Chapter Two

POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE DEVELOPMENT: ROLE OF GOVERNORS
(Phase of upheaval and stability, 1677-1755)
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ROLE OF GOVERNORS 

(PHASE OF UPHEAVAL AND STABILITY, 1677-1755)

During this period the Company’s Director was Josiah Child. He believed in enhancing the power of E.E.I.Co, on the Indian coast line, which should be sufficiently strong to repel all attacks. In this he was inspired by the Dutch. He therefore replaced the Company’s policy of peaceful commerce with a forward policy. In his scheme Bombay was to be serve the same purposes for the English as the settlement of Batavia did for the Dutch i.e. it was to be strongly fortified and provided with sufficient military and navy strengths to protect the English trade, while the cost of this was to be met from the increase in rent and reduced expenditure. This scheme of Josiah Child in Bombay was carried by Sir John Child. Unfortunately this policy of retrenchment and reduced expenditure led to a mutiny in the garrison in 1683 under the then Commander Richard Keigwin.¹ Soon after the suppression of formidable rebellion the peace of Bombay was obstructed by war with Mughal’s and Sidi’s.² These two wars and other like events thus showed the futility of their existing policy.

BOMBAY AFTER AUNGIER

_Thomas Rolt (1677-81)_ succeeded Aungier as the President of Surat.³ At the time of appointment, he was acting as a Chief of Company’s factory in Persia and reached Surat on 15th January 1678.⁴ It was during this period the episode of Underi and Khanderi took place.⁵ It was due to his efforts that Bombay was saved from getting involved in the struggle between Shivaji and Sidi and an agreement was signed between them and Shivaji in January 1680.⁶

Thomas Rolt was succeeded by John Child. In 1679 Company laid down the fixed scale of annual establishment charges with liberty to the Council to make minor

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¹ For details of the Keigwin rebellion see Ray and Oliver Strachey, _Keigwin Rebellion_, Oxford, 1916.
² See details in chapter 3.
³ E.F.I., 1670-77, 272.
⁴ E.F.I., 1678-84, 1.
⁵ See details in chapter 3.
⁶ E.R.S., II, letter no. 475, these points of treaty were drafted on 8th January 1680, also see E.R.S., II, letter no. 479, 481.
adjustments within the precise total and threatened dire penalties for disobedience. Child saw that his own advancement depended largely on compliance and managed by economies which chiefly affected garrison and two frigates Revenge and Hunter to reduce the expenditure to a level which brought it well within the islands revenue through it exceeded the fixed scale to 20%. He also made detailed reports thereon with full explanation of each variance from the prescribed scale. For this achievement Child gained praise from Surat Council and the Company but incurred the deep unpopularity in the garrison.

The relation with the Portuguese were no better in 1681 the serious dispute arose with the Portuguese in Salsette relating to plying of boats from Mahim and Sion. In May the Portuguese Captain seized ferry boats, preventing Salsette inhabitants from using them and sending them across in other boats.

Another dispute was about custom houses of Mahim. In accordance with its long usage it levied customs on boats passing through the narrow straits called the ‘Mahim river’ whether they bore to the English, Portuguese, or to any other flag. The Captain prohibited such payment by the Portuguese subjects in future and orders customs to be taken at Versova or Bandra instead. Later on he tried to stop an old practice by which fishermen from Bandra having nets at stake nearest to Mahim gave up some fish as dues to that port. Child and his Council therefore strenuously resisted this aggression. But this did not put an end to trouble.

In monsoons Portuguese gave further troubles by hindering commerce between their territory and Bombay including the supply of provisions. Though no compromise was agreed to by the end of the year and the Portuguese continued their hostile
policy,\textsuperscript{14} however the extant records do not mention any actual violence on their part beyond chasing vessels or preventing them from going to the island. The correspondences between the Portuguese and English became more favorable next year for the settlement of dispute and finally resulted in an agreement in February.\textsuperscript{15} This settlement resulted in island getting rice and other provisions in plenty.\textsuperscript{16} The settlement thus relieved the island from the scarcity of provisions that resulted from the stoppage of Salsette. There was again some scarcity of provisions owing to the Portuguese continued stoppage of supplies.\textsuperscript{17}

