APPENDIX I
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Commercial Regulations

Resolutions passed in Council, on the 12th April 1773

1. That all weavers and manufacturers shall in future, have full liberty to work for whom they please and shall, on no pretence whatever, be obliged to receive advances against their inclination, either from the Company, or from private merchants. It is intended, however, that they shall complete any engagements which they may have already made for this year.

2. That we shall receive proposals, from all native merchants, who may be willing to contract with the Company for any quantity of goods (not amounting to less than 20,000 rupees) of the proper assortments for their investment, and to give satisfactory security for the performance of their engagements.

3. That we will receive, for ready money, whatever goods, of proper assortments, maybe tendered upon suitable terms.

4. As our honourable Masters, with a view to freedom of trade, and the welfare of the country, have thought proper to relinquish the influence of their authority in the provision of their investment, they expect an equal attention from their servants. Whoever, therefore, shall attempt, directly or indirectly, to force advances upon the weavers, or make them enter into engagements against their will, or anyway exercise an undue influence on them, shall be immediately suspended from the Company’s service; if any collector shall upon their complaining to him, neglect to give them proper redress, he shall be removed from the station. Agreed that copies of these

1 J. E. Colebrooke, *A Digest of the Regulations and Laws Enacted by the Governor-General in Council for the Civil Government of the Territories under the Presidency of Bengal*, vol. I, Calcutta, 1807, pp. 453-68; And various volumes of BTC.
resolutions be forwarded to all the subordinate factories and Collectors with orders that they strictly attend to them, and publish them throughout their districts, that the gentlemen of the factories be directed to transmit to the Committee of Commerce whatever proposals for contract may be made to them, with their sentiments of the responsibility and character of the proposers, and also an exact account of the outstanding balance to the end of last year, specifying when they were incurred, what part are desperate, and what they deem recoverable. Agreed further that the Secretary do send copies of these resolution to the several offices for the information of the Company's servant, and that the following advertisement be published at the Presidency, and transmitted to the subordinate factories, for proposals for contracts, and ordered that a copy of these proceedings be sent to the Committee of Commerce for their guidance.

Notice is hereby given, that the President and Council will receive proposals, on or before the 1st of June next from all native merchants, who may be willing to contract with the Company for any quantity of goods (not amounting to less than 20,000 rupees) of the proper assortments for their investment, and to give satisfactory security for the performance of their engagements. Musters of the different assortments are to be at the Export Warehouse.

That the President and Council will receive, for ready money, whatever goods for proper assortments, maybe tendered upon suitable terms. That all weavers and manufacturers shall have full liberty to work for whom they please, and shall on no pretence whatever, be obliged to receive advances against their inclination, either from the Company, or from private merchants. It is however meant, that they shall complete any engagements which they may have already made for this year.

Publication, dated 1st May, 1775

Whereas representation has been made by the Director and Council of the Dutch East India Company, at Chinsurah, that their gomastahs have received, and do receive great impediments and vexation in the provision of the cloths, manufactured for the said Company. And whereas publication was made, under the seal and order of the Dewanee, in the month of
April 1773, that the weavers of the provinces of Bengal and Bahar should enjoy a perfect and entire liberty to deal with any persons whom they pleased and that no person should use force of any kind, to oblige the weavers and other manufacturers, to receive advances of money, or to engage in contracts for the provision of cloths, against their will, and that all persons offending against this order should suffer severe punishment.

Notice is hereby given, to all gomastahs, delolls, pykars and others acting under the authority of the English Company, or engage in all the service of individuals belonging to their jurisdiction, that if any of them shall exercise, or offer any act of violence to the weavers or other manufacturers of cloths, or raw silk, to compel them to enter into their service, or to accept their advances; or shall, by any illegal means, interrupt or impede the fair trade of the Dutch Company, or any other merchants of whatever nation, they shall be punished in a severe and an exemplary manner. And for that purpose, order have been issued, to the Chiefs and councils of all the provincial divisions, to receive and minutely examine, all complaints that shall be preferred to them concerning such abuses, and to punish the authors of them.

**Extract of Proceedings of the Governor – General in Council dated 12th June 1775.**

**Circular letter to the Provincial Council.**

We did not mean, by the publication for the general freedom of trade, sent to you on the 1st May, to release the weavers from any former engagements, which they might have voluntarily contracted, but as we understand that many of them have availed themselves of this plea, to endeavour to relinquish the Company’s employment, not withstanding the advances they had received, we direct, that you cause a new publication to be made expressive of our intention, in this respect, and that you give every equitable assistance, in your power, to the Agents of Board of Trade.
Regulations for Weavers, recorded on the Proceedings of the Public Department, under date the 31st August, 1775, and issued by the Board of Trade, on the 5th September following.

1. Weavers, from whom balances are due to the Company, shall discharge those balance by engaging to work cloths to the amount of them, unless they are willing to enter into fresh engagements, in which those balances shall be included; but they shall not be compelled to receive fresh advance on any account or pretext whatever.

2. The weaver, having executed engagements to the Company, and received the Company’s advances, shall deliver cloths accordingly.

3. That upon any weaver failing to deliver cloth, according to the stated periods agreed upon, the Company’s Agents shall be at liberty to place peons upon them, and keep them under restraint.

4. That if any weaver, in the Company’s service, shall be convicted of selling cloths to private merchants, whilst he is deficient in his deliveries, according to the stated periods of his agreement with the Company, such offender shall be punished, on a regular process, and conviction in the Judicial Court, before the officers appointed to persecute such enquiries by the Regulation established in the orders of the Board of the 14th March.

5. The peons shall not be sent, either, from the Provincial or Pergunnah Court, to apprehend weavers in the Company’s service, unless in case of some heinous offence; but orders shall be sent to the Company’s gomastahs to produce them by a certain day.

