CHAPTER III

BRITISH COMMERCIAL TRANSACTION UNDER THE NIZAMS OF BENGAL
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(CHAUTH, TRADE, FRONTIER TENSION AND COMMUNICATION)

Before the occupation of Bengal by the Britishers, the province Bengal became the cockpit of the battle ground among the Marathas, the Nawab of Bengal and the English which ultimately prepased a platform of the prolonged dissention among the contestants. The political and commercial conflicts which added for the growth of antagonism between the Marathas and the English complicated the situation and invited a number of Maratha attacks on Bengal.

Before the emergence of the Marathas and the English in Orissa, Mukundadeva was the last indigenous independent ruler of Orissa. Being a powerful king, his kingdom was extended upto the Triveni Ghat on the Hugli and the credit for the erection of a strong chain of forts at Ruibanian which was situated in the extreme northern corner of the district. Unfortunately, the audacious general of the Afghan forces exhibited ungrateful attitude and captured the fort by terrible attack, victimized Mukundadeva and obtained the possession of Orissa.

After the possession of the whole province of Bengal, Balasore became the prime spot and the road to Bengal was opened which rendered a free passage to move the Muhammadan forces. At the time of the succession of the Mughal emperor Akbar, a number of rulers in the different parts of India intended to enjoy independent powers. As sword was the arbiter to evaluate the strength of the Muslim rulers, many bands of Mughals and Afghans were dreamers to carryout the venture to occupy territories by the strength of the sword. It certainly allured them to penetrate the remote
parts of the empire to strengthen their position in unsurmountable difficulties.

Before the annexation of Orissa by the Raghuji Bhonsle I at the cost of a treaty in 1751 A.D. with Alivaradi Khan, it is necessary to reflect how Orissa passed into the Afghan rule after the demise of Mukundadeva in 1568 A.D. The occupation of Orissa by the Afghans brought a transition in the economic history of Orissa.

3.1. ORISSA UNDER THE AFGHANS AND MOGHULS

Raghunath Bhanj and Rama Chandra Bhanj of Saronga garh, the feudal chiefs intended to grab power and the throne of Cuttack from the Gajapati king of Orissa, Mukundadeva. Both of them went to the extent of alluring Sulaiman Khan Karani, the Afghan ruler of Bengal and Bihar to invade Orissa.

The accumulation of abundant wealth deposited in temples, rampant immorality in theocratic Govt., the deep rooted impacts of the Bhakti movements might have attracted the Sultan to invade Orissa. The landed proprietors of Hindu Rajas paid high obligation recognized the Afghans Suzerainty and agreed to pay annual revenue to the Sultan. The Jagirdars in Killas guaranteed to quell the public revolts of traditional proprietors. Atlast, the local Kings turned puppets under the rule of Bengal. But Sulaiman Karani restored to pretend and paid nominal allegiance to Akbar. The Afghans became keenly interested to enjoy independent power in Bengal since then.

After the demise of Sulaiman Karani in 1572 A.D., Hansu, the nephew and son-in-law of Karani mercilessly killed Bayazid being supported by the Afghan chief. But the younger brother of Bayazid Daud Karani retaliated killing Hansu and shouldered the responsibility. He went to th extent of dishonouring the paramount authority of the Mughal emperor
Akbar and indulged in creating the reign of terror killing other aspiring Afghans. The high handedness and stubborn attitude of Daud deeply hurt the suzerainty of Akbar after observing that Daud had ordered to read khutba and strike coins in his own name.

There started a prolonged and protracted struggle between Afghans and Mughals. Akbar, despite his incessant warfare against the valiant rulers of Rajasthan, the emperor seriously viewed the imperialistic motive of the Afghan leader. Akbar, the Mughal emperor introduced to nil the bud and sent the gallant general Todarmal to join Munim Khan in Bihar.

At this critical juncture, the audacious Daud, the king of Bengal was driven out of his own province by the gallant military display of the Mughal forces under the joint venture of Munim Khan and Todarmal. Daud immediately ran to take shelter in Orissa in order to save his life and wandered in and around Cuttack and Jaleswar.

At last, Munim Khan could display his military genious being accompanied by Todarmal and inflicted a crushing defeat upon him on the north bank of the Subarnarekha situated near the village Tukuroi and evented on 3rd March 1575 A.D Daud fled to Cuttack and the place where the Mughals got victory over the Afghans is famously known as “Mughalmari”. The imperial Mughal forces attacked and Daud submitted before the Mughal emperor. He signed a humiliating treaty at Katak. Munim Khan returned to Bengal where he had many of his staunch officers died of fever said to have contacted but more probably due to their own imprudence in taking shelter in the pesticential jungles of Gaur.

Orissa then virtually became the battle ground of Mughals and Afghans because Daud rose in rebellion and killed Mughal officers at Bhadrak. The struggle of supremacy between the two combating powers ended with the defeat and death of Daud in the battle of Rajmahal on 12th
July 1575 A.D. The demise of Daud was a serious blow to the Afghan power in Orissa. Despite the death of Daud the Mughal officers of Bengal were involved in a prolonged war of 30 years (1576 A.D. to 1606 A.D.) to uproot the Afghan forces in Orissa but the Mughals could not enjoy tangible results as the first separate Subedar for Orissa was not appointed till 1707 A.D. under the suzerainty of the Mughal emperor Nuruddin Jahangir.

After the battle of Rajmahal, on 12th July 1776 the Mughals went on haunting the Afghans. The apathetic and malevolent policies of the irresponsible Mughal officers gave some scope to the belligerent Afghans to survive in southeast Bengal and Orissa till the demise of Akbar. The possession of Daud in central Orissa was mostly the north of Baitarani. The territory and its adjoining parts in the district of Balasore was amalgamated in the Subah of Bengal. During the struggle between the Afghans and Mughals Balasore was a place having no prime importance because there was only appointment of two Thanedars at Jalleswar and Bhadrak. The Afghans extended the political authority over Orissa from the time of Sulaiman Karani to Daud and their frequent attacks inconoclastic activities incurred the displeasure of the people of Orissa. At the same time it created a sense of deep rooted fear and hatredness against Afghans.

From the middle of the sixteenth century, the fate of Orissa sank to a low ebb and declined to the extent of constant chaos and lasting decay. Before transferring the independent charge of Orissa as a Subedar to the Naib Nizam of Bengal, there was a separate status quo of the Mughal Subedars in Orissa. From the early days of the Mughals to the succession of Aurangzeb, the Subedars were appointed by the Mughal emperors and they were entrusted to rule over Orissa. Todarmal, Mansingh, Kalyan Mal, Mukram Khan, Muhammed Baquar Khan, Muhammed Zaman, Khan-i-Duran shouldered and successfully discharged the responsibility of the Governorship of Orissa.
The Governor Mutquad Khan was oppressive in Orissa and instigated Fateh Khan, the trusted general to kill Narasinghadeva the Raja of Khurda. Mutquad Khan took keen interests to place Gangadhardeva, a nephew of the Late Raja upon the throne of Khurdha. His candid activities removed him from Orissa in 1648 A.D. For the first time, the Governorship of Orissa passed into the hands of Shah Shuja who was the Subedar of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa lost the status quo and was recognized to be a separate Subah under the Mughals. The engagement in the fratricidal wars (1657 to 1659 A.D.) by Aurangzeb inflicted a big blow to the Mughal yoke. The timely and a bold step of Khan-I-Dauran became effective and disheartened the rebellious chiefs. The Raja of Mayurbhanj Krishna Chandra Bhanj was brutally murdered and the heroic resistance of Mukundadev was also suppressed which helped for the consolidation of Mughal rule in Orissa and the duration of Khan-I-Dauram was an example of exploitation and fanaticism.

Aurangzeb appointed Mushid Quli Khan as the Diwan of Bengal and Orissa but the Subedar of Bengal was Azim-Ush-Shah. But there was not understanding between Mushid-Quli-Khan and the Subedar of Bengal. Mushid Quli Khan was entrusted the charge of Naib Subedar and Faujdar of Orissa. It was the good luck of Mushid Quli Khan that was rewarded with appointment of Nizim of Bengal by Farrukh Siyar the Mughal emperor. Now Mushid Quli Khan enjoyed the direct rule of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa. The death of Mushid Quli Khan in 1724 A.D. paved the way for the appointment of his son-in-law Muhammad Khan Shujauddin as the Nazim of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa as he had previously acted as the assistant Subedar of Orissa.

He placed his illegitimate son Muhammad Taqi Khan as the Naib Nizam of Orissa who empowered himself as notorious ruler. He compelled the Raja of Khurdha, Rama Chandradeva II to embrace Islam and set the
example of a zealous iconoclast desecrating and plundering the temple of Lord Jagannath but the saviour of the temple became successful in taking the sacred idols of Lord Jagannath, Balabhadra, Subhadra and Sudarshana to an island of lake Chilika. Mushid Quli Khan became the Nawab of Orissa after the death of Taqi Khan and restored the good will of the people of Orissa. At last the Mughal emperor Muhammad Shah recognized Alivardi to became of Nazim of Bengal, Bihar, Orissa.

