a great friend of the Franks; he is a man who can say something privately to the King Would to God that we were not obliged in our business to address ourselves to the Vizir, but it is a public matter. I would not advise that we should approach anyone but Dianet Kan. I will mention further Danechmendkhan[4] (Daneshmand Khan), who is very influential with the King from being able to speak with him when he thinks good and from being his master and teacher and counsellor ; but Jafar Khan and he are not very good friends because Daneshmand Khan carries it high, being the learned man of India and besides the mortal enemy of his other doctor Mullah

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3. So written in MS., probably an error for Dianetkan, i.e., Dianat Khan.

4. This was the title of the Minister whom Bernier served in India whom he usually calls "my Agah" in his published works. In a letter to Monsieur Chapelaun, dated 4th October, 1667, Bernier thus describes his own duties :..."explaining to my Agah the recent discoveries of Harveus and Pecquet in anatomy and discoursing on the philosophy of Gassendi and Descartes which I translated to him in Persian (for this was my principal employment for five or six years)".

Salle, who is on the side of Jafar Khan. Moreover, as he profe-sses to be a great Muhamedan he is always apprehensive, I have observed, of mixing himself up with the affairs of the Franks. Nevertheless, as I have served him for so many years and as I know that he thinks very well of me, as can earily be ascertained over there, and as I have promised him, as also Djanat Khan, that I would send him some books, and some touffa[5] from Europe, certainly out of regard for me he could do much ; but it is a matter which ought to be handled with great discretion and secrecy on account of this jealousy and enmity of which I have spoken. It seems to me that it ought only to be used in the last resort and if it was evident that Jafar Khan wished to procrastinate matters excessively. In any case there would be no harm in making him a little present as if coming from me and as it were something sent me from Europe in the belief that it was thought to be for him and which I should have given him. For he is a person whom (6) I propose to remain on good terms and to make use of, in case of need, for the business of the Company.

I think it above all necsssary to make Jafar Khan thoroughly understand, and this must be done tactfully, the real reason which the French have had for founding this Company and for coming to India. Our object must be, as I have said, to disabuse them of all prejudicial suspicion and to make them thoroughly understand that it is for the good of Indistan. We must try to make them thoroughly understand these points ; that of all the Frangis the most industrious and the greatest workers are the French, that it is to France that go almost all the commodities from foreign countries there to be worked up, that France is as it were the general karkane[6] of Frangistan, and as it were the

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5. i.e. Tuhfa—a small present, a curiosity, a trifle.
6. i. e. Kharkhanah.

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warehouse to which all the nations of that region came to supply themselves with manufactured goods : that in consequence they have need of an abundance of commodities of all kinds ; that they are obliged to go and fetch them in foreign countries, as in Italy and the Kingdom of Kondekar[7] or Grand Seigneur and others which are there sold much dearer than in Indistan, that further they are obliged to take a great quantity of those commodities which the Dutch and the English bring from the Indies and to buy them very dear at the price which they wish, that for these reasons the merchants of France in a body went to pray their King to permit them to found a Company, like the Dutch and the English, to come themselves to the Indies to trade, to take their scarlet and other wares, and to bring back those which the Dutch bring back and come and sell them so excessively dear. These French merchants considering that the Dutch and the English will perhaps from jealousy, do their best to frustrate their plans because (7) they see that they will no longer bring so many goods from Indistan into France and that they fear that they will be obliged to buy them in the Indies dearer than they were accustomed, therefore they have asked the King of France, their master, to help them in this undertaking and it is for that reason that he has addressed a letter in their favour to the King of Indistan, and knowing how much consideration Kings give to the letters and requests which they receive one from another, he has led his subjects to hope that Orangzebe would receive them in his kingdom, would offer them special protection, and would bestow on them the same privileges as upon the Dutch and the English ; in order the more to encourage them in

7. Grand Seigneur was the name by which in the 17th century the French designated the Sultan of Turkey (v. Anglice Grand Turk). Kondekar is presumed to be a corruption of Khudawendigiar or Khunkiar, titles applied to the Ottoman Sultans.

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this enterprise he has conceded to them great privileges above all the other merchants of his kingdom. Because they do not yet know the customs of the country he has by kindness and by honourable presents attracted to their service a number of persons from all parts who had already been in the Indies ; above all to guide and direct them he had given them Master Carron, of whose prudence and trustworthiness he knew, being aware of the good repute which he had acquired in these parts both in business and in the honourable appointments which he has filled for nearly 30 years.

I have thought it of so much importance that these matters should be properly understood at Court that I have written about them to my Nabob Daneshmand Khan so as to prepare the King's mind, I do not doubt that he has shown my letter to the King ; but they are matters on which it is impossible to insist too much and which should be impressed especially upon Jafar Khan. It is for this reason that I have repeated them here.

As for the question of Huges, he who came some years ago to execute that pretty business at Moka, I do not think that they will reopen it ; but in any case if they were to talk about it I should advise discreet dissimulation on that subject as far as possible, and then if they insisted to say (8) that he is not a Frenchman, that he is a Dutchman, and, if it seems expedient, that they have had his goods and that they have let him out of prison, that the French had never been to the Indies and that if he (Huges) had brought a few of them he must have deceived them making them believe that he was going to take them to the Canaries or to some other islands. These are things which I have already said because this business has passed through my hands as I informed Mr. Carron ; I was protecting the honour of my nation and played a good trick on the Dutch. My advice would be that that man should not come to Indistan, at least so soon.

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Our enemies might well make it an excuse for making us hated and try to make us pass for pirates, seeing us support a man who passes for a pirate and for a pirate of Moka, which is the worst of all ; all the Muhammadans being very regardful of these vessels, seeing that they carry their Hajis or Pilgrims for Mecca. As to the matter of Messrs. Bebber and de la Boulaye, though it is a murder that must be written in red letters to show some day what we feel about it, at the proper time and place, never the less for the present I should advise that we did not talk about it at all, and that even we should strongly reprobate in general terms their control of men who did not understrand matters and who were too young and who exceeded the orders they had received, although in fact the reverse may be the truth. And as for the twenty-five thousand rupees which were given to him as much for his blood as for his clothes, I think it would be well not to talk of them at all ; it would be too undignified to wish to return them and it would also seem to condone this murder. The size of the present which will be given will put all to rights. For the rest we must dissimulate ingeniously and confine ourselves always to saying in a general way that they behaved badly ; we must leave it to the prudence of our honourable leaders to judge of this when they have ascertained by inquiry exactly what took place.

As for the letter of the King, it can always be made evident that we wish very much to give it into (the King's) own (9) hands but I do not think it is necessary to insist upon it, especially since I have never seen it conceded to any but the Ambassador of Persia, and even then with difficulty. I think it would be far better to confine our attention to the purpose of our monarch who only sends letters to assist the business of the Company and not to ruin it ; a thing which might well happen if we chose to be too obstinate about a point of honour. As to the salam they

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will not prevent us from making it when entering and leaving the King's presence after our own fashion : nevertheless, if after having received the serpahs or dresses we went so far, as is the custom, that is to say, to make the salam in the Indian way, putting the hand three times on the head and stooping on the ground, I see no harm in doing it ; all the more because I have never seen any Ambassador who did not do it, unless it were the Ambassador from Persia. who did not come here for his advantage, but to do honour, and who besides is a Muhamadan and in consequence more highly esteemed than we who by the grace of God are Christians. I would add here that Monsieur Adriean, because he did not wish to have anything given to the first doorkeepers before entering, found himself very badly ill-treated on entering the castle. It is impossible to imagine the lengths to which these rascals carry their insolence or their capacity to put slights on strangers ; on the other hand, if one knows how to propitiate them adroitly, they make the crowd give place and do you honour. They are also scoundrels of another kind who must not be angered, these are the Paydas who come to ask for ainam[8] on account of the serpah which the King sends ; they also are capable of causing more annoyance than one would think. These are little things, but still they must not be neglected. Jafar Khan may well, besides some serpahs, make a present of some horses. From him we would not dare to refuse anything, but we ought none the less to excuse ourselves gracefully from accepting this present (10) as far as we can. And this is even more true of the other Omerahs ; for in short we must remember that none of them give anything but in the hope of receiving three-fold in return.

I forgot to say that if Raushanara Begum is still high in favour it would perhaps be judicious to give her a present ; but

8. i.e. reward

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that is a question which should be carefully examined for I think it almost superfluous. I was about to forget another thing which I ought to have said at the outset, that on leaving here it would be judicious to take letters here from the Vikil (agent) of Jafar Khan and even from the Governor if they offered any of their own accord, which they would be sure to do in order to show their importance and in the hope that we should remember them, but always remember to place reliance on no one but Jafar Khan. And when our representatives arrive at Agra, which is six days from Delhi, they should send on ahead a man of brains with an interpreter, who shall go straight to find Jafar Khan, warn him of the arrival of the Ambassador, and beg him from the Ambassador to find him a house. If he gives one, that is all to the good, if he procrastinates, as he did in the case of Monsieur Adriean, then just have patience and seek one to let but none the less not to engage it until he has been warned as also the Kotwal of the quarter, and remember to bring from Surat everything to furnish it after the fashion of the country. The house of Mirza Zulkarnin was the one which was given to the ambassadors from Ethiopia. Let me add further that to show niggardliness on this occasion would make one contemptible ; yet on the other hand one must not launch into extravagance because we must always remember that we are merchants and not Persian ambassadors, who, as I have already said, come here only for honour and to make a show. Let me add also that there is in my eyes nothing so important in this business to make it succeed well, to make our sentiments well understood and to extricate us from a thousand small difficulties and (11) disagreeables which will infallibly occur, than a good and faithful interpreter, thoroughly experienced and familiar with the methods of procedure in the country and at the court of Babar. No pains should be spared to find a good one, for he will not only be

necessary at Delhi but in the Embassy which must be sent to Golkonda, and afterwards in the neighbourhood of those Governors where we shall establish factories as Patna, Bengal, and Masulipatan (Masulipatam). In Aurangabad in the service of the Sultan there is one named Jean Bapitse Chamber, of French parents, born at Aleppo. I know hardly any language which he does not understand perfectly both to read and write. I know that he will be very pleased to enter the service of the Company ; he might be written to and proposals made to him so that he might bethink himself of withdrawing as soon as possible from his (present) service ; if one thing care should be taken, and that is to curb him a little, to let him know tactfully that he must not attempt to be the master ; for the rest I think him capable of being useful in everything. There is also in Agra the son of a Frenchman who is called Signor Iakimo, a very quiet and honest man who reads and writes, speaks and understands Persian, Indian, and Portuguese perfectly well. But he is a little shy, and in my opinion a little obstinate and slow ; nevertheless, if he is taken in the right way I think that useful service might be got from him, and as he is at present poor, he might be persuaded to take an engagement in the Company. There is also at Delhi Monsieur Saint Jacques, a Frenchman, native of la Pelisse, my good friend, doctor to the King on a very handsome salary, married in the country, but whose wife out of aversion to him turned Moor (embraced Islam) last year so as to secure a separation. He is a great intriguer who understands very well the course of business in the Durbar ; he can give a great deal of information and be very useful in putting our affairs in the right way and expediting business ; but he wishes to be treated accordingly ; he likes consideration (12) and has no dislike to presents and he has little interests of his own. None the less he seems to me a man not to be neglected not only for the pre-

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sent but for the future for we must bear in mind that some trouble is certain to arise in the provinces. I know that from the experience I have had of the business of the Dutch on which I have often been employed, and thus it will be necessary always, or at least, at the beginning, to have a man at Court with whom we are in correspondence to keep a hand on our business so as not to be obliged to send special messengers whom they will always want to devour there as soon as they see them. Even though the firmans which we may get from the King and take away with us are in good order, none the less in the provinces when the time comes to put them into execution the governors, the officers etc., who wish to rob will always find some impediment. This then is the reason why I have always heard the chiefs and the most intelligent of the Dutch say that the great difficulty of doing business in India is not in the sale or purchase of goods ; men of moderate intelligence soon master that, but rather in knowing how to protect oneself from the exactions of the governors of provinces and the self-possessed and greedy scoundrels, their officials. I say self-possessed, for to see them at work you would not think that they would dream of such a thing, so quietly do they appear to proceed ; but yet there is not a Turk or Jew who knows better how to make you come to the point they wish. So it seems to me that the Portuguese are right in saying of these people : *nonque vouin palabre nonque boa obra.*[9]

I forgot further to say that on the road and even when starting hence here is one thing of which to take care, and that is not to be joined by an infinite number of wagons laden with merchandise which their owners will want to get passed along and entered into Agra and Delhi without paying anything under the shadow of my lord the Ambassador ; to get (13) rid of them or

9. This I am told is "pidgin Portuguese" and probably means "Never a bad word, never a good deed".

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at least of most of them quietly and without much fuss would be much the best.

But to be able to give special advice as to what may happen is what I find difficult because that depends upon the diverse conjecture of events which it is as it were impossible to foresee. For this reason I will confine myself to saying in a general way that it will be absolutely necessary to provide yourself with a good and ample store of prudence and patience ; do not imagine that you are going to have to do with people who have no intelligence or who are highly civilized after our manner and would make a great show of doing us honour and favours or who care much about us ; but get it clearly into your head that they are Muhamadans and we Christians and that in consequence they hate us at least as much as we hate them ; but they would like to see us a long way out of their sight were it not that to have Franks is for them at the moment a necessary evil, and that we cause gold and silver to come into the country. You must also figure to yourself that being Muhamadans they would not dare to do as much honour, even if they wish to, for fear that they themselves should be despised or suspected, and therefore that we must quietly be content with such honour as they do us, without showing any displeasure and being satisfied by saying to ourselves what Monsieur Andriean, the Dutch ambassador, has often said to me in confidence : "Never, Monsieur Bernier, never any more ambassadors to the Great Mogol ; those are mistakes from which one must withdraw with prudence and patience, do the best one can, get from them a bit of one's avowed object, and for the rest console oneself and say always that one is very well satisfied". So that it will be necessary in truth to urge on the despatch of one's business and not to be too impatient. And it is principally in this despatch of business that there will be need of care and attention, patience and self-control and mastery of our French

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temper. Since these people are cold and slow by nature there is no place in the world where (14) business goes so slowly : furthermore, they think that their honour and dignity are concerned in keeping the ambassadors waiting at Court as if the King and noblemen were always occupied in more important business ; moreover they think that with time they will always be able to better to discover the temper and the designs (of their visitors), and then finally one would say that they pretended to despise strangers so as to impress upon the minds of their subjects an idea of their own greatness, so that they may be amazed at seeing before their eyes people who have come from the end of the world to find their King and that notwithstanding he sets no store on them. Patience, then, once again prudence, attention and self-control, and then from all the very greatest respect and honour to my Lord the Ambassador, and between each other complete unity and complete secrecy and all will go well, with the help of God.

Before these gentlemen leave Delhi they must not fail to take from Jafar Khan a letter of recommendation to the Ambassador of the Mogol who will be in Golkonda. This is a very needful thing for he is a devil and an avaricious knave, who for his own interests wishes that all business should pass through his hands. He does exactly as he likes there, and nobody whatsoever ventures to say anything and God forbid that he should come to be against us. When our people are back in Agra they will be able to know exactly what traffic is done there. None the less, I will transcribe for them what I have written thereon in the Diary of my Journey. The Dutch have a factory in Agra ; formerly they did very well out of it in scarlet, looking glasses large and small, in laces plain and of gold and silver, and in ironmongery ;[10] as

10. Cotgrave, ed. 1660, translates "Quinquaillerie = all kind of (small) iron works as padlocks, saussers, gimmers, or Hindges, for doores, etc. sold by iron-mongers."

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also in ennil or indigo, which is gathered there right in the neighbourhood and principally at Biana, at two days distance from Agra, where they have an establishment for that purpose, there (15) they go once a year in the harvest season ; as also (they do very well) out of their trade in all those cloths which they get both from Jelalpur and from Laknau at seven or eight days' journey from Agra, where also they have an establishment, there where they send one of their people once a year ; but at present I do not know whether it is because the Armenians carry on this same trade or whether because it is so far from there to Surat, whither everything must be carried or because some mishap occurs almost always to their caravan which they cause to come, because of the good and short, by way of Ahmadabad and cause to cross all those territories of the Rajas; whatever the cause may be the fact is that at present they complain loudly that there is not much profit in it ; none the less they will not, I think, abandon this factory as the English have done, were it only on account of their spices which they sell there very well, and for the advantage of having some people close to the Court who watch over their business, as it is impossible but that some trouble or other should always arise in one or other of their factories because of the tyranny of the Governors and of their hungry officials.

From all this it will be possible to judge whether it would be advisable to establish a factory there. For my part I think not, especially because, if indigo is wanted, it can always be got in Surat; or we may do like the Armenians and as the English have done at times, that is to send from the factory one or two persons for the season of the cutting of the ennil (indigo plant).

Our men may again in Agra separate to gain time to form themselves into companies, whereof one would be destined for Bengal and the other for the Ambassador of Golkonda, and after

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that for the establishment of a factory at Maslipatan (Masulipatam). When they shall have come to Brempour (Burhanpur), that is to say at ten or twelve days' journey from here, they may take the straight road to Patri, leaving Amengabat (*sic* Aurangabad ?) on their right, because if (16) passed by Amengabat they would be obliged perhaps to go to see Sultan Muazzam,[11] the son of the King and general of the army, which cannot be done decently without some presents. When they shall be near Golkonda they may also send a man ahead direct to the Dabir (Secretary) Said Mousafar (Sayid Muzaffar), who is there like Jafar Khan in Delhi, and beg him to give instructions for a house for the Ambassador. It is well to know, it seems to me, that the Governor of this Court of Golkonda is at the time a very bad man ; the King never leaves the fortress, and does not allow himself to be seen of anyone and appears as it were to have surrendered the government, so that nothing but injustice and confusion is to be seen there. That is why there be need of prudence there as much as at Delhi, and perhaps even much more. I think that the Dutch who have there their factory for the last seven or eight years, if they undertook to act against us, would be more able to trouble our business and delay it here than in Delhi. None the less, if the affair is managed with skill, it cannot be but that it will succeed well all the more because I know that the Secretary has a deadly hatred for the Dutch because of the threats which they have uttered in recent years on account of that English ship which they wished to take in the

11. Muhammad Muazzam, the second son of Aurangzeb, who succeeded him as Bahadur Shah, was appointed Viceroy of the Deccan in 1663, when he was 20 years of age, and remained there with brief visits to Northern India for ten years. Without any justification M. Castonnet des Fosses has here written "le frere du Roy".

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harbour of Masulipatam, when the governor had their factory besieged, threatening them that if they took the ship he would set fire to their factory and would kill them all, and, because since then they have never been willing to sign (pledge themselves) to the effect that they would not take the English vessels in the harbour.

I think, then ; that to succeed it would be necessary there as at Delhi thoroughly to prepare the mind of Secretary, making him well understand the motive which has impelled the (17) French to come to the Indies and to enumerate fully to him all those reasons mentioned above, and even to present them to him written out on paper so that he may the better digest them and inform the King ; that, it seems to me, is the true way to wring the neck of any rumour which our rivals may have circulated to our prejudice. There are two persons who might well serve as go-between and who are certain to offer to act in that capacity. One of them is called Haknatsar, a Persian, by caste an Armenian, who has there made himself a Muhamadan, but none the less always loves and supports Armenians. He has great opportunities of access to the Secretary and even to the King and is a great intriguer, but takes care in his own interest not to be on good terms with the Dutch ; I know well that though he shows them a friendly countenance he does not love them. The other is that Ambassador of the Mogol who, as they say, plays the little King there ; but he is very much governed by self-interest. In case it were wished to make use of Haknatsar, which would not be amiss, because he is as it were of the household of the Secretary, we should none the less be on our guard not to surrender the whole business into his hands. We ought always when approaching the Secretary to have our own interpreter and not to permit him to be there nor when approaching even the King ; we ought only to beg him as our friend to

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give a satisfactory explanation of our motives (in coming here) to the Secretary particularly and to promote and speed our business. In case it were wished to make use of the Ambassador of the Mogol here also we should take good care not to place the matter entirely in his hands, not only because there is always some jealousy on the side of the Secretary, if he sees that he has any hand in it, but because, as I have said, he is a man who from self-interest may do anything. We ought then to have the wisdom to have him as our friend, were it only so that he might do no harm and for the rest direct our business towards the Secretary.