6. On any charges against any Gomastahs, application shall be made by the Provincial Council, to the Commercial Chief, who shall cause the Gomastah to appear before the Council or Courts of Justice, to answer to the charge against him, and a copy of the charge shall be delivered, at the same time, to the Commercial Chief, and a copy of the proceedings, when the enquiry shall be concluded; but, if the Gomastah shall engage
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in any revenue business, no attention shall be paid to the character he bears as a Gomastah to the Company, but he shall be summoned in the same manner, and be made equally amenable to the Provincial Council, and the Courts of Dewanee, as any other renter of the collections.

7. The Darogahs of the Pergunnah Courts of Justice, shall not be authorized to punish or place peons on the Company’s Gomastahs, nor to arrest their persons, except in default of obedience to the summons of the Darogahs, which shall be written in the following form.

To A. B. Gomastah of C. Aurung

"You are hereby required to repair immediately, in person, or to send a vakeel in your stead, to the Mofussul Adaulut of this Pergunnah, to answer to such complaints as shall be preferred against you – In this I do not fail"; and that it be a rule, that on the appearance of the Gomastah, or his vakeel, before the Court, in consequence of every such summons, the charge against him be instantly given him in writing, and the evidence in support of it examined; after which reasonable time shall be allowed him to make his defense, but no additional charge shall be received against the Gomastah, in the original cause, until the judgment of the Court shall have been taken upon it. Every evidence and exhibit shall be admitted from both parties, without an option in the Court to reject them, and the whole proceedings of the Court, with their judgment, upon every case, shall be transmitted to the Dewanee Adaulut of Dacca, for the revisal and confirmation.

Regulations for Weavers, recorded on the Proceedings of the Public Department, under date the 22nd April 1782

Whereas, a practice has prevailed in some parts of the country, of selling cloths provided by the Company’s advances, clandestinely to the individuals – It has hereby resolved and ordered, that the purchasers of the said cloths, apparently knowing them to be the property of the Company, by the secret and clandestine manner which they take to procure them, or by the notoriety of the weavers being in the Company’s employ, who offer to dispose of them, on
proof of the fact, shall be liable to punishment by the Adaulut, according to the nature of his
offence: and the cloths, to purchased, shall be confiscated.

It is never the less to be understood, that the Board think proper, and do hereby mean,
to except from this rule, the purchasers of cloths manufactured purposely for them by
previous agreement, for which the advances shall have been antecedently made to the
weavers: and all purchases openly and fairly made, at the public hauts and Bazaars.

**Regulation of 1786, passed on 19th July.**

The immediate context for the Regulation of 1786 was that the President received repeated
representation from Commercial servants of the impediments and obstructions they met with
in the provision of the Company’s investment for 1786-7 from the competition, which at that
time existed at several aurungs. Therefore, the President of the Board of Trade opined that it
became necessary that some steps should be immediately taken against consequence ‘so very
prejudicial to the Company’s interest. And as it is requisite, some Regulations should be
immediately adopted to prevent the weavers from availing themselves of the present
competition.’ He therefore, submitted ‘for the consideration of the Board the following, which
should they approve, he proposes to transmit to the Supreme Council that the same may be
circulated throughout the districts.’

The letter of the President also mentions that ‘whereas various Regulations at different time
have been made particularly on the 5th September 1775 and 22nd April 1782 for securing to
the Company, agreeable to the justice and long established rights, the labours of the
manufacturers engaged in them. And whereas complain notwithstanding still continue of
hindrance, in this respect from the interference of native (local) collectors, the process of the
country court, the dishonesty of the manufacturers themselves and the interloping of the other
traders or their agents; in order to obviate the inconveniences felt and to confirm the rights of
manufacturers and purchasers of every denomination, the following Regulations
comprehending those formerly passed are hereby laid down.’
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1. Weavers employed by the Company shall (in common with the other ryots of the Province) pay nothing on their score of the rent beyond what is specified on their pottah which are to be framed according to the established dues of the government, they shall be occasioned to no arbitrary occasional tax of zemindars, farmers or collectors or any account whatsoever.

2. No weavers employed by the Company shall be confined by any zamindar, or other person, engaged in the collection of revenues, nor harassed by peons or summons either revenue or judicial matters to their cutcheries. The mode of proceeding against them whether in revenue or judicial matters shall be as stated in the following Regulations.

3. That the Commercial Resident shall, at the time of registering the Company’s weavers, as directed in article 14th, take an account of their engagements with the zamindars on account of revenue. A similar account is to be delivered by the zamindar or farmer of his claim on the weavers to the Collector, and on complaint against manufacturers, gomastahs, mohuriers, delolls, peons and other persons belonging to the Factories, employed in the transportation of the Company’s Investment. For non payment of revenue, the Collector or farmer shall first state his claim in writing to the Commercial Resident, who, if the weaver be then actually employed by the Company, shall satisfy the real debt and stop it by kistbundy from the weavers balance or future advance, without interruption of his labour on the public investment. If refused to be so adjusted the Collector, on application shall issue his summons of the party and send it to be served through the Commercial Resident, who shall cause him to appear on the day appointed either in person or vakeel.

4. In case of breach of place or other misdemeanor, complaint having in the first instance been made to the Provincial adawlut, a summon shall issue to the Commercial Resident, with the copy of the complaint at large, who shall compel an appearance on the day appointed, either by vakeel or in person and in the mean time, shall transmit all the information he is possessed of on the subject with his remark to the Provincial adawlut.
5. Native Collectors, whether zamindars, farmers or agents, having of course much authority in the districts wherein they are placed, are not on that account to behave with disrespect to the Company's Commercial servants stationed in such districts, which might injure their business and have other ill consequence nor are they to act as if there was any just opposition between the department of revenue and commerce.

6. The Commercial Resident or his assistant shall be at liberty to summon any weaver or manufacturers or to send into any districts where cloths are fabricated in order to know from themselves, whether they are willing to engage for any part of the Company's Investment and this without let or interruption from the zamindar or other renter or proprietor of the lands which such people inhabit.