As Mushid Quli II challenged the authority of Alivardi he became the worst victim. Mushid Quli II was defeated. Then Alivardi Khan made his son-in-law Saiyad Ahmad Khan the Deputy of the Nizam. He was also challenged by the son-in-law of Mushid Quli II imprisoned Saiyad Ahmad and was able to occupy the whole of Orissa. The victory remained for a short spell of time and Alivardi Khan inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Mirza and his ally Jagdiswar the ruler of Mayurbhanj. A fight occurred between Alivardi Khan and the rebels at Mokamsar near Cuttack where Alivardi Khan inflicted a crushing defeat upon the rebels.

3.2. THE MARATHA INCURSION IN ORISSA:

The defeat of Murshid Kuli Khan II at Balasore opened the gate for the Maratha incursion into Orissa. Murshid Kuli Khan II with his trusted followers met MirHabib who directly went to Raghuji Bhonsle of Nagpur to obtain his military assistance to drive out Alivardi Khan from Orissa and Bihar. At last, Raghuji Bhonsle ratified the proposal and agreed to despatch a huge army under the generalship of Bhaskar Ram (Later known as Bhaskar Pandit) the son of Narayan Ramji.

The experienced Maratha army which consisted of 10,000 cavalry completely outnumbered the army of Alivardi Khan consisting of 4000 infantry and 3000 cavalry. Alivardi at last resorted to treachery and surrendered to Bhaskar Pandit to sue peaceful settlement. Bhaskar Pandit
bargained out of the precarious condition of Alivardi Khan and made a huge demand of a crore of rupees and the war elephants. The whole of Western Bengal was possessed by Marathas and penetrated to Balasore.

The limitless atrocities were beyond tolerance which forced the people of all castes to flee hills and forests. At this critical juncture, Raghujii Bhonsla reached Murshidabad to collect alluring taxes like “Chauta” and “Sardesmukhi”. At the same time, Peshwa Balji Baji Rao penetrated Bengal via Gaya and Allahbad and plundered all the territory on the way. Alivardi Khan being hard pressed was compelled to pay him abundant cash in lieu of the Chautha. But Bhonsla resumed his journey on the arrival of the Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao. The Peshwa inflicted a crushing defeat upon Raghujii Bhonsle. A Compromise was agreed up on and Raghujii agreed not to oppose the Peshwa in the Maratha court of Satara and the Peshwa ratified the proposal allowing Raghujii a free hand in Bengal and Orissa.

An amazing sequence then occurred in Bengal which put Alivardi in trouble. Now, Alivardi resorted to trechery because the Marathas reappeared in Bengal under Januji, the worthy son of Raghujii Bhonsle. To add fuel to fire, Mir Habib further demanded Chauth from Alivardi. Bhaskar Pandit appeared in the border of Orissa. Alivardi Khan became mentally upset in the arising turbulent situation and invited all the Maratha officers and honoured the timely advice of Janakiram and invited him to his camp under the pretext of bringing an early solution to the burning demands of the Marathas. All the officers including the prime leader Bhaskar Pandit were treacherously murdered. Raghujii Gaikwar managed to safeguard his precious life with many soldiers and materials. The cold blooded murder struck a big blow to the Maratha invaders and Orissa for the time became free from the perpetual menace of the Marathas.
The murder of Bhaskar Pandit enraged Raghuji Bhonsle and he set out on his third Maratha invasion of Bengal and Orissa in 1745 A.D. The repeated incursions of the Marathas enervated Alivardi Khan which turned beyond his reach to mitigate the frequent Maratha challenges. He became a broken hearted man to cope with the Marathas and intended to find solution to the repeated attacks of Marathas. At last he sent an ambassador to Raghuji Bhonsle to negotiate a peaceful treaty at Nagpur. Finally, both reciprocated each other and the treaty was signed by both the parties. The negotiations between Alivardi Khan and Raghuji Bhonsle were closed in March 1751 A.D.

Honouring the terms of the treaty, the Nawab would regularly pay the amount of Chautha to Bhonsle Secondly the Nawab agreed to nominate Mir Habib as the Governor of Orissa and the entire collected revenues would be paid by Mir Habib to the Bhonsla. Thirdly, the Marathas firmly assured to stop invasion to Orissa in lieu of that the Nawab would pay Rs 12 Lakhs to the Bhonsla of Nagpur in shape of Chauth of Bengal. Fourthly the territories of Orissa to the extent of Suvarnarekha would be ceded to the Marathas and they would not cross to the other side of the river. Fifthly, the Nawab had to immediately pay Rs 25 Lakhs in shape of tribute to the Bhonsle. The treaty of 1751 AD despite serious loop holes turned the Marathas Suzerainty. Now Orissa had to rule under the rule of Marathas for half a century. Virtually, Orissa became a province of Marathas as Alivardi Khan was formally empowered to appoint the Naib Nazim of Orissa as the nominee of Bhonsle when the English power was rapidly going and perpetuating in Northern Bengal and Northern Circars in the South.

The English East India Company had established her supremacy over Northern Sarkars and Bengal by 1760 A.D. which assumed the strategically importance of Orissa. The British became interested in the movement of troops from the northern to southern dominions as Orissa
remained under the control of the Marathas. The possession of Orissa allured them and became the vital concern of the Britishers. They became mentally prepared to chalk out the plan of acquiring Orissa by hook or by crook after the liquidation of the French menace in India. In this critical juncture, the British resorted to diplomacy as the only effective means to achieve their end for the acquisition of Orissa.

The people of Orissa tested a new phase of administration after establishing their political hegemony. Although the enervated Nazim of Bengal, Alivardi Khan ceded an area of 8,000 Sq. miles and 200 miles sea coast from Pipli on the Suvarnarekha to Maluda on the front of Ganjam. The Bhonsle’s of Nagpur realizing the practical difficulties of the administration of Orissa, intended to administer through the trusted representatives known as Subedars who were directly shouldered the responsibility and accountability to answer the Bhonsle’s of Nagpur. They were also strictly directed to pay a fixed amount of taxes to the Bhonsle’s of Nagpur.

The administration of the Maratha was like the prevalent Mughal period in Orissa. The semi-independent states which were situated in the hill track as whose rulers paid direct tribute to the Raja of Nagpur were known as Garjats (24 in numbers). The plain land in coastal area was called Mughalbundi. They were directly ruled by the Marathas. The territorial unit of the Marathas was to the last word, the sea, the westward, the occupied Maratha province of Chhatisgarh, to the southward, the Chilika Lake and the Ganjam district to the northward including the districts of Jaleswar and the province of Birbhum.

The administration of Garhjat entrusted some chieftains who were entitled as Rajas or Zamindars. They were also permitted to form their own military forces to keep law and order within their own jurisdiction paying annual tribute to the Maratha Govt.
The administration of the Mughabandi was directly controlled by the Marathas. The Maratha Subedars were directly appointed by the Raja of Nagpur. Enjoying the civil and military authority, the subedar selected Cuttack as the headquarters and the famous Lalbagh in Barabati Fort got the residential status quo of the Maratha Governor. The Mughulbandi area which had been extended from the river Suvarnarekha to the boundary of Khurda. The whole area was divided into parganas and each pargana was divided into two to four Mahalas. The Maratha Govt. had appointed the highest revenue officer called Amil who was helped by subordinate officials like Choudhuries and Kanungoes or Talukdars. There was the deviation of the collection of revenue as the Marathas were directly collecting revenue from the ryots at the cost of the dismissal of Choudhuries and Talukdars.

3.3. THE BRITISH COMMERCIAL TRANSACTION UNDER THE NAZIM OF BENGAL

The British came to India for the transaction of commerce and at last could establish an empire over India soil. It was beyond of the expectation that the English traders who at once made a courteous appeal to the Mughal authority to seek permission for trade from the Mughal authority would one day grab over the whole of India. After the disintegration of the Mughal empire, the Britishers had considerably strengthened their power and the feeble Maratha administration offered an opportunity for the fulfillment of the desire to build their own castle on the sacred soil of Orissa.

N. K. Sinha reflected a different view on the Mughal administrative system and described “the Mughal civilization in the 18th century as a spent bullet.” Before the emergence of the English as a ruling race in Bengal after the consequence of the battle of Plassey, the province of Bengal and Orissa was considered as the Paradise of India. As J. T.
Wheeler pointed out that by a single stroke, infinite wealth might be acquired which would counterbalance the mines of Brazil and Peru.

Since the inception of Murshid Quli Khan as the Diwan of Bengal in 1700, Naib – Subedar in 1707, and Subedar in 1717 A.D. till the succession of Alivardi Khan, Bengal had enjoyed the status quo of full administrative ability. Except the western part of Bengal raided by the Marathas tranquility was maintained in other parts of Bengal. The Mughal administration did not collapse in Bengal as it was found in the rest of India. An efficient system of civil administration by the cooperation of the amils, the Kanungos and the powerful zamindars under the guidance of the Nawab was evolved in Bengal.

The successive Nawabs of Negal built up their sway in Orissa at the twilight in the Mughal rule in India. However, the presence of Marathas who became powerful and intent end to assert power all over the country under the Bhonsle of Nagpur under Raghuji promoted them to occupy Orissa. But, the status of the Europeans exclusively the English advanced from the position of traders to the ruling race in Bengal. It was the outcome of a series of treaties which were concluded between the English Company and successive Nawabs of Bengal which ultimately shifted powers for the expansion of the English commerce in Bengal.