In case it became evident that the Secretary was not acting (18) honestly and that our business was being delayed, there is one great remedy, and that is to go straight to Neikam Khan, the general of the army, to make him understand thoroughly in writing our motives and to beg him to lend us his favour against the manoeuvres of our rivals ; he is a man of great influence, much devoted to the good of the State, who does not care a rap for the Secretary nor for anyone, and who goes to speak to the King when he thinks it right. In any case our people must not leave Golkonda without going to see him and without making him a small present which will be made to the King. There must be no doubt that it ought not to be equal to that of the Mogol. I don't say either that a present must (? not) be made to the Secretary, for that is still possible. For the rest I can tell you that I know well that the factory of the Dutch at Golkonda is one of the best in the whole of Indistan, partly because of the great quantity of cloth and big chites (Chintzes)[12] which can be bought cheap thereabouts and are taken to Masulipatam, and partly

12. Chite="a sort of Indian cloth printed with wooden blocks, the colours of which are very fast" (Littre) i.e., pintadoes, v. Moreland, *From Akbar To Aurgangzeb*, p. 32.

because that is the meeting place of all the diamonds. None the less, I do not think that we ought to be in a hurry to establish a factory there because this factory demands factories in Japan, Tonquin, and elsewhere. I forgot to say that the chief of this factory, who is called Nieudole, is the man who found it...(?). He is one of my friends, but I know him and I do not think he will bend his mind to helping us. Provided that our business at Golkonda has been well managed it will not be difficult to establish the factory at Masulipatam ; all the world will be delighted thereat, all the more because the Dutch are hated there. All that will be needed will be to secure the good graces of the Governor by some decent present and to amuse him with great expectations. (19) We have there Monsieur Junet, a French merchant who for the last six or seven years trades there by the favour of the English ; as he is extremely well versed in the trade of the country and as his heart is thoroughly French, and because he hopes much from French support, he can be of great service. We have already together cast our eyes on a house which used to belong to the Danes : it would not be difficult to get it. Anyhow, he promises mountains and marvels. "Let them only come", he said to me "with two good ships and I will guarantee that I shall make them have all the freights in the harbour for Persia and for Moka ; for the merchants are expecting them and hate the Dutch ; last year a Dutch ship which from Masulipatam went to Persia had for freight more than forty rupess.[14]

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13. The words concluding this sentence "par son esprict et par ses intingres dun nomme le narsou le couratier" are to me unintelligible.

14. Whether Rs. 40 was the rate per maund or per quintal or per ton Bernier unfortunately omits to say.

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As for the party of our men who will take the road to Bengal, they must know in the first place that coaches are no use in this country of Bengal, there only palankins are used and they are very cheap. One could make use of coaches only from Agra to Patna, that is to say for 22 days' journey from Agra, more or less, for there it is usual to get on board a boat on the Ganges, so that it might be well at Agra to let the coaches go for the Embassy to Golkonda and to reserve a palankin for the chief, and for those who will accompany him engage wagons on hire which might be trimmed up with red cloth.

As regards Patna, here are some of the things of which I have written in my diary which for what they are worth may serve for information. Patna is...[15] but it also deserves consideration above all for the great quantity of saltpetre which is got from thereabouts ; so the Dutch and the English have both got their factories there, not in the city itself, but at seven or eight leagues therefrom, where they have this (20) saltpetre prepared in order to send it down from there on the Ganges to Bengal of Ongouly (Hugli) where they load vessels with it for Europe. But in spite of this I do not think it advisable to establish a factory there so early, all the more because one can find means, easily enough, to have saltpetre brought from there to Hugli or Quasimbazar. It would all the same be seemly to go to see the Governor Laskar Khan while passing, making him some little present and assuring him that as soon as our ships should have come into Bengal we should come beneath his favour and to build there a factory.[16] He has there in his service a Portuguese who is called Consabel. who is very obliging, a terrible intriguer,

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15. Text corrupt. From here to the end the Memoir was either hastily composed or carelessly transcribed.

16. The grammatical irregularity is in the French text.

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and who will willingly give all possible information. He was of great use to us when we passed. It will be known at Patna if Shaista Khan, the Governor of Bengal, is at Rajmahal, which is only seven or eight days' journey from Patna, or whether he is at Dahe, which is eight or nine days' journey lower down or thereabouts, so as to make proper contracts for the boats. If it should happen that Shaista Khan is not in Rajmahal, his son, who is governor of it, will be there. Our people must not fail to go to see him, making him some small present and begging him to allow us to continue as soon as possible our journey to Dahe because our business is urgent. It would certainly be quicker to go from Rajmahal by land to Maksandabar or Kasimbazar, there where I think we should establish our first factory. But I think it is absolutely necessary to go first of all to pay our respects to Shaista Khan, because the Governors of Kasimbazar and Hugli are subordinate to him. I need not say that we must give him a good present because that is always understood, all the more because he is self-interested and his goodwill is absolutely necessary, so much so that being the uncle of the King he does whatever he likes ; on condition that the affair is well managed and that he also is made to understand the motives explained (21) above which have obliged us to come to the Indies, for he does not like the Dutch and, as I have said, he is much influenced by self-interest. Then again, although Monsieur Carron may have all the information necessary for the trade of Bengal, I will none the less not forbear to extract from my diary a letter which I have written on Bengal in general, because it may always give a general idea. From that letter it will be apparent, further, that the chief factory of the Dutch is in Hugly ; it will never the less be expedient for us to build our first at Kasimbazar, because that is the spot where all the silks and other merchandise come together, and that from Hugli, where the big ships come, there is a

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canal which goes to Kasimbazar, on which little boats can go, and that by land one can go there comfortably in three days. I will, however, give one small word of warning. Those who go to Kasimbazar must make up their minds from the first to be badly lodged, for there they will not find lodgings to let as at Surat. They must, at least at first, after the rains, set themselves to raise walls with roofs of straw as the Dutch and English did at first and to take great care of fire. For the rest : *andare attento conas mogalie.*[17] There have taken refuge in Bengal so great a number of Portuguese who are ruined, that women overwhelm (burden) the earth about there. There is hardly a Dutchman or Englishman there who has not got women of his own. But in the event he is well caught, for besides losing their souls, they lose also their goods and their bodies, and chiefly if they begin to drink this Bouleponger in quantities and arrack, they become straightaway all rotten with the Indian sickness or at least they become all trembling. Good store of Spanish wine must be provided against the bad air and (?) drunk with great moderation.[18]

J. Ph. Vogel's comments on Francois Bernier's Minute, JRAS, 1933, p. 411.

Anyone interested in the history of Mogul India will feel grateful to Sir Theodore Morison for his discovery and the subsequent publication of the "Minute by M. Bernier upon the Establishment of Trade in India" (JRAS, 1933, pp. 1-21). The following suggestions will, I hope, be accepted as a token of my appreciation.

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17. As it stands this is nonsense. The best conjecture would mean "beware of the snares of the Mogul".

18. This last sentence is incomplete or corrupt, "et encore bien fort mediocrement".

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The Minute mentions a couple of times a Dutchman whose name is rendered as "Monsieur Adriean." This must certainly be Adrican, the name by which the same personage occurs in Bernier's *Voyages* (Amsterdam, 1699), vol. I, p. 170. Here the author gives a vivid account of the Embassy of the Dutch East India Company, which appeared at the Moghul Court to congratulate Aurangzeb on his accession. It was headed by "Monsieur Adrican", whom Bernier praises for his ability. His real name was Dirk van Adricham. He was the Chief of the Dutch factory at Suratte from 1662 till 1665. The *firman* which he obtained from Aurgangzeb is dated the 29th October, 1662. The Journal of his Embassy is extant at the Government Record Office at the Hague; as far as I know, it has never been published.

It is perhaps bold to make another suggestion with regard to a language which I do not profess to know. I suspect, however, that in the Portuguese saying *andare attento conas mogolie* (Minute, p. 21) the last word, whatever its correct form may be, must mean "woman" (cf. Latin *mulieu* and Italian *moglie*). The meaning of the sentence would then be : "Beware of the snares of women", which well agrees with Bernier's subsequent remarks.

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(3) WALTER CLAVELL'S
"Accompt of the trade of Ballasore"[1]

Sir, Ballasore begunn to be a noted place when the Portugueez were beaten out of Angelin (Hijili) by the Moores, about the yeare 1636, at which time the trade begun to decay at Piply, and to have a diminition in other places of these parts : and the Barr opening and the river appearing better then was imagined. The English and the Danes indeavoured to settle Factories here (in 1633), to be out of the troubles the Portuguez gave to other nations and had themselves, the rather because the Cloth of Harrapore (Hariharpur), where our first Factory was settled (in 1632), was without much difficulty to be brought hither by land and the River[2] where our vessells ride before that place as here in the roade of Ballasore. And the Raja of Tillbichrumbung his countrey lyeing neare the place where the greatest quantity of Tester (tassar) or herba is procurable, a Settlement was thought the more Convenient, because Ginghams, Herba Taffatyes, Herba Lungees (*lunggi*, loin-cloth) and other sorts of Herba

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1. This 'Accompt' is placed at the end of the *Diary* of Sir Streysham Master with the 'Accompt of Trade of Hugly'. The first paragraph of this 'Accompt' has been reproduced by Col. Yule in his edition of HEDGES' *Diary* in vol. II. p. 240 and repeated in vol. III. (See p. 181 for the same extract in its archaic form). The full text, reproduced here, is as printed by R. C. Temple in his edition of *Master's Diaries*, vol. II, pp. 84-87.

2. By 'the River' Clavell may mean the Alanka at Hariharpur, or the mouth of the Patali, or Patua, where the English ships first anchored ; and 'that place' may either indicate Hariharpur or the ancient harbour of Harishpur. Hariharpur is in Cuttack district in lat. 20° 20' and long. 86° 17'.

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goods might be made neare and brought hither, and noe where so good Herba goods procurable, The waters of Casharry,[3] giveing the most lasting dye to them, andwithin two dayes journey of this place.

And in this place there being in those times little or noe money, but cowries the common pay, there begun a trade of Barter, first of goods, and in the interlopeing times[4] a trade of Barter for money and goods, each Factor of the perticuler ships endeavouring to out doe the other, where by the whole was brought to a necessity of Driveing either this trade or a trade for ready money.

Since Broad Cloth began first to be out of request in these parts, and yett the Company are still sending great quantityes, enjoyneing us to put off as much as wee can of the manufactoryes of England, wee are constrained to continue the same way of Bartering, and the Governours forbiding Lead to be transported into the Rajaes Countreys (? Northern Circars and Orissa chiefships), on pretence of hindering them from warlike supplyes though it really be to gett himself halfe a rupee upon every maund of Lead for conniveing at its sending away into those parts. And the broadcloth the merchants take from us they sell at underrates to the Kings officers at Cateck, the capitall Citty of Orixa, or elce to those armies that come from Cateck, upon the alteration of a Nabob, in whose traine there alwayes pass merchants under their protection, who pass all the Country over with their goods buying and selling without paying custome.

There is alsoe another Shift the merchants are put (to) to putt

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3. Kasiari in Midnapur district, in lat. 22° 8' and long. 87° 16'.

4. Clavell appears to allude here to the period from 1635 onwards, when the ships sent out by Sir William Courteen were formidable rivals to the Company's trade.

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of Lead and Broadcloth, which is to allow the Kings officers soe much per cent. for takeing of their goods on the Kings accompt and takeing cowries in lieu thereof, which practices, though wee would, wee are not able to make use of, because the Kings and Nabobs officers are afraid of our Testimonyes against them, if wee should have any difference with them, whereas they have noe cause to have any such jealousy from the Hindue Natives.

The present Contracts with the Towne Merchants are to give them upon the arrivall of the ships one halfe money and one halfe goods, to provide these Country goods against October upon Musters agreed, upon which we are to make such abatements as we shall judge reasonable, and the Goods are Generally comeing in soe late upon the dispatch of the ships, that wee cannot make the abatements and adjust the accompts before the ships saile. Wherefore the goods are generally invoiced home at contracted price, and the Merchants credited at the adjusting the accompts for the price concluded on, and the difference carryed to profitt and loss.

Could the difficulty of putting off our Europe Commodityes be once removed, and the feare of the want of a Phyrmaund (firman), it were much for the Companyes advantage to send servants to Mucktapore, Harrapore, and Mohumpore[5] to provide with ready money the goods that come from those places, and to

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5. Mucktapore may possibly be intended for Matkadpur in Midnapur district. The location of Hariharpur has already been given in Chapter I.

Mohumpore is probably Mohanpur in Midnapur District, situated in lat. 21° 50' long. 87° 29'.

6. Dantam, in lat. 21° 44', long. 87° 20', in Midnapur district, is on the main road between Balasore and Midnapur. Jellasore (Jaleswar) lies south-west of Dantan in Balasore district, lat. 21° 44', long. 87° 15'

Danton or Jellasore[6] (? for) Oremara and Casharry goods.[7]

And in case Chimcham (Khem Chand, the Company's Hindu broker) should decease or remove hence, the weavers of Suro[8] that live in the skirts of Ballasore might be treated withall in the same nature that we deale with the Cassambazar weavers, and as Chimcham now doth. And this being now made a distinct Factory, whereby there will be more leisure to attend a business of that nature, it is my advice at present that there be a tryall made of money given out to weavers for Suro Sannoes, and that at the next Mantry (*mantri*, private consultation) which will fall out about February next, some persons be sent to Mucktapore and others to Harapore to inquire into the nature of the trade of those parts, by which time it will be knowne whether the Nabobs Sonn[9] of (? from) Dacca will come to Cateck, or whether Mellick Cossim (Malik Kasim), Raja Mansing (Man Singh), or either will mannage the business of this Province. If the latter doth, there is great hopes of a successfull begining of the alteration of this trade, which the Honourable Company have often advised is managed to disadvantage, and all white Cloth procured here comes out twenty per cent dearer then at the Coast.

One way to help this Factory and Hugly is, if Pattana, Cassambazar and Dacca, will take of a portion of English goods suitable to the treasure they have, and then the direct trade of each place may be perticulerly seen.

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7. Oremara may represent Ulmarro in Midnapur district, or Urmillah in Balasore district. For Cashary (Kasiari) see above.

8. Apparently Soro (or Sohroah) in Balasore district, lt. 21° 16', long 86° 49′, a station on the Bengal-Nagpur railway, is meant, but it can hardly be called the 'skirts of Ballasore', as it is twenty miles distant.

9. ? Buzurg Umed Khan, died 1694.

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Whilst Boremull (Puran Mal) was Governour, who was my peculiar freind, I began to attempt to bring in goods in the Companyes name as we usually doe at Hugly, and with good success, but was interupted by the comeing of Mellick Cossim (in 1672) with whome I found it noe discretion to contend for the attempting of it againe ; and alsoe (? as to) the tradeing with one or more merchants, in my oppinion noe Certaine rule can be given, but things of this nature are to be undertaken at the discretion of the Cheife and Councell, according as the times and Government will bear it. Your Humble Servant, WALTER CLAVELL, December the 15th, 1676.

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(3A) HATTON'S

"Accompt of the trade of Metchlepatam"*

Metchlepatam, January 9th, 1676-7

/112/ To the Worshipfull Streynsham Master, Esq. :—Sir, I shall Confine my discourse /113/ concerning the Traffick used in this mart of Metchlepatam within the Limitts of my owne Experience, haveing now neare overpassed 20 : yeares in these parts.[1]

Arriveing first in the yeare 1657, at which time I found this place in a very florishing condition, 20 : sayle of ships of good burden belonging to the natives Inhabitants here, constantly imployed on voyages to Arracan, Pegu, Tenassery (Tenasserim), Juncceloan (Junkceylon), Queda, Mallaca, Johore, Atcheen (Achin), Moca (Mocha), Persia, and the Maldiva Islands, and to all these parts the goods and Merchandize were of the product-ion of the parts here Circumjacent, as all sorts of Callicoes, Cotton yarne, Paintings (printed cotton goods) of divers sorts, Iron, Steel, and all sorts of Graine, and all Commodityes againe importd where (*sic*) hence dispersed in the Dominions of the Mogull, Visapore (Bijapur) and Golcondah (Haidarabad). And in this state it continued for many yeares, untill the Netherlandish Company settled their Factory at Golcondah (in 1661), where, keeping stores of all sorts of commodityes, they furnished those

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* From the *Diaries of Streynsham Master*, edited by R. C. Temple in two volumes, London, 1911, vol. II, pp. 112-114. The explanations in round brackets are by Temple.

1. Hatton was in India for fourteen years before he entered the Company's service,

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Merchants that usually came downe every yeare to this place, and thereby first occasioned a decay of trade here. The next and fatallest prejudice this place received arose from the corruption of Government at Golcondah. The last King, Shaw Abdalla (Abdullah Qutb Shah, 1624-5 to 1672), leaveing the management of his Kingdome to a Persian, Sayed Meer Jasfar (Sayyid Mir Jafir), who rent(ed) out his Countrey to such as would give most; and they, to raise the summes, by which meanes growne double to the former rents, oppressing the People, have now reduced this place and indeed all the Countrey to this low Condition it now appeares in. For at present the whole trade and support of this place depends on the Honourable Companyes negotiation, and alsoe those of the Netherlandish Company, whose usuall Investment consists in long cloth, fine and course Sallampores, Beteelaes, (Port. *beatilha*, veiling) of Divers sorts, Morees (*muri*), Ginghams, Percollaes (*parkala*), Allejaes (*alachah*), etc., and all these Commodityes of the groweth and Manufacture of this province of Narsinga (Vijayanagar), not to say anything /114/ of the Diamond mines, which is much dispersed to other parts since the declineing estate of this.

The manner of makeing Investments and contracting with Merchants is soe obvious that it will be heedless (? needless) to say any thing thereof, as varrying in divers Circumstances, according to the Judgement and Experience of those that have dealings with them [and whereof you may have plenary satisfaction in our Consultation booke, where all Circumstances relateing thereunto are recorded], only thus much in Gennerall ;—noe considerable quantity of any sort of Callicoes can be procured without given (*sic*) money out some monthes before, which requires care and circumspection concerning those soe intrusted, and this great deffect manifest(s) the declention of trade, for, at my first arrivall into these parts, the Towne was soe well stored

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with able Merchants, that many ships Ladeings of Divers sorts of Collicoes might and were procurable in the space of two or three dayes.

In this brefe description I have laid downe the state of this place and trade, which, if hereafter you will please to Command to have more amply dilated, It shall be carefully obeyed by, Sir,
Your very Humble Servant, CHRISTOPHER HATTON.

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(4) WALTER CLAVELL'S "Accompt of the trade of Hugly." 1676

(To Streynsham Master, Esq., Worshipfull Sir,— In pursuance of an order in Councell, directing me to draw up a state of the trade and commerce of Hugly and Ballasore, I have, according to the little leasure I am master of at present, presented what followeth to your perusall and Consideration.....*here follows the Accomt* .....Your Humble Servant, Walter Clavell. December the 15th, 1676)

/79/ "Hugly haveing the advantage of Sittuation upon the bankes of the river Ganges, whose branches come far from the Country above, and spread wide thereabouts, was in former times in the prosperity of the Portuguez when in their possession sailed to yearly[1] from India and Malaya with 60 : 80 : to 100 : vessells, and since the loss of it to the Moores, which happened about 42: yeares since,[2] hath continued to be a Scale (emporium) of great trade, haveing the Kings Munsebdars (*mansabdar*) for

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* From *The Diaries of Streynsham Master* .(1675-1680), edited by Sir Richard Carnac Temple in two volumes, London, John Murray, 1911, vol. II, pp. 79-84. (The explanations in round brackets are by Sir R. C. Temple and those in the original are distinguished by square brackets). The following notes are by Temple.

1. This passage appears to have been transposed by the copyst, and should probably read. "In the possession of the Portuguez who, in their prosperity, sailed to it yearly."

2. The Portuguese settled at Hugli in 1537. The town was besieged and taken from them by the Muhammadans in 1632.

/80/ Governours, who were put in by and answerable to the Nabobs of Bengale, who reside at Rajamaull or Dacca, as they pleased.

"So long as it Continued thus governed by the Moors, justice was more exactly administred and Complaints made against the Kings Officers took place, perticulerly in the favour of Strangers. But since the yeare 1663 or thereabouts (really, 1666) that Nabob Shasti Ckaun (Shaistah Khan), the present Kings (maternal) Uncle, became Suba (*Subadar*) or Vice Roy of Bengale and obtained Hugly as part of his Jaggere (*jagir*) [or lands assigned him for his Person], his Servants being made soe far Governours as to receive all the rents, profitts, Perquisites, fines, Customes, etc. of the place, the Kings Governours hath little more then the name, and for the most part sits Still whilst the Nabobs Officers oppress the people, monopolize most Commodityes, even as low as grass for Beasts, canes, firewood, thatch etc., nor doe they want wayes to oppress those people of all sorts who trade, whether natives or Strangers, since whatever they doe when complained of to Dacca, is palliated under the name and Colour of the Nabobs interest ; and that the Nabobs Officers may, without controule, drive the trade of the place, there is sent from Dacca, or detained out of the rents, twenty or fourty thousand Rupees yearly to be imployed in Merchandize, which is distributed amongst the Hindue Merchants of the Towne, to each in proportion, for which they agree to give twenty five per 100 per annum, but are called upon at six or eight monethes end to make up there accompts and pay the principall with advance of a yeare, by which moneys, calling in their principall and Interest so often, it sometimes happens that the Merchants pay 50 per 100 to the Nabob and Governours per annum, draineing themselves by this unhappy trade with him and his Ministers of the whole advantages they make of their other Traffick.

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"And yett, as if this were not enough to impoverish them, the Governour, whenever he hath any goods on his hands calls for them, and distributes amongstthem what quantity he pleaseth, at 10 to 15 : per 100 : higher then the marketts for time, and they pay ready money.

/81/ "Nor doth this exempt them from piscashing (*peshcash*, an offering) the Nabobs Crewry (*karori*, revenue officer) or Governour with small presents at all feasts, his or his Sonns birthdayes, circumcisions, Marraidges, or his goeing to and comeing from Dacca, makeing up accompts and Compounding for his Rogueries. Nay, it hath in my time happened that, when the Nabob and his Officers at Dacca have Squeezed him much, and yett he is soe Lucky to returne to his former imployment, there hath binn a tax laid upon the whole Government under hand for the raising of the summe expended, which some one or two fearefull person(s) have binn brought on to comply with, and afterwards none of the rest have dared to withstand.