7. Any zamindar, farmers or proprietor of lands, refusing admission to the Commercial department, or using threats, menaces or punishment to deter manufacturers from accepting the Company's advances shall on conviction before the revenue Collectors of the district, if a renter, be liable to loose his farm, if a talookdar, be liable to fine or punishment. (Power of the local authorities were reduced)

8. And in order to prevent disputes between the agents of the English East India Company and individuals, especially with the agents and gomastahs of the Dutch, French or Danish Companies, it is hereby ordered that no weaver, while employed in the manufacture of the public Investment shall accept of the advances from any other person whomsoever until he shall have finished the cloths previously contracted to be delivered to the Company and have been refused a further advance from the Company's agents at the rates and according to the quality of the assortments which he has been accustomed to manufacture.

9. For the better ascertaining of the number of weavers in each district in the Company's employ as well as the nature and extent of their respective engagements, it is hereby directed that every weaver be furnished with a ticket specifying the name, place of abode, and cooty under which he works and containing an account of the dates and periods of advances made, the value of the cloths or goods he shall from time to time deliver in return.
10. That the end of each year or expiration of each engagements, the Commercial Residents or his representatives, shall sign to the adjustment of such weavers account and receive the weavers signature to the counterpart thereof, which latter should remain at the Factory or cooty, to be produced whenever called for.

11. Upon any weaver failing to deliver cloths according to the stated period agreed upon the Company’s agents shall be at liberty to place peons upon them and keep them under restraints.

12. If any weaver in the Company’s service shall be convicted of selling cloths either by himself, any of his family, journeymen or by his agent, to any other merchants or dealers whatever, whilst he is deficient in his deliveries according to the stated periods of his agreement with the Company, such offenders shall be punished in a regular process in conviction in the judicial court.

13. And whereas a practice has prevailed of selling cloths provided by the Company’s advances, clandestinely to individuals, apparently because it suits private dealers best to buy without risking balance, ready made goods and those of finer assortments, which the Company’s weavers, long supported by them and enabled by their advances produce.

14. It is hereby resolved and ordered, that the purchasers of the said cloths, apparently knowing them to be the property of the Company, by the secret and clandestinely manner which they take to procure them, or by the notoriety of the weavers being in the Company’s employ, who offer to dispose of them on proof of the fact shall be liable to punishment by the adawluts according to the nature of his offence and the cloths so purchased shall be confiscated.

15. It is nevertheless to be understood that the Board thinks it proper to and do hereby mean, to except from this rule all purchases openly and fairly made at the public hauts and bazaars.
16. Whereas it has been alleged that the Company's weavers cannot be distinguished from others it is hereby ordered that a list of register of the weavers employed by the Company in every pergunnah be stuck up by the Commercial agent there in the cutcherry in every pergunnah and the same to be corrected at the beginning of every week or month according to the alternation that shall have happened in the week or month preceding.

17. Collectors of the revenue are to afford every assistance necessary for the protection of the weavers and the security of the Investment on an application in writing from the Commercial Resident.

18. Weavers employed at the same time by more than one foreign or private agent shall be compelled to deliver first to the previous contractor and afterwards to others according to priority of engagements. And, herein individual rights will correspond with the extension of commerce, which is promoted not so much by contending for the labours of the same man, though of superior skill as by bringing more hands, though new or less improved into employ.

19. Weavers with whom compulsion is used to enter into agreements, or who are not paid for their cloths according to the agreements voluntarily made between them and the Company's servants, or Contractors, may complain, in the first place, if the injury is offered by the native Agents, to the Commercial Residents or Contractors, under whom they act; if the injury is offered by the Resident and Contractor himself, or if he gives no redress against his Agents, complaint may be made to the Collector of the district in which such weavers reside, and the said Collector, is hereby required to enter into an intelligent and impartial examination of such complaints, and if he judges it expedient, to represent the same to the Commercial Resident, or Contractor, to receive his answer, and determine thereupon either to dismiss the complaint, or to refer it to the Presidency; and the weavers, if dissatisfied with the conduct of the Collector, may themselves represent their case at the Presidency (by a delegation of not more than ten of the number of complainants:) but in order that encouragement may not hence be taken for false and frivolous complaints, in the view of eluding the performance of fair agreements, or of procuring improper advantages, all manufacturers are hereby informed, that complaints which are found to be really
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groundless will be duly punished; and of this Collectors are also desired to take proper notice.

20. Weavers who have reason to complain as above, of the conduct of other traders towards them are, if employed by the Company to have recourse for protection to the Commercial Residents if not so employed to the Collector or the Dewanee adawlut.

21. All merchants obstructed in their fair trade conducted according to the foregoing Regulations, are to have the same recourse as is stated in the last two Regulations.

22. All persons whatever employed for the Company in the district either in the revenues, commerce or judicial line, are required to treat the manufacturers and fair traders, conforming to the foregoing Regulations, with kindness and encouragement.

23. It is to be understood and accordingly ordered that these Regulations are to operate in their full extent and forces in the relation to the servants and manufacturers employed by the Commercial servants or Contractors for raw silk and every other article comprising the Honble Company’s Investment provided in the Provinces of Bengal, Bahar and Orissa.

Regulations for Weavers, more particularly those in the Company’s employ, with a General Supplementary Article; passed by the Right Honorable the Governor-General in Council on the 23rd July, 1787.

1. Weavers not indebted, nor under engagements, to the Company shall not be compelled to enter into their employ. And weavers indebted to the Company, or under engagement to them, on duly discharging such debts, or engagements, shall not be compelled to enter into fresh engagements; but they shall give at least a fortnight’s notice, when they intend not to take further advances.

2. Weavers indebted to the Company, that have received advances from them, or come under engagements to them, shall, in discharge of such debt, advances, or engagements, deliver cloths according to agreement. They shall on no account give to any other persons whatever, European or native, either the labor, or the produce
engaged to the Company, and if they had not fulfilled their engagements by the periods agreed on, they shall not work for newer engagements.

3. When any weaver fails to deliver at the stipulated periods the cloths he has engaged for, the Company’s agents or Representative shall be at liberty to place peons upon him, in order to quicken his deliveries, and prevent his infringing the two latter clauses of Article 11.