In 1684 the Court sent orders in relation to the improvement of island, focusing on the security of the island. The Court directed the Bombay Council to make the islands defenses strong so that they could easily withstand the attacks of Dutch, Mughal and other regional powers. The court also directed the Council to augment trade in order to encourage people to settle on the island. These inhabitants later could be trained under English or other officers to form one or more regiments for the defenses of the island. The Court further directed that inhabitants should exercise in arms one day in every two months or as felt convenient. They should be taught to handle their arms, their facings, wheeling’s, marching and countermarching the first ranks to present, draw their triggers together at the beat of the drums and fall into rear for the second ranks to advance as is often used with learners in their artillery ground.\textsuperscript{18}

In 1681 the Company again took a step that irritated the garrison officers. This was the prohibition of the practice of ‘dead muster’\textsuperscript{19} under which the rolls contained fictitious names of the soldiers whose pay was drawn by the officers to whom this prerequisite was allotted.\textsuperscript{20} In 1682 the Company dismissed the officers who had submitted the respectful petition, of being allowed at least one dead muster treating

\textsuperscript{14} Ibid, 100.
\textsuperscript{15} Ibid, 106-7. According to this agreement the objection to the ferry boat of Mahim and Sion was withdrawn and the vessels they had seized were returned. The coolies, who had been so long imprisoned at Bassein (E.F.I., 1678-84, 88) were also released. But the two banias had still to wait for orders from Goa, which was expected to come shortly. The English however also decided to make a statement of the losses caused by this dispute and to claim it from Portuguese, despite knowing that they did not expect to get any. Ibid.
\textsuperscript{16} Ibid, 107.
\textsuperscript{17} Ibid, 212.
\textsuperscript{18} Campbell, I, 85-86.
\textsuperscript{19} For ‘dead musters’ also see Ray and Oliver Strachey, Keigwin Rebellion, 44, 69, 76.
\textsuperscript{20} This practice seems to have existed from 1665 and at any rate from 1672 when Aungier allowed Dr. Bird to have two musters. E.F.I., 1678-84, 97.

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the petition as an act of insubordination.21 Though Child was one of the persons called to make refunds, the garrison blamed him mainly responsible for the result by his having raised the question of Keigwin’s right to draw money on his dead musters.22 It was also believed perhaps unjustly that though Child had promised to support the petition, he really denounced it.23

None of the vacancies due to dismissal of officers were filled by the end of December 1683. Under the Company orders Keigwin took over the duties of Niccolls as the Commander of the eldest company without any extra pay. While Child disallowed the Council’s promotions of Wilkins in place of Giles24 and kept the post of ensign vacant during 1683.25 He also dallied over filling the posts of Fletcher and Thorburn, which resulted in having Keigwin as the sole commissioned officer in the garrison.26 It was against this background that the mutiny in the garrison took place, headed by Keigwin, and only in July 1685 it came to an end.27

KEIGWIN AND BOMBAY

Keigwin seems to have continued the administration largely on the lines prevailing under the Company with the exception that the Court of Judicature seems to have lapsed under him. Gary was not available to continue it, as he was not desirous of the post and asked to be relieved. Thus Thorburn became a sort of pooh-bah combining the offices of Attorney General i.e. of judge and prosecutor, Chief Justice and

21 Ibid, xii-xiii. Of the four officers Niccolls and Giles were dismissed in 1682. Ibid, 113-14. The other two Thorburn and Fletcher were dismissed in November 1683. Ibid, xv.
22 Ibid., 51, 140. This was largely in the background of his letter to the Company in November asking whether he had been entitled to receive in addition to his salary, the pay of five orderlies as ‘dead muster’. In reply to this Rolt and his Council ruled it out as contrary to the Company’s rule and ordered that Keigwin should refund whatever he had received on this account. They also said that, while Keigwin could draw pay so long as he was doing actual service, he must otherwise be discharged according to the Company’s orders. Ibid, 51-2.
23 Ibid, 162. Keigwin inferred that Child, had opposed the petition because of the Company’s objection that it had not been submitted to, and recommended by, the Deputy and the Council. On the other hand, Child, was asking the Company to let him keep the amount he had received for the dead musters, and this would incline him to support the petition. The paper he wrote on the subject which Rolt forwarded to the Company does not exist. Ibid, Fn. 2, 162.
24 In November 1682 Ensign Giles, was dismissed for gross drunkenness and Sergeant Wilkins, thus officiated over this vacant office, Ibid, 114. However Ward was of the view that the work of the post was being done by Issac Clarke, a soldier who was diligent and careful and Sergeant Thomas Sugar, an old deserving servant of the Company and Child, agreed with this commendation of them. Ibid, fn., 114.
26 Ibid, xv.
27 See details under the section Keigwin rebellion, in chapter 10.
Accountant Secretary. In December St. John assumed the office of Judge of the island. Earlier in November Thomas Grantham had placed him in 'the Chair of Justice' and accordingly he presided over the Court of Judicature.