N. N. Sinha observed the consequences of the presence of European nations that “there was a new stricture of foreign trade and full competition existed among the European nations who imported bullion and metals and exported the cloth the people could easily spare. The Bengali skilful but technically ill equipped and the low price of labour stood in the way of the development of machinery.”

The Mughal Suba of Bengal witnessed a peaceful transition, stabilized the political order from the diwanship of Murshid Quli Khan to
the Alivardi Khan. He experimented a period of storm and stress on account of the recurring Maratha invasions (1742 – 51) and Afghan insurrection. But, Siraj ud-Daulah became the worst victim in the battle of Plassey in 1757 A.D. which brought an end the independent nizamat of Bengal.

The English ushered its dominance over Bengal. Among all the European factors, the English and the Dutch Companies had played a significant role in the export trade from Bengal in the first half of the eighteenth century. The English East India Company got an imperial farman from the Mughal emperor Farukh Siyar in the early eighteenth century in 1717 A.D. The English authorities availed for duty free in lieu of an annual payment of Rs. 3,000. The long awaited plan to secure a consolidated farman was secured by the British.

The English authorities from the Fort William (Calcutta) had sent the surman embassy to the Mughal emperor and became successful to obtain the much desired farman.* C. R. Wilson has justified that it was a diplomatic success of British known as Magna Carta in English trade.* The importance of the farman turned a bone of contention between the Company and the Nazims to run the Bengal administration. Prior to the grant of valid farman by the Mughal emperor Farrukhsiyar, the British authorities were enjoying the duty free trade by virtue of nishans and parwanas from local rulers. They were obtaining the nishans and parwanas through the means of bribes and presents. It was a simple fact that the English Company got the advantage of export and import trade in Bengal. But, the Nawabs of Bengal clarified that the farman of the English Company did not mean to enjoy privileges in inland and private trade. There emerged on the questions of the free use of the mint, the abuse of dastaks and the inland and private trade of the Company servants in Bengal in the first half of the eighteenth century. The English authorities could not make the free use of the mint as Mushid Quli Khan and Jagat Seth stood as the barrier. Jagat Seth played a vital role
in the mint business through out the first half of the eighteenth century. The Nawab of Bengal also resented the abuse of dastaks which was acknowledged by the English Council at Fort William.

The Nawab of Bengal could tolerate the interpretation of the farman by the English Company to deal the inland and private trade. The Kazim Bazar Council informed to Calcutta on 20th March 1727 that the Nawab had been very indignant making complaints the Company's dealing in rice and grain and warned to take stern measures against the English traders.* Both the English and the Nawab restored to check out their plans against each other. The Nawab tried to put a stop on the English trade in some factories or aurungs (manufacturing centres). The English Company retaliated to block of the river Hugli in order to pressurize the Nawab. The counter attack of the English authorities against the Nawab affected the stoppage of the trade of the Muslim and Armenian merchants. They both put pressure on the Nawab to settle matters with English.*

Shujauddin Khan succeeded as the nazim of Bengal after Mushid Quli Khan who had taken a vigorous and successful policies for the foundation of a strong and stable government in Bengal in the early eighteenth century. He enjoyed to rule his province with full freedom sending the provincial revenue to the tune of 13 million rupees to the imperial court.*

However, the problem of inland trade in salt advisedly affected the relation between the Nawab Shujauddin and the English authorities. The English boats were seized by the officials of Shujauddin and unloaded a huge quantity of salt at Bhagalpur. The govt. of Bengal bluntly denied to consider the representation of the Karimbazar council for release of the salt. The govt. of Bengal further alliged that the native traders would loose their livelihood due to the encroachments of on the inland trade of the
Britishers. The Karimbazar Council at the same informed Calcutta that the matter could be settled by presenting a sum of Rs. 10,000 to Nawab.

Shujauddin, the Nawab of Bengal was alarmed by the hostile attitude of Britishers and surprised by the unreasonable attitude of interpreting the farman. The British authorities utilised the farman which gave them "an unbounded privilege to trade in any thing that had a mind to do" for the expansion of their trade.*

The Court of Directors in London could know the clash between the Nawab and the Company servants of the Company. They also observed that the occurrence of the clash between the Company and the govt. was the abuse of the farman involving in inland trade and the gross abuse of Dastaks. The succession of Alivardi Khan further strained the relation with the British in Bengal. The Nawab of Bengal could not make compromise with the Company merchants for the sake of the interests of the govt. and the merchants. The frequent Maratha raids indirectly hard pressed Alivardi Khan to keep an army in order to counter act them. The incursion of Marathas compelled the Nawab of Bengal to demand contributions from the Europeans in 1744.

Alivardi Khan proved the justification of the demand of contribution from the European factors on the ground that the European traders had earned great profit for the last five years.* They should pay the contribution to save Bengal from the menacing raid of Marathas. The English among the Europeans highly resented against the imposing policy of the Nawab, Alivardi Khan. It was assessed that the English Company had to pay to the tune of Rs. 350,000 to the Nawab.

The relation between the Nawab and the British Company deteriorated when the British fleet captured two Armenian ships were coming on their way to Bengal. Alivardi Khan suddenly came to the
occasion and warned the English not to capture ships of other nations bound for Bengal.* To the utter surprise, the English paid no regard which exasperated the Nawab to take drastic measure against the English authority. Alivardi Khan promulgated an order that guards should be stationed on all the Company's dadni merchants, gomastas at aurungs in relating the Nawab's order, the CalcuttaCouncil issued an order that no Armenian ships would be permitted to pass the Fort William.*

Jagat Seths however acted the role of the mediation that the English paid to the tune of Rs. 120,000 to the Nawab of Bengal. The Armenians were compensated Rs. 20,000.* The succession of Shirajuddaulah brought the final blow in the relation between the Nawab and the British in Bengal.* He alleged some genuine grievances against the British authorities named as the fortification by the English Company at Fort William.

The shelter given to the opponents of the Nawab and the abuse of dastaks. S. Choudhury argued that Sirajuddaulah did not actually attack the Britishers for Bengal. He further stated that "if he really wanted money, he could have plundered Karim bazaar but he did not".* The repeated pleadings of Sirajuddaulah with the Britishers to desist from their nefarious activities evoked invasive replies.

Finding his supreme authority flouted in his own sacred land, the Nawab launched the offensive against the English. Form Wolliam was besieged on 15th June 1756 and Roger Drake and other important citizens fled to save their precious lives through the back door down the river Hoogly. At last, Sirajuddaulah directed Malik Chand to shoulder the charge of Calcutta and returned to Mushidabad.* S. Choudhury reflected that the British Company were so allured by the high income and profit in Bengal that they could not give up their illegal private inland trade, the privilege of
dastaks which inaugurated the beginning of the foundation of Mughal empire in India.

There was substantial increase of the export of the English on 1730 A.D. and the annual value of the English exports did not reflect in any marked decline over the period from 1730 A.D. to 1755 A.D.

Quinquennial Total and Average Annual Value of English Export. 1730 – 1755.

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<th>Years</th>
<th>Total ($)</th>
<th>Average ($)</th>
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3.4. TRADE:

The 18th century became significant in testing the political and economic supremacy of the Marathas over Bengal and the dissension with Britishers marked the commercial transition on the economic aspects of Orissa. The disintegration of the mightiest Mughal empire had given big blow to the merchandise of the indigenous traders, money lenders and the land proprietors became the worst victims in many parts of Orissa.

The property of the merchants was at constant stake due to the emergence of foreign trade. The Feudal Lords were also tormented as there was direct necessity of money in order to wage wars. Being harassed by the
Before the expansion of the trade during the rule of the Marathas from 1751 to 1803 A.D. there was the growth of regional trade from the ancient times. Orissa had earned her commercial prominence in pristine times which is proved by both the literary and archeological sources. Tapussa and Bhallika, two enterprising merchants while going to trade with other countries with five hundred carts had met Buddha in Uruvela forest.

But, the use of boats by the native traders was allowed during the Mughal emperors by paying a nominal tax to the Mughal sovereigns. A large number of boats were used by the local traders during the time of Khan-I- Dauran. Akbar, the great had appointed some vigilant and efficient officers to watch the rivers of the country to bring solution to the disputable cases relating to the Ferries. There was the provision of providing boats to the travelers at a short notice. They were entrusted the task of providing safety for the loading and unloading at the public wharf.