4. If, notwithstanding, any weaver shall by himself, or any other person, sell cloths to private merchants, Europeans or natives, dealers or Agents of whatever kind, whilst he is deficient in his stipulated deliveries to the Company, such offender may be prosecuted in the Dewanee Adaulut, and upon conviction shall be adjudged to forfeit to the Company all that the produce of the cloths so sold, with costs of suit besides, and moreover rated at either at what he got for it, or its Bazar value, shall exceed the ordinary prime cost of thread in it, be still obliged to complete his engagements.

5. Persons procuring from weavers in the Company’s service, by the offer of ready money, or on the pretence of previous engagements, which are not avowed, cloths really wrought for the Company, and with advances, knowing such cloths to be the right of the Company, either by the mark upon them, or the transactions between the weavers from whom they procure them, and the Company, or having reasons for such knowledge from the notoriety of those weavers being in the Company’s employ, or discovering the same by the clandestine methods they take to obtain the cloths, shall, on proof of the fact in the Adauluts, be subjected to such punishment as the nature of the offence may appear to deserve; and the cloths so obtained, shall be restored to the Company. But for purchases openly and fairly made at the public Hauts and Bazars, the buyers shall be liable to no persecution unless the cloths have the Company’s mark upon them.

6. A list of register of the weavers employed by the Company in every pergunnah with their place of abode shall be stuck by the Commercial agents there, in the cutchery of that pergunnahs, and the same shall be corrected at the beginning of every week or month, according to the alterations that shall have happened in the week or month preceding. The officers of the Cutcherry shall give immediate permission for the
exhibition of such list. And the Commercial Resident that transmit a copy of such list in the native languages, once in every three months, to the Collector of the district.

7. Weavers, unindebted and engaged to the Company, with whom compulsion is used to enter into their employ, or who have their names improperly inserted in the list directed at the last Article, those who are not paid for their cloths, according to engagements made between them and the Company’s representatives, or do not obtain in due time a fair settlement of accounts, and all such as suffer unjust exactions from peons put over them, may complain in the first place, where the injury is offered by native Agents, to the Commercial Resident or Contractor under whom they act; if the injury is offered by the Resident or Contractor himself, or if he gives not speedy redress against his Agents, complaint may then be made to the Collector of the district in which such weavers reside, and the said Collector is hereby required to enter into an intelligent and impartial examination of such complaint, and if he judges it to be in any respect well founded or deserving of further enquiry, to represent the same to the Commercial Resident, or Contractor, to receive his answer, (which such Resident or Contractor, shall on no pretence refuse :) and if satisfaction is thereby not accorded to the complainant, but, on the contrary, the matter of complaint denied, and the Collector is not convinced by the facts and the reasons advanced for such denial, he shall transmit the said complaint, with all its proceeding upon it, to the Governor-General in Council, who will there upon judge of the conduct of the Resident or Contractor accused, and the weavers, if dissatisfied with the conduct of the Collector, may themselves represent their case at the Presidency, by a delegation of not more than ten of their number. But, in order that encouragement may not hence be taken for false or frivolous complaints, in the view of eluding the performance of fair agreements, or of procuring improper advantages, all manufacturers are hereby informed, that complaints which are found to be really groundless will be duly punished; and of this Collectors are also desired to take proper notice.

8. That the weavers will be subject to pay such professional taxes as were established previous to the Bengal year 1179 (1772), included under the general head of Muttearif Jumma, and if any increase have taken place on them since that period, such increase shall be abolished, and shall not be exacted. That in order to prevent any new
imposition on the weavers, the Collector be required to prepare a table of rates of the professional taxes established before the Bengal year 1179, and that copies thereof be published at the Head Cutcheries of each district, be transmitted to Commercial Residents for their information. That no weaver shall be subjected to any arbitrary occasional demand of zemindars, farmers or Collectors on any account whatsoever, but only (according to the common right of the Ryots) to the rent specified in the pottah, which shall be framed agreeably to the stated established dues of the Government.

9. No, weaver, Gomastah, or other servants employed by the Company on their investment, shall be confined by any zemindar, or other officers engaged in the collection of the revenues, nor be put under peons under them, nor summon to their Cutcheries on any pretence whatsoever, (except in the case and manner hereafter described) but on any cause of complaint against a weaver, or other person, employed about the Company's investment for non-payment of rent, the Collector, or farmer, shall first state his claim in writing to the Company's Commercial representative, who, if the weaver, or such other person, be then actually employed by the Company, shall cause him to satisfy the real debt, or may do so himself, and stop it by kistbundy from his further advances, so that his labour on the Company's investment be not interrupted: but if the Commercial representative does not thus afford satisfaction for the real debt, the Collector shall issue his summons to the party, and send it to be served by the Commercial Resident, who shall cause the party to appear on the day appointed, either in person or by vakeel; and should it in any case be found at length necessary to destrain for just rent, the cloth, thread or advances in his hands, belonging to the Company, shall be restored.

10. Weavers or other persons employed in the Company's investment, shall not be liable to seizure, confinement or removal, by the officers of the Dewanee Courts; nor shall summons from those Courts be in any case served by the Peons or officers thereof, upon such weavers or other persons so employed: but the summons shall be transmitted by the Judge to the Commercial Resident or representative, with a copy of the complaint on which it is grounded, and he shall compel an appearance on the day
appointed, by vakeel or in person, and in the mean time transmit to the Judge all the
information he is possessed of on the subject of the complaint.

Persons, making complaint in the Dewanee Adaulut, are to declare, whether
those against whom they complain are employed in the Company’s investment; and if
the Judge, from want of information, summon directly by his own officers, weavers or
others who are actually so employed, execution of summons may be stayed by the
Commercial Resident, until he shall have represented the case to the Judge, who shall
generally instruct his officers to delay, in such cases on the inter position of the
Commercial Resident, and shall on such representation, withdraw his officers, and
receive obedience to his summons, through the order of the Commercial Resident. But
the Resident is to be made answerable for any cover he may thus give to persons not in
the Company’s employ.

The officers of the Faujedarry Courts, and summons from thence, are to be
regulated exactly in the same manner, in respect to weavers and other persons
employed on the investment, excepting in capital or felonious cases, when warrants
may be served directly on the offenders by the Faujedarry officers; notification thereof
being at the same time sent to the Commercial Resident.