Probably there were more restrictions on personal liberty, especially with regard to communication with places where the Company had representatives. But Keigwin took care to guarantee freedom of trade and religion for the inhabitants' and this no doubt conduced to the unanimity of the Indian inhabitants in accepting the rebellion. In addition Keigwin made landholders especially Hindu and Muslim who did not serve the militia contribute towards the cost of the defence of the island — a tax which Ward had ineffectually proposed to levy. Consequently he was able to hand over Grantham not only a good balance, but also the whole of the money taken from the Return. He also respected the Company's estate as well as the private property and the only exception seems to have been destruction of Captain Adderton's house and confiscations of its contents after hearing of the surrender of the Return at Surat.

Keigwin's activity in fortifying it in the early months of the year probably impressed Sambhaji neighbouring Commanders and others. What evidently had still more effect was Keigwin refusal to the Sidi fleet. In April Sidi Kasim brought his fleet to the harbour. Keigwin prevented his men from landing as has been allowed under the Company. Moreover he also prevented them from using Mazgaon as headquarters for himself and his men and did not allow them to land except for getting water, with the beneficial result that in resentment at such treatment the Sidi withdrew his fleet from Bombay and such visits ceased forever. This naturally pleased Sambhaji and ensured the success of a mission to him under Captain Gary in April-May, accompanied by Wilkins as an assistant and Ramchandra Shenvi as an interpreter.

28 E.F.I., 1678-84, xxiii. 218.
29 E.F.I., 1678-84, 207.
31 Ibid, 213.
32 Ibid, xxiii.
33 Ibid, 223.
34 Ibid, 110.
36 Ibid, xxiii.
37 Ibid, 223.
38 Ibid, 180.
He promised to give Keigwin aid if necessary against Sidi, permitted factories to be established in his dominions, including Nagotna and Pen, subject to the payment of the usual customs on goods imported and exported and gave various assurances which covered benefits to the Company. The treaty was mainly important for establishing friendly relations and so replacing his resentment at the Sidi visit.

This period of mutiny seems to have had some good results: it may have saved Bombay from the attacks of the Sambhaji forces which had captured Karanja in December 1683. They remained in possession of it till it was recaptured by the Portuguese in September 1684. Other places near Bombay had been taken and his fleet was in Nagotna Creek. If the Company's rule had continued in 1684 the Sidi fleet would have certainly have been allowed to winter at Bombay as usual and Sambhaji's anger at its depredation from that base might easily have resulted in an attack on the fleet and then on Bombay by his forces very conveniently.

Trade necessarily seemed to have suffered from the adverse conditions such as the trouble from Henry and Kenery and the fact that Portuguese on Salsette merchants' vessels were frequently interfered by Sambhaji or the Sidi galivats, facilitated by their occupation of those two small islands. Nevertheless records in no way suggest that trade was on decline and even during rebellion merchants were reported daily flocking to Bombay. Except for the stealing of fowls by the soldiers, there is no evidence that the inhabitants were 'severely harassed and oppressed'. There may have been occasional restrictions: In January Zinzan (factor, Bombay Council) said Englishmen were prevented from leaving the island and fishing-boats from going to their stakes so as to stop any communication with him from the shore. The ordinary passes have been permitted to leave and return to the island as freely as under the Company. It is also apparent that the mutineers wanted to keep the ferries running.