The traders got advantage to expand their trade to the interior parts of the Orissa as they were usually loading commodities like salt, coconut, spices etc. with the crafts at the ports and set out to the interior parts of Orissa. At the same time, they were purchasing goods from the interior areas to the area of ports. There is the reference that articles were despatched to Sambalpur and its adjoining areas with the help of boats.
through the river Mahanadi. There was the example of the collection of cotton, iron, and other necessary goods and were despatched by the river routes and delivered on the sea coast.\textsuperscript{52}

Pipli, Chilika, Malikpatam, Cuttack and Kanika were the prominent local trading centres at that time. Pipli was an alluring market for the foreign merchants. The demand of clove and maces was high for the foreign merchants. The foreign merchants were supplying fine clothes to the Pipli market. The lake Chilika was famous for the villages of “boatmen” and was engaged in transporting the surplus crops of Orissa to Ganjam. Kanika which is situated on the river Dhamra was the centre of rice trade and there was the existence of very opulent Zamindars having possessed light vessels of their own.\textsuperscript{53}

Cuttack was treated as the most alluring trade centre. The traders were making highest profit transporting the goods to the local markets. It is evident from the reference of Hamilton that they were despatching sannoes, textiles and earning a high amount of profit. The difference in the price of the commodities at Cuttack and Balasore markets was about sixty percent.\textsuperscript{54} The port of Malikpatam became the commercial centre of the English, Dutch and Danes. Despite the above cited trading centres, Mayurbhaj, Balasore, Bhadrak, Remuna and Jaleswar were the other vital trading centres. Manrique reflected the articles of Jaleswar were silk, herb, opium and cotton cloth. There was the existence of a big Sarai at Jaleswar.\textsuperscript{55}

There was also development of private trade in this period. The factors of the European trading Companies with indigenous merchants and the Mughal officials were the chief characteristics of the trading expansion in the medieval India. They earned immense profits in comparison to the profit of the European traders. They were transacting the business on their own account engaging themselves in land trade.
The Mughal officials were engaged in private trade on behalf of the Governor and making the monopoly on many precious and necessary articles. The Mughal officers like Mir Jumla, Shah Shuja, Shaista Khan and Azimuddin were engaged in private trade. The Mughal Governor (Officer in charge) Malik Kasi at Balasore despatched coir and iron and other articles to Malik Zindi at Hugli by an English vessel whose exclusive purpose was private trade. The involvement of company servants and free merchants in private trade stood as a commercial block which highly affected the investment of the company in Bengal and Orissa. Francis Day a member of the council of Masulipatam, Shreynsham Master, an agent at St. George and Sill, a prominent agent were keenly interested to flourish private trade on their account. Finally, a legal sanction was granted by the company for the protection of the private trade.

The Bay Council while framing the rules for the conduct of private trade deeply examined that the private trade was a just privilege of the company servants. The Governor of Madras was not only associated with the president of the Board of Bengal but also with other important factors like Curgenvan and Ralph Sheldon. Choudhury reflected that John Neylor, a dyer had invested to the tune of Rs.13,000. Francis Day had invested 4,000 rials at Gingelly on his personal trade. The letters of Streyn Sham Master's to Richard Edwards revealed the fact at Balasore that he had a large sum of money on the materials in speltor (Zinc) and long pepper. Master was engaged in brisk business in his private account.

The high growth of the investment in private trade drifted in corrupt practices in shape of presents to the local Mughal officers which forced the English authority to frame certain rules to control the private trade in Orissa. Atlast the Bay Council promulgated rules that the private traders were not allowed to trade with prohibited goods and contact with weavers, permitted the company servants to do business in side the factory and the
investment of private trade should not be made at the company's weaver's residence. The Company rules failed to bring any Fruitful results on account of the warm response of Company's home authorities and the negligence of the servants of the East India Company.

During this period, there was high amount of export and import of various commodities. Cuttack turned into an alluring trading centre and got the recognition of the central exchanging market between the English and the Marathas. The traders of Orissa were professional suppliers of various goods.

The gardening and fire works exports were in high demand and they were also rendering their services to Nagpur. The traders of Orissa were bartering their trading goods in Central India and they were exchanging salt for cotton. The traders of Berar and Maharashtra were also supplying black cotton in exchange of rice and salt from the traders of Orissa. It is apparent that the trading trend was mostly based on the barter system. There is also reference that there was considerable trade at Kantilo.

Balasore was the main centre of exporting cotton commodities to various parts of Orissa. There is also reference that Balasore was exporting different kinds of cloth to various parts of India. Thomas Bowrey pointed out the cotton manufactures were sent to Patna. Bruton pointed out that there were 3000 weavers of domestic artistans and they were engaged on contact or hired system. There was a system that the weaver communities were receiving advance money from the North Indian Enterpreneurs, and from Khemchand, Chintamani Shah in the 17th century and Bhairam Gopal Das in the 18th century.

There was the production of cloth in Puri, Cuttack and Ganjam. Puri was famous for muslin and superior wide cloths. Fine and coarse cotton cloths were also produced at Ganjam and Cuttack. The
European merchants were exporting cloth, sugar and iron to Persia.\textsuperscript{71} The two Dutch ships sailed taking the goods of Orissa from Balasore to Persia.

There is the reference of Alexander Hamilton that Maldives was fully dependent on the rice export of Orissa.\textsuperscript{72} The Dutch exported from Pipli to Ceylon. In addition to rice, Elephants were imported from Ceylon to Orissa.\textsuperscript{73} Elephants tusks, cinnamon and conch shells were also imported from Ceylon.\textsuperscript{74} The ingredients like cowries and coir imported from the Maldives. The Nawab of Bengal and the traders of

Balasore, Pipli and Hugli were importing cowries and coirs from Maldives.\textsuperscript{75} The brokers and the local merchants played important roles and acted as middle men between the producer and the European merchants. Khemchand and Chintamanshah were most influential and wealthy merchants. Even the English was taking the help of both of them to settle an affair with local officers.\textsuperscript{76}

Lecki also justified the extensive trade activities at Kantilo.\textsuperscript{77} But the trading activities began to decline by the end of the 18\textsuperscript{th} century. The flourishing cotton industry of Orissa was adversely affected by the penetration of Maratha rule in Orissa. Before the Maratha rule there was extensive weaving industries at Hariharpur, Balasore and Soro. It was the prime livelihood of the weaves society. According to Wilson, more than three thousands weavers were earning their livelihood manufacturing all kinds of cloth and exporting to the foreign countries.\textsuperscript{78}

The foreign merchants of France and England had high appreciation of the calicos of Balasore and Soro.\textsuperscript{79} The merchants of Maharashtra and Berar were trasacting cotton exchanging rice and salt from Orissa. The unsuitability for the cultivation of cotton forced the Orissan traders to bring bales of cotton wool from Berar and Maharasra.\textsuperscript{80} Cotton industries were an alluring industries in Orissa. During the Maratha period
the ingredients of cloth were based on the variety of fibres like silk horba (tussar) and wool. Both fine and coarse clothes were manufactured at puri, Cuttack and Ganjam. They were the trading centres of fine and coarse cloths. At the same time there were also other places of cotton production such as Balasore, Pipli, Puri, Bhadrak, Jajapur and Gingelly coast.

The Britishers also tried to extend their trading of the textile. The British Residence at Cuttack took keen interest in the investment of money on cotton trade. They brought some Bengali weavers and settled at Bhadrak, Balasore and Jajpur. The establishment of cloth centre at Balaramgrahi near Balasore was an example of the English factory in 1749 A.D. The demanding cotton goods were sannoes, dimities and mulmuls. The English purchased a large amount of cotton goods for export in order to procure high amount of profit like the other European Companies.

The price of the different cotton goods of the seventies of the 17\textsuperscript{th} century is given below.

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{|l|c|}
\hline
\textbf{Quality of Cotton Goods} & \textbf{Price Per Piece (In Rupees)} \\
\hline
Coarse Cotton & 4.00 \\
Mixed Cotton & 3.00 \\
Blue Cotton & 4.50 \\
Towelling & 5.00 \\
Thick Muslin & 7.50 \\
Soft Muslin & 8.00 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

The transporting of goods was channelised through the land route of Raipur and Sambalpur. The Maratha Govt. procured quantitative profit and arbitrarily imposed heavy amount of customs on the cotton trade.
At the same time, the cotton cultivation was intentionally discouraged in Orissa which primarily aimed at sending the surplus rice to Nagpur.\(^85\)

Despite the high demand of cotton commodities, the different type of silk goods had high demand in the European markets. During the reign of the Rajas of Mayurbhanj, a great quantity of herbal goods were manufactured and brought to Balasore.\(^86\) The quantitative outcome of such goods was high that the European Companies were giving advances to the weaver’s community in order to purchase raw materials. They were directed to sell the finished goods to the European Companies. The bleaching and dying of textile for fabrics were developed in Orissa despite the progress of textile industries. There is the reference that the English administrator at Fort William had despatched brown cloths to Balasore for whitening and dressing at Fort William.\(^88\)

The cotton and textile manufacture in Orissa and South West Bengal continued from the remote past. It was also an important centre of Indian’s Economy before the influx of the European trading companies to Orissa. The Indian traders had the extensive business of textiles with trading centres at Balasore, Pipli and Hugli before colonial time or the arrival of various European trading Companies.\(^89\)

The merchants of Orissa were supplying textiles to Malacca from Orissa ports. The textile business grew faster when they setout to Pegu, Bantam, Tenasserion, Archin and extended up to the Red Sea ports of Arden and Jeddah in the middle East.\(^90\) The allurement of the European trading Companies for the cotton and textiles and other industries of Orissa was quite restrictive and detrimental but it was an assert and stimulating economy. A keen interest haunted the minds of the European Companies to extend in textiles business for the prime purpose of exchanging cotton piece goods for pepper and spices in the early part of the 17th century.\(^91\)
But, the entry of the European traders victimised the Orissan traders in the sense that the indigenous traders of Orissa were compelled to reduce the volume of trade with the Asian markets. They were ultimately compelled to concentrate on coastal trade. The traders of Orissa ultimately tried to get the trading protection of East India Company to survive against the competition of European powers and also to seek self defence against the mounting coercion of Nawabs in the turbulent time of 18th century.