11. Collectors, zemindars, farmers and proprietors of land, are not to hinder Commercial
Agents from access to weavers, in order to treat with them about the Company’s
business; they are not to use any arts, manaces, or punishment, to deter weavers from
accepting the Company’s advances; nor are they to take occasion from the authority
they have in the districts, to behave with disrespect to the Company’s Commercial
servants which might injure their business and have other ill consequence; neither are
they to act as if there was any just opposition between the Departments of Revenue
and Commerce, but, on application from the Commercial Agent, to afford any
assistance necessary for the protection of the weavers, and the security of the
investment, conformably to the foregoing Regulations. Persons offending against this
rule must except to incur the displeasure of Government.
12. On the same principle established in Article III, for weavers engaged to the Company it is resolved, that weavers employed at the same time by more than one foreign or private Agents, shall be compelled to deliver first to the previous Contractor and afterwards to others, according to priority of engagements; and herein individual rights will correspond with the extension of commerce, which is to be promoted, not so much by contending for the labor of the same man, though of superior skill, as by bringing more hands, though new and less improved, into employ.

13. Weavers who have reason to complain of compulsion, or injustice, from other traders towards them, are, if employed by the Company, to have recourse for protection to the Commercial Resident; if not so employed, to the Collector or Dewanee Adaulut; and all merchants obstructed in their fair trade, conducted in conformity to the foregoing Regulations, are to have the same recourse as in stated in this Article, and in Article 8.

14. All persons whatever employed for the Company in the districts, either in Revenue, or in the Commercial, or Judicial line, are required to treat the manufacturers and fair traders, conforming to the foregoing Regulations, with kindness and encouragement.

Supplementary Regulation

15. It is to be understood, and is accordingly hereby ordered, that these Regulations for the Company’s weavers, are to extend, in their principles and meaning, to the manufacturers and other persons employed in the provision of raw silk, and of the other Articles of the Company’s investment, provided with their own territories.

Additional Supplement to the Regulations, for weavers, passed on the 30th October 1789

16. Weavers possessed of more than one loom, and entertaining one or more workmen, shall be subject to the following penalties on failing to deliver cloths at the stipulated period expressed in a written agreement.
17. To the Company, for every piece of cloth not delivered according to the agreement, thirty five percent on the stipulated price of such cloth, besides the repayment of money advanced for the same. To individuals, in the like cases and circumstances, twenty percent besides the repayment of advances.

18. The penalties incurred either to the Company or to the individuals shall be sued for and recoverable in the Dewanee Adaulut, and in each case the agreement with the weaver, and the failure in his deliveries is to be therein proved. But decisions in favour of private merchants or other individuals against weavers, who were in the employ of the Company at the time they entered with such private merchants or individuals, into the agreement on which they were sued (having been so employed being proved by the lists of Company’s weavers, published at the Cutcherries and at the Dewanee Courts as hereafter proposed as well as by the dates of the respective agreements and transactions consequent of them) shall be made with a savings to the Company of their claims on such weavers, which claims are to be proved in Court. And, that this Regulation may be carried into effect, lists of the Company’s weavers, formed as the Sixth Article of the regulations of 1787 directs, shall be regularly delivered in to the Register of the Dewanee Adaulut of the district, and, before execution follows at the suit of an individual against any weaver in that list, the Company’s Commercial Agent shall be desired to state whether such weaver was in the employ of the Company when the agreement, on which he is cast, was made, as also whether the Company have any, and what demand upon him, and to make proof of the same; which being immediately satisfied or secured, the sum decreed against him in favor of the individual shall next be made good from his effects.

19. Penalties recovered from the Company shall pass through the accounts of the Aurungs to which the weavers respectively belong, and thence into the accounts of the head factory, in which they are to be entered under the head of Penalties. And in order to enable the Resident to judge accurately whether a penalty is justly incurred or not, the Gomastah of each Aurung shall furnish him at the beginning of the season, or whatever a weaver engages, with an authenticated copy of the agreement made with such weaver, and a general account of the engagements of all the weavers of his Aurung; and, every months afterwards, with a state of the alterations in the list of
weavers employed, a state of defaulters and penalties incurred; and failing herein he shall be himself answerable.

20. Gomastahs, Deedars, Mookeens, and all native servants, of what description so ever, employed at the Company's factories or Aurungs, in the provision of their investment, guilty of changing the Company's cloths, accepting money from individuals for abetting or conniving at the alienation of them by the weavers, writing false balances in the Company's accounts, embezzling otherwise the property entrusted to them, or exacting money in any shape from weavers to whom advances are made, shall on conviction in the Foujedarry Court, forfeit double the amount which they shall have embezzled, alienated, or exacted, shall be subject to an imprisonment of twelve months, and declared forever incapable of serving the Company in any capacity.
APPENDIX - II

Deposition of Cuttorah weavers (Haripal) before Thomas Philpot

1. **Bole Chund**

Q. How old are you?
A. 21 years old.

Q. What is due from you?
A. Sa. Rs. 41.7.4.

Q. Did you give petition to the Board of Trade?
A. Yes.

Q. What is written in it?
A. That I am unable to work, my father is old!

Q. How old is your father?
A. 55yrs. old.

Q. How many looms have you?
A. One to do Company’s work and one to teach children with.

Q. Do you not work yourself?
A. I am beginning.

Q. How is it that you who are 20 years of age cannot work?
A. I did not learn till my father was growing old.

Q. All other weavers children can work at 15 or 16 why cannot you?
A. My father had money I did not attend, now I am beginning.

Q. How many pieces have you taken advances for this year?
A. Seventeen, and delivered sixteen, of which two were ferretted and one is balance.