"The trade of Salt hath alwayes brought a large income into the Kings treasury, but of late larger then ever. About two yeares since, Nicolao De Parteca, a black Portuguez, farming the Salt trade of this place and the adjacencies by the name of Cootecktapore, at rupees 100000 : per annum, takeing ten rupees upon each 100 : maunds that enters into that Pergona (*pargana*, subdivided district), and from thence Merchants cannot carry it out without a great deale of trouble and most comonly sell to them.

"Bees wax is brought (? bought) up in the Kings name, of which great quantityes are secured in the woods at 7 : to 12 : per maund (and) sold againe out of the warehouse at rupees 19 : to 22 : rupees per maund.

"The Governour doth gett quantytyes of gold and other goods at under rates out of the Dutch warehouse ; the gold is

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either wrought into pieces for presents or sent to the mint to be coyned (and) The goods distributed amongst the Towne Merchants at extraordinary rates as abovementioned.

"And about Hugly there live many weavers who weave cotton cloth, and cotton, and Tesser or herba[3] of Severall sorts, and from the parts thereabout there is brought silk, sugar, Opium, /82/ rice, Wheat, Oyle, Butter, course hempe, gunnyes (*goni*, sacking) and many other Commodityes. The way of procureing these is to agree upon Musters (samples) with the Merchants of Hugly, or to send Bannians, who can give security to buy them on our accounts in the places where they are made or procurable at cheapest hands. And whether wee use one way or other, wee give passes in the English name for the bringing those goods free of custome, and all those places have soe great a convenience that most of the goods are brought by water, unless from the places neare unto Hugly, which lye thwart (across) the Countrey.

"The Goods wee sell in Hugly, to Merchants there, are upon time or ready money ; but which way soever it is that wee sell them, wee give passes and send them out in our names to avoide the merchants paying customs, which otherwise they would doe, and wee are forced to abate in the price proportionable.

"Of the severall sorts of goods procurable in and about Hugly, I gave you a list, and musters will be sent home and the prices specified. Besides those goods, wee can procure almost any sort of Course Cotton, or Cotton and herba stuffs that wee had but once the muster of.

"Our Ships, if wee had more Pilotts whome wee could oblige to stay after they had obtained some experience, either by ingageing them in famileyes, or by giveing them good wages, might

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3. Coarse indigenous silk of India. (Taylor : *Cotton Mfr. of Dacca*). See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XXIX, p. 339 for an article on this.

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with much more ease goe over the braces and come up Hugly river then they can goe out of the Downes into the river of London, and one maine incouragement would be that the ships should sett out of England soe as to be here the begining of June, by which meanes they will have true tides to carry them up and avoid the freshes. They may alsoe goe up if they come the last of the Moonzon, comeing from the coast to the Bay in September after the freshes are abated. If any such thing be designed, it will be good to advise by the first ships, that a sloope and Pilott may attend for them at Ballasore. And both these wayes the ships avoid the hazard of the storme ; and it would be a great ease and advantage in the timely /83/ supplying of the Inland Factoryes (Kasimbazar, Dacca and Patna) with Stock, to pay off what is oweing at Interest, and dispatching the goods that come thence in good season. This way the Dutch bring up ships of six and seaven hundred Tonns to ride before their Factory (at Chinsura), and to take in the greatest part of their ladeing near it, and few yeares, unless in the time of the late wars with England (1665-1667), but they have upward of twenty saile that come into the river. They formerly came to Pipley for Pilotts, but that being to neare the braces is found inconvenient, and one cause of removeing their Factory thence to Ballasore, where now, at the begining of June, there lyes in the roade three or four Sloopes with Pilots to attend the comeing of the ships and to carry them into the river.

"The Dutch have a very advantageous trade in Bengala, and commonly a great stock, the Transport of a paire of their genne-rall bookes upon the last change of a Directore, anno 1674 (1672 ?) amounting unto 24 : Tonn of gold. The goods they bring hither are, *vizt.*, Gold from Japan, Copper of Japan, Tuttenag (*tutenaga*, spelter), Tinn from Malaya, Pepper, Chanck (*Sankh*, conch shell), bettlenuts, Elephants and Elephants teeth,

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Cloves, Mace, Nuttmegs, Gaunce (*gunza*, bell metal) [all which turne them to great accompt]; alsoe Brimstone, Quicksilver, Vermillion, and some cloth, which sell not soe well.

"They carry hence Rice, Oyle, Butter, hemp, cordage, saile cloth, raw milk, silk wrought, saltpeter, Opium, Turmerick, Neelaes (*nila*), Ginghams, Tapits (O. E. carpet, hanging), Brawles (striped cloth) or Slave clouts, achee Beagues (*achhi bij*), Sugar, Long pepper and Beeswax as much as they can gett.

"Had I time, I could give a neare guess how much they vend of all sorts that they bring : what they cost in the place whence /84/ they bring them ; the prices and quantityes of what they carry out, and to what parts they distribute them, and what advantage they make by them, which are great, and soe must there whole Commerce be, and much more then it is, did not the charge of the Souldiers, Garrisons, and Fleets cost them soe much. At some better Leisure I may, if I have my health, render an accompt at Large of these things.

"The Portuguez, though numerous in Hugly, yett are reduced to a very low and meane condition, their trade not worth mentioning, their Subsistence being to be entertained in the Mogulls pay as Souldiers."

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(5) JOHN MARSHALL'S "Accompt of Pattana*"

Ballasore, the 16 : December, 1676

Worshipfull Sir,

"According to your Commands I have here given you an accompt of some perticulers relateing to Pattana and Singe[1] (Singhiya) Factoryes.

/89/ "Pattana lyes in the Latitude of 25: degrees and—minutes inter Gangem, and in Pleasant place. The Honourable Company have noe Factory here, but what hire, nor doth the Cheife usually reside there, by reason the Nabobs Pallace is in the Citty, and his servants and officers are constantly craveing one thing or another, which if not given, though they have not what they desire (*sic*), yett they are not satisfied therewith but creat trouble, and if give(n) what they desire will be very chargeable. Which inconveniency is prevented by Liveing at Singee, which lyes

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* This "Accompt" follows Vincent's report of the silk manufacture at Kasimbazar in the Appendix to Master's Diary. Part of the second paragraph is given by Yule in *Hedges' Diary*, vol. II, p. 240 *et seq.* The author of the "Accompt", John Marshall, was employed at Patna under Job Charnock for two years, 1669-1671. (*The Diaries of Streynsham Master*, 1675-1680, edited by R. C. Temple, 2 volumes, London, 1911, volume II, pp. 88-90). Shafaat Ahmad Khan published the manuscript of John Marshall under the title, *John Marshall in India* (Oxford, 1927) and we incorporate notes from the published work hereafter.

1. See Yule, *Hedges' Diary*. vol. II, p. 241 for the identification of Singee with Singhiya near Lalganj. Rennel, *Bengal Atlas*, marks the place as Singeah.

North of Pattana, about ten or twelve miles Extra Gangem, and is Scittuated in a pleasant but not whole(some) place, by reason of it's being most Saltpeter ground, but is convenient by reason thereof, for Saltpeter men live not far from it. Besides, the Honourable Company have a Factory at Nanagur[2] which lyes

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2, John Marshall (*Khan*, *op. cit.*, pp. 158-159) has given the following details of Nanagar :— "(a) Opposit to this Garden ("Sasugas Gharden"—Shah Shuja's Garden) I esteeme it the pleasantest place I have seene in India on the other side of the river is Hojipore (Hajipur) which is an ancient and ruined towne, but hath bin a famous place and the seate of the King. At Hojipore the Company have a house for which pay 3½ rupees per month. (b) From thence soth Easterly, about 4 Course, is Nanagur where the Company have a house of their owne, which stands pleasantly by a Rivers side which comes out of the River Ganges, when Ganges is high, but at other times is dry. This Nanagur is a very pleasant place, being scituated amongst Topes of trees, and the way from thence to Hojipore is very pleasant. Nanagur is also esteemed a very healthful place, being scituated upon a hard clay ground. From Nanagur to Jonabad is 9 Course, vizt., 4 to Hojipore, and thence to Jonabad 5 Course more. (c) Betwixt Hogipore and Nanagur in the Kings Highway [neare a Great Garden] in which is a Tome is a Great Banyan Tree whose branches spread 33 yards, it being round."

The English factory at Nanagur was started in 1663. The earliest mention of the place is in a letter from Job Charnock to Henry Aldworth, dated 27th February, 1662-63. (EF 1661-64, p. 287). Nanagarh possibly Na-nagar, is probably represented by the Nowanagar of the modern *Survey sheets*. (Khan's notes, p. 174)

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to the east of Pattana [extra Gangem] about four or five miles. There remaynes generally a banian, or sometimes only Peons, to receive the Peter from the Peter men, which lyes there abouts, to avoid carrying it to Singee, which would be chargeable. And when what there is received in, it's weighed and put aboard the Peter boates there. There is alsoe another place about 15: or 16: miles to the westward of Singee whither is brought all the Saltpeter neare that place and put aboard the boates there.

The manner of giveing money to the Petermen and the number of them, being thirty or fourty, is not necessary to acquaint you with, being it is mentioned in the Pattana Bookes; but those Peter men have others subordinate to them, and the /90/ Honourable Companyes Peons are kept with the Peter men to see that when the Peter is made they sell it not to the Dutch, which, notwithstanding the greatest care to prevent it, they sometimes doe. But I think Mr. Charnock is even with them, being they have binn falce and broaken their ingagement first, which was not to buy Peter of our Peter men, as wee were not to buy of theirs. But if the Dutch would be as reall (honest) as the English it would be of great advantage to both, for by the ones Peter men selling Peter to the other party, remaynes are thereby made; alsoe there are great remaynes made by the Nabobs forceing from the Petermen what he pleaseth, whereby they are disinabled to comply with their ingagements, and when they cannot meet with it readyly, or the quantityes desired, he breaketh our store house at Nanagar and forceth it thence. English Cloth will but little vend there; the Lead would sell well, but that it is farmed out by the Nabob to one person to buy it and none elce, and he is not responsible for any considerable quantity, being lately much indebted to the Honourable Company. Tincall (borax) is procured from the Rajayes Country (probably Bihar) from the hills, about six dayes journey N. W.

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from Pattana, and when brought to Pattana, Oyle is putt to it to preserve it.

English Cloth would vend well towards Casmeer (Kashmir) and in Cabbull (Kabul), but there is a sort of Cloth very course and thick made at Lahore and sold at Pattana for about 5: rupees per peice of ll : covids 18: inches long and $1\frac{1}{4}$ covids broad, and Suppose is sould neare Lahore cheaper.

This is what at present remembred by Your most humble Servant,

JOHN MARSHALL

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(6) TOMAS BOWREY'S
Account of Patna*

/221/ "Pattana—A Very large and potent Kingdome, but hath Since become tributarie to the Emperours of Hindostan (or Great Mogul). This is a Countrey of Very great Traffick and Commerce, and is really the great Gate that openeth into Bengala and Orixa, and soe consequently into most parts of India, vizt. from the Northerne Kingdoms or Empires (by land), namely, Persia, Carmania, Georgia, Tartaria, &c. The Commodities of those countries are transported hither by Caffila, who alsoe Export the commodities brought hither by the English and Dutch, as alsoe of this Kingdome.

"The Chief Citty whereof is called Pattana, a very /222/ large and Spacious one inded, and is Scituate neare to the River of Ganges, many miles up, not lesse than 1000 or 1100 miles above the towne Hughly. There are many delicate grooves and plaines adjoyneing thereto ; the Woods in this Kingdome afford great Store of those deformed Annimals called Rhinocerots [plate XII], and in many of them are taken younge and tamed. There be of them in the Woods of Bengala, but noe wild Elephants in these Kingdoms, although the Kingdome of Arackan is well stored with them, and is but a neighbouringe Country to that of Bengala.

/223/ "Soe that soe farre as is reported of them to be Utter Enemies to the Elephant I doe confide in, for in all Kingdoms where are found the Rhinocerot the Elephant is not found wild there, nor dare the tame ones frequent the Woods As for instance, Pattana, Bengala, and Java Major.

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* From A Geographical Account of the Countries Round the Bay of Bengal, pp. 221-227

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"Many of our Countreymen and Others in Europe doe take this Creature to be the Unicorne, and will very hardly be convinced from that theire Opinion, And will make no Scruple to Say that our Fore Fathers mistooke in Limninge his true Shape, which if soe, was a very grosse mistake indeed, for noe 2 Creatures in that can be more different. But I doe rather Condemne the Errour of this present age, holdinge with them not any further than this, that this is a Unicorne as it is a one horned beast, but I cannot Say that it is the Unicorne. For Example, I saw a horne of about 13 or 14 inches longe, in the very forme and Shape that wee picture or carve a Unicorne's horne ; it was of a very darke gray colour. I happened accidentally both to See and handle the Same, which gave me more Satisfaction as to the Unicorne then I had before, which Shall be Spoken of more at large in the accompt of Mocho in the Red Sea.

The English East India Company have a Factory in Pattana adjoyneinge to the Citty, whence wee have all (or /224/ the most part) of the Saltpeeter Sent yearly for England.[1] The English Chiefe [by name] Job Charnock hath lived here many years and hath learned the Persian [or Court] Languadge as perfect as any

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1. On the 12th December, 1669, the Council at the Bay wrote to Fort St. George (Factory Records, Misc. No. 3), "The Factory house we desired your Licence to build without Pattana was instead of that built since Mr. Blake being Chiefe att Singee and levelled by the Rains. Pattana it selfe is not a place to manage the Peter trade in, yet that being the Residence of the Nabob that Governs that Countrey, the Chiefe must sometimes repaire thither...if the Factory be without the Cittie, nigh the place where the peter is made, the Convenience will be great in Encreasing the Investments and Securing the peetermen from Selling what we have bought of them to others..."(p. 224 note).

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Persian borne and bred, and hath livedwholy after their Custome (save in his Religion), by which he hath obtained vast priviledges and the love of the Grandees that Sway the Power of the Kingdome, and is dayly admitted into the Nabob's presence.

/225/ "The Dutch have a Factory here alsoe, for procureinge of Saltpeeter, but live with little freedome or Enjoyment of any worldly pleasures here, dareinge not to presume to Enter any of the Gates of the Citty without leave from Some of the great Officers.

"All the Saltpeeter is Sent hence to Hughly in great flatt bottomed Vessels, of an Exceedinge Strength, which are called Patellas ; each of them will bringe downe 4, 5, 6000 Bengala maunds.

"They are built very Stronge, by reason of the most impetuous Eddies they meet with in some places, that force them many times Upon one Shoale or Other, soe that, were they not Stronge and very flatt, they wold be in greater peril of wringinge to pieces or turning bottom up. Yet some years both the English and Dutch doe Suffer very Considerable losses by them.

"Many Patellas come downe yearly laden with Wheat and Other graine, and goe Up laden with Salt and bees wax, the Kings onely commodities.

/226/ Northstandinge Pattana be soe fertile to afford graine to Such a plentiful countrey as Bengala, yett in the yeare of our Lord 1670 they had as great a Scarcitie, in soe much that one Pattana Seere weight of rice (the plentifullest graine in the country) was Sold for one rupee the Seere containing onely 27 Ounces, and, in a few months, there was none at all to be had at that rate, in soe much that many thousands of the Natives perished in the Streets and open fields for want of food, and many glad to Sell theire own children for a handful of rice.

/227/ "And yett, at that time, the Nabobs Chiefe Wife had

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Severall very large Storehouses full of graine, and wold not dispose of any, unlesse they wold give the weight of Silver in one Scale of its weight of rice or wheat in the Other. But it pleased God to frustrate her Covetous designe, and Sent them as great plenty as Ever they had.

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(7) "COPPY OF MR. Richard Edwards' letter about Maulda, The scituation and Trade Thereof*

Rajamaule, December 6th 1676

"Worshipfull Sir, etc. Councell.

/399/ "The 26 : past moneth dispeeded from Maulda one Bale No. M. qt. (containing) the severalls bought there for musters (samples), amounting, as per Invoice sent with them, to Rupees 845 :, each peice being ticketted according to order. What I could observe of the Place and trade dureing my small stay there, please to take as followeth :—

"The Towne is small, but conveniently seated on a branch of the Ganges and a small river from Morung which joyne a little above the Towne,[1] which is of great resort, being the staple of

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* From the *Diaries of Streynsham Master*, two volumes, edited by R. C. Temple, London 1911, volume I, pp. 399-402. Richard Edwards wrote this "letter about Maulda, the Scituation and Trade thereof" in compliance with the order of Streynsham Master. Edwards' report led to the foundation of a factory at English Bazar or Angrezabad, often called Englishavad, on the right bank of the Mahananda, and lower down than Malda. The settlement was, however, generally known as 'Maulda factory'. See Hunter, *Statistical Account of Bengal*, vol. VII, p. 48 *et seq.* and Yule, *Hedges' Diary*, vol. I, pp. 87-89.

Richard Edwards' paper comes fifth in order in the appendices to Master's Diary. It is printed by Temple in vol. I for the sake of sequence.

1. The streams of the Mahananda and Kalindri rivers, both tributaries of the Ganges, meet at Malda, the Kalindri being the continuation of the Panar, which rises in the Murang district of Nepal.

cloth etc. for that part of the Countrey, and comes in from all parts within thirty or fourty myles. The cheife trade driven there is by Factors of Agra, Guzzaratt (Gujarat), and Bannares Merchants, who yearly send them from fifteen to twenty five Pattelaes (*Patelas*), whose Ladeing consists of Cossaes and mull-mulls from $1\frac{1}{3}$ Rupees to five rupees per peice, and mundeels (*mandils*) and Elatches of all sorts, valued at about one Lack /400/ each Pattella, and about the halfe of that amount by landing said goods and raw silk [in goodness inferiour to that procured about Cassambazar]. What goes by land is send hence in Aprill or May, and that by water as soone as the river begins to fall, which is usually about the latter end of August, and in September ; and about three Lack of Rupees yearly goes to Dacca in Elatches and course cloth, and about the same value to petty merchants of Rajamaule and Muxadevad (Rajmahal and Murshidabad) and other places below. The weavers very willingly ingage in any new sort of worke, either of white cloth or silk of different Lenghts (*sic*), breadthes, fineness, colour, or stripe, is (if) bespoake. Elce for the usuall vend of the place they seldom exceed 36 : Covids long and two Ditto broad, and 5 : rupees price for Cossaes and mulmulls ; and 15 : Covids long and $1\frac{1}{2}$ broad Elatches to 4 : rupees price ; Ditto of nine Covids long and one and halfe broad to 2 : rupees 8 : annaes ; and Soosyes and Chundenyes[2] of 15 : Covids long, $1\frac{1}{2}$ broad, to three rupees to the finer and Larger sorts. Money is given out by the merchants, but indeed cheifly by the Dutch, who first brought them to 40 : Covids Long and $2\frac{1}{4}$ Ditto broad and from 6 to 11 rupees, and now to 40 Covids long and three broad from 9 : to 15 : per peice, Cossaes and Mullmulls, and used to carry

2. Hindi *Chandni*, a white cloth for spreading over a carpet, a drugget.

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on their Investments all the yeare, but cheifely from February to September ; and what merchants give out money doe it the same time alsoe, but the Factors above mentioned, who make the most considerable part of the trade, buy all in with ready money, and beging (begin) at the same season somewhat latter or thereabouts, but to be ready about the fall of the river. The greatest Investment the Dutch have made there was 50000 rupees. Neither Hummums, Baftas[3] nor Checklas are made there but at Seerpore Merchua,[4] soe that sent noe Samples of them, being not many procurable, and those that are, very deare, and indeed soe are most of the Samples now sent, they being of those sorts the Dutch buy and not common /401/ to that markett ; soe that, upon giveing out money, I believe they would come out 8 : or 10 : per Cent. cheaper. The merchant of whome (I) bought these hath by him a parcell of cloth which believe would afford cheaper, The Dutch haveing upon a quarrell betwixt them and their merchants turned them upon his hands againe, who will hardly find any chapman (trader) for them but we or they ; the quantity and Contents as followeth :—

	Rupees
150 : peices of Cossaes, 40 : Covids Long, 3 : Dto. broad	13: to 14 :
50 peices Dto.	$11\frac{1}{2}$ $12\frac{1}{2}$
25 peices Dto.	10: 11:
100 peices Dto., 40: Covids long, $2\frac{1}{2}$ Dto. broad	9: 10:
50 peices Dto	$7\frac{1}{2}$ $8\frac{1}{2}$

3. Bafta (Pers. *bafta*), a kind of calico. Checkla (H. *chakla*), a mixed silk and cotton fabric. See Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. Bafta and Piece-goods.

4. Perhaps the two small villages in the Malda district, Syapur and Mochia, are meant.

50	peices Dto	$6\frac{3}{4}$	$7\frac{1}{2}$
400 :	peices Dto., 35: Covids long, $1\frac{3}{4}$ Dto broad	5:	7:
300 :	peices mullmulls, 36 : Covids long, 2 : Dto. broad	5:	7:

I have sent (of) each sort of the musters 6 : peices, except three which I cannot tell whether fitt for England, and therefore bought noe more then two peices each, *Vizt*. Adathyes,[5] Elatches Nehallewar,[6] and Mundeels,[7] which last are much in request for Persia. The vend of imported goods is very inconsiderable, some small quantityes of Pepper, Copper, Tynn, Tuttenagg,[8] may goe off, but they usually supply themselves from Sudelapore (Sa'-adullahpur, Sadoolapore) which is about four or five myles distance. Saltpeter there is made in or night (*sic*) that place, and (*?* but) I conceive the Countrey not fit for it, being low and marsh and full of Tancks.