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40 Ibid, 183.
41 Ibid, 182.
42 Ibid, xxiii, 181-84. See details of treaty in E.F.I., 1678-84, 182-83.
43 Ibid, xxiv.
44 Ibid, 218.
46 Ibid
The Sidi fleet and the influx of some four thousand refugees on account of the war between Sambhaji and the Portuguese certainly would have enhanced local trade.\textsuperscript{47} On the other hand according to Zinzan they gave no encouragement to the weavers who had migrated from Chaul and Thana, with the result that out of 600 families 400 families left the island during the rebellion.\textsuperscript{48} Unfortunately the maintenance of calicoes was discontinued in 1681 on the ground that the cloth produced was dear for its quality. Thus Bombay ceased to make any contribution to the Company's annual investments except in the form of the money.\textsuperscript{49}

Bhandaries also seem to have left it because of the allotment of the arrack farm to an outsider who made a higher bid. This would tend to reduce the population, which in January Keigwin estimated to be 100,000. It may have been an exaggeration but the war between Sambhaji and the Portuguese probably led to the influx of many others besides weavers. Thus Vergis (factor, Bombay Council) heard in March that 'merchants with their families from diverse places daily flock to Bombay. In 1679 Bombay was seen as 'a place that produces no commodity of profit for Europe and is of little accommodation to Company in peace and war and cost £130,000 for its maintenance in 1682.\textsuperscript{50}

Increasing scarcity of food was a contrary effect. In March the price of batty was Xs.40 a mora. In October it was Xs. 1 for 3 adalas, i.e. over Xs. 80 a mora, and the Captain Mayor of Versova told Vaux (factor, Bombay Council) that its cost 'grinds the poore people and forces them to leave the island'.\textsuperscript{51} The scarcity of meat made the butchers resort to stratagem to get some from outside, for in October they obtained it from Portuguese territory on pretence that it was for Sidi Kasim, who was allowed by the Captain General to have what he wanted. Probably butter, rice, wheat, and grain were stored in fort for use in an emergency, as in 1685 and 1686 some of these had to

\textsuperscript{47} Ibid, xxvii.
\textsuperscript{48} Ibid, 219.
\textsuperscript{49} Ibid, xxvii.
\textsuperscript{50} Ibid, xxvii.
\textsuperscript{51} The calculation of the price in October was based on the tables of measures given by Fryer, viz. 20 addalins make 1 parras, and 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ parras 1 mora. The price of Xs. 40 a mora was the same as that ruling at the beginning of the rebellion, as compared with the old price of Xs. 20 or 22 a mora. E.F.I., 1678-84, Fn., 219.
be disposed of for deterioration or other reasons. But meat for the English garrison
was more difficult to supply.\textsuperscript{52}

Theft was resorted to as a method of procuring supply, is evident from a proclamation
by Zinzan in February 1685 prohibiting 'the liberty assumed (during the rebellion) by
souldiers and others heretofore in forcibly taking away .... Provition (more
particularly fowles) from the lawfull owners to the oppression in the inhabitants.'\textsuperscript{53}
This however, reduced stocks, and Antonio Camello (Captain Mayor) in October said
the mutineers had been reduced to 'great streights'.\textsuperscript{54} Though the food was scarce,
alcoholic drink was plentiful judging from the fact that in April 1685 the Council
found no less than twenty one taverns on the island compared with the number of four
that it considered sufficient. Wines were also supplied by the two French ships\textsuperscript{55} that
came in September, while there were probably also little illicit sale of ale,\textsuperscript{56} from the
Company's ships in the harbour.\textsuperscript{57}

The rebels denounced Child and Ward as Sabbath - breakers, but it is doubtful if
conditions in this respect improved under Keigwin with Peachey Watson as a
minister. In February 1685 the Council passed orders so 'that no further toleration or
impunity may cause the overthrow of the religion and government', and strictly
requiring from all the King's subjects 'a full and dutiful observance of... the true
worship of God'. Protestants were called on to attend morning and evening prayers on
Sundays as well as morning prayers on other weekdays, while any soldiers or other
inhabitants who frequented punch-houses during service on Sundays or holy-days was
liable to punishment.\textsuperscript{58}