Q. If you cannot work how were these cloths made?
A. We had a journeyman.

Q. You said your father had money, has he none now?
A. No.

Q. What has become of it?
A. Expended and by rejected cloths, by which we have lost and by many cloths C and D.
Q. By cloths being C and D how can you lose, according to the fineness they are prized and where can C and D thread be paid the same for as B. Every weaver knows when he buys his thread what letter it will be equal to?
A. To this he observes that a good weaver with good thread would make a piece of B but an indifferent weaver not better than C.
Q. There must be some other reason why you wish to quit the Company's employ. I am not satisfied with what you have said, therefore unless you tell me the real cause I will not give order upon your petition?
(This was repeated 3 times but I received no other answer than that what he has said was true and that he had no other complaint of any kind.)
Q. If you quit the Company's employ how will you and your father maintain yourselves?
A. By making Dooties and other common cloths.
Q. Are you preparing the piece due from you?
A. No, I cannot make it.
Q. What kind is it?
A. Murdanna Cogzie.
Q. Why did you undertake so fine a kind?
A. My father could formerly make it, and we expected to have been able, now but we cannot. Two pieces of this kind have been ferreted.
Q. Is the money ready to pay your balance?
A. Yes.
Q. You have taken 17 pieces advances, was it of your own accord?
A. Yes.
Q. Why did you go to the Board of Trade and not come first to me?
A. Because I thought you would not release me. But I expected the Board would give you order to do it.

2. **Nunderame Seal**

Q. How old are you?
A. 27 years.
Q. Did you give petition to the Board of Trade?
A. Yes.
Appendix II

Q. What are the contents of your petition?
A. That I am insolvent, many of my cloths have been rejected and I am unable to work for the Company.

Q. What balance is due from you?
A. ...(? Not clear) piece 72 Rs.

Q. What assortments do you take advance for?
A. Gopaulpore, mulmuls, Handkerchiefs, Audgurias, Coincolla Dooreas.

Q. How many years have you worked for the Company?
A. I worked for two years afterwards out of employ three years as I was insolvent, and now I have worked again for 15 months.

Q. After you were insolvent for three years, how come you to [sic: took] work again?
I was forced to take advances.

Q. How do you mean?
A. I was sent for to the factory, I declined to take advances but the Gomastah forced me.

Q. What Gomastah?
A. Nob Kissore Mitre.

Q. When Nobkissore forced you to take advances what balance was due from you?
A. Nothing.

Q. Since Nobkissore was dismissed you have taken advances?
A. The Jagudgur came and called me to take advances so I went.

Q. Was there any balance due from you of what Nobkissore had advanced to you?
A. Yes, Sa. Rs. 25.13

Q. When you took new advances did you pay any old balances?
A. Yes four rupees.

Q. You were in Balance to the Company for the advances made to you by Nobkissore and you did not pay the balance, you were ofcourse bound to work till you did?
A. Yes.

Q. Are you ready to pay the balance now?
A. The cloths are in the loom.

Q. If those cloths should not be equal to the amount are you ready with the money?
A. Yes.

Q. Tell me why you do not like to work for the Company?
A. Because I am not a good judge of thread, I cannot get my cloth ready in time and I have no property.

Q. By working for the Company should you not make a profit and become Satwaun (solvent)?

A. I cannot judge the thread properly, I am unable, my father and grandfather never did the business of weavers, they were delols to the Company.

Q. Have you any other reason for not choosing to work; I do not wish you to work if you do not like it only tell me the truth, do not be afraid?

A. (This question having been repeatedly urged to him he declare he has no other reason)

Q. How will you get a livelihood?

A. By making cloths for the market.

Q. How much can you gain in a month by that business?

A. Four rupees.

Q. Surely you can gain more than that in the Company’s employ; atleast a good workman can?

A. A good workman can, I cannot.

3. Kistno Seal

Q. How old are you?

A. 69 or 70.

Q. How long have you done the Company’s business?

A. During my life.

Q. How many looms have you?

A. Two.

Q. Who works at those two looms?

A. My son and two journeymen.

Q. You have worked for the Company your whole life, and now why are you desirous of quitting this employ?

A. I cannot see nor judge properly of the thread and I lose by my cloths.

Q. Though you cannot see or judge of thread, your son can?

A. One of my sons can weave but cannot judge properly of thread.

Q. When first you took the Company’s advances how old was [sic: were] you?
A. Twenty five years.
Q. How old is your son who weaves?
A. Twenty eight years old.
Q. You were capable of every part of your business at 25. Why is not your son at 28?
A. He is not a proper judge of thread.
Q. How much per month or year used you to make by doing Company's work?
A. I cannot say with any exactness. We used to do business for the Company and gain sufficient for our maintenance but now we cannot judge properly of the thread and it is otherwise.
Q. If you no longer so the Company's business how will you maintain yourselves?
A. By making Dooties and other coarse cloths.
Q. Can you always sell your coarse cloths?
A. Yes.
Q. Can you make as much profit by coarse cloths as by the Company's business?
A. We can maintain ourselves.
Q. Some years since when you could see better, could you not gain more by the Company's business than by coarse cloths?
A. Yes, we could, now we cannot.
Q. Will your son never be a good judge of thread?
A. I think he never will.
Q. Why?
A. He has no capacity.
Q. Is there any other reason why you do not choose to do the Company's business?
A. No other.
Q. If there is any other reason fear not but tell me, I frequently receive such petitions as these, and think there must be some other reason, and I wish to know?
A. I have no other reason, I do not get enough to maintain us.
Q. How [sic: what] do you mean you did not get enough?
A. Because I am obliged to trust to others to buy thread for me, for which I pay too much as my cloths never yields so much profit as it ought.
Q. What letters are your cloths?
A. Sometimes C but generally D.
Q. What were they formerly?
A. A and B.

Q. Have they been A and B since I lived here?
A. Very seldom.

Q. Why do you suppose your cloths is generally prized C and D.
A. Because the thread is not good.

Q. Will your son never be fit to do the Company’s business?
A. Never.

Q. If your son was a good judge of thread would he do the Company’s business?
A. Yes, he would.

Q. What is your balance?
A. Sa. Rs. 31.12.1.1.

Q. Are you ready to pay it?
A. Yes.

Q. I do not want you to do the Company’s business if you do not like it but if you have other reason for declining tell it to me?
A. I have no other.