"At my returne, found the business at the mint had gone on /402/exceeding Slowly, the cheifest obstruction being the sickness of the workemen. The next day after I came the Coyner died, and, haveing with much adoe got another, hee proves soe bad a workman that whereas a good Coyner would Stamp in a day 10000 (*?* 1000) rupees, we gett now 700 : or 800 : rupees ; and of those a quarter part or more bad stampt, but hope, with what have in the house, in three dayes more to send away about 15000 : rupees, and in three or four dayes after 10000 : rupees

5. Yule, *Hobson-Jobson* suggest that Adaty is derived from H. *adha*, half, and was used to indicate cotton goods of half the ordinary length. The word is really *adhotar*, *dhotar*, *dhotri*, *dhoti* a fine, loosely woven material, a loin-cloth.

6. Silk cloths for bedding (H. *Nihali*).

7. P. *Mandil*, *mindal*, towel, napkin, table-cloth, loin-cloth.

8. Port. *tutenaga*, spelter, i.e., zinc or pewter.

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more. Mr. Knipe haveing at last got out a Dustick,[9] left this place the 17 : past moneth while I was in Maulda, hope he is safe in Pattana ere this time.

"Not more offering at present, save tender of my due respects, Subscribe, Worshipfull Sir etc., Your most humble Servant

Richard Edwards."

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9. P. *dastak*, a pass, or permit.

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(8) The Manner of the silk and Taffaty Investments in Cassambuzar

Cassambuzar, November 3d, 1676.

Much Honoured Sir,

"In complyance with your orders in Couneell, dated the 9th (October) past, that I should give you an account in writeing of what sorts of raw silk here are best, the /10/ season when fittest to buy, the weight, by which the said (silk) is received in, and the manner how it is bought and paid for, as alsoe the way of provideing taffatyes and dying them in the house ; to all which please to take this answer.

"1st : For the sort of Raw silk which is best, the Honourable Company directs us to that which is here called tanne (*tani*, silk used for the warp), wherein every sort of thread is wound apart ; and of this we have sent for England ever since their orders concerning the said have arrived hither.

"2. The times of buying the best silk are in December when the November Bund[1] or sortment come from the worme, and in Aprill when the March bund is made. The other sort which comes out in July is course and not soe cleare or soe good coloured as the raw silk of November and March, and therefore not soe fitt for Tannee ; of those two bunds alsoe, the November bund is accounted the Best.

"3. The manner of buying raw Silk is this. When the bund is made, wee wind of a muster (sample) in the house, and computing what really stands us in, alsoe how much of every sort of thread it holds out, wee call the silk Merchants or Picaurs (*pai-*

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* 1. Bund is a technical term for a cocoon-rearing season in Bengal.

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ker, broker, chapman) and Contract with them accordingly. The quantity every man doth agree to bring in he gives a bill for, intimating alsoe at what time [the which is generally at three monthes]. There is alsoe 20: Rupees in a bale delivered them short of what it will amount to according to the Contract, that soe, in case of abatement, wee may have somewhat in our hands, thereby to avoid trouble in recovering our money back againe when the Silk is prized and the accompt made up. If the accompt exceeds what was at first given out to the Picaurs, he is paid the rest in full.

"4. The weight wee receive raw Silk in by consists of 70: Rupees Sicca, and soe it is weighed for England. The weight hath binn thus, ever since the yeare 1673, when wee first had notice that the Honourable Company had a Suspecion upon receiving Silk at 72: Rupees Sicca weight and packing it at /11/ 70: Ditto: per seare, that wee charged as much for the seare 70: as wee paid for that of 72: ; but that was grounded on a falce information[2] given them and I hope is sufficiently clear'd in the answer to the Honourable Companyes Auditors paper No. 4, produced by Major Puckle.

"5. Taffatyes wee provide of three sorts, fine, Ordinary, and Browne (unbleached), this is done by sending round the Towne and other adjacent places for the weavers [who are now growne very numerous], soe that a peice of Taffaty which 12: or 13: yeares agoe cost rupees 15: is now made and sent home at between 6: and 7: Rupees per peice, to whome we impress (advance) money. If what we give them out be on fine Taffatyes, then we contract that the warp shall consist of 2100 Threads up

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2. The 'information' referred to here is Hall's letter of the 12th November, 1671, to Sir William Thomson, in which he accused March and Vincent of cheating the Company of four tolas weight in each seer of silk received. (O. C. No. 3599)

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and downe, and that both warp and woofe shall be, though of different threads, yett of the best sort of silk in the Country called Owall Nimoona (Ar. *awwal namuna*, first quality), alsoe that they shall weigh 50: rupees sicca, each 20: Covids in length, that they shall be two Covids in breadth, and of such a colour as agreed on, which they themselves dye. In all other things above mentioned the most part of our weavers comply better then in the last, for they very often pretend that the Colour bespoaken was spoiled, and that therefore they are forced to dye it of another Colour, which wee must beare with in the poore sort of weavers, or hazard a bad debt ; but we yearly gaine upon them, they now begining better to comply with their Contracts /which each weaver gives in writeing apart/ then formerly. It is agreed that the ordinary Taffatyes shall weigh 40: or 45: rupees sicca, the warp not twisted, but to be of good silk, the woofeing something worse then that of the fine Taffatyes ; the warp is to consist of 1400 threads double, or up and downe. In said contract is alsoe mentioned the colour, wherein they alsoe faile us as in the fine Taffatyes ; for, if they perceive that the white ordinary Taffatyes lookes not well (this requireing evener silk and more care in makeing then the red or yellow), they will presently dye it, /12/ which is the reason soe many redds and yellowes extraordinary are and have binn sent home, and soe many whites short, though hope shall be able to make them comply better the next yeare. The Browne taffaty is to be of 50: rupees Sicca weight, each 20. Covids, and 1400: single threads in the warp, to be of a good sort of silk, to be made without conjee (*kanji*, stiffening of rice starch) or any other sort of stiffening. All three sorts are to be brought in from three to foure monethes, and then are prized according to their glosse, fineness, weight, and evenness.

"6. The way of priseing these Taffatyes is on this manner. As soon as the weaver brings them in, they are, each individuall

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peice, measured and weighed in the presence of one of the Honourable Companyes servants, who writes downe the perticulers in a Sheet of Paper and delivers it to the Cheife. This expresses the length of each peice, what it weighs, what it wan's in length or breadth, and what weaver it belongs to. This the Cheife enters into the weavers wast booke kept by him, which done, he proceeds to looke on each peice, and price them as they lye in order before him, guiding himselfe by their evenness, both of Silk and Colour, as alsoe by their gloss and weight, and from the wast booke is each weavers accompt posted into a large Leidger kept for that purpose ; and they will not rest contented with any ones valueing the goods but the Cheife in place at that time.

"7. What Taffatyes etc. wee dye in the house are performed thus. Orgazin[3] for warp and tram for woofeing is brought in ready throwne (twisted), only soe much as is throwne Europe way, which bought raw and throwne in the Factory is only tram, and but a small quantity, there being as yett but one mill, nor hitherto roome for any more. In dyeing the silk, black looses about $\frac{1}{7}$ and the Colours $\frac{1}{4}$ of what it weighed when delivered the Dyer. When the silk comes from the Dyer it is/13/charged with the same value it was in the whole when put downe to be dyed. The dyed silk, both Orgazine and tram, are delivered as they come from the Dyer to the weaver, who winds and warps them, and fits the same himselfe for his worke. When he brings the peece of Silk home, it is wheighed with the wast and thrumm (ends, fragments),

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3. Organzine is defined in the *Oxford English Dictionary* as the strongest and best kind of silk thread by several strands twisted together in the contrary direction to that in which their component filaments are twisted. Tram is silk thread that has been wound clean, doubled, and thrown, and is used for the weft of fine silks, while organzine is used for the warp. (*Chambers' Encyclopaedia*, s. v. Silk).

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which are both cast into the weight of the peice, and what it comes short is charged to the weavers accompt, as alsoe what is short of measure (for they are measured). For his whole workemanship he receives one Rupee twelve annaes per peece of 20: Covids long, whether $1\frac{1}{2}$ or 2: Covids wide. We doe also agree upon a Certaine number of threads to bee in the warp (of) each peece, and doe seale the reed,[4] and if any suspecion ariseth, count the threads after peice is brought in. And wee doe alsoe wind in the house and warp off some of each parcell of Silk that is given out, thereby to ascertaine ourselves how the same will runn, which in great measure prevents such frauds and abuses that otherwise might be imposed on us.

"8. Our manner of prizing raw Silk, please to take thus. When wee understand that a convenient quality is come in, wee cause it to be opened in the presence of the Cheife, Second, and Third, or warehousekeeper of this Factory, and throwing the quantity of 2: Bales or 4: maunds at a time of each sort of thread together, each of those Persons lookes upon 5: or 6: Skeins, which he takes from among the whole heape, and thereby makes a judgement of the whole, by comparing them with the muster on which the agreement is made with the Picaurs or Silk Merchants. And, as the parcell of Silk appeares to each of them severally, every one in a paper apart setts downe his price, whether equall with or how much worse or less in price then agreed on by muster ; and when all the parcell is looked over, the severall prizes of each Picaurs Silk are compared and cast up together, the third part of which aggregate is made the price of the whole.

"9. The sorts of silk to be had here are Tanne, which the /14/

4. viz. the strip of cane used for separating the threads of the warp and beating up the weft. The reed is apparently fixed to the warp and then sealed.

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Honourable Company for these three last yeares have ordered to be wound off for their account ; and Punjah,[5] which formerly used to be sent for England. There are severall other Denominations of windings, both of longer and shorter Skeynes, butall have reference to the two sort(s) above mentioned. The way of carrying on the trade of raw silk is with a large Stock of money, with which, instead of 500: Bales, at the least five times that quantity may in this place yearly be procured.

"This is what account I can give you of the premised inquireyes, the which I present you with, humbly Submitting it to the Honourable Company. I am Honoured Sir, Your most humble Servant,

MATT. VINCENT*.

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5. This term must have been taken to Bengal by factors trained in Madras, as it represents the Tamil and Telugu word *Punjam*, a skein of silk or cotton, consisting of 120 or 60 threads, prepared for the warp.

* From *The Diaries of Streynsham Master*, edited by R.C. Temple, London, 1911, vol. II, pp. 9-14

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Appendix—III

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

1. ASALAT KHAN*

(Asalat Khan Mir Abdu-l-Hadi)

Mir Miran Yezdi who, along with his father Mir Khalil Ullah, left Persia on account of oppression in the second year of Jahangir and came to India, the abode of security. Shah Abbas Safavi became alienated from Mir (Khalil Ullah) and was wrathful with him, so that the morning of the Mir's prosperity ended in a gloomy night. As he was helpless he fled to a foreign land. When he took himself off, only half alive, from the place of danger, he could not take his grand-children Abdu-l-Hadi and Khalil Ullah with him, on account of their tender age and the want of time. They were therefore left in Persia. When the Khan Alam went on an embassy to Persia, Jahangir, out of his great kindness and affection for the Mir Miran, mentioned the children in his letter (p. 296) and spoke to the Khan Alam about bringing them. The Shah sent the two suffering ones to India, and after they had kissed the threshold their griefs were washed away.

In the third year of Shah Jehan, Mir Abdu-l-Hadi was the subject of favour and received the title of Asalat Khan. By his good qualities, his loyalty and his zeal he became trusted, and in the 5th year was sent off along with Yemenu-d-daula to chastise Adil Shah, and to devastate the country of Bijapur. When they came to Bhalki and besieged it, the garrison, after firing with guns and muskets during the day, evacuated the place during the darkness of night by going out at a place where there were no

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* From *Maathir-ul-Umara*, vol. I., translated by H. Beveridge and Baini Prashad, Calcutta, 1914-1941, pp. 295-299.

batteries. Asalat Khan, who was prominent in this campaign, mounted on the top of the first on a wooden platform under which pyrotechnic weapons had been left. Suddenly, fire caught them, and Asalat Khan was blown up into the air along with the platform, and carried into a magazine. A part of his arm as well as of his face were burnt, but by God's protection he was not killed[1]. In the 6th year he received the rank of 1,500 with 500[2] horse and was made bakshi of the army which was setting out with Shah Shuja for the conquest of Parenda. In that affair he so distinguished himself by his activity that Mahabat Khan, the Commander-in-Chief, in spite of all the crookedness of his nature had his attention drawn to him and made over to him the signing of receipts and orders, and made him his deputy. When he came to court from that campaign in the 8th year he was appointed governor of Delhi in succession to Baquir Khan Najm Sani with an increase of[3] 1,5000 and 1,700 horse, an increase necessary for the management of the province, and made a *mansabdar* of 3,000 with 2,500 horse, and the gift of a flag, an elephant and a special robe of honour. When (p. 297) Jagta,[4] the zamindar of Mau became ungrateful and raised a presumptuous head, three armies, composed of 30,000 horse, were sent against him, and one of these was commanded by Asalat Khan. The Khan set

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1. *Padshah Nama*, vol. I, p. 412.

2. *Padshah Nama*, vol. I, part 2, p. 67 says 800. It also says he was made bakshi of the Ahadis.

3. *Padshah Nama*, I, part II p. 97. The fact that he now had 2,500 horse shows that 800, and not 500, was the right amount above.

4. This seems an abridgment of the name of Jagat Singh. See *Padshah Nama*, II, 261. The Mau here mentioned is a hill state, and Nurpur was one of its towns. The expedition belongs to the 15th year.

about besieging Nurpur, and every day the besieged were more and more hard-pressed. When the fort of Mau, which was Jagta's chief reliance, was taken, the garrison of Nurpur fled at midnight and that place was easily conquered. Afterwards, Asalat Khan went with other chiefs to take Taragarha. This too was accomplished. In the 18th year he was appointed, on the death of Salabat Khan, to the high office of Mir[5] Bakhshi.

When[6] the king determined on the conquest of Balkh, an order was given to the Amir-ul-Umara, who was governor of Kabul, that during the interval before the arrival of the army he should get possession of as much as possible of Badakhshan. In 1055 (the beginning of February 1645), Asalat Khan and several *mansabdars* and *ahadis* were sent off to Kabul in order that they might recruit active men from among the Caghata and other tribes in Kabul and in the passes (of Badakhshan). The Amir-ul-Umara was to examine them and to assign *mansabs* to some, and to enroll the others among the *ahadis*. They were also to acquaint themselves with the routes to Turan and to choose the easiest and to improve it. After Asalat had done these things he, in the 19th year, went from Ghorband in company with the Amir-ul-Umara and wished to make an attempt on Badakhshan. When they came to Gulhibar[7] it appeared that the road was exceedingly difficult, and that provisions were unprocurable. With the approval of the Amir-ul-Umara, Asalat Khan went off rapidly with 10,000 horse and eight days' provisions in order to attack Khinjan[8] and Andarab. He crossed the Hindu[9] Koh and arrived at

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5. *Padshah Nama*, II, 385 ; 6. *Padshah Nama*, II, 415, 416.
7. Text Kulhar, but it really is Gulbihar, a well-known place north of Kabul. See *Padshah Nama*, II,462, eight lines from foot.

8. Khinjan and Andarab are in the north of Afghanistan towards Badakhshan.

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Andarab and captured (p. 298) numerous quadrupeds and other goods of the inhabitants. He then took with him the retainers[10] of Ali Danishmandi and of the Summer-quarters of Karmaki together with the Khwajazadas of Ismail Atai and Maududi, and Qasim Beg, Mir of the Hazaris of Andarab, and returned with equal rapidity.

When in this year Prince Murad Bakhsh was sent off to Balkh with a victorious army, Asalat was appointed to the centre (*torah*)[11] of the right wing. He went on rapidly in advance from Kabul and worked with zeal and energy in widening the difficult parts of the road[12]. After the royal army has reached Balkh, he, together with Bahadur Khan, Rohilla, pursued Nazr Muhammad Khan, the ruler of Turan and put to flight the vagabonds of the desert. He received an increase of 1000 and was made a

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9. The text has only *az. Hin guzashta*, "crossed from India", but of course Asalat was then in Afghanistan and a long way out of India. The true reading is *Hindu Koh* as appears from the *Padshah Nama*, II, 462, which is the original of the passage before us. There we have *az kotal Hindu koh yuzashta*, "having crossed the defiles of the Hindu Koh". See also Khafi Khan, I,614.

10. The word in the text is *ahsham*, for which see Irvine *Army of the Moguls*, 160. AliDanishmandi is,I suppose the name of a place or tribe. The text has *iyilaq Karmaki*. I have taken the first word to be ailaq, "summer-quarters". Karmaki may be *Kamaki*, 'militia'. The *Padshah Nama* has...Perhaps they are all name of places. Apparently one object of Asalat Khan's raid was to bring back some leaders of the tribes. See Khafi Khan, I,614.

11. Irvine, 227.

12. *Padshah Nama*, II, 509 ; Asalat Khan exerted himself to clear away the snow. *Ibid*, 513.

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panjhazari (5000). When the prince did not approve[13] of staying in the country, he turned back, and the government of the locality was made [14] over to Bahadur Khan and Asalat Khan. To the former was entrusted the duty of extirpating the rebellious, while the business of the army and of the treasury and looking after the peasantry was committed to the latter. In the end of the same 20th year 1057, 1647, Khushi Labcaq with 5000 *almanan*[15] (freebooters), horse, at the orders of Abdu-l-Aziz Khan, the ruler of Bokhara, crossed (the Oxus) at the ferry of Kilif with the intention of making a raid on Daragaz (Tamarisk vale) and Shadman which were the pasturage-ground of the quadrupeds of the imperial army. Asalat Khan considered it his business to chastise those raiders and so he went off swiftly and came up with them when they (p. 299) were driving off some of the cattle. He attacked them like a Rustam and killed many and rescued the animals, and then pursued the remainder who had escaped the sword. When night threw per dark pall he halted in Daragaz, and for the purpose of renewing his ablutions threw off his doublet (*chilta*, lit. forty-folds). The wind caught him and he got fever, and returned to the city (Balkh). From this blow he lay powerless on his bed, and in the course of two weeks he folded up the carpet of his life. Since as yet forty stages on the road of his life had not been passed, and he had performed noble deeds, the King lamented his death and said if death had given him time he would have done still greater things, and have risen

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13. *Padshah Nama*, II, 558, Elliot VII, 70.

14. *Padshah Nama*,III. 560.

15. *Padshah Nama*, II, 654, 656. Pavet de Courteille Dict. s. v. and his translation of Babur's Mem. II, 363 n. and *Ain*: Trans. I, 269 note. Khafi Khan, II, 658 has Aamanian : Elliot, VII, 77 and 78 has Almans.

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to high office. Asalat Khan was famed for his good gentleness and modesty. Harsh language never issued from his lips, and he never tried to injure anybody. Courage in him went hand in hand with counsel.[16] His sons were Sultan Husain Iftikhar Khan, Muhammad Ibrahim Multafat Khan, and Bahau-d-din. They have been mentioned in their own place. The last of them did not so much distinguish himself.

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16. Khafi Khan, II, 660.

17. Asalat Khan died in Balkh on 22 Rabi-al-awal 1057, 17th April, 1647. He had attained the rank of 5000 with 4000 horse. *Padshah Nama*, II, 720. Khafi Khan II, 566, mentions a son of Asalat named Muhammed Said. Khalil Ullah, the brother of Asalat Khan, went into retirement after his death ; Khafi Khan, II, 660, but afterwards returned to service.

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2. MUHAMMAD ZAMAN TIHRANI, GOVERNOR OF ORISSA, 1633

Who was the Mogul Governor of Orissa, when William Bruton, quartermaster of the *Hopewell*, visited the stately palace of 'Malcandy' on lst April 1633 ? This question has agitated the minds of historians. Sir Jadunath Sarkar[1] has not mentioned Aga Muhammad Zaman Tihrani as the Governor of Orissa in 1633. The Governors of Orissa, according to Prof. Sarkar, were the following:

1. Hashim Khan, appointed 26th September, 1607 (*Tuz*. 60), transferred to Kashmir by order, dated 24th May, 1611, but continues in Orissa for some time. (*Tuz*. 97).

2. Rajah Kalyan (son of Rajah Todar Mal), appointed 1611 (*Tuz*. 98), removed and recalled to Court to answer charges (which were found on inquiry to be false), 1617 (*Tuz*. 192 & 199).

3. Mukarram Khan (son of Muazzam Khan), appointed 1617 (*Tuz*. 214).

4. Haran Ali Khan Turkman, appointed 1620 (*Tuz*. 308).

5. Jalayer Khan (*Baharistan*, 273*a*).

6. Mirza Ahmad Beg Khan, appointed 1621 (*Tuz*. 332), fled away 1624, then interregnum.

7. Baqar Khan Najam Sani, 4th February 1628-1632. The order removing him from Orissa was dated 24th June 1632, but

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Sarkar, Jadunath, *STUDIES IN AURANGZEB'S REIGN*, Calcutta 1933, pp. 214-250 'Orissa in the 17th century'. (The list of governors of Orissa for the first half of the 17th century is on pp. 215-216).