\textsuperscript{52} Ibid, 219. Further details see in chapter 7.
\textsuperscript{53} Ibid, 219-220.
\textsuperscript{54} Ibid, 220.
\textsuperscript{55} The two French ships were \textit{Coche} and \textit{St, Antonie}. Ibid, 188.
\textsuperscript{56} A general name for beer made with a top fermenting yeast, a brew of more than 4\% alcohol by
volume.
\textsuperscript{57} Ibid, 220. According to Child's, information the sailors on the \textit{Samson} who were detained by
Keigwin, had gone ashore, with the commander's knowledge, to sell ale and claret. E.F.I., 1678-84,Fn.,
220.
\textsuperscript{58} Ibid, 220-21.
The soldiers however were probably kept busier than before in training for war, which (according to Keigwin) had been so neglected by the Company. In all probability they also must have taken part in the extensive improvement of the fortifications that were started at once. The buildings such as Mahim and Sion fort etc. added to the island’s expenses, and in September Keigwin said they were ‘much greater... then ever’. According to him under the Company the expenses normally amounted to Xs. 68,518, which sum (if soldiers were paid properly) would be Xs. 76,918. He claimed that they were covered by the revenues, which amounted to Xs. 95,890. The expenditure also included Keigwin’s monthly salary as Governor at the rate drawn by Gary in 1667-68. The revenues were assessed and collected during the rebellion just like the way during Company’s rule. Thus the usual farms (customs, tobacco, arrack, oil and etc.), were auctioned in March for one year, but the license for ‘passage boats’ or ferries, was sold separately instead of being included in the farming of customs, as was ordinarily done.

In 1685 the tobacco farmer still owned Xs. 11,000, and the arrack farmers were insolvent and their estate insufficient to pay the arrears due, but there was nothing usual in that. Land revenue mainly consisted of the ‘pension’ tax of Xs. 20,000 under Aungier’s convention, but it is probable that no demand was made from the English landholders for their share. They had previously objected to its payment, and held the erroneous view that they were not liable. Rents were collected for the Company’s lands. Thus the ‘orta fortlezza’, a coconut plantation at Mahim, was farmed to Rama Kamati for six years from 25th March 1684. The customs farm seems to have sold well, but Keigwin complained that they suffered from the East India Merchant’s interference with ships coming to the port, and the farmer claimed Xs. 1,948 as damages sustained during the rebellion.

59 Ibid,145.
60 Ibid,221.
61 According to Child’s, estimate of 1680, the normal revenue was Xs. 104,835 and the expenditure Xs. 87,997. But the surplus was much the same (Xs. 16,838 against Keigwin’s Xs. 18,972). E.F.I., 1678-84, Fn., 221.
62 It was probably 20.s a day. E.F.I., 1678-84, Fn., 221, See E.F.I., 1665-67, 190-91. E.F.I., 1668-69, 75.
63 E.F.I., 1678-84, 221.
64 Ibid, 221. In 1680 they owed Xs. 6,000. E.F.I., 1678-84, 71.
65 Ibid., 76-77, 130, 182.
66 E.F.I., 1678-84, 222.
Another source of revenue was the collection of the debts due to the Company from those that were able to pay them. On the other hand Keigwin also benefited from the militia tax on both Hindu and Muslim landholders. Zinzan estimated that they brought about Xs. 3,000, but on the restoration of the island the payers renewed their objections to it. Child however ordered it to be levied and in July 1686 the Council demanded Xs. 6,000 on that account. Besides this increase in the revenue Keigwin by keeping Return’s money intact, seems to have proved his contention that the revenues could meet the expenses of the island without the severe retrenchment on which the Company had insisted.67

It appeared that the rebels on the whole were moderate in their governance and showed a proper respect for the Company’s property. No complaint was made of any deficiency in the plates, stores etc. when handed back, except that Zinzan reported that some material papers were missing. Important one’s such as the King’s charter to the Company and its laws for the island had however not been removed. The Company’s two seals were safe at Surat, having probably been brought up by Vergis. Grantham took home the seal that had been used by the rebels.