4. **Ramtonoo Seal**

Q. How old are you?
A. 70 years.

Q. How many looms have you?
A. Two.

Q. How many sons have you?
A. Six, two who do business and two journeymen.

Q. Cannot your sons do business well?
A. No.

Q. How old are your sons?
A. One 27 yrs and one 23.

Q. Why cannot they work well?
A. My first son always stays in Calcutta, my second does Company’s business.

Q. Why does your first son stay in Calcutta?
A. He is a Deloll and sells cloths.

Q. What cloths?
A. Coarse cloths.

Q. Why should your son who does Company's business not continue in their employ?
A. The Gomastah gives me much advances, and I cannot get the cloths ready in time, having but one loom.

Q. You must have wished for much advances or why should the Gomasta give it?
A. I never wished for it, but Nobkissoore Metre first gave me great advances.

Q. Since Nobkissoore has been dismissed have you had much advances?
A. Yes, the same as in his time.

Q. Why should the Gomastah oblige you to take great advances, there are plenty of weavers are they not?
A. There are many weavers, but all cannot do the Company's business, the gomastah obliged me to take great advances, and other Gomastahs have advanced to me accordingly.

Q. If you were young and your eyes good should you choose to do the Company's business?
A. Yes when I was young and my eyes good I did of my own accord do the Company's business.

Q. Is there any other reason than you have stated why you now do not wish to do the Company's business?
A. No other.

Q. Which yields more profit the Company's business or coarse cloths?
A. The coarse cloths.

Q. You said just now that when you was [sic: were] young you did the Company's business of your own accord, how can that be if you could get more by coarse cloths?
A. I can make more by coarse cloths.

Q. What is your Balance?
A. Two pieces of cloths and some money.

Q. Are the cloths in the looms?
A. No.

Q. Do you want to give those cloths or money?
A. The money.
Q. If you have no other reason for desiring to leave the Company’s business than you have stated, why is it written in the Petition that my servants oppress you?
A. There is no other oppression than obliging me to take advances.

5. Connai Seal

Q. How old are you?
A. 66 or 67.

Q. How long have you worked for the Company?
A. About 12 years.

Q. Why do you now wish to quit the Company’s employ?
A. Because I do not see well and can no longer judge properly of thread.

Q. How many sons have you?
A. Six.

Q. How old are they?
A. My first son is 32 years old, the second between 16 and 17.

Q. Can not your sons work?
A. My first son is not a proper judge of thread.

Q. But your second son?
A. He is only beginning.

Q. If you do not do the Company’s business how will you maintain yourselves?
A. By making coarse cloths.

Q. By which is there most profit to be got the Company’s business or coarse cloth?
A. There used to be more profit from the Company’s business.

Q. Why is it not so now?
A. Because I can no longer judge of the thread.

Q. When private merchants make advances for cloths by which is there more profit to be got, by their business or by the Company’s?
A. By the Company’s business there is most profit.

Q. Do those who are proper judges of thread prefer doing the Company’s business to any other?
A. They do and should I if my eyes had not become bad.

Q. What is your balance?
A. About thirty two rupees and a piece of cloth.
Q. Do you want to give the piece or to return the money?
A. I want to give money because I have discharged my journeymen and am not able to
prepare the cloth.

6. **Surbasur Seal**

Q. What is your name?
A. Ramchurn Seal.
Q. What is your father’s name?
A. Surbasur Seal.
Q. How old is your father?
A. 65 years.
Q. Could he not come himself?
A. No, he is sick.
Q. How long has your father done the Company’s business?
A. 8 years.
Q. What business did he do before?
A. My father and his brothers formerly had some property and lived together without doing
weavers business, after they separated he had advances forced upon him by Ramnarain
Haldar, who was Gomastah of Razbulhaut when first you came here.
Q. There is good profit from the Company’s business, why need force be used?
A. There is good profit to those who are good weavers but not to those who have not had
practice.
Q. When there are plenty of good weavers in the aurungs, I do not understand why
Gomastah should force advances on bad ones, I think your father must have applied
for the advances.
A. No my father never went to the factory at all, I do not know why the Gomastah advanced
to bad weavers.
Q. In what way were advances made by force?
A. At first when we began to weave the Gomastah Ramnarain Haldar hearing of it gave us
advances for Coincolla Dooreas and middling Terrindams we delivered the Coincolla
dooreas but not being able to make Terrindams the money was taken back. Two years
Appendix II

after the Razbulhaut was annexed to Durhautta, when the Gomastah Saurn Chatterjee gave us advances for two pieces of Coincolla Dooreas; one we made and as we were coming to complain to master, the money for the other pieces was taken back. No more was advanced to us until the Razbulhaut cootie was re-established. When the Gomastah Gopynaunt Roy advanced for five or six pieces; as we had two journeymen, we delivered those pieces. Since then Nobkissoore Mitre, late Gomastah of Durhautta gave us a great deal of advances; he said to us, you are reach [sic: rich] people you must take the money and give me the cloth, we threatened to complain to master.

Q. Why did you not come to me to complain?
A. Because we could not afford to lose our time, so we got those cloths made by our relations and delivered them.

Q. After so many years are you not able to make Company’s cloths?
A. We have no journeymen and cannot.

Q. Are there not plenty of weavers who like to do Company’s business?
A. Yes, I see plenty.

Q. Then what is the reason that Gomastahs advanced to bad weavers?
A. I know not no [sic: any] reason but that because we had some property.

Q. Did the Gomastah derive any profit by it?
A. I do not know.

Q. How much did you receive in advance for a piece of Coincolla Dooreas 40 [sic: by] 2?
A. 7.8 Letter B.

Q. How much for Terrindams?
A. 15 rupees Letter B this yr. (These are the proper prices).

Q. What is your balance?
A. Altogether 31.11.1 including two pieces of cloths.

Q. Do you wish to give the Cloths or the whole in money?
A. The whole in money.

7. Durpnarain Seal

Q. How old are you?
A. 50 years.

Q. How long have you worked for the Company?
A. 10 or 11 years.

Q. What sort of cloths have you made?
A. Dooreas Coincolla and Middling Hurrisoy and this year terrindams.

Q. Why do you not like to do Company's business?
A. Because I cannot see and my sons are very young.

Q. When you first took advances was it of your own accord?
A. No, advances were forced upon me.

Q. Are advances made by force to all the weavers?
A. Those who are good weavers take advances voluntarily, but it is forced upon those who are not good.