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he reached the imperial court on return on 13th January, 163

8. Mutaqad Khan (Mirza Maki) 1632-1641. The ord removing him from Orissa was issued on 9th March, 1640, b he reached the imperial court on 29th July, 1641.

9. Shah Nawaz Khan, 1641-1642. Appointed to Orissa 9th March, 1640, but went there about the middle of 164 removed by order dated 8th March, 1642 but continued in t province till the end of that year.

10. Muhammad Zaman Tihrani (as Agent of Prince Shuj 1642-1645. Order of appointment dated 8th March, 1642, remo val dated 21st November, 1645.

11. Mutaqad Khan, 1645-1648. Appointed 21st Novembe 1645. Recalled to court on the 22nd year of Shah Jahan's reig (July 1648-June 1649).

Muhammad Zaman Tihrani (according to *Maathir-ul-Umara*[1] Text, vol. III, pp. 452-53 ; English translation by Baini Prasha vol. II, pp. 219-20) was a *Mansabdar* of the time of Jahangi and was for a long time attached to the prince of Bengal. H was the *Faujdar*[2] and fiefholder of Sylhet. Afterwards whe the affairs of the government were glorified by the coronation o Shah Jahan, he in the first year was confirmed in the *Mansab* of 2,000 with 1,000 horse which he had held previously. In the 4th and 5th years he received increases of 200 horses on each occasion. In the 8th year he came to the Court, and placed his forehead of determination on the threshold of faith. After some

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1. The *Maathir-ul-Umara* by Nawab Samsam-ud-daula Shah Nawaz Khan translated by H. Beveridge, revised and annotated and completed by Baini Prashad, vol. I, 1914-41, vol. II, 1952 ; Calcutta : Bibliotheca Indica.

2. He is mentioned in the account of the 11th year of Shah Jahan's reign in *Badshah Nama*, II, p. 75.

time he was granted permission to accompany Islam Khan[3] who had been appointed Governor of Bengal in place of Azam Khan. When the Assamese with the help of Baldeo, the brother of Parichat,[4] Zamindar of Kuch Haju, became rebellious, he in company with Mir Zain-u-din Ali,[5] the brother of Islam Khan and who had the title of Siyadat Khan, rendered good service, and rose high in his office and position of trust. Accordingly his rank in the 11th year was advanced to 2,000 with 1,800 horse.[6] In the 15th year he was granted an increase of 200 horse which made his contingent equal to his infantry. When in this year, Orissa was assigned to prince Muhammad Shuja as an appendage to the Governorship of Bengal, Muhammad Zaman was sent there to settle the area[7]. In the 19th year he was recalled to the Court. In the 20th year he was attached[8] to Prince Muhammad Aurangzib Bahadur who had hurried to settle Balk etc. When the Prince made over Balkh to the officers of Nadhr

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3. He is Islam Khan Mashhadi (*Maathir-ul-Umara*, Text I, pp. 162-167, Beveridge & Prashad's Translation, I, pp. 694-696). His appointment as Governor of Bengal in place of Azam Khan (*Mathir-Ul-Umara*, Text I, pp. 174-180, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 315-319) is recorded in *Badshah Nama*, I, pt. I, p. 83, and *Amal-I-Salih*, II, p. 95.

4. His correct name, according to Borah, Baharistan-I-Ghayabi, II, p. 807, note 16 is Parikshit ; See also Gait, E, History Of Assam, pp. 63-68.

5. *Badshah Nama*, II, p. 75 and Yazdani's edition of Amal-i Salih, II, p. 287.

6. Badshah Nama, II, p. 90.

7. Badshah Namah, II, p. 283. His removal from Orissa is recorded on p. 473

8. He was sent to Badakhshan to convey treasure to Qulij Khan, Badshah Namah, II, p. 685

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Muhammad, and returned in the 21st year, Muhammad Zaman, in accordance with the orders, reached the Presence before the Prince. Nothing more has been noticed about him.

Bakir Khan Najam Zani, a commander of 900 under Jahangir, married the niece of Nur Mahal. He afterwards became Governor of Multan, with the titular dignity of Farzand, 'son' of the Emperor, for his services there. Subsequently he was Governor of Oudh and Orissa, in both posts he further distinguished himself. In 1632 'on account of his behaving badly[1] and unjustly to the inhabitants of Orissa, he was removed, and when he came to court in the 6th year (1632-33), he was made Governor of Gujarat. Mundy travelled in his train from Agra to Jalor in 1633, as appears in his *Relations* XVI & XVII. Bakir Khan was next appointed Governor of Allahabad, where he died in 1637.[2]

Since Peter Mundy, one of the factors of the East India Com-

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1. Complaints against Baqar Khan's oppression of the peasantry and zamindars repeatedly reached Shah Jahan's ears, and at last on 24th June 1632 an order was issued removing him from the post. It is said that the governor called all the zamindars of the province together and then threw them into prison to extort revenue. By his order seven hundred of the captives were massacred, and only one escaped to carry the tale to Shah Jahan's court. This fugitive produced a list (tumar, rent role) showing that Baqar Khan had collected forty lakhs of Rupees from the Province. The Khan was in consequence recalled, and ordered to account for the money. (*Maathir-Ul-Umara*, Text, III, 484 quoted by Sarkar, 'Orissa in the 17th Century,' Studies In Aurangzib's Reign, pp. 223-24)

2. Temple says he is indebted to Mr. Beveridge for this information. See *Mathir-Ul-Umara*. translated by Beveridge in JASB 1912, pp. 385-87 ; Beal *Oriental Biography*, p. 107.

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pany (he was second and Accountant at Agra from 1630-1632 under William Fremlen), had the good fortune of travelling in the company of Bakir Khan from Agra to Jalor in February-May 1633, his journal is reproduced below from his *Travels*[3] in order to show that the Khan was not the Governor of Orissa when Bruton visited Cuttack.

Peter Mundy's Return from Patna to Agra

The 10th August 1632. Cominge from Perozabad wee saw the *Laskarr* (*laskar*, camp) of Mirza Muckay,[4] whoe had pitched his Tent a little without the Towne, which made a verie gallant showe, your (*sic*) smaller Tents like common buildinges, and the other great faire Tents like to principall howses, and of the better Sort. Hee was goeing to Odesha Jagurnaut (Jagannath-Puri in Orissa) to be Governour. It is a place 300 Course beyond Puttana (vol. II, p. 85).

18th to 22nd (February) 1632(3). Theis 5 dayes nothing happened extraordinarie, only att Macraen (Makrain), on the River Soan towards Agra, wee overtooke the Luggage of Backur Ckaun (Bakir Khan),

3. *Travels Of Peter Mundy* (ed. by R. C. Temple for Hakluyt Society) vol. II, *Asia*, 1628-1634.

4. Mirza Makki, was a popular name for Mutakid Khan, who succeeded Bakir Khan as Nawab of Orissa, in 1632. He was the son of Iftikhar Khan, and is said to have been a foster-brother of Shah Jahan. See *Maathir-Ul-Umara* (Text III; *Memoirs Of Jahangir*, p. 303). He died at Jaunpur in October 1651.

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whoe was gon to Sousorame (Sasaram) and travellinge to the Kinge, being sent for, Mirza Muckay (Mirza Makki) being gon to possesse his Government in Oreshaw (Orissa) as afore mentioned.

The 25th February 1632/3. Wee departed from Agra in the morninge and that night came to Fettiepore (Fatehpur Sikri).

The 26th February 1632/3. Wee came to Connoway (Khanwa) where I found Mr. Fremlen who had already dispeeded the Carts to Neembra (Nibhera)... There wee found Backur Ckhaun (Bakir Khan) with a small Laskarr (*laskar*, camp) bound for Ahmudavad (Ahmadabad) appoynted Sehabsooba (Sahibsuba, Subahdar) of Guzaratt (Gujarat).

The 26th February 1632/3. In our waie hither (Neembera, 8 Course) wee came to Connoway (Khanwa)...were we pitched our Tent for that night. Heere wee found Backur Ckaun, whoe was newly come from Oreshaw (Orissa). Wee had intreated him that our Caphila (*kafila*, caravan) might goe with his *laskarre* (*laskar*, camp) to which hee seemed very willinge, promiseing to further us in what hee could. This way wee conceived would bee beneficiall to our Masters in saveing such Customes which otherwise would bee forced from us on the way. (pp. 231-32).

The 27th February 1632/3. By reason of wett weather (it haveinge rayned all night) Backur Ckaun made a moccame (*makam*, halt) or dayes rest. Heere, as I was told, the Ckaun cawsed a fellowe to bee thrown to owne (one) of his Eliphants that was more furious then the rest, whoe instantly Catchinge hold

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of him, sett his foote on him, and with his trunck tore him in peeces, one quarter from another [to this I was not present], hee beinge one of others that had Committed a Robberie, *vizt.*, Backur Ckaun amongst his necessaries for accomodation, had a silver Cotte (*khat*, bed), or att least wise plated over, which, because it might not bee hurt by Ladeinge and bindeing it on a Camell or Cart, was carried on mens shoulders. This said cott was way laid and surprized by a Company of Theeves, this fellow being one of them. (p. 232).

The 28th February 1632/3. Wee came to Byana (Bayana) in Company of Backur Ckaun (Bakir Khan), whoe promised to protect and free us from paying Customes on the way. (p. 278).

The 2nd March 1632/3. Wee pitched neare the Towne (Hendowne (Hindaun), 5 course) on the further side from hence. Backur Ckaun sent his sonne Mirza Facur[1] (Fakir) before to Ahmudavad (Ahmadabad) to take possession of the Government there in his name, with order to proceede 16 Course a day. (p. 235).

The 7th March 1632/3...Upon Complaint to the Ckaun (Bakir Khan) wee tooke three of the Townes people along with us to use them att our pleasure till they returned the Oxe, which stayed not longe, for att our Monzull (*manzil*, halting place) it was brought us, with provision and all...(p. 236).

The 8th March 1632/3. Wee made a Moccame (*makam*, halt),

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1. Mirza Fakhir, second son of Bakir Khan. He was Master of the Ceremonies (Mir Tuzak) of Shah Jahan. (1648).

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there being sett upp an extraordinarie great and high pavillion close to the water, and Masons sett on worke to make a Chowtree (*chabutra*), where Backur Ckaun meant the next day to sitt his Nouroze (nauroz, New Year's Day). (p. 237).

The 9th of March 1632/3. Wee made an other moccame by reason the Ckaun did solempnize his Nourose aforesaid with all the Magnificence the way could affoard, as by shooteing off his Shutternall[2] or Camell peeces (because they are fitted on Cammells backs), in number 16, beating of Drumms, whereof hee hath with him 6 or 7 paire, to bee carried on Elephants backs, of which one paire weigh 16 Maund Jehangueere, which is neere 1000 (lb) weight English, sounding of his trumpetts, haveinge by report when hee came from Oreshawe (Orissa) drums of silver and trumpetts of gold, which now the King is possessed of, as also Jewells and 9 great Eliphants.

But to return to our Nourose. There was also the fightinge of furious Cammells, called Bugdanees (Baghdadi). The afternoone hee feasted all his Cheife Favourites and followers. Att night all the Tanck was sett round about with 3 Rowes of lights. They keep this feast as their New Yeares tide. (p. 237).

The 11th March 1632/3. We came altogether (to) Balder-sunder (Bander Sindri) (p. 280).

The 12th March 1632/3. From hence Backur Ckhaun and his Laskarre past through Adgemeere (Ajmer),

2. *Shuturnal*, a swivel or small gun placed on a camel.

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being 13 Course...(p. 280).

The 13th March 1632/3. Wee also arrived att Adgemeere, where the Ckaun (Khan) made another Moccame (*makam*) for his owne occasions, els had wee bene already left behinde. By his letter wee got over Cammeller free with the expence of 20 rupees to the pla(i)ntiffs Horsemen etts. the Ckauns officers. (p. 280).

The 30*th Aprill* 1633. Mr. Wyche, Mr. Knipe and myselfe went to Backur Ckaun now Governour (of Gujarat) with a small present, in gratification of his good will : but it was rejected, and ourselves not admitted to speake to him, soe went to Cuttwall Ckaun, of whome wee understood that hee demaunded and expected noe less then rupees 20,000, sayeing hee had saved us noe lesse in Customes, vizt. at Byana rupees 6000, which Mirza Laskar (Mirza Lashkar) presented unto him, Att Mogul Ca Sarae, Mozea-bad, Mitra, etts. (pp. 298-99).

The 2d may 1633. There wanted not some to mediate ; and 2000 rupees for a Mummannee (*mihmani*, a banquet, feast) it would bee accepted.

The 3*rd May* 1633. The money was carried to Cuttwall Ckhaun whoe stood our seeminge freinde in that businesse.

The 4th May 1633. The money was againe returned unto us. Yett this was more then wee had warrant for, but wee adventured for theis respects. Firstlie : That hee had shewen us favour on the way (Although the event fell not out according to our desire), Soe wee

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could not doe lesse then gratefie him with somethinge.

Secondly. Being new come to the Cittie (as Governor), there is alsoe then somewhat due to him by Custome of the countrey.

Thirdly. Wee were loath for a small matter to incur his ill will, being that it lyes in his power hereafter to befreind or hinder the Companies affaires, wee concluded of 2000 rupees, although to noe purpose, as aforesaid.

Att length word was sent to us that for 4000 rupees all would bee remedied, which wee denyed (refused). Soe one Eveninge the Governour sent for Mr. Wyche and (the) Broker, with whome went Mr. Knipe, whoe was detayned with Panya (Panju) the Broker ; Mr. Wyche being sickly, was freed. Soe fearing of some hard usage and in the meane tyme much wanting the assistance of the Confined, and (seeing) that there was noe other remedie, wee went him, though to our greifes, the said 4000 rupees, which hee soe dishonourablie and unjustlye extorted from us, to his reproach, the knowledge and detestation of the whole Cittie, whoe much feare his future tirannicall Government. (p. 300).

There is no room for doubt that Agha Muhammad Zaman Tiherani was the Governor of Orissa during the interregnum of Bakir Khan's departure and Mutakid Khan's assumption of charge. Bruton has clearly stated that "he was by the Great Mogul commanded to wage warre with all expedition against the King of Gulcandouch a great Prince neighbouring upon his Confines which had wrongly with hostility entered on the South-west part of his Countrey, and had made some spoyle and havock

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on the same." Bruton has also stated that Backarcaune—"he was Nabob, and predecessour to this Nabob now governing :". The *parwana* procured by Cartwright, dated 25 Ardibihust in the sixth year of the reign (of Shah Jahan) was granted by Agha Muhammad Zaman Tiharani as is evident from the entry in the Company's records and mention of his name on the *Parwana* itself. It appears that he officiated in the post only for a short while.

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(3) BALASORE CHIEFS

RALPH CARTWRIGHT

Ralph Cartwright[1], who initiated East India Company's trade in Bengal by getting a *firman* from Agha Muhammad Zaman Tiherani, the then Governor of Orissa, and established factories at Hariharpur and Balasore (with the help of the local Governor, Mir Kasim) in 1633 was one of the oldest servants of the Company. In O. C. 1583 (letter from the President and Council at Bantam to the Company, dated January 10, 1644), he is described as an ancient servant of the Company, since 1618, when the *Exchange* first set forth for India, which is not quite correct. Since the *Exchange* was not launched till October 1619 (Court Book, 8th October, 1619, page 424) and was only in the Downs on the 24th March 1620, Cartwright arrived at Jakarta on the 25th October, 1620. He was appointed an Assistant to Nicolls, who was Chief of all the factories in the Moluccas.

Little is known of Cartwright's activities in Bantam or elsewhere between 1620 and 1630. Cartwright appears to have been sent to the Coast of Coromandel in 1630 or even earlier and we find him mentioned as Fourth in Council[2] in that part. He was probably stationed at Masulipatam in the beginning. He was appointed Third in Council on December 3, 1630.[3] He had travelled extensively in the Coast. We find him writing from 'Vantapooly' (Vetapalemu, about 10 miles southwest of Bapatla, headquarters of the taluk of the same name), about 13 miles west of Petapoli (Nizampatam)[4]. He is next found writing from 'Perrally' (Perala,

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English Chiefs at Balasore (1633-1650)

Name	Date of Assuing charge.	Date of making over charge.	Remarks
Ralph Cartwright	21st Apr. 1633	17th Dec. 1635.	Afterwards President at Bantam. Returned to England on the *Mary* in 1646.
John Yard	17th Dec. 1635	29th Nov. 1642	Afterwards at Bantam. Returned to England in 1650.
Robert Hatch	29th Nov. 1642	November, 1644	Returned to England in the *Mary* in 1646.
Henry Olton	November 1644	January, 1646	Abandoned his post. Afterwards at Bantam where he died in 1649.
William Netlam	January, 1646	August, 1647	Acting.
Richard Hudson	August, 1647	1648	Died apparently in the first half of 1648.
William Netlam	1648	14th Dec. 1650	Superseded as unworthy by Bridgman.

a village, 5 miles north-east of Vetapalemu) in October, 1632.[6]

President Rastell, in his letter to the factors at Masulipatam, dated December 3, 1630 appointed Henry Sill as Agent in the Coast and Lawrence Henley as second at the increased salary of 66 £ 13s 4d. Ralph Cartwright, Nicholas Bix, and Thomas Grove were appointed, third, fourth and fifth respectively and it was laid down that should Henley refuse Cartwright was to succeed him as Second and Bix Third.[6] This appointment is confirmed by George Willoughby, who, writing from aboard the *Royal James* at Bantam on September 12, 1631 to the Company says:[7] "By consultation John Hunter, in reguard of his former experience on that coaste and good repute with you, was left Chief at Armagon,[8], Nicholas Bix second, and Ralph Cartwright third ; the latter whereof was left by order from Surrat".

We find John Norris (principal), Ralph Cartwright, and Henry Sill ('taken from Surat') at Armagon in 1631[9]. John Reeve (Merchant of the *Hopewe*ll) writing from Bantam to the Company on January 31, 1632[10] says that when he reached Armagon on June 25, 1631 he found John Norris established as Agent by the President's commission, together with Cartwright, (second), Robinson and Bix. They (Norris, Reeve, and others) sailed for Masulipatam on July 3, 1631, leaving Bix and Altham to manage the Company's affairs at Armagon. Cartwright was probably away in some of the neighbouring villages for procuring goods, since we find the Agent Norris and Thomas Clark recalling him from his station (either at Armagon or Petapoli) to come to Masulipatam vide their letter dated March 5, 1633.[11] He is found writing from Masulipatam on March 22, 1633 to Thomas Colley[12] to 'repair hither as speedily as possible in order to accompany him into Bengala'. Cartwright was nominated Second of the Coast, if he was willing to stay by the President and Council at Surat on Council April 16, 1633.[13]

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Cartwright has figured in many accusations. He was charged with embezzlement of diamonds and committing 'heinous crimes' while he was in the Coast. George Willoughby, John Hunter and William Mathew writing from Masulipatam to the Company in their letter dated November 2, 1630[14] consented to Cartwright's stay in the Coast, though formerly he was accused by the President and Council of Surat of misdemeanours and was condemned to be sent home. The accusations brought against Cartwright in 1630 were examined by President Rastell and his Council but they did not find them to be of a serious nature. Rastell communicated his findings to the factors at Masulipatam in his letter dated October 27, 1630.[15]

Willougbhy, aboard the *Royal James* at Bantam, wrote to the Company on September 12, 1631[16] that many plots were practised by Henry Sill, Christopher Read, Ralph Cartwright and Thomas Tempest for re-establishing Sill and a number of protests were made. Read, Cartwright and Tempest refused at Armagon to lend any help or advice to the factors of the *Star* and were therefore excluded from consultations by the President and Council at Surat.

John Hunter was examined in February 1632[17] regarding his proceedings at Armagon etc. and he protested his innocence in the matter of diamonds, which he believed were embezzled by Cartwright.

Willoughby, in his reply to charges made against him and his associates stated that "had the charges made against Catwright by Willoughby and his Council been deemed by Rastell 'worthy his remove' to England, an order to that effect might have been sent from Surat". (The charge No. 8 was : 'That Willoughby refused to repair to England to answer his accusations : Sill's assistants *viz*. Read, Cartwright, and Tempest, were called to Council by the Agent, but 'were refractory and madly

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disposed'.)[18]

Despite the allegations, it must be admitted that Cartwright was a redoubtable merchant and was expert in handling the local people, whether they were native merchants or Mogul governors. Bruton's narrative of his proceedings at the Nawab's court at Cuttack makes him a man of astute business sense. But for his boldness and initiative, Bengal would not have opened its gates for English trade. After establishing factories at Hariharpur and Balasore he left Bengal for Bantam.

Cartwright, after getting the Parwana of Agha Muhammad Zaman Tiherani, the Mogul Governor of Orissa stationed at Cuttack, came to Hariharpur on May 12, 1633 and hired a house for the English factory till the Company's own house was ready.[19] Cartwright left Hariharpur on June 15 for Balasore.[20] During his stay at Hariharpur, Cartwright had involved himself and his nation in a serious difficulty with the Nawab. Dutch records show that Cartwright was detected in an intrigue with the wife of a Muhammadan dwelling next door to the English factory whereupon the Nawab not only imprisoned the offender and fined him a thousand rupees, but also ordered the factory building to be pulled down.[21] Probably means were found for averting the doom, for otherwise the Company would have had something to say on the subject.