The origin of the English East India Company to boost the textile trade was high demand of Colicos in European markets. The English East India Company was exporting different types of textiles such as Silk, Piece goods, Piece good mixed silk and cotton and plain or painted cotton goods. At the same time the other articles in great demand were tablecloths, quilts, velvets and plusses.

The English termed the silk goods as taffatie and taffeta and the Dutch traders named the silk piece goods as armosijnen. The demand of English factors enhanced the importance of the demand of silk trade and turned them into an important manufacturing centre. There is the reference in the S. Masters Diary that Balasore earned the trading prominence as Tassar silk and the traders of Balasore got an alluring offer of selling of 12,000 pieces of silk rumals to the English East India Company. Alexander Hamilton reflected that there was silk cloth production at Balasore. Pipli was also another centre of production of silk cloths. Jaleswar and Hariharpur were famous silk cloth manufacturing centers.

There was large quantity of production of mixed piece goods or piece goods of mixed silk and cotton. The English East Indian Company was primarily exporting cuttannes, carridaries, chucklaes, cherconnaes, cushtaes, nillaes, seersuckers, scersuckers and mandilla. Peter Mundey referred the production of linen striped with white silk.
The cotton piecegoods were produced during the Cosatarea such as Sanas or Sannoes, Gingham, Gurrahs, Rumal, Neelas or Nillees, battlies, ambaries, Lungies and Salampores. The influx of European trading Companies like English and the Dutch opened a new vistas and established new markets for the silk and cotton textiles manufacturers. It also rendered trading boost and improved the business of Indian markets in Asia.

The export of the piece goods to be exported by the English East India Company can be categorized into three parts such as silk piecegoods, mixed piecegoods, and cotton piecegoods. The English traders named silk piecegoods as taffatie or taffeta. But the Dutch named it as armosijnen. The silk and silk piecegoods of Orissa and Bengal were exported to the Japan markets. The silkgoods were plentifully produced in the coastal areas. There is the reference of the S. Masters Diary that Tassar silk was plentifully available in Balasore. The English East India Company had high demand and requirements for silk goods.

There is the reflection of Peter Mundy that there was high demand of the cotton piece goods during the thirties of the seventeenth century. The variety of cotton textiles known as ambarees (canopied howdah), cassaes (fine and thin cloth) haman (a thick stout cloth used for wrappers), chara cannaes, chequered muslins, linen (strip led with white milk), linen. Balasore got the highest textiles status quo during the visit of Alexander Hamilton. The native weavers of Balasore were manufacturing Sannoes, casses, cotton cloths, dimitlies, mulmuls, gingham and spinascoe.

Peter Mundy referred that raw silk and sugar were exported to Agra from Bengal to Patna. Sannoes was named as a fine white cloth. Gingham was an Indian cotton cloth. The prominent feature was that it was woven with double threaded wraps and wefts having distinct feature. Rumal was a handkerchief.
Gurrahs was a plain cloth having inferior quality and the name was derived from the Hindi gorha. Calucos was in the muslin long cloth and chintz was a genetic term for cotton cloth. Ambari came from the Persian amri is canopied hawdah. J. Sarkar observed that suro (sora) was producing some quantitative goods. There were a large number of trading houses which had extensively trading linkage with European trading Companies.

In 1667 A.D., the English East India Company purchased coloured ginghams, nillaes and non silk rumals from the trading centre of Balasore. St. George received 10,000 pieces of ginghams and 8,000 pieces of sannoes, 10,000 pieces of nillaes from Balasore. The company had to procure 15,000 pieces of dimities. The supply of Orissan cloth goods was a regular feature from Balasore to Patna. There is the reference of P. Mohapatra that Pipli was a famous manufacturing centre and producing the same commodities at Balasore. Broad cloths and fine cloths of superior quality of varieties such as sannoes, dimities, and mulmul were produced.

The British early trading establishment at Hariharpur near Jagatsinghpur was an important centre of manufacturing of all kinds of clothes. Bowery reflected that there was the manufacture of a large quantity of calicos at the place Hariharpur where the English and Dutch sailors were purchasing the goods. The English factor Walter Clavell observed that the cloth of Herrapore could be brought easily to Balasore.

There was flourishing production of cotton at Puri, Jaleswar, Cuttack, Bhadrak, Jajpur, Balikuda and Ganjam and Bularugorhi. At Puri, there was the production of cotton. The English factor Ralph Cartwright deployed to send some persons to Puri to purchase cloth from the market of Puri in 1633. It took the credence of producing fine white cloth and proved to be a leading cloth producing centre of Orissa. Manrique referred that there was the manufacture of cotton cloths in the 7th decade of 17th century.
Cuttack also got a special place in producing varieties of cotton clothes, at a cheaper rate. The seer bands and sannoes of Cuttack were quite cheaper than that of Balasore.\textsuperscript{119}

The English factor William Bruton found the manufacture of colour fashioned cloth, which would have included cotton cloth in 1633 A.D.\textsuperscript{120} Ganjam had the trading prominence in the production of calicos at the coast of Gingelly which extended from the river Godavari to Puri.\textsuperscript{121} The ingredients known as mulmuls, cassaes and sannoes were produced in Ganjam during the 17\textsuperscript{th} century. There was a moderate price for the quantitative production of textile in Orissa.\textsuperscript{122}

The Balaragarhi of Balasore was a recognized textile producing centre which allured the English East India Company to establish their subordinate factory here. Basing on the waiter clavel's accounts in 1776, the tassar or herba of Balasore was the best quality and the artisans of Sora had established manufacturing centres outside Balasore.\textsuperscript{123}

There was a close commercial contact between Balasore and Hugli which urgently demanded constant coastal trade between two ports through Pipli.\textsuperscript{124} The trading relation of inter port between Patna and Dacca encouraged the British factors to participate in the internal trade through the land and water channels. The use of Barter system was prevalent and the goods like Opium, raw silk, ginger, sugar and saltpetre from Bihar were imported in exchange of rice, butter and textile commodities which were exclusively despatched to Bengal.\textsuperscript{125}

But, there was trading depression of the English East India Company in late 17\textsuperscript{th} century. Because, the imported commodities of the English began to test the lack of inclination named Broadcloth of different colours, copper, silver, lead, vermiuimmm, scarlet, and coral and coral etc.
The overstocked commodities in the factory warehouses had to face a lot of financial problems at Balasore.

The British factors faced financial crisis as the British authority could not regularly supply the funds. So, the British traders had to depend on the credit market of Orissa. The servants of the European Companies the free traders coastal and freight trade to different Asian ports which really brought a balance in the scarcity of the liquid capital of the company.\textsuperscript{126}

The English East India Company took another cautious step to keep the factories with various commodities with a complement stock in hand. The company also deeply realized that it was only means to flourish the trade.\textsuperscript{127} As there was price hike of textile and food grains by 40% to 45% during the time of shipping, the company had to take a clever stand for the investment of commodities after the sail of the Europe bound ships in the winter and spring.\textsuperscript{128} It demanded a ready stock of goods to be left for investments after paying the dues of the previous year’s goods in Eastern India.\textsuperscript{129} The excessive supply of liquid capital in the 17\textsuperscript{th} century on the trade of sugar, textile, opium, and food grains ushered in the decline on account of the socio economic constraints in the 18\textsuperscript{th} century.

There was also an assessment of the general decline in the agrarian economy of Orissa. The responsible causes for the occurrence of the general decline were the constaint of political turmoil, natural calamities and decline in the productive raw materials in shape of cotton, foograins and inadequate supply of currency to the primary producers.\textsuperscript{130} The Company faced the problem of insufficient supply of bullion. The adequacy of bullion created the problem in order to convert the bullion into currency required for the investment to purchase commodities. The East India Company further chalked out a new commercial strategy on the import of the British goods. The commodities like knives, glasses, globes and broad clothe had to be
imported for financing the company investment in Orissa on account of the strong resistance at home and vehement protested against the exportation of bullion or precious metals from Europe.131

The English East India Company had to face the complicated problem about the decreasing demand of British goods. The purchasing power of the upper class community and the financial crises at the end of the last decade of the 17th century affected the flourishing trade of English in Orissa.132 The Company planned a new economic means to sell the goods and adopted barter system to sell the broad cloth. They lead and resorted to bribe to the rulers and high percentage of interests to the so called brokers. This system failed on account of the increase in trade competition taking the parameter of money and bullion exported from Europe and America.133

The increase of private trade and the lack of hard and honest workers affected the factory of English at Balasore. The trading competition of other commercial companies like French and Dutch and the apathetic attitude of the rulers of the Suba of Bengal and Orissa created difficulties for the progress of British trade. The change in the time attitude of Muslim Nawab and the growth of the export of Orissan trade created a trading barrier for all European factors.

The English companies as well as the Dutch changed their trading strategy and followed a conciliatory measure presenting bribes and rendering them trade privileges in the Asian ports.134 The Mughal Nawab and their local officials became more intoxicated for the financial extortions from the Europeans and their trading associates.135 There is the reference of Om Prakash who authenticated the financial extortions were based on gifts and presents. They were regularly paid to satisfy various officials at various tiers of hierarchy.136 The Mughal Nawabs and their officials were exhibiting physical charges when their demands were not gratified.
Shaf Shikhan Khan, the Faujdar of Balesore demanded a big amount of money to the tune of 30000 from the merchant Khemchand. When he could not fulfil the expectation of the Faujdar of Balasore Safshikan Khan, he was put in jail at Cuttack. He was released and journeyed to Balasore after paying the security money to the tune of Rs10,000 in 17 days. But the Indian traders were sometimes paying money in shape of taxation to satisfy the corrupt Faujadari officials. In lieu of that the Indian traders were demanding heavy rate of interests and brokerage to compensate their loss.