**BOMBAY AFTER KEIGWIN MUTINY**

Under the Directorship of Josiah Child it was decided to increase the garrison and strengthen the fortifications. In 1684 it was decided to keep Bombay ‘always in strong position of defence’ and the president was ordered to shift his headquarters from Surat to Bombay.68 The latter order was not accomplished till 1687.69

Since the death of Aungier, the Sidi of Janjira had used the island as a base for his operations against the Marathas and indulged in all kinds of atrocities against its inhabitants. The Company felt powerless to oppose his control for the fear that the Mughal Emperor might hinder their trade at Surat.70 In 1688-89, Bombay’s relation

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67 Ibid.
68 Aungier in 1671 also proposed of removing the Company’s headquarter from Surat to Bombay. Bruce Annals, II, 527. Similarly after the Keigwin’s mutiny Company recognized that it ‘dare not trade boldly, nor leave great stocks’ ‘where we have not the security of the fort’ and it ordered the President to remove the Company’s headquarters from Surat to Bombay. E.F.I., 1678-84, 216.
69 E.F.I., 1678-84, xxvi.
70 Orme Roberts, *Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire of the Morattoes and the English concerns in Indostan from the year MDCLX (1659) etc.*, London, 1805, 103-110.
with Mughal power was undergoing strain due to which the Court directed John Child to
develop Bombay on the principle of St. George, to counter any attack of regional
powers. But unfortunately Bombay’s defence system was soon put to test against
Mughal and Sidi and the ill-defended Bombay easily submitted.72

In 1690-91 after the death of John Child, Bartholomew Harris (1690-94) was
appointed as the Governor of Bombay with Mr. Weldon as the Deputy Governor. The
Governor and his new Council after reviewing the situation of the island commented
on the weak state of fortification and garrison and attributed it as the reason for their
defeat at the hands of Sidi and Mughal’s in the previous years. To prevent the
recurrence of similar dangers the Governor urged that a walled town should be built
with ramparts to defend the island, which would also induce the merchants or traders
to live under the protection of the English. This according to the governor will
automatically augment the revenues of the island and merchants stores would become
a security for their residence and enable the governor to carry his orders in effect. This
would in general establish the Company’s power in the island and confirm their
government over the inhabitants.73

Bartholomew Harris, also took important administrative measure. He confiscated the
lands of those inhabitants who did not help the English during the war. The Court
ordered that a person was to be appointed to settle the question of forfeited land and
punish holders who had proved disloyal during the Sidi occupation of the island. The
forfeited land was to be made use of by the Company.74

Harris was succeeded by Sir John Gayer, who was appointed in 1693 as Lt. General
and Governor of Bombay (1694-1708) and Chief of all Company’s affairs and
factories in the north of India, next to and under Sir John Goldsborough who died in
January 1694. He arrived in Bombay on 17th May, 1694. His period of Governorship
is important because of the rivalry between the old and the new Company. This again
proved an obstruction in the Company’s progress in Bombay.

71 Bruce Annals, II, 615-616.
72 For details about this see chapter 9.
73 Campbell, I, 103-104.
74 Ibid, II, 264.
CLASH OF INTEREST: OLD AND NEW ENGLISH COMPANY, GAYER VS NICHOLAS WAITE

Peace with Aurangzeb, draining of the marshes as well as other improvements at Bombay to deal with the pirates and interlopers did not bring the much-wanted relief. Further, the ‘Glorious Revolutions’ of 1688 raised the hopes of the opponents of the monopoly of the East India Company. The Company defended itself, but for the time being the odds were against it. Early in 1690 the Parliamentary Committee recommended, “The best way to manage the east India trade is to have it in a new joint stock and this is to be established by the Act of Parliament... but the present Company to continue... until it be established.”

In 1693 the Company’s charter was declared void for non-payment of 5 percent duty levied by the Crown on their capital stock, and it was renewed only upon conditions of it being terminable at three years notice. Soon after a resolution was passed “that all the Subjects of England have equal rights to trade to the East Indies unless prohibited by the Act of parliament”, the opponents of the Company, after several tactics, succeeded in forming a New Company in 1698 by an act of Parliament. The rights of the old Company were secured by the saving clause allowing it to continue its operation until the expiry of three years’ notice required by the charter of 1693. The old Company purchased sufficient shares in the New Company to be able to trade independently, if necessary. Thus the two companies, the old Company known as “the London Company” and the new one styled, “The English Company trading to the East Indies” entered into a life and death struggle.