The whole affair seems to have been fabricated as there is no mention of Cartwright's intimacy with a Muslim lady at Hariharpur. There were several allegations against him in subsequent years, but nothing of this sort was mentioned. Had he been involved in a scandal, factors would have hinted at it at any time. Moreover, the English factory built by Cartwright and party was not pulled down by the Nawab as stated in the *Dagh Register*. The building was washed away by a torrential downpour and storm. Bruton says : 'For on the eighteenth day (May, 1633)

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the Raines began with such force and violence that it beate downe all our Worke to the ground, and washed it away, as if there had not beene anything done : the Storme continued without ceasing (day and night) more or lesse, three weekes compleat'.[22]

Cartwright, 'who has bene Chiefe in Bengala ever since that trade has bene afoot', entreated leave to return home in 1634, but President Thomas Joyce and his Council induced him to remain in Balasore, which he did ; they again, on October 25, 1634 'begged him to stop another twelve month, but did not know whether he will consent'.[23] He remained Chief of the factories at Balasore and Hariharpur till the end of the year 1635, when, owing to violent disagreements between him and the Council at Masulipatam, especially Thomas Clark, he was displaced or forced to resign, according to Dutch Records.[24] He handed over the journals and ledgers of the Bay of Bengal accounts from April 6, 1633 to December 17, 1635, which included four journals and ledgers for 'Harrapore', June 12, 1633 to December 15, 1633, to May 31, 1634. Thomas Clark was to account for the latter date to December 17, 1635.[25] Cartwright stated in his note that he had delivered 'Copies of all the said accounts till December 17, 1635. The originals were first delivered in Anno 1635, before my going to Bantam'. It appears from this that Cartwright made over charge on the 17th December, 1635, before leaving for Bantam on the *Speedwell*.[26] He returned to Masulipatam in 1636 with a credential letter from the Council at Bantam dated June 27, 1636,[27] ordering the Council there to examine the accounts and send him back, whichthey did.[28] Dutch Records show that Cartwright returned from the Bay of Bengal on the *Speedwell* to Masulipatam, after spending a long time at Balasore, looking after his own interests rather than the Campany's[29] The capital remaining in the Bay at his departure was about 1,000 pagodas (equal to £ 500). The *Speedwell*, after the necessary

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repairs, proceeded to Bantam with Cartright on board. From the fact that his accounts were made up to December 17, 1635,[80] we gather that he gave up charge of the Bengal factories on that date.[81]

Cartwright was found to owe Rs. 4,483 on account of dead men's estate, besides 180 Pagodas due to the Company on the Petapoli account, according to the letter of Gerald Pinson and Thomas Clark dated Masulipatam, December 1, 1636, addressed to the President and Council at Bantam.[82] He was orderd to clear off all scores before he left the Coast ; 'and then wee hope his extravagant courses shall never disparage our Honorable Company more on these parts', He delivered the following records to the Agent at Masulipatam on January 13, 1637 :[83] A book of wills and inventories kept in the Bay; one journal and ledger continued on December 17, 1635 (and 'concluded the same day') besides papers etc. belonging to the estates of Thomas Colley, Jonathan Mountney, John Powell and Robert Littler. In a postscript to the note left by Cartwright of the papers delivered to the Agent on January 13, 1637, he says he has also delivered to the Agent on January 16, duplicates of the said accounts and two books of expenses.

Cartwright was detained by the Agent of Masulipatam 'all last year' to his great hindrance as we learn from his letter to the President and Council at Bantam dated August 28, 1637[84]. He confirmed having sent two letters by the *Expedition* to President Willoughby. He said that thirteen years was too long a period to be absent from one's country and friends. It was never his desire to go into the Bay, and when he went he intended to stay only one monsoon ; but, having got him out of the way while another took Norris's place as Agent, they obliged him to remain nearly three years, without giving him an encouragement but on the contrary reviling and taunting him. He owed the

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Company nothing but his duty and service. The deficit on his Bengal accounts (nearly 100£) and the gold lost in Petapoli (130 double riders) amounted at the most 240£, for which he offered to transfer to the Agent certain debts due to him which, with the sums standing to his credit in the Bay accounts, would fully cover his liability ; yet he was refused permission to proceed to Bantam to take ship there for England. Moreover, his goods lay rotting and spoiling ; 'nor have I had this eight months tyme either cott to ly uppon, quilt or sheete to cover me, or clothes to put uppon my back, but what I borrow and friends give me'. He declared that he never kept in his own hands the estates of the dead men, but put them all into the Company's cash. He explained the reason why his accounts showed a deficit. The Company owed him over 300£ on account of wages. He expressed fears that the factors' intent 'are verie evill to me wards': but left himself to the consideration of his correspondent.

No doubt, Cartwright was given a raw deal by the Agent and Council at Masulipatam during his detention there. His condition was pathetic, for he had no 'cott to ly uppon, quilt or sheete to cover me, or clothes to put uppon my back'. At the same time Agent Gerald Pinson and his second Thomas Clark (Accountant) 'did live at Mesulipatam at a very high and extraordinary rate in the expence of the Companies meanes, putting them to the charge of keeping ten horses, two oxen, two pallankeens, sometimes 40, other tymes 60, and at other tymes 80 servants belonging to the house. And when Pinson and Clark have gone out of towne togeather (as twas usuall) there did ride a trumpeter before him ; likewise there was two flaggs carryed before them, and one of the cuntry fencers..' declared Cartwright in an affidavit filed on January 16, 1639. [s 5] Cartwright spent lavishly according to Cogan who pointed out that greater part of what was sent was employed in paying interest on what was

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misspent when Baker and Cartwright lived at the Coast, the former having cost the Company a great deal.[36]

There were some allegations against Cartwright and he returned to England via Bantam, probably in the beginning of 1639, in order to vindicate his character. The veteran merchant was charged with embezzling a bale of ginghams[37] out of the *Speedwell* by the President and Council at Bantam. The Court of Committees on August 7, 1639 read general letters from Bantam and the Coast, wherein this charge was mentioned[38]. The Court [39] deferred the hearing of the complaints against Cartwright and others (William, Henry Johnson, and Guy Bath) on November 11. Cartwright submitted his answer to the accusations disclaiming all knowledge of the missing of the bale ; but the examination was deferred to November 22, 1639.[40] The Court absolved Cartwright of all imputations of dishonesty and appointed him second in Council at Bantam with right to succeed Aaron Baker as President.

The Court of Committees held a meeting on March 9, 1641 and approved Cartwright's appointment.[41] "On information that Mr. Muschampe has been succeeded as President at Bantam by Aaron Baker, who is reported to be in 'a deepe consumption', the Court, seeing that there is no one out there capable of filling his place, takes into consideration whom to send to act as second, and in the event of Mr. Baker's death to succeed as President. Mr. Pinson and Mr. Hunter named; but both excuse themselves on the ground of recent return after long absence from England, though Hunter offers to go in August or September by the next ships. Thereupon it is proposed that Ralph Cartwright, who has been long employed in the service and is specially recommended as an able man and a good accountant, and one who has cleared himself satisfactorily from all complaints, shall be appointed and go in.

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the *William*, now designed for Bantam. He is much pleased with the Court's proposal and offers himself freely for this or any other employment. After debate his salary is settled at £ 120 per annum ; on hearing this he asks that it may be made 200 marks, and in case Mr. Baker is dead on his arrival that he may succeed him as President. Both these requests are granted, and he is assured that if his services answer expectation he shall receive the same respect as other Presidents have had. At his desire it is agreed that his wife shall be given 40 £ yearly from his salary for her maintenance, recorded the Court Minutes in appointing Cartwright. Mr. Samuel Vassal[42] was accepted as security for Cartwright on March 10, 1641 and his old bond was cancelled on his re-entertainment on March 15.[43]

Cartwright returned to Bantam as Second in Council in 1641 and we find the Court permitting his wife, Elizabeth, to have certain goods, their freight to be charged to her husband's account.[44] Thomas Ivy in his protest dated Masulipatam September 4, 1639[45] said that there had been a change of Presidents at Bantam, while a letter from London stated that Read and Cartwright were coming out on the *William*. Since Cartwright was in England in 1641, the year is patently wrong.

Aaron Baker resigned the Presidency of Bantam to Ralph Cartwright early in January 1643 and proceeded home in *Ulyses* according to a letter from Bantam to the Company.[46] Cartwright held the Presidency only for three years during which period he was allowed a salary of 300 £ per annum.[47] He resigned the office of the President at Bantam in favour of Aaron Baker, who was his son-in-law, a few days before December 29, 1645 and embarked for England on the *Mary* with Robert Hatch as fellow passenger.[48] Baker[49] vacated his office and was elected one of the Committees at the Court meeting of August 15, 1649.

Cartwright was exonerated of all blames in 1641 and was

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appointed President at Bantam. We find his name mentioned in the Company's *Black Book*[50] for 1624-55 (Home Miscellaneous, Vol. XXIX—A Record of the 'errors and misdemeanors of the Company's servants,. The entries for 1644-49 occupy ff 34-47). He did not desist himself from private trade.

There was a dispute between Captain William Mynors and Cartwright, though the details have not been given in the Court Minutes. The Court at its sitting on November 4, 1646 desired certain Committees to hear and report on the matter in dispute between Captain Mynors and Cartwright.[51] The Committees to whom the dispute was referred were desired to meet 'next Thursday' at the Court meeting held on December 23.[52] The answers of Captain Mynors to the charges brought against him by Cartwright were read at a Court of Committees held on February 10, 1647,[53] but judgment was deferred until the Captain could present his intended charges against Cartwright. Captain Mynors was asked to prefer his charges against Cartwright speedily.

Cartwright's request for a copy of Captain Mynors' answers to the charges he brought against him was refused by the Court of Committees at their sitting held on February 12, 1647,[54] but he was allowed to read the said answers. He desired that the Captain must state speedily what charges he had against him so that he could prepare himself for answering the same before Mynors left England. The Court immediately asked the Captain to present his charges against Cartwright. Captain Mynors requested payment of all wages and debts due to him plus the usual gratuity (bonus) for bringing the *Mary* into the Downs. He asked for permission to take 100 gallons of Canary wine provided by him, as Cartwright had one hogshead of the wine sent out for the ships taken ashore at Bantam. The Court ordered payment of his wages and debts at this meeting, but deferred other requests.

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The Committees[55] called Cartwright and Captain Mynors into the Court on February 17, 1647 and charges against the Captain were read, with his answers to the same. They heard what each one had to say in his own defence. Mynors' counter-charges against Cartwright were read next and a copy of the same was given to the latter. The Committees held another Court on February 19, but could not resolve the disputes between the Captain and Cartwright.[56] The Company's records do not reveal how the dispute has been settled.

Cartwright acquainted the Court on July 7, 1647[57] that he had to say something about Thomas Owen, who lately died at Bantam and the Committees, accordingly, ordered the latter's account not to be settled until this was heard. The Court had to await the arrival of Cartwright to settle the accounts of Michael Yates, who lost the voyage of his ship, the *Hopewell*, from Bantam. Yates was charged with carrying Portuguese goods free of freight in the *Swan* when he was in her. His answer was not satisfactory to the Court.[58] Cartwright was directed on November 27, 1646 to give in a written answer to the money claimed by Yates and Humphrey West.[59] The charges drawn by Cartwright were so directly contrary to West's answers that certain Committees were directed on December 2 to examine the difference and report their findings to the Court.[60] The Court's conclusion in this respect is not recorded in the Minutes.

Complaints against Yeo, Hatch, Smith and Steevens were also preferred by Cartwright and the Court directed the complainant to draw up charges against the accused on December 23, 1646,[61] so that the Committees could take them up for consideration, 'next Tuesday'. The Committees at their Court held on December 29, ordered copies of the charges to be given to each of the accused and their written answers were demanded for the same. The Court, after reading the answers, cleared all of

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them.

The Court desired on January 19, 1646 three or four Committees to examine Cartwright's accounts in order to ascertain the truth of his statement that 40,600 (sic) dollars were due from the Joint Stock to the First General Voyage.[62] Wright and Vivian (Committees ?) declared on August 20, 1647 that, according to the account made up by Cartwright, 40,500 dollars were due from the Joint Stock to the First General Voyage ; they therefore desired goods to this value from those returned that year.[63]

Cartwright was fond of oriental delicacies and we find him bringing home 'sweetmeates, screetores, sirrups, pupe, acharre, etc.' in the *Mary* on his return from Bantam. The Committees, at a Court held on December 18, 1646 ordered these rarities be delivered to him after taking note of their weights by the Husband.[64] He also brought home two chests of tokens from Bantam and the Committees ordered them, on November 6, 1646, to be viewed at the 'next court'.[65] Accordingly certain Committees were requested on November 11 to go to the Custom-house and examine the tokens.[66]

It appears from the records that Cartwright was laid up with illness as soon as he returned home. The Committees desired to know how the Company's estate stood at Bantam on August 14, 1646.[67] This could not be done without Cartwright's accounts and he was so ill that he could not perfect them. Garway and Gould (Committees) were desired by the Court at the meeting held on August 14 to call on Cartwright's lodging, close at hand, and see how he was. Cartwright's books were asked to be brought the following morning to the Company's house for him to perfect with the assistance of Sambrooke.

The Court granted Cartwright permission to go 'into the country' for a fortnight on February 26, 1647 and sanctioned 100 £ for his expenses, on account, besides delivering his goods.

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(tokens and oriental delicacies) from the Customs-house, on payment of the clearance and warehouse charges.[68] He offered to leave 1,000 £ on interest in the Company's hands, to make good all sums that might be charged to him from Bantam and desired for clearing his accounts. Since the Committees were busy with the despatch of ships, he was told to wait for some time. Cartwright could not see to himself the clearance of his accounts as he died before the end of 1647. Though his date of death is not recorded, it is certain that he passed away before February 4, 1648 as the Court called his wife, Elizabeth, widow of Ralph Cartwright on that date.[69]

The account books of Cartwright were examined by Andrews and other Committees and they reported to the Court on November 21, 1649 that they had found 'very great miscarriages by way of private trade'.[70] The Committees, therefore, ordered some deduction from his estate. The Committees, shamelessly imposed a fine of 400 £.

Elizabeth, wife of Cartwright and Abraham, his brother executor, petitioned the Court of Committees on February 4,1648 that 550 £ might be paid to the widow. The Court considering that she had only received 100 £, consented to her having 50 £ on the executor giving a discharge for it, and agreed that if the 500 £ should appear to be due when her husband's account was made up, she shall be paid it with interest at the rate of six per cent from that day.[71] Abraham applied for 1,500 rialls of eight received from Aaron Baker for Cartwright's account, but Elizabeth and her daughter, Mrs. Baker, desired on September 8, 1648 that this money might be detained until the account was adjustcd, as legacies were due to them from the estate. The legatees expressed their fear that they would not receive their respective shares of money if the amount was paid to the executor as he had not kept a former agreement made on the 4th February

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last. All parties referring themselves to the decision of the Court, the executor was directed to give a discharge for 50 £ formerly ordered to be paid to Mrs. Cartwright.[72] The Court decided that if 500 £ appeared to be due to the account of the deceased, it should be paid to the widow. Interest at6 % per annum was allowed on that account. The Court detained the 1500 rials till settlement of the accounts of the deceased and interest at 6% per annum was allowed to the executor. The executor pressed for payment of his dues and the Court desired certain Committees on November 14, 1649 to examine and report on the account of the late Ralph Cartwright.[73] Abraham was told by the Court on November 28, that his brother, notwithstanding his bond of 1,000 marks not to engage in private trade, had much wronged the Company, thereby forfeiting it.[74] Cartwright's accounts were 'so confusedly made up as that no man could rectify them'. The Court, after much deliberation, resolved to impose a fine of 400 £ for private trade and all other offences committed by Cartwright. Abraham submitted to the decision of the Court as he had nothing to say to the accusations. The Court ordered payment of the dues to Abraham, after deducting 500 £ formerly passed for payment to the widow. The final order for payment of all that was due to Cartwright (except 500 £ detained for his widow) was passed by the Court on December 12.[75]

Whatever may be his faults, Cartwright was one of the most outstanding merchants of the Company in the initial days. The factories at Hariharpur and Balasore did not prosper in the absence of abler hands. The Court considered Cartwright 'as a great private trader'.[76] He was sensible to the feelings of others and helped people in distress. We conclude this account of Cartwright, who heralded the trade into Bengal with the following extract from his letter (Balasore ?) to 'Mr. Youring' (.....)

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1634,[77] He asked 'Youring' to take the bearer, formerly a servant in the English-house at Masulipatam, into the Company's service and in the meanwhile he was ordered to do duty on board. The bearer was instructed to 'courteously entertayne your laskers (lascars) elce will they leave the shipp'. He promised 'Youring' to send aboard with all expedition both goods and provisions,— 'some by the pinnace, others by porks,[78] and it may be that the Dutch sloope will help us'. He sent a cable by 'our dungaes'[79].

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3 Foster, W—*English Factories In India 1630-33*, p. 107.

4 O. C. 1450, Cartwright to Thomas Colley at Petapoli, September 28, 1632 ; EF 1630-33, p. 230.

5 O. C. 1452, Cartwright to Thomas Colley at Petapoli, October 4, 1632 ; EF 1630-32, p. 234.

6 Foster, EF 1630-33, p. 107.

7 O. C. 1375, Foster EF 1630-33, p. 166.

8 Armagon, a village in the Gudur taluk of Nellore District, Tamil Nadu.

9 Foster, EF 1630-33, p. 202 note.

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16 O. C. 1375 ; Foster, EF 1630-33, pp. 168 & 170.

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19 Bruton's *News*, para 47.

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21 *Dagh Register 1631-34*, p. 415 (Foster, EF 1634-36, Introduction, XXXVI).

22 Bruton's *News*, para 32.

23 O. C. 1536, EF 1634-36, p. 50.

24 *Dagh Register*, 1636, p. 124 ; Wilson, Balasore Chiefs, pp. 1-3.

25 O. C. 1585 ; Note by Ralph Cartwright of papers delivered to the Agent at Masulipatam, January 13, p. 1637 (EF 1637-41, pp. 3-4).

26 O. C. 1572 ; Factors at Masulipatam to the Company dated September 20, 1636 (EF 1634-36, p. 296).

27 O. C. 1567 ; Wilson, Balasore Chiefs, p. 3, Certificate by President Willoughby and Robert Coulson at Bantam, June 27, 1636 (EF 1634-36, p. 270). "That Ralph Cartwright has been sent back to the Coast upon the *Expedition* merely to give account to the Agent and Council there of 'his late imployments in the Bay of of Bengala' etc. This being done, he is to be allowed to return to Bantam at once, to take passage for England."

28 O. C. 1582 ; Wilson, Balasore Chiefs, p. 3.

29 *Dagh Register*, 1636, p. 124.

30 O. C. 1585, EF 1634-36, pp. 3-4.

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32 O. C. 1580, EF 1634-36, p. 326.

33 O. C. 1585 (see 30 above).

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36 O. C. 1751, *Court Minutes* 1644-49, p. 57.

37 Ginghams—cotton cloth.

38 Court Book, vol. XVII, p. 19 ; *Court Minutes* 1635-39, p. 313.

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41 Court Book, vol. XVII, pp. 430 ; CM 1635-39, pp. 149-50.

42 Court Book, vol. XVII, p. 437 ; CM 1635-39, p. 152.

43 Court Book, vol. XVII, p. 438 ; CM 1635-39, p. 153.

44 O. C. 1779 & Court Book, vol. XVIII, p. 174 ; 260.

45 O. C. 1690, EF 1637-41, p. 165.

46 O. C. 1643, President Cartwright & Council at Bantam to the Company ; EF 1637-41, p. 82 & O. C. 1807.

47 Court Book, XIX p. 133 ; A Court of Committees with the Mixed Committees, February 21, 1644 ; *Court Minutes* 1644-49, p. 12.

48 O. C. 1884 & 1969 (President Baker & Council at Bantam to the Company, December 29, 1645) ; EF 1642-46, pp. 36, 82, 311 (note).

49 Court Book, vol. XX, p. 383 ; CM 1644-49, p. 342.

50 *Court Minutes* 1644-49, p. 1.

51 Court Book, vol. XX, p. 37 ; CM 1644-49, p. 37.

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53 Court Book, vol. XX, p. 74 ; CM 1644-49, pp. 189-90.
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56 Court Book, vol. XX, p. 78 ; CM 1644-49, p. 191.
57 Court Book, vol. XX, p. 121 ; CM 1644-49, p. 210.
58 A Court of Committees, December 3, 1645; Court Book vol. XIX p. 378 ; CM 1644-49, p. 118.
59 Court Book, vol. XX, p. 48 ; CM 1644-49, pp. 173-74.
60 Court Book, vol. XX, p. 50 ; CM 1644-49, p. 175.
61 Court Book, vol. XX, p. 57 ; CM 1644-49, pp. 181, 182, & 185.
62 Court Book, vol. XX, p. 189 ; CM 1644-49, p. 253.
63 Court Book, vol. XX, p. 140 ; CM 1644-49, p. 219.
64 Court Book, vol. XX, p. 56 ; CM 1644-49, p. 180.
65 Court Book, vol. XX, p. 38 ; CM 1644-49, p. 168.
66 Court Book, vol. XX, p. 40 ; CM 1644-49, p. 169.
67 Court Book, vol XX, p. 15 ; CM 1644-49, p. 160.
68 Court Book, vol. XX, p. 79 ; CM 1644-49, p. 192.
69 Court Book, vol. XX, p. 197 ; CM 1644-49, p. 256.
70 Court Book, vol. XX, p. 425 ; CM 1644-49, p. 377.
71 Court Book, vol. XX, p. 197 ; See 69 above.
72 Court Book, vol. XX, p. 260 ; CM 1644-49, p. 286.
73 Court Book, vol. XX, p. 424 ; CM 1644-49, p. 373.
74 Court Book, vol. XX, p. 428 ; CM 1644-49, pp. 380-81.
75 Court Book, vol. XX, p. 439 ; CM 1644-49, p. 385.
76 Court Book, vol. XXI, p. 55 (Court of Committees for the Joint Stock, August 21, 1650) ; CM 1650-54, p. 55.
77 O. C. 1544 ; Probably Thomas Ewryn (Foster, EF 1634-36, p. 51).
78 Pork—native boat.
79 *Dungaes*—dungi, is a small boat.