Q. Are there not plenty of good weavers in the aurung?
A. Yes.

Q. If that is the case why should Gomastah advance to bad weavers?
A. I do not know, they give it.

Q. What price was... [Not clear]

Q. If you were young and had good eyes and could weave well, which would you rather do the Company's business, merchants business or for the bazaar?
A. I would then prefer the Company's business.

Q. What is your balance?
A. Seven rupees and a half.

Hurripaul Factory, 4\textsuperscript{th} January, 1799

Fort William, 7\textsuperscript{th} January, 1799

Source: WBSA, BTC, vol. 140, Part- I, 2\textsuperscript{nd} January- 5\textsuperscript{th} February, 1799.
GLOSSARY

Adalat  court
Addatties  kind of piece good
Aliballies  muslin of fine texture
Arzees  petition
Aurung  manufacturing center where export goods were produced
Aumil  officer appointed for the purpose of collecting revenue either on behalf of the
government or of the revenue officer
Baftaes  a kind of calico
Banga-tanti  a sub-caste of weavers
Bara-bhagiya  a sub-caste of weavers
Banian  agent for a European merchant, caste of traders, of the subarnabanik caste
Boalee  variety of fish; its teeth was used to comb cotton
Bigha  a measure of land approximately a third of an acre
Calicoe  cotton cloth of fine texture
Charconnaes  checkered muslin; certain silk or mixed fabrics containing small checks
Chintz  a printed or spotted cotton cloth
Chamar  tanner
Chhattacks  1/16th part of one seer
Chhota-bhagiya  a sub-caste of weavers; offshoot of Kayastahs
Chuar  sand bank or land created by the deposits of the river
Copass (Kapas)  raw cotton before it is cleaned
Covid  variety of fish; its skin was used to store cleaned cotton
Cuchia  variety of fish; its skin was used to store cleaned cotton
Dalal  broker
Daroga  local inspector, superintendent or overseer
Darkhast  petition
Dewan  revenue minister
Dewanee adalat  a court for trying revenue and other civil cases
Dharmaghare  a sub-caste of jugi, found in Western Bengal
Dhunkara  female cotton carders; instrument for carding cotton
(Dhankara)  a sub-caste of jugi
Dihidar (deedar)  a village inspector, overseer who supervised the village cultivation and work of the
weavers
Diwani  the office or jurisdiction of a diwan or dewan
Dooreas  striped cotton fabric
Dooties (dhuti)  coarse white cloths worn by the male
Dustoree  customary reward or payment, prerequisite
Ekadasi  a sub-caste of jugi
Dustooree  a customary commission paid to dalals or other agents
Gandas (gundas)  small change subsidiary to rupee; 20 gandas = 1 anna; 16 anna = 1 rupee
Ganesh  a subdivision of the jugi caste, chiefly employed in agriculture
Gomastah  an agent employed by merchants and companies for their trade
Goras  type of coarse thick cloth
Gozis  coarse thick cloth
Gurrnha  unbleached fabric; used as clothing by the poor; and also for packing
Humnum  cloth of a thick stout texture
Hansis  a title of Tantis in Bengal
Haut (haat)  weekly or periodical markets
**Glossary**

**Jamdannies**
muslin flowered in the loom

**Jampaniya**
a sub-caste of tanti

**Jassendar**
appraiser or sorter of cloth

**(jachandar)**
hindu weaving caste; manufactured coarse cotton

**Jugi**
a sub-caste of muchis in Bengal

**Julaha**
muslim weaver

**Kambule**
a sub-caste of jugi who made blankets

**Kapali**
a cultivating and weaving caste of Eastern Bengal

**Karkhana**
workshop

**Kasseidas**
plain stitch embroidery

**Katani**
female spinner

**Khatba**
a sub-caste of weavers

**Kothi (cootie)**
a ware house where cloth was purchased and stocked

**Malbus khas**
cloths manufactured especially for the emperor

**Malguzary**
revenue or rent

**Manihari**
a sub-caste of jugi

**Masaya**
a sub-caste of jugi

**Mauund**
40 seers or 37.250 kilograms

**Moffusil**
rural localities of a district

**Mokeem**
an appraiser who supervised the weaver’s work and his yarn

**Muchi**
one who worked in leather, either as a shoemaker or saddler

**Muchulka**
a declaration in writing

**Muhirir**
a clerk, writer or scribe; maintained weaver’s account

**Mulmul**
muslin

**Nacammie**
unfit for the service of the Company

**Nainsook**
a sort of fine white calico

**Navasakha**
nine impure castes

**Nurmah**
variety of cotton

**Oostagurs**
males overseers over ruffogurs or embroiders

**Oostanees**
female overseers over ruffogurs or embroiders

**Photee**
a variety of fine cotton grown in Dhaka

**Pykar**
a village broker or commercial agent who dealt with weavers on a commission basis

**Pycarry**
a commission paid to the pycars

**Rangrej**
a sub-caste of jugi who dyed cotton thread

**Ruffogur**
muslim caste whose men repaired torn threads of cloth and whose women embroidered

**Ryot**
peasant, cultivator, tenant

**Seer**
a measure of weight slightly less than a kilogram

**Seerbittis**
name for turbans

**Seerbunds**
name for turbans

**Seerhaudconnaes**
some kind of turban or veil

**Seersuckers**
name for turbans

**Soosies**
mixed cotton and silk cloth

**Srenis**
sub-castes

**Sudder**
chief station; residence of the district authorities

**Tagadgir**
collector of cloth

**Tanjeb**
fine muslin

**Tanti**
main caste of weavers

**Talook (talluk)**
tracts of proprietary land; subordinate to or dependant on zamindars
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