During the Maratha regime, the established industry of Orissa met the worst depression. When the Bhonsle rulers of Nagpur shouldered the responsibility of the collection of taxes in Orissa, the British professional merchants became afraid of the frequent incursions of the Maratha Bargis on the textile goods.

Some potential factors stood as commercial barriers known as sufficient supply of raw cotton from Berar and interior of Orissa, safety to the weavers from the control of Indian merchants, financial extortions of the Bhonsles, Faujadar, landed proprietors of the Garhjat areas, and transshipment of the goods from the company’s goals and the residence of Hariharpur.

Thomas Motle referred that Barar and the black soil cotton belt of Maharashtra was transporting raw cotton exchanging rice and salt from Orissa. The rulers of Maratha, money lending merchants and landed proprietors made their concerted efforts to conspire to produce an uncongenial climate for raw cotton cultivation in preference to paddy cultivation. Another natural problem for the decline of textile industry was the recession of sea water at Pipli and the accumulation of silt at the Balasore port and the smooth sailing of transportation of the commodities also proved expensive.
Being constrained with Maratha's misrule heavy financial demands and increased competition for the requisition of weaver's, group, the British factors abandoned factories at Balaramgarhi, Mulund and Hariharpur. The English on account of their commercial suffocation, the singular investment in cotton and silk textile products ended in Orissa and ultimately invested in the salt trade. The Company Residents diverted their private capital for the money lending business and invested in the landed estates.

The withdrawal of English factors in the textile trade encouraged the import of cotton from Nagpur to Orissa in exchange of salt honouring the barter system. The Gossain merchants had played significant role during the Maratha period for the growth of trade and commerce in Orissa. They were called Das Namies of the Shankarncharya order. Some of them belonged to the Girisect and enriched military activities in Northern and West India.

The Gossain merchants who had their trading establishments in Benaras, Central India and Gujrat had extended the trade sending cargoes of raw silk piece goods, broad cloth, copper and spices to Bengal and Orissa. The articles were transported the commodities by river from Benaras and the Gossain merchants were at the receiving end at Nagpur.

They were usually taking the shortest route to Nagpur via Western Orissa through Sambalpur and Raipur. The annual turnover of the value of the imports and exports of the Gossain merchants through custom houses of the Raja of Benaras was Rs 1,614,475 in 1787 A.D. The economic stability of the Gossain merchants made a tremendous impact on the administrative system of the Bhonsles of Nagpur. The Bhonsle rulers were sometimes borrowing money from the Gossain merchants in order to consider to render them exclusive trading facilities within Orissa.
The banking transactions of the Gossain merchants were being made in Khurda, Puri, Chilika, and Cuttack regions. The Bengali merchants like Poonam Dutta and RamNarayan Mitter were transacting their business in salt, pan leaf, betel nut and tobacco in Balasore region.\textsuperscript{150}

As a whole, it can be stated that the practice of the Mahajans, financial extortions of the Maratha rulers,\textsuperscript{151} the Faujdars and the Landed chiefs, the anarchy and vandalism erupted on the land routes which prompted the migration of weaving communities from Orissa to the South West Bengal presidency and struck a big blow to the textiles industry in Orissa. The trade of grains was a profiteering business during the Maratha period. Sebera Ports of Northern and Southern Orissa were highly engaged in transporting food grains to different parts of the country. The port of Munsoorkata presently known as Gopalpur was a flourishing trade centre during the Pre Mughal period. The ports of Balasore Chandabali and Puri were deeply engaged in trading activities. There was trade of forest products like bamboo and wood in garhjat areas and they were transporting these commodities through the channel of river.

The English factors were allured and took keen commercial interests (exclusively the British Residents at Cuttack) invested money observing the flourish of the textile industries in Orissa and encouraged to settle some Bengali weavers around Jajpur, Bhadrak, and Balasore.\textsuperscript{152} Lord Cornwallis directed George Foster to Nagpur and G.E. Leckie to Balasore port and observed the decline of the trading position. At this critical juncture, the weavers trading class in the cotton business had kept trading ability and earned a good amount of profit.\textsuperscript{153}

There was excessive amount of rice production under the Muslim rule. Mughal India exhibited the production of food grains in the Assam Valley, Bengal and Orissa and in the eastern coast was found during the Mughal period.\textsuperscript{154} Rice was the prime crop of coastal Orissa and it was
the main cultivation of the whole of Orissa. Abdul Fazl also referred that rice was treated as the main cultivation in Orissa, Jaleswar topped the list of rice production places of Orissa. In the early part of the seventeenth century, the traders from the different places of India congregated here to purchase rice from Orissa. The years between 1650 A.D to 1660 A.D. marked the sudden rise of the food prices.

The pricelike in the cost of living compelled the English factors to increase the house keeping allowances. Local prices had risen sharply in case of the commodities like of rice, butter, oil, and wheat. The price became low by the end of 1650 A.D. The abundant productions of rice encouraged the traders to export to the other parts of India. S. Arasaratanam reflected that the loaded rice ships from Ganjam and Bimlipatanam would be directed to places like Pulicat and Madras. Rice was also exported to Archin, Ceylon, Maldives West Asia. As Orissa was essentially a major rice producing state, there was limited production of wheat. William Bruton, Thomas Bowrey and Alexander Hamilton, all European travelers opined that the production of wheat at Gingelly coast, Puri and Balasore. There is also the reference of J. Tieffenthaler that wheat was not grown in Orissa.

The cultivation of sugarcane was a significant product during the medieval period. There was the need of the alluvial soil for the production of sugar. Sugar and Gur had constituted another prime income of the village industry. Guda was the byproduct of the solid form of sugarcane juice. The fertility of the coastal soil helped the cultivation of sugarcane. The entire process of sugar production was lost to the village with the coming of the refineries which began to purchase the production of the cane directly. The English East India Company had invested their capital for the production of plenty of turmeric.

The Oil production was an alluring livelihood of the coastal people of Orissa. The extraction of oil from the oilseeds used to take place in
the village community. The Oilmen or Tellis worked to produce oil taking the help of the Ox driven process. Gingely (Sesame) and mustard oil were the most important kinds of oil. The surplus oil was exported to other countries after meeting the need of the people. But by the end of the 15th century, there was extensive export of oil seeds which ultimately brought the decreased oil pressure work in Medieval India. The Portuguese traders had brought tobacco to India in the first decade of the seventeenth century. They had brought this ingredient coming in contact with North Americans. Finally, the Portuguese introduced tobacco as an intoxicating ingredient in the sacred land. It was multivated in different parts of Medieval India.

Sericulture was also a trading trend in Medieval India. Hariharpur was famous for silk product. Manrique referred that the silk product of Jaleswar was the prime article for merchandise. Walter Clavell referred in 1667 A.D. that the production of tussar by the Raja of Maurbhanj was the best quality and the largest quantity was procurable and observed the decline of the trading position. At this critical juncture the weavers trading class on the cotton business had kept the trading stability and earned a good amount of profit.

Rice was plentifully available and quite cheaper in comparison with Bengal and Madras. The cost of fine rice was 32 1/2 seers for a rupee and the coarse rice was quite cheaper and sold 40 seers at the cost of a rupee. The price of rice was much cheaper as the people were purchasing 120 seers paddy and 80 seers of rice at the rate of one rupee. There was the prevalence of moderate wages and a palanquin bearer could be available for Rs 3/ to Rs 8/ through out the month. But the Marathas had not introduced any tax or excise on the items like opium and liquor as there were innumerable opium addicted people living in Orissa.

There was the despatch of some elephants for noble men at Nagpur. Salt was one of the demanding commodity since the influx of the
British factors in Orissa. As Orissa had possessed an extensive sea coast which stretched 230 miles long from the Eastern Ghats to the West and the Bay of Bengal to the East. The most qualitative product of salt was produced for centuries. \(^{172}\)

The salt producers were engaged in the salt business almost throughout the year except the rainy season. During the reign of the Gajapati Kings of Orissa, the production of salt was a source of revenue of Orissa. \(^{173}\) Salt Petre was a prime export commodity which had allured all European Companies to boost extensive trade. \(^{174}\)

K. N. Choudhury has given special reference that the export of this commodity in the 17\(^{th}\) and 18\(^{th}\) century was a new development in the maritime trade of Orissa. \(^{175}\) It undoubtedly proved that the high demand of Indian salt petre was linked with political, economic national and political considerations. \(^{176}\) Thomas Bowery's reflected that the people of Orissa had manufacturing salt in the seventeies of the 17\(^{th}\) century, prior to that Salt petre was an export commodity and emerged as a new development in the history of the maritime trade in the 17\(^{th}\) and 18\(^{th}\) centuries. \(^{177}\)

The salt petre was treated as a profitable item of trade. The salt petre was cheaper at Patna than in Bengal and was of the best quality. Patna factory was engaged to despatch raw salt petre to England but it increased the fright charges. There was the cheapest rate of the purchase of salt petre. The rate of a maund was only one rupee which was just half of the rate of Balasore. \(^{178}\) An report refers that Balasore had to import the quantity of 1000 to 5000 maunds every year. \(^{179}\) On account of the unpredictable supply of salt petre from Patna, the company collected salt petre from Balasore inspite of the exorbitant price.