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JOHN YARD

"Cartwright's successor at Balasore was John Yard (List of Factors on the Coromandel, Masulipatam, 1636, O. C. 1595). In 1636 the Dutch reported that the English were very active on the Coromandel Coast (*Dagh-Register* 1637, p. 93) ; but in 1640 they are said to be doing very little because they have no capital (*Dagh-Register* 1640-1, p. 187). A letter from Surat to the Company, dated 27th January 1642 (O. C. 1787) shows that the *Diamond* had been sent to the Bay to pay off debts and bring away the factors. The Dutch records say that the *Diamond* came to Masulipatam, but do not say that she went on to the Bay (see *Dagh Register*, 1640-41, p. 420 ; 1641-2, p. 272). At any rate the factors were not withdrawn, and Yard continued to be Chief in the Bay till the end of 1642, when he asked to be relieved and to return on the *Hopewell* as appears from Francis Day's letter to the Company, dated Balasore, 3rd November 1642 (O. C. 1797). The same letter states that the *Hopewell* arrived at Balasore on the 13th August 1642, and as she stayed there three months and 16 days (see O. C. 1784) we may fix the 29th November 1642, as the date of the departure of John Yard from Bengal on the *Hopewell*. O. C. 1853, from Bantam to the Company, dated 10th January 1644, says that John Yard, formerly Chief in the Bay, receives his passage home in the *Hopewell*. But on the 20th November 1644 John Yard writes to the Company from Surat (O. C. 1898). From a letter from Bantam to the Adventurers in the Second General Voyage, dated 3rd January 1650 (O. C. 2139) it appears that Yard was detained in the East, and enterta-

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ined for a sea voyage. He is commended as very careful, and sent home with all the accounts."[1]

John Yard's entertainment, salary and other service conditions have not come to light, since the Court Minutes are silent on these topics. He finds no mention in the Court Minutes of 1635-39. We first notice him at a Consultation held at Surat by the President and Council on April 11. 1634.[2] The factors at Surat resolved to send to Masulipatam, in response to the request of the factors at that place, in the *Hart*, John Yard, Henry Clark Robert Hatch and Richard Belfield. Since we notice from the list sent as an enclosure to the letter of President Robert Coulson from Bantam dated December 20, 1636 that Yard was stationed in 'Bengal' along with Robert Hatch, Richard Belfield, and George Hopkins,[3] it is reasonably certain that Yard reached Balasore in 1634 or 1635. Thomas Clark was considered too young and inexperienced to take charge of the factories in the Bay and he was therefore asked to return to Masulipatam as Second in Council.[4] The Bantam Council appointed Nathaniel Wyche as the Chief of the Bengal factories, but in fact Yard seems to have succeeded Cartwright. There is no doubt that Yard was in charge of the two factories in Bengal, at Hariharpur and Balasore, at the beginning of 1637[5].

The details of Yard's proceedings in the Bay are not available in records. All that we know is that the factors in Bengal were squandering the Company's funds and were in deep debts always during the chiefship of Yard. He was asked by the Masulipatam factors in October 1640 to buy or freight a small vessel and come away as speedily as possible.[6] Yard spent Rs. 12,000 in purchasing the vessel *Endeavour* and repairing her.[7] President Aaron Baker and his Council at Bantam have referred to Yard's 'exorbitancies in the Bay of Bengala' intheir letter dated July 25, 1642 to their counterparts at Surat.[8]

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John Yard must have left Balasore by November 29, 1642 in the *Hopewell* and reached Masulipatam on December 8, since we do not find his name in the list of merchants employed in Bengal in October 1643.[9] It appears that he wanted to go to Masulipatam in January 1642 in the *Endeavour*, but was forced to return to Balasore on account of foul weather. From the "events[10] on the Coast of Coromandel, January-September, 1642" we note: "And now wee returne againe to Bengalla, wher the *Diamond* left Mr. John Yard with his *Endeavour* : who it seemes could not be made readie untill the 15 of January ; when then he sett sayle to come for Messilupitam, but meeting variable winds and foule weather was forced, after the expence of a month, to retourne againe, having in that time lost some of his (her) anchors and almost all her sails ; and yet [which is strange to us] the Dutch, that set saile ten days after them, gained Messilupatam, and Pullicat (but twas towards the latter end of March)...." Andrew Cogan, Henry Greenhill and John Brown in their letter[11] dated Fort St. George, January 4, 1643, to the President and Council, did not make any mention of Yard, but only about Robert Hatch 'whoe is left in Bengalla to looke unto the Companies houses, &ca'. There is, therefore, no doubt that Yard left Balasore on November 29, 1642 as stated by Wilson.

The passage of Yard in the *Hopewell* is confirmed by President Cartwright. He and his Council in their letter dated January 10, 1644 to the Company said : "John Yard, formerly Chief in the Bay of Bengal, returns in this ship, the *Hopewell*, having put his whole estate (sent herewith) into the hands of the Company."[12] Yard returned home before October 24, 1645 as the Court of Committees ordered delivery of six bales of calicoes 'belonging to Mr. Yard, a factor returned from Bantam' free of freight on that date[13]

Yard's purchase of the *Endeavour* came in for criticism at home. The vessel was condemned as "unserviceable" and was alleged to be purchased without sanction of higher authorities. Andrew Cogan was the principal in bringing out this accusation against Yard and the Committees fixed the 'next Wednesday' for a hearing on September 3, 1645.[14] The Court, in the meanwhile, ordered payment of 100 £ on account toward his expenses. The Court deferred the hearing of the accusations against Yard to September 10, 1645.[15] Yard desired the Committees to pay his wages in the meanwhile and the Court requested certain Committees on May 8, 1646 to examine his accounts and the charge brought against him.[16]

The *Endeavour* was purchased by Yard at a cost of Rs. 12,000 at Balasore as mentioned earlier. Ralph Cartwright, President, and his Council at Bantam, had absolved Yard of all blames in this respect. They stated in their letter dated January 10, 1644 to the Company : 'As regards the accusations made against him (Yard) they conceive him to be innocent'.[17] and 'that he had absolute order and authoritie to buy the *Endeavour* as wee have seene by a letter directed him in the Bay to procure a good vessell, three times mentioned in the sayd letter besides the buying of a jelliah or flatt bottomed boate, which are not capable to transport to Meslapatam from the Bay of Bengal the 20th part of what was desired to be sent thence in the sayd vessell he had order to procure... President Breton. Thomas Merry and Richard Fitch wrote from Swally Marine (Surat) on November 28, 1644 to the Company that the '*Endeavour* which is said to be a very serviceable vessel, left Fort St. George on July 10, reached Masulipatam two days later, and on the 23rd sailed for Bengal'.[18]

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The Comittees requested to examine the charges against Yard reported on May 15, 1646 that he had sufficient warrant for buying the *Endeavour*, since he had been cleared of any blame by the President and Council of Surat and Bantam.[19] The Court concurred with the findings of the Committees and ordered all debts and wages due to Yard to be paid, and as a token of their esteem admitted him to the freedom of the Company. Yard's name was included in the Company's Black Book[20] for this period on account of these allegations.

Yard had disbursed 800 rupees while he was at Balasore and asked for reimbursement. The Court appointed certain Committees on November 4, 1646 to peruse his accounts and report their opinions concerning his demands.[21] The Committees to whom his demands for the sum was referred reported on December 16, 1646 that they had examined the 'Ballisara', Madraspatam, and Bantam books.[22] The Committees found this sum credited to Yard in the two former factories but not in the last named, whereupon he was told that, if he could not show by the Bantam books that such a sum was due to him, it would prove very inconvenient to the Company to give him allowance for the same. The Court allowed Yard interest at six per cent for the 800 rupees he claimed on December 18, should this sum appear due to him.[23] The factors at Bantam were asked by the Court on January 15, 1647 as to the reason why the sum in question was not brought to account in their books.[24] On perusal of the letter from the President and Council dated December 23, 1647, the Court ordered payment on March 26, 1651 to be made to Yard of the money disbursed by him at Balasore with interest at the rate of six per cent.[25]

Yard once again went to Bantam in 1648 as an 'adventurer'

and factor. He was entertained to go as a factor to Bantam at a meeting of the Committees for the Second General Voyage held on December 22, 1647 at a lumpsum payment of 300 £ for the whole voyage, on condition that he returned in the last ship from that place.[26] The Court assured him that his executors would be paid that sum in the event of his death, provided he left a fair account of the affairs of the voyage after the *Advice* was laden. The Court allowed him to become an adventurer[27] in the Second General Voyage to the amount of 1,000 £, on condition that he paid the Company's treasurer 750 £ in cash and the balance on account of his salary. He was to be accounted an adventurer only for so much as his salary amounted to, added to the 750 £ already paid in, if he died before the *Advice* and *William* were laden. He was also given permission to take out a youth as an attendant on condition that he brought him back.[28]

The Court recalled Yard from Bantam on February 23, 1650[29] and we find him returned home by October. The Committees for the Fourth Joint Stock and Second General Voyage ordered[30] examination of the accounts of Yard and George Tash, factors lately returned from "India" on October 30. Yard requested payment of his salary and the arrears due to him from the old stock and remission of freight on certain goods. Some dispute arose as to whether the Voyage or Stock should pay for the time he stayed in "India". A Mixed Committee of two each from the Voyage and Stock was requested to consider the question[31] on November 13, 1650. The payment of arrears and the remission of freight were deferred to the next Court. The Committees for the Fourth Joint Stock and Second General Voyage held a Court on January 22, 1651 and resolved that of the sum of 200 £ due to Yard, half should be paid by the Stock and half by the Voyage.[32]

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Thus, John Yard is one of the few personalities who has remained unscathed by the authorities at home despite allegations brought against him. We miss him from the Company's records after 1650.

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1 Wilson, *Balasore Chiefs*, p. 4.

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ROBERT HATCH

"Yard's successor as Chief in the Bay at Balasore was Robert Hatch (see a list of the Company's servants employed at Bantam and subordinates, October 1643, presented to the Court, 10th January 1644 ; O. C. 1841). He remained there unwillingly (see O. C. 1797). A letter from Fort St. George to the Company dated 8th September 1644 (O. C. 1885), says : "the latter (i.e. Henry Olton) we have appointed (in regard of Mr. Hatch his desire of release) to take charge of the "Company's business in Bengalla...per the *Endeavour*". The same letter says that the *Endeavour* left Madras on the 9th July. O. C. 1876 shows that she was in Masulipatam, probably just arrived, on the 13th July. The *Dagh Register* 1644-5, p. 326, says that the English sent the *Endeavour* to Bengal from Masulipatam on the 4th August N. S., i. e., the 25th July O. S., "and *en passant* had established a factory in Sikakul, where in landing they lost a chest of treasure through a boat upsetting, but they were not well treated and thought of giving up". On p. 340 the same volume of the *Dagh Register* states that the ship *Endeavour* arrived in December from Balasore before Masulipatam ; from which we may infer that the *Endeavour* like the *Hopewell* two years before, arrived at Balasore in August and left at the end of November 1644. Hatch then may have made over charge to Olton at the end of November 1644. He returned to England from Bantam on the *Mary* at the end of 1645. (See O. C. 1969)"[1].

Robert Hatch was one of the factors sent in the *Hart* from Surat for service in the Bay of Bengal[2]. We find him in Bengal (either at Balasore or Hariharpur) in 1636.[3] There is little more

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we can add to than what Dr. Wilson has written above about Hatch. The O. C. 1797 referred to by Dr. Wilson is the letter of Francis Day from Balasore to the Company dated November 3, 1642 in which he had stated : 'Mr. Hatch only remaines, and very much discontended in regard his contracted time is expired and the small imployment that hee is like to have'.[4] He had differences with Olton[5] and hence his desire for relieving. He returned home in the *Mary* along with Ralph Cartwright by the end of 1645.[6] There were some charges against him, but the Court of Committees, at a meeting held on January 5, 1647 cleared him of all charges, on hearing the answer and seeing the attestation of Olton, Gurney and George Travell that Hatch had delivered up the remains fairly in Bengal.

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HENRY OLTON

Henry Olton (or Oulton), who succeeded Robert Hatch was originally a factor employed at Bantam. We find his name included in the Company's *Black Book* for 1640-43, along with Thomas Clark, Andrew Cogan, Richard Hudson, John Yard and Cerald Pinson, as he was involved in private trade.[1] He was sent home from Bantam in the *Caesar* which reached England in the beginning of 1641. The Court ordered payment of 50 £ to Olton, 'lately returned in the *Caesar*' on March 5, 1641,[2] and promised to hear the complaints against him 'next Monday'. The Court, wishing to settle the complaints and accusations brought against Olton, Pinson and Hudson, ordered a copy of the several accusations to be given to them on April 9, 1641 so that they could prepare their answers by 'next Wednesday'.[3] The Committees took into consideration of the complaints and accusations brought against Olton on April 21, but deferred the Court's decision to until 'Friday come Sennight', as all the papers could not be examined.[4] The Committees advised Olton on June 4, to appear before them when there was a full Court.[5] Olton desired that his differences with the Company be settled with expedition and the Committees resolved on June 18, 1641 to consider the business at a full Court ; in the meanwhile he was ordered to be paid 50 £ on account of wages due to him.[6] The Court again took into consideration Olton's affairs on June 25, and after some argument ordered payment of wages due to him from the time they were allotted to the time of his arrival in England, at the rate of 50 £ per annum, provided that before receiving them he gave a general release to the Company.[7] He was allowed interest at the rate of 5 s the rial on December 29, 1641 for all the money brought

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into the Company's cash,[8] on notice of receipt of confirmation of the deposit from the President and Council at Bantam. It took two years for the Court to pronounce its judgment on Olton's private trade. The Court appointed certain Committees on January 30, 1643 to hear the complaints brought by 'Mr. Oulton' against Thomas Ivy, some contained in a letter written by William Pearse dated in Sadoe Road, October 24, 1639 and pretended to be directed to George Muschampe (President at Bantam), others in certain articles, undated but signed by Olton. Ivy and Olton appeared in the Court and defended themselves (details not available). The Court cleared Olton of all accusations, but admonished him to forbear from all private trade in future[9].

At a Court of Committees with the Mixed Committees held on October 13, 1643, Olton was entertained as a factor in the ship designed for the Coast, at 150 £ per annum, to be employed as the President and Council at Bantam saw fit.[10] His engagement was for stay in India for five years and he assigned one third of his wages to his wife, Elizabeth. He left for the Coast in the *Endeavour* and we find his sister Susanna Martyn being paid 5 £ from his wages on April 5, 1644.[11] Olton must have reached Masulipatam by October, 1643 as he figures there as Second in Council.[12a] He sent some calicoes to his wife in 1646 and the Court ordered, on December 23, the same to be delivered to her free of freight.[12b]

Olton figures as Chief 'at Bengala' in September 1644[13] and continued in that position till October 1645.[14] His name is not mentioned in the list of merchants employed on the Coast in October 1647.[15]

"In a letter to the Company dated Masulipatam, 23rd February 1646 (O.C. 1901), Henry Olton says : 'It is now above a year and half (i.e. since August 1644) that I have groaned under

the most unsupportable burthen of this Agent's displeasure and sharp practices.' From this it appears that Olton considered it a hardship to be sent to Balasore. From the same letter it appears that, not expecting to receive any capital or ship, Henry Olton made over the Company's spare cash to William Netlam, and came away from Balasore on a country boat at the beginning of 1646, say January. The lists of Company's servants for 1644 and 1645 (O. C. 1885 and 1952), show him as Chief in the Bay, In the absence of any evidence on the subject we may assume that he never returned to Bengal. In 1648 we find him at Bantam (O. C. 2084 and 2103). It appears from O. C. 2146 that he died there in 1649."[16]

Since the letter of Olton[17] referred to above by Dr. Wilson is interesting, we shall go through it. He wrote to the President and Council at Surat, in his letter dated, Masulipatam, February 23, 1646, that it was now above a year and half that he has 'groaned under the most insupportable burthen of this Agents (Thomas Pennston) displeasure and sharpe censure'. He desired to vindicate himself against certain charges brought against him in recent letters. As regards the allegation that he left the Bay in disobedience to orders, he justified his action by citing a letter from Bantam of October 18, 1644 (*not extant*), ordering that he should succeed Ivy as Agent on the Coast, and that the latter should leave by August 1, whereupon

> 'I fitted myselfe against that time for the Fort'. The next charge related to the loss caused by his consequent absence from his post when the *Seaflower* arrived. To this he answered that he had been advised both from Bantam and Madraspatam that 'there was noe vessell of the Companies to bee expected this year in the Bay ; and therefore they ordered mee that our masters poore estate there to

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> be transported on a Mesulapatam jounck for this place. I am sure it hath (had ?) been to dishonner and prejudice of our respective Company for mee unnecessarily to have stayd longer there, wheras wee owed 103 rupees to our broaker for defraying petty expences afore my departure, and had nothing sent or to bee hoped for, more then 656 rupees I had of Mr. Greenhills in my hands, which discharged the former debt, and the rest delivered to William Netlam to pay that broker his yeares wages at 300 rupees and the rest to relive him and servants till further supply. Besides, our affaires were at that disesteem that wee could not borrw 500 rupees in the towne, much less in the countrey'.

He denied that he kept back his accounts ; they were sent by the next conveyance after they were demanded, He was blamed for omitting to advise a parcel of Chinaware shipped on the *Endeavour* : but this was put on board by Robert Hatch at another port after the ship left Balasore, and the fault should be imputed to Hatch, 'though I am thought the more portable creature for that burthen'. He begged the authorities at Surat to transmit these explanations to the Company along with the allegations.

Olton and John Brown proceeded to Bantam in the *Seaflower* in January 1647.[18] The Committees[19] at a Court held on March 22, 1647 resolved retrenchment of the following factors, viz. Edward Knipe, Henry Hunt, Thomas Hill, Hugh Fenn from Surat ; Richard Wotton, Christopher Willoughby, and Thomas Owen from Bantam ; Henry Olton, Thomas Penniston, Henry Greenhill, Thomas Winter, and Edward Winter from the Coast ; their combined salaries amounting to 993 £ 6 s 8 d. The Court ordered the President at Bantam on Oetober 11, 1648 to send

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Olton home because of his 'great' wages and for other reasons.

The news of Olton's death in 1649 did not reach the home authorities on February 15, 1650 as we find the Committees recalling him on that date and again on February 22. Some of the Committees expressed the opinion that Messrs Penniston, Winter, and Olton should return from Bantam and all agreed that some able men should be sent there and to Surat on behalf of the United Joint Stock at a Court meeting on February 15, 1650. A Court of Committees for the Fourth Joint Stock confirmed the recall of Penniston, Winter and Olton on February 22.[20] The Court was probably unaware of Olton's death in 1649 since we find the Committees ordering payment of 30 £ to his wife on his account on October 24, 1649[21]

It appears that the news of Olton's death did not reach the Company even in September 1650. We find the Committees ordering payment of 25 £, the half yearly allowance due to Olton's wife next midsummer, at a Court of Committees for the Fourth Joint Stock held on February 27, 1650.[22] The Court ordered payment of 50 £ to the widow of Henry Olton upon her late husband's account at a Court of Committees for the Fourth Joint Stock and Second General Voyage held on September 18, I650.[23] The widow and executor of Olton were paid 300 £ on the deceased's account at a Court of Committees for the Fourth Joint Stock and Second General Voyage held on October 16.[24] A Court of Committees for the Fourth Joint Stock and Second General Voyage at a meeting held on November 6, 1650 ordcred payment of 'what is due to her (widow of Olton) late husband's account'[25] and his sister was ordered payment of 25 £ half the sum left to her by her late brother, on August 29, 1651.[26a]

Olton was a great private trader and the Court did not hesitate to penalise his estate after his death. A Court of Committees

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for the Fourth Joint Stock ordered examination of Olton's accounts on December 17, 1651.[36b] The Committees appointed to examine Olton's account reported on January 7, 1652 that the factor had left about 1,900 £ including his wages. The Court concluded that Olton could not have amassed so much within the space of five years except on account of private trading and resolved to impose a fine of 300 £ upon his estate.[37] Elizabeth, widow of Olton, petitioned the Court on February 18, 1652[38] for remission of part of the fine imposed on her late husband's estate, but the Court refused this request as Olton, besides indulging in private trade, was partner with Penniston and Winter in freighting one of the Company's ships to the great prejudice of the authorities. On March 17[39] Elizabeth repeated her request for some mitigation of the fine imposed on her husband's estate, but the Court turned a deaf ear to that. The Court's deterrent punishment did not stop private trading.

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WILLIAM NETLAM

William Netlam was the Acting Chief in Balasore from January 1646 to Aug. 1647 and Chief from the second half of 1648 to December 14, 1650 when he was superseded by James Bridgman.

"A letter from Fort St. George to the Company, dated 18th January 1651 (O. C. 2200) states that William Netlam had been eight years in the Bay, but was unreliable, from which it follows that he came to Bengal at the beginning of 1643. This is contradicted by the list of the Company's servants, dated September 1643 (O. C. 1841), according to which William Netlam was in that year stationed at Masulipatam, but as the list seems to have been prepared at home it may be incorrect. The list for 1644 (O. C. 1885), shows Netlam in Bengal. In O. C. 1853 it is stated that Mr. Day, evidently in 1643, wished to put Netlam in charge of the Bay, but that Netlam was unfit for the business. He was certainly not in charge till January 1646, when Olton left the Bay. It may be assumed that he acted as Chief in the Bay from then till the arrival of Richard Hudson in 1647.

"It may be assumed that William Netlam was in charge of Balasore from the middle of 1648, for he dealt with the lading of the "*Bonnetta*" (O. C. 2185 and 2200). The *Bonnetta* left Madras on the 28th June 1648 (O. C. 2085), and may be assumed to have reached Balasore in June. O. C. 2121 shows that Netlam was still in Bengal in 1649 and dealt with the lading of the "*Greyhound.*" In O.C. 2170 he is present at a consultation in Fort St. George on the 27th August 1650. In O. C. 2185, dated 12th December 1650, he writes to the Company from Balasore. Captain Brookhaven's instructions to James Bridgman as Chief of the factories of Balasore and Hooghly (O. C. 2186) are dated Balasore, 14th December 1650, from which date it is assumed

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that Bridgman's charge begins".[1]

William Netlam was formerly the steward of the Company's house at Masulipatam and knew the business there. Besides he had a fair knowledge of the Protuguese language. These qualications weighed in the mind of the Court when he was appointed steward in London on February 12, 1641 along with John Sweete in the *Discovery* in the vacancies caused by the resignations of Thomas Cooke and James Johnson in these vessels.[2] In fact Netlam was elected steward of the *Hart* on February 3, 1643[3] in supersession of the previous order with a promise that he shall be employed there as a factor if there be need for one. Netlam does not find mention in the Court Minutes of 1644-1649. He was sanctioned a salary of 20 £ per annum by the Court of Committees for the Fourth Joint Stock on February 6, 1650,[4] since he 'has been at the Bay (of Bengal) many years'. He was promised 50 £ per annum if he was continued in employment by the United Joint Stock. He was confirmed in the 'Coast' at a Court of Committees for Fourth Joint Stock on February 23, 1650.[5] However, he was superseded by Bridgman. He was no better than a house steward and in the opinion of President Pennington and Thomas Winter at Bantam, was a lunatic, since they wrote to the Company on January 11, 1650: "Bengal...the only person available there is one William, Netlam, formerly left to look to the Companies house and not fitt to buy or sell, being for most every full moone distracted".

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RICHARD HUDSON

Richard Hudson who succeeded Henry Olton as Chief at Balasore in 1647 was in the Company's service since 1614. He was a younger son of Henry Hudson (1550-1611). "In April 1614, when practically no hope remained that Henry Hudson would ever be seen again, his 'wife or widdowe' (as she is pathetically termed) implored the East India Company to help her in her poverty by employing 'a younge youth, a sonne of his', and the 'Committees', 'conceyvinge that therein they were partlie obliged in charitye to give assistance, in reguard that his father perished in the service of the commonwealth', caused the boy to be bound apprentice and sent him to the East. He spent some time in the Company's factory at Hirado (in Japan); and in 1626 we find him proceeding from Batavia to Masulipatam in the *Abigail*, to be employed there as an assistant. He was at home again in 1630 and was then engaged by the Company to return to India in the *Hopewell*. The rest of his life was spent in variour factories on the Coast and in the Bay of Bengal. About July, 1647, he became Chief in the Bay (O. C. 2046) and he died at his post early in the following year".[1] He was left at the Coast (i.e. at Petapoli) in 1631 under instructions from President William Hore and his Council.[2] Hudson was at 'Verasherone' (Viravasaram) in 1632.[3] We find him writing to Thomas Colley (from where ?) on November 2, 1632.[4] Cartwright made over charge of the Petapoli factory to Hudson in 1633 before proceeding to Bengal in order to undertake the journey to the Court of Malcandy.[5] Hudson is mentioned as Third in Council at Masulipatam in December 1636.[6] He was second in Council at Masulipatam in 1638.[7]

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Hudson left Masulipatam in the *William* in 1639 and reached home in 1640. We learn from the Court Minutes of July 24, 1640[8] that upon information received from the President and Council in India of the misdemeanours of Thomas Clark and Hudson, two factors employed at the Coast of Coromandel 'now come home in the *William*', they were arrested and imprisoned on an action of 1,000 £ each entered against them in the 'Compter Poultrey'. They submitted several petitions to the Court to release them on bail on account of 'this Contagious tyme, and for that the sicknes is in the said prison, which may endanger their lyves'. The Court, considering that, if they do fall sick and die, an ill interpretation may be put upon their arrest, and Company lose all hopes of satisfaction ordered their release on condition that they assigned all their wages, debts and goods to the Company, besides executing a bond for 1,000 £ to make good anything over and above this sum found to be owing. They were also ordered to attend the Court daily and forbade leaving the Kingdom without prior permission.

The dispute[9] between Thomas Clark and Hudson was this: Clark declared that Hudson seized him and his estate, containing 1,800 rials of eight belonging to the Company. Clark, being seriously ill, was deprived of his senses and Hudson put the said rials upon his estates and made him liable for them. Hudson caused Clark to be put in irons[10] for many days and seized upon the warehouses and all the contents, without making any inventory or taking any one to assist him. He broke open all the trunks and 'screetores' in Clark's room and seized all books of accounts and papers belonging both to Clark and to the Company. The sum of 1,800 rials of eight was part of a large sum received from Captain Weddall. He was admonished by Francis Day for seizing the cash without an inventory and a witness. Hudson was, in turn, committed to prison by the Governor of

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Masulipatam for 25 days. He gave a present of 1,047 Pagodas or 2,094 rials of eight, to the Governor in order to obtain his release from the prison.

Certain Committees were entreated by the Court to hear and report their opinion on the dispute between Clark and Hudson on June 18, and July 7, 1641,[11] The Committees heard the dispute on September 3.[12] Hudson denied Clark's allegations and pleaded for an examination of the latter's books. Clark was ordered to be advanced 5 £ at his request. A Court of Committees with the 'Mixed Committees' met on December 20, and appointed two or more of their members to examine and report upon the matter.[13] The Committees submitted their report to the Court on January 21, 1642 and narrated the circumstances under which Clark and Hudson were sent home 'about seventeen months ago' for misbehaviour and embezzlement of large sums of the Company's money.[14] The Committees found Hudson guilty and ordered him to make satisfaction for the 1,800 rials of eight which he affirmed he had given as a present to the Governor of Masulipatam in order to obtain his release from confinement. Clark and the Agent at Masulipatam testified that Hudson by his unjust trading in those parts well deserved such imprisonment. Both Clark and Hudson were indebted to the Company, but the Committees did not examine anything more concerning Clark as he appeared to have 'so little'. The Committees recommended realisation of 1,800 rials of eight embezzled by him and recommended his prosecution as an exmple to other delinquents, but the Court postponed the delivery of their judgment. There was no full Court on April 8, 1642 and the Committees asked Hudson and Clark to appear before the Court 'next Friday'.[15] The consideration of the dispute between Hudson and Clark was resumed by the Court of Committees with the 'Mixed Committees' on May 4.[16] Hudson was found indebted to the Company 638 £

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10s, of which 450 £ was for 1,800 rials of eight charged upon him as having been taken from Clark's room. Hudson denied this, and upon examination of Clark's account, it was found that he himself had sold these rials for 'Pagothaes' (pagodas). The Court, thereofore, absolved Hudson of the blame for 450 £. He was still found indebted to the Company 188 £ (? 138) 10s The Court bestowed 100 £ on him considering his long, 29 years' service to the Company, and his poverty. He was, at the same time, asked to apply for the post of purser in the next ship to be 'dispeeded'. Hudson expressed his humble thanks to his employers for their kindness. Hudson was employed in unlading the *Mary* and *London* in 1642 and 1643 for which he was paid[17] 8 £.

The Court, on February 1, 1643,[18] refused Hudson's entertainment in the 'Indies', but in vew of his three decades of service, promised finding him employment at home. He was accordingly appointed on February 3, 1643[19] assistant to Thomas Rilston, Company's husband, with the accounts of stores and provisions. Hudson petitioned for employment to a Court of Committees with the 'Mixed Committees' on October 19, 1643 and the Committees referred the application to the next sitting.[20] The Court entertained Hudson as a factor for Bantam on November 8, 1643 and left his posting to the discretion of the President and Council.[21] The appointment was for a period of 5 years in India with a salary of 66 £ 13 s 4 d per annum. He was asked to go to Bantam along with Richard Wotton, Fenn, Edmond Style, John James, Christopher Yardley and John Permitter on December 13.[22] Hudson's petition for a year's salary in advance to enable him to clear his debts contracted during the three years he was out of employment, was referred to the 'next court' by the Committees on December 20, 1643[23] and he was granted an advance of 60 £ by the Court of Committees with the 'Mixed Committees'

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on December 22.[24] At the same time his wife was ordered to be paid 10 £ yearly from his salary during his absence, which the Court increased to 15 £ on March 29, 1644.[25]

Hudson came out on the *Blessing* in 1643[26] and we find him second in Council in the Coast in October 1645.[27] Hudson became Chief in 'Bengallah' in 1647.[28]

We conclude this note with what Wilson has to say on Hudson : "A letter from Fort St. George to the Company, dated 9th October 1647 (O. C. 2046), says that the *Farewell* was dispeeded in July last with Richard Hudson for Bengalla, and gives him as Chief in the Bay in the list of the Company's servants for that year....The *Farewell* in the usual course of things, would arrive at Balasore in August, 1647. It may be assumed that Hudson was in charge from that date. In 'A Short Declaration of several passages in Bengalla'[29] dated Balasore, 26th December 1647 (O. C. 2056), Hudson says that the English were at first well received but afterwards became involved in a quarrel between the Danes and the local government. Hudson must have died in the early part of 1648, as he did not deal with the cargo of the *Bonnetta*. In O. C. 2104, dated Bantam, 10th January 1649, mention is made of an inventory of his effects."

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7 Factory Records, Masulipatam, vol. V, pp. 54, 63 ; EF 1637-41, p. 72.

8 Court Book, vol. XVII, p. 239 ; CM 1640-43, pp. 68-69.

9 Court Book,vol. XVIII, p. 24 ; CM 1640-43, pp. 189-90.

10 Court Book, vol. XVIII, p. 108 ; CM 1640-43, p. 223.

11 Court Book, vol. XVII, p. 468 ; CM 1640-43, 172 ; Court Book, vol. XVIII, p. 3 ; CM 1640-43, p. 177.

12 Court Book, vol. XVIII, p. 24 ; CM 1640-43, p. 189-90.

13 Court Book, vol. XVIII, p. 99 ; CM 1640-43, p. 219.

14 Court Book, vol XVIII, p. 108 ; CM 1640-43, p. 223.

15 Court Book, vol. XVIII, p. 144 ; CM 1640-43, p. 247.

16 Court Book vol. XVIII, p. 154 ; CM 1640-43, p. 252.

17 Court Book vol. XVIII, pp. 161 & 306 (Court of Committees, May 27, 1642 & March 28, 1643) ; CM 1640-43, pp. 304 & 314.

18 Court Book, vol. XVIII, p. 283 ; CM 1640-43, p. 304.

19 Court Book, vol. XVIII, p. 284 ; CM 1640-43, p. 305.

20 Court Book, vol. XIX, p. 66 ; CM 1640-43, p. 359.

21 Court Book, vol. XIX, p. 69 ; CM 1640-43, p. 361.

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22 Court Book, vol. XIX, p. 90 ; CM 1640-43, p. 369.
23 Court Book, vol. XIX, p. 96 ; CM 1640-43, p. 371.
24 Court Book,vol. XIX, p. 99 ; CM 1640-43, p. 371.
25 Court Book, vol. XIX, p. 148 ; CM 1644-49, p. 18.
26 O. C. 1841.
27 O. C. 1952, October 1645.
28 O. C. 2046, October 1647.
29 O. C. 2056, EF 1646-50, pp. 174-75 ; Note. 101.

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PERSONNEL

1636**

In Verasharoone, viz.:
Mr. Aron Baker
„ Thomas Grove
In Goldconda, viz.
Mr. Thomas Rogers.

In Masulipatam, Viz :—

Mr. Gerald Pinson, Agent
„ Thomas Clarke, Accountant
„ Richard Hudson
Humphrey Weston, Steward
Robert Phipps Assistant
Thomas Winter „
Gerrald Medcalfe „

In Armagon, viz :—
Mr. Francis Daye
John Turner, Steward

In Pettepolee, viz :
Mr. John Millward
Thos. Pennistone

In Bengal, viz.
Mr. John Yard
John Hatch (*should be* Robert Hatch)
Richard Beddfeilde
George Hopkins.

In *Malloole*,* viz.:
Henry Greenhill.

* Mallavol—5 miles west of Masulipatam

**O. C. 1595 (List of the Company's Servants on the Coromandel Coast, etc.—*1636*

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1643

	Per annum £
Mr. Ralphe Cartwright, President	300
Francis Mountfort	60
Christopher Willoughby	40
Thomas Winter	50
George Gouldington	30
Edward Collet	30
Robert Doroty	12
Rich. Wyche	12
Bothe Lempire	12
Mathew Howell	13
Robt. Fotherby	24
Thomas Southerne	13
Henry Dakers	13
Janbee	
Mr. Thomas Ivie	200
Wm. Smithwick	90
Silvester Grice	20
George Baker	12
Martyn Bradgate	10
Macassar	
Robert Yeo	80
Bengermasim	
Thomas Owen	70
Wm. Gostwick	70
John Smithe	24
Japara	
Humfry Westen	30
Thomas Peate	18
CHOROMANDEL	
Fort St. George	
Francis Daye	200
Henry Greenhill	50
John Browne	24
Wm. Mynn	12
Mesulapatam	
Thomas Penniston	100
Henry Oulton	150
Wm. Methwold	30
Wm. Netlam	18
Wm. Gurney	20
Wm. Isackson	20
Bengala	
Robert Hatch	80
George Travell	30

O. C. 1841—Merchants employed at Bantam and Subordinate Factories, *October*, *1643*.

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Merchants sent for Bantam upon the "William" and "Blessinge"

		£.	s	d.
Upon the "William"	Richard Wotton	70	0.	0
	Samuell Husbands	80.	0.	0
	Edmond Style	40.	0.	0
	John James	40.	0.	0
	Christopher Yeardley	30.	0.	0
	Richard Beadell	13.	6.	8
Upon the "Blessinge"	Richard Hudson	66.	13.	4
	John Parmiter	20.	0.	0

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1644

In *Fort St. George*—Thomas Ivie, Henry Greenhill, George Travell, *factors*; *Assistants*, Martin Bradgate, Walter Robins

In *Meselapatam*— Thos. Pennistone, Jo. Browne, *factors*; Hercules Heywood, Edward, Winter, and Thos. Perkes, *Assistants*.

In *Verasharoone*— Thos. Winter, and William Meathwold, *factors*; Wm. Mynn, *assistant*

In *Bengalla*— Henry Olton, Wm. Gurney, *factors*; Wm. Netlam, *assistant*.

1645

(O. C. 1952—*October 1645*)

In *Fort. St. George*—Thomas Ivie, Henry Greenhill, George Travell, William Mynne, and Thomas Jermyn, *factors*; Martin Bradgate and Walter Robins, "Wrighters"; and soldiers, &c.

In *Meslapatam*, *Verashroone* and *Pettapolee*—Thomas Pennistone, Thos. Winter, Richard Hudson, William Methwold, William Gurney, Edmund Styles, and Christopher Yardley, *factors*; Hercules Heywood and Edward Winter, "Wrighters".

At *Bengalla*— Henry Olton and William Netlam.

O. C. 1885. Factors resident on the Coast Coromandell *September, 1644*

1647

(O. C. 2046—*October, 1647*)

At *Madras*— Thomas Ivie, William Gurney, and Martin Bradgate.

At *Masulapatam* and *Verashroone*—Thos. Winter, Christopher Yeardley, Thomas Chambers, and Edward Winter.

In *Bengalah*— Richard Hudson and William Netlam.

(From Wilson's 'A Note on the English Chiefs at Balasore in the Bay of Bengal 1633-1650, The list of factors accompanying O. C. 1595 is an enclosure to President Robert Coulson's letter dated December 20, 1636 from Bantam to the Company. Wilson has not collated the name of Hatch. The corrected list is published on p. 329 of Foster's *English Factories In India* 1634-36.)

O. C. 1952, is the letter of Thoms Ivy, Henry Greenhill & William Minn at Fort St. George to the Company, October 1, 1645. See Foster, *English Factories In India* 1642-45, p. 289.

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Some **rates of Exchange** between European, English and Indian Currency* (1626)

Rial of eight (Seville)	=4s 6d	=4 mahmudi $23\frac{1}{2}$ Pices (1m=ls)
Rial of eight (Mexica)	= ,,	=4 m 21 Pices
Lion dollar of Holland	=4s	=4m $2\frac{1}{2}$ Pices
Zealand dollar	=2s 8d	=$3\frac{1}{2}$ m
Rix dollars	=4s 6d	=5m
Venetian dollar	=4s 6d	=5m
Ambertin gold	=£3 6s10d per oz	=$28\frac{1}{2}$m the tola (1 tola+180 grains troy=£ 3 15s 3d
Dutch Riders	=£3 6s 8d per oz	=29m per tola=£ 3 15s 3d)
Hungarian ducats	=£3 13s Od	=$31\frac{1}{4}$m per tola=£ 4 Os Od
Double Pistolet	=£3 8s 3d	=29m per tola=£ 3 15d 3d
English 20s pieces		=$21\frac{3}{4}$m

•Factory Records, Surat cii 192, 1 December 1622 ; Original Correspondence XI 1241, 29 November 1626. (K. N. Chaudhuri—*The English East India Company 1600-1640*, London, 1965, p. 116).

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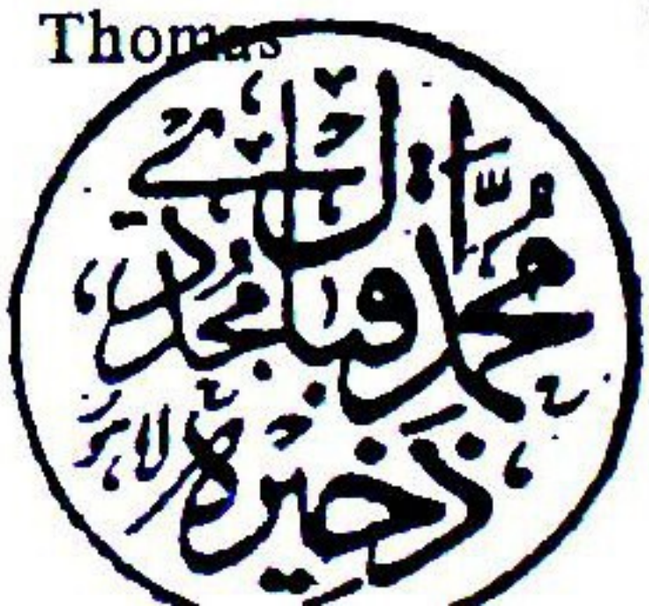

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pint made very thin and a small round hole drilled through the bottom, the which set empty (swimming on the great bowl of water) very buoyant, which gradually fills and then does immediately sink. The tender thereof, for there must be continually one to sit by it, immediately takes it up and sets it floating (as before), and strikes—One, and when (it) sinks again he strikes—Two, and so on to 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. And when he has strucken seven, he then strikes 1, *viz*. One Pahar, and when (it) strikes again, he strikes 1, *viz*. One Ghari ; and so onward 2, *viz*. 2 Ghari, and then, *viz*. one Pahar ; then 3, *viz*. 3 Ghari and 1, *viz*. 1 Pahar and so to 7 ; and then strikes 2 *viz*. 2 Pahar, *viz*. midday, or midnight, as 9 in the morning is one Pahar, 12 at noon 2 Pahar, 3 in the afternoon 3 Pahar, sun setting 4 Pahar, and so of the night. They strike not with or upon a bell, for the Mahometans use none, but it is a round flat of one foot and a half, or two foot over, (some are very much larger) made of fine gong of Pegu, *viz*. a very good sort of bell-metal. It is hung up by a string through a hole on one side thereof, so as to take its free swing, and is called a gong. They strike thereon with a small mallet of wood, and yields a most excellent sound and echo. Most Mahometans &c. of account in Hindostan use them at their doors in the streets where they have generally a porch built, when 2 men are continually kept to attend it, one sleeps while the other wakes and tends the Ghari. The English and Dutch have them at the gates of all their inland factories in this kingdom or others in Hindostan, verifying the old proverb, *cum fueris Romae*, &c."[156]

The Company did not allow their married servants to take their wives to Bengal ; nor could the ladies withstand the long and arduous journey and perils attendant to it. Factory records do not show the presence of English ladies in Bengal during the period under review, except in one or two instances. Hooghly,