The Dutch factors imported the ingredient of salt petre from Bengal and at last established a refinery at Pipli in 1641 A.D. The Dutch
took a timely step to save the cost of the price of the salt petre and raised the production capacity to 800,000 Lbs.\textsuperscript{180} There is the reference of the English report that the Dutch factor annually shipped around 3000tons of refined salt petre from Pipili.\textsuperscript{181} The Dutch had chosen to establish a refinery at Balasore instead of Patna in the sense that the Dutch Company had availed the opportunity of collecting quantitative salt petre from the locality. The transportation cost from Bihar to Balasore was also partially decreased. At last a special salt petre ground was established near Patna in order to manufacture gun powder.\textsuperscript{182}

There was plenty of salt production from the lake of (Chilika to Suvarnarekha) during the Maratha period. The salt manufacturing areas were within the territorial jurisdiction of the Rajas and the Zamindars whose Royal Estates were the adjoining parts of the coast.\textsuperscript{183} The Malangis were known as the salt workers. But the whole system of salt production was done by the migratory seasonal labourers.\textsuperscript{184}

There was the system of advance payment to the Malangis by the merchants. The merchants were earning high profit despatching salt to Berar, Bengal and Sambalpur. But the salt merchants after purchasing the amount of salt at the manufacturing place at the rate of there and half anna per maund had to pay an excise tax while transporting the salt. The rate of the salt was enhanced in the rural areas.\textsuperscript{185}

The Britishers had some lynx eye and lucrative thoughts on the procurement of high profit on the salt trade. They became mentally prepared to monopolise salt prior to their occupation of Orissa. At last, they were able to introduce salt monopoly over Bengal which adversely affected the percentage of import from Orissa to Bengal. A special order was passed by the Company's Govt. that the Company except their own merchants were not allowed the other merchants to import or sell salt in Calcutta. By virtue of that unhealthy order, the merchants of Orissa became victimized and were
deprived of trading in Bengal. The Britishers exerted pressure on the Maratha Govt. in order to permit English factors to take the salt monopoly in Orissa.

A sugar industry was a profit making business in Orissa. There is also proof that there was high amount of production of sugar in Ganjam in 1708. The English East India Company made investment on the sugar industry. It was a flourishing trade and the chief livelihood of the people of Orissa rendering their service for the production of sugar. There were different kinds of Oil production in Orissa. The mustard and sesame oil were the important and demanding products. The oil to kindle the temple lamps known as castrol oil was produced by a professional group of local men called oilmen. They earned their main livelihood in the oil production Industry.

Liquor Industry also existed during this period. Fomented Liquors and spirits were produced from the ingredients like Mahula, Mollasses flower and out of the unrefined sugar, sap of palm tree and rice. There was the demand of plenty of liquor for local consumption. The Liquor products were sold without restriction in Orissa. The Liquor industry availed a commercial boost by the influx of European traders to Orissa.

In the medieval period, Iron was a demanding industry in Orissa. There was increasing necessary of iron for the construction of buildings, temples, ships, and boats. Iron was demanded for the manufacture of agricultural instruments of weapons and tools. There is the reference of R. L. Mitra that there was qualitative production of Iron at Talcher. There was the use of charcoal to smelt the iron of black smiths in the medieval period. Iron was essential for the use of iron beams in temples. The iron instruments and weapons like gupti, pharsa, katari, dhala, khadga were prevalent during the Maratha period.
There was the prevalence of massive stone works in the temples of Puri, Konark, and Bhubaneswar. It marks the zenith of stone works industry in Orissa.\(^{193}\) The reputation of the massive stone work got a setback during the reign of Muslim rulers in Orissa. The lack of patronage during the Muslim period affected the status quo of massive stone works and livelihood of the artists and stone workers. Despite the depression on the stone works, Orissa earned prominence exporting articles to other provinces.\(^{194}\) Mottes reference is that there were number of stone bridges\(^{195}\), stone cups and dishes were produced at Balasore which had demand at Calcutta. Duties were levied on the stone articles in the forties of the 18th century.

The essential materials for the construction of ship and boat building were plentifully available in Orissa. The influx of the European factors provided a new boost for the development of the ship industry in Orissa. It also provided employment or livelihood to craftsman and labourers. Bowery reflected that the average tonnage of those ships was between four hundred and six hundred tons.\(^{196}\) Balasore notably earned her trading fame not only as the major producer of textile cotton but also as an important ship building and repairing centre.

There were suitable dockyards and the English factors modernized the dockyards in order to meet the urgent needs of building small vessels for the transport of goods. They built vessels of about 100 tons taking permission from the Governor of Bengal named Thomas.\(^{197}\) They got the permission for the building of ships, small or great or any other vessels which they would think best or fit for their purpose.

The prime purpose of building ships was to carry soldiers during and travelers in used for wars and voyages.\(^{198}\) Hariharpur, Pipli and Balasore were boat producing centres of Orissa. Mr. Yard, the service holder of the English East India Company traveled in a ship named "The
Endeavour" to Masulipatnam in 1642 A.D.¹⁹⁹ Boats were manufactured in different parts of the coastal Orissa. The English factors of Hugli took decision to build a boat at Balasore.

Wood and Bamboos were essential ingredients for the manufacture of different articles during this period. There were plenty of carpenters who established their art of manufacturing caliber for the construction of Palaces, Temples, and Forts. The essential articles for domestic purposes were Carts, Boats, Chariots and Toys and they were made of wooden materials. The sacred chariot of Lord Jagannath was the outcome of the wood and iron work of Orissa. Iron was also an industrial production of Orissa as there was high use of iron for making ships and boats. There is reference that the use of iron clamps in Orissan architecture is found from the pristine times to the medieval period.²⁰⁰

The English were purchasing bamboos from the Balasore. The other products were Bee wax and Lac from the dense forest of Orissa. Sixty maund of bee wax was ordered for the consumption at Masulipatnam, Madapallam and St. George.²⁰¹ Gum Lac was produced at Puri and stick lac was produced at Ganjam.²⁰²

The trade and production of Orissa got a large commercial boost on account of the demands and the abundant purchase of European factors in Orissa for the construction of building for the accommodation of men for safeguarding the coasts, vessels in protecting the lives and properties of ships which might be creaked.²⁰³

The cited demands were not honoured by the Raja and also did not render power to punish the accused Zamindars which might be a discredit to the Maratha administration.²⁰⁴ Finally the Raja of Kujang confessed his misdeeds against the Britishers and firmly assured not to
renew the evil practice. Madhaji Hari at last convinced the repentance of the Raja of Kujang and pardoned him which could not gratify the Britishers.\textsuperscript{205}

Finally, the Raja of Nagpur ordered to take rigorous punishment against the Raja of Kujang. The Marathas had concentrated to develop the system of communication and transport to fulfill military, commercial and postal purposes. The English naval passengers in exploiting the different opportunities. Another example may be cited that Kamal Muhammad the Zamindar of Malud arrested a number of company's people and plundered their wealth in a naval accident.\textsuperscript{206}

Being disquieted with the perpetual tension and hostile attitudes of local Zamindars and Rajas, the matter was brought to the notice of Madhoji Bhosle, the new Raja of Nagpur after the demise of Januji. They went to the extent of informing about the tragic murder of Capt. Roger and his associates and made a pathetic appeal to take timely and drastic action against the culprits.\textsuperscript{207} They further appealed that Madhoji Bhonsle should provide on the protection to the merchants of the British and a sanad should granted to perpetuate on (228) a strip of land between the rivers Kanika and Mahanadi . The British became intolerable due to the unhealthy activities and the British officials sent Govardhan Bhattacharya to make an enquiry into the plunder and confinement of the English men. After getting proper information, the Governor General despatched letter of explanation to the Zamindars but it could not bring fruitful results as Zamindars answered nothing about the incidents. The Zamindars of Kujang expressed their innocence.\textsuperscript{209}

During the time of Madhoji Hari in Orissa, the local chiefs were professionally engaged for the seizure of the European ships, the plunder of the shipwrecked property and the imprisonment of the passengers. The Raja of Konika was engaged in these activities and the
adjoining Zamindars of the sea coast in different ports of Orissa were also engaged in looting and harassing the passengers.

The local Zamindars went on looting the properties of the passengers and imprisoned them. Despite the repeated appeals the Maratha Govt. failed to suppress the unruly activities of the local Zamindars. The Maratha Governor could not tackle the situation on account of the powerful statusquo of the feudatory chiefs. There were impregnable forests and the rainy season stood as a natural barrier to maintain the outside connectivity which helped the local chiefs to indulge in rapacious activities.\(^{210}\)

There were some instances that the local Zamindars were tormenting the passengers of English ships. The British ship “Summer Set” was wrecked on the coast near Kujang and was ultimately caught by the Zamindars of Kujang.\(^{211}\) The British ship “Active” met with an accident at Palmira while coming from Madras to Calcutta. The Zamindars of Kujang again indulged in vandalism.

The Maratha authority anticipated the ruination of economic conditions of merchants of Orissa due to the monopoly of the English on trade. But, the existing agreement continued under the authority of British Commercial Residents of Balasore. The smuggling of salt was checked when the British were able to conquer Orissa 1803 A.D. During the Maratha period, there emerged a sensitive sequence like the frontier tension and naval accidents in the northern and the southern parts of the Orissa coast. Sheo Bhatt, the Maratha Governor saved the British ship at the Bay of Bengal and saved the precious lives of a group of navigators from the unhealthy attitude and oppression of the coastal Zamindars of Puri after the shipwrecked incidence in the sea.\(^{212}\)

The Maratha Governor rendered all kinds of timely help and brought the victims to Cuttack. The promulgated order of the British to
debar the agents except the company agents had adversely affected the salt trade in Orissa. At the same time it affected the income of revenue of Marathas. The Maratha Governor Raja Ram Pandit referred the loss of revenue of Marathas was 2 lakh rupees annually. At last, Raja Ram Pandit appeal for an agreement was ratified by the Governor General. According to the agreement, the merchants of Balasore were remitted to sell salt by the agreement.

The British Commercial Residents at Balasore established authority over the salt contractors and the salt traders subjected to the order of the Britishers. It was also a provision in the agreement that no salt could be imported to Calcutta without taking the British Parrana. After the subjugation of Bengal under the supremacy of the English East India company, the British paid high attention to enhance the amount of income from the salt trade. The smuggling of salt to Bengal had brought a huge loss of salt tax. An exclusive society was formed for the inland trade which entrusted to the senior members of the Company. It extended its authority to control the manufacture of salt.

The formation of the “Board Of Trade” extended to control over the sale of salt in 1774 A.D. The price of salt abruptly decreased from 117 rupees to 87 rupees per 100 maunds in 1779 A.D. The smuggling of salt from Orissa to Bengal was a potential factor for the sudden fall in the price of salt. The merchants were earning a high amount of the salt business. There is the reference of Maratha records that there was the export of three lakh maunds of salt in every year.

The British factors were permitted to establish salt factories at Cuttack, Maluda, and Balasore. They were not allowed to grant exclusive privileges of salt trade in Orissa to protect the native merchants. The Marathas also could monopolise to manufacture or sell the salt after gaining some duty on it. The East India Company despite their salt business used to
purchase large quantity of salt from Orissa. The English factors annually purchased 68,269 maunds of salt from Orissa.

A high amount of revenue was collected from the salt traders in Orissa. Bengal was exclusively paying to the tune of two lakh of rupees annually. There was very poor communicative and transport system. Both English and Marathas took interest to improve the system of communication on account of the strategical importance of Orissa. They paid attention for the system of communication to help the military, commercial and postal purposes.

There was regular road to Cuttack from Nagpur as the Bhonsle had direct control over Cuttack. There was the existence of a regular road of extebling 600 miles from Cuttack to Nagpur. The road from Cuttack to Nagpur stretched through Banki, Baideswar, Padmaalah, Contilo, Barmul, Baud, Sonepur, Sarang garh, Mohra, Ratanpur, Marolangi, Tirora and Tharsa to Nagpur. The roads from Nagpur to Cuttack was divided at Sambalpur and one bifurcated road led to Sambalpur and the other went through to Sonepur. Elliot led the first road. Elliot, the British envoy was deputed to Nagpur court took this road and died at Sarangagarh. Leckie who travelled to Nagpur went on this road.

The first route started from Cuttack and passed through Surgaja, Chuta, AmaraKantak, Bundelkhand and Chhatrapur and atlast met Nagpur. The other route penetrated through sonepur to Bhojpur leaving Sambalpur on the left running through Chhotnagpur, AmaraKantaka and Bundelkhand towards Nagpur. The incursion of the Marathas was dependent on the suitability of routes in Orissa. The lack of safety and convenience from Bengal to Nagpur discouraged the Marathas to follow this road. The Govt. officials and travelers were traveling from Bengal via Cuttack to Nagpur. But, the road from Bengal to Cuttack was an important road. The people of Cuttack were traveling via Bhadrak, Arakpur, and Padmapur to
reach in Calcutta.\textsuperscript{225} It was treated as the common road for the traders and Govt. officials.

Colonel Pearse reflected that his garrison marched through it and informed about the road and led to the communication and the construction of bridge over Birupa.\textsuperscript{226} Most parts of Orissa were covered with deep forests which were the paradise of furious animals. The animals like elephants were captured and despatched to Nagpur where the noble men were using them.\textsuperscript{227} The large number of tribals inhabited in the deep forest and hilly areas. Two kinds of taxes known as rahdars and guzarbans were collected by the Maratha authority in Orissa. The rahdars (collector of tax of tolls) and guzarbands (tax officers on road and ferry) were exclusively collecting taxes.\textsuperscript{228} The Maratha Govt. had made some concessions to pay taxes. The Raja of Dasapala was honoured by the Raja of Nagpur and made a condition to exempt on the ground of regression to his subjects of Barmula pass, pilgrims and army personnel.

Raja Man Singh and Khan-I-Dauran also followed this route during the time of their military campaign in Orissa. Motte came on this road 1766 A.D. followed by Elliot and Leckie in 1778 and 1790 respectively to reach Cuttack. Naval routes played an important channel for commercial and military purposes. John Beams pointed out that the English soldiers arrived at Balasore during the Anglo-Maratha war.\textsuperscript{229} The ship wrecked incidents are the examples on the Orissan coasts.\textsuperscript{230} The pilgrims were preferring sea route to Puri.\textsuperscript{231} The water route from Rambha to Malikpatna was used by the people of Ganjam.\textsuperscript{232} The river Mahanadi was the main water channel for the purpose of travel and transportation of different goods.\textsuperscript{233} It acted as the main linkage between Cuttack and Sambalpur.

The Maratha had gone to the extent of collecting taxes from the pilgrims to visit the sacred Lord Jagannath. The Raja of Mayurbhanj and Nilagiri who were collecting taxes from the pilgrims coming from the upper
India were paying 10% to 16% of their collection. The North Indian pilgrims were paying Rs 10/- each at Atharanulla ghat and the Southern Indian pilgrims were paying Rs 6/- at Loknath ghat. A general poll tax to the tune of Rs 5/- was to be paid for the admission into the temple.

Despite the financial constraints, the Marathas during their reign had taken some benevolent steps in order to improve the communication system and the expansion of market economy. Jagirs were granted by the Marathas for the support of ferries of the rivers Kathajori and Mahanadi. 12 battis of land were granted to meet the expenditure for the river Mahanadi and 10 battis were allowed to grant for the ferry at Kathajori. The entrusted persons enjoying Jagirs were required to keep the boats for public purposes. Being imbued with philanthropic thoughts, many people had constructed halting places and planted trees to provide shade and get the blessing of the travellers. Certainly, it justified the philanthropic attitude and brotherhood of the people of Orissa. There is reference of the Narasinghapatna inscription in 1791 A.D. that Arand Kishan and Balkishan built a sarai, garden and dug a pond dedicated to Lord Jagannath. There was the continuation of a postal system of the Maratha administration in Orissa. They certainly imitated the Mughal administration and became asset for the English in the later stage in Orissa.

There was the provision of runners to despatch letters and other necessary information from one place to other place. They appointed tappi and kasids to expedite the postal tasks. The status quo of tappi was a postman who usually was covering the distance on foot. The kasid was having the status quo of a mounted postman. The English followed the postal system in a modified form and established the postal system from Calcutta via Orissa to Madras which became essential to the imperiastic power of English. They established a residence at Cuttack to make a direct linkage to facilitate the postal correspondence with Vizagapatnam.
Mr. Charles Alleyan a refined gentleman was appointed as postmaster to keep the communication between Madras and Calcutta. The English appointed Mr. Hope at Cuttack, Mr. Marriot at Balasore and Mr. More at Maluda as supervisors for the proper transaction and delivery of letters. C. William was appointed as the Superintendent of Kasids who were to be sent to different factories for postal transactions between Calcutta and Puri. The Marathas established the Kasid system between Calcutta and Balasore. The postmen or the runners were given their monthly dues and other necessary materials. The above cited factors counted much delay as a letter took one month to travel from Balasore to Madras and sometimes it took two months to reach the place. There was the example of robbery which put trouble into the pilgrims. Bhadrak was the centre of such notorious activities and even they plundered the baggages of the English troops led by Colonel Pearse. Another interesting example may be cited that the pilgrims while sleeping under mango groves were robbed after they were intoxicated by intoxicants. The excessive oppression of robbery forced the wealthy to take strong escort while traveling on pilgrimage to Puri with swords, spear and watchlocks.

As Orissa is strategically located between the southern and the eastern dominions of the English, it became a vital factor to occupy it. The geographical location of Cuttack on the bank of river Mahanadi got a special place of strategical status quo and acted as a link among Bengal, Nagpur and Madras. It may be referred that the location of Cuttack was the safest passage for all purposes between Bengal and Northern Sarkars and a connecting linkage between Madras and Bengal via Puri and Ganjam.
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131. The Company was ordered to export goods valued at least £ 1,00,000 a year to the East by an Act of 1694.


134. The Company brokers accompanied Boremul ( Puralmal of Alamgir Namah together with 2 cases of wine for the Nawab and other officers which smoothed the way to get a purwannah reflected in EFI New Series) II, 1670 – 78 , 338 – 39.

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