The bitter quarrels between the officers of the New and Old Companies continued when Sir William Norris, a Member of Parliament arrived at Surat in December 1700 as an ambassador of the English King to secure a farman. Both the Companies looked up to him. William Norris unfortunately, was not suited for this delicate task. On 27th January 1701 began his pompous journey to Panhala to meet Aurangzeb who was camping there. He failed miserably in his mission, for he got nothing though he

76 Ibid, 265.
77 See Haribar Das, Norris Embassy to Aurangzeb 1699-1702, Calcutta 1959. He was appointed as an ambassador of English nation to Mughal emperor on 31st December, 1698.
had the chance of getting everything. He quarreled with everyone, including Nicholas Waite, and left Surat for home in April 1702 dying on the way.\textsuperscript{78}

Nicholas Waite arrived in Bombay on 11\textsuperscript{th} November 1700 and notified Sir John Gayer about his appointments as the Kings Minister and Council General for the English nation. On this ground he demanded compliance with his orders, Sir John Gayer, however, refused to acknowledge that he had any authority over the servants of London Company. Finding that he made no impression on Sir John Gayer and his Council, Waite sailed for Surat.\textsuperscript{79}

On reaching Surat Waite notified his Royal Commission of appointment to the post of the President, but the Council refused to comply with his request. The Governor of Surat also declined to acknowledge his authority. He also added that the flag of the London Company flew by the permission of the Mughal's. Sir Nicholas Waite now tried the use of force and landed with two of the commanders of the ships and fifty men ordering them to strike the flag. The Governor on hearing that the flag had been struck, issued order for re-hoisting it. Sir Nicholas Waite, finding that force was not effective, used baser means to gain his ends, either by bribery or by suggesting that the old Company was in league with the pirates and by hinting that they might leave Surat any day. Sir John Gayer also committed the blunder of leaving the fortification of Bombay and going to Surat to counteract the influence of his rivals, while he was there the orders arrived from the Imperial Court to seize him.\textsuperscript{80}

In the early morning of 8\textsuperscript{th} February 1701, John Gayer was woken up from his bed and was arrested. Lady Gayer was also obliged to rise out of bed and carried to the Governor's house where they both were kept under arrest.\textsuperscript{81} The Chief and the factors were confined and were not to be released until the demands were considered but neither threats nor starvation forced them to yield to the Imperial Court's Demand.\textsuperscript{82} They were released after fourteen days of confinement. On 28\textsuperscript{th} February 1701, the Bombay Council was able to congratulate Sir John Gayer upon his release in

\textsuperscript{78} David, op. cit. 193.
\textsuperscript{79} Anderson, op. cit., 313.
\textsuperscript{80} G.B.C.I., II, 79-80.
\textsuperscript{81} Hamilton, op. cit., 236.
\textsuperscript{82} Campbell, I, 123.
following terms: “We heartily rejoice for the good news and we render all due praise and thanks to all mighty god to your release from so close a confinement and that at hath pleased him make our innocence appear and wicked designs of our malicious adversaries in their true colours before the face of heathens” 83

The worst sufferer in this whole affair was Sir John Gayer, who continued to be in confinement till 1710, despite the order for his release in 1701. After his release in 1710, he and his friends were removed from the Surat’s Governor’s house and put under strict guard within the factory walls.84

II

BOMBAY AFTER THE UNION OF COMPANIES

The early years of eighteenth century were not prosperous in Bombay because of the rivalry between the two Companies despite their union in 1702. Though 1702 is the date of the formal amalgamation, opposing interests were not united in 1708. Since the instruction from home was to live in peace neither party ventured openly to disobey them. Sir Nicholas Waite, who had persistently endeavoured to prevent a union and to persuade the Directors of his own Company that it would be their determinant, as soon as he heard that his remonstrances were unheeded and that a union would certainly take place, wrote and assured the Directors of his resolution ‘to obliterate all past heats’ and to hold friendly intercourse with Sir John Gayer and his Council. The communications between the two chiefs and their Council never went beyond formal civility. There were constraints on both sides and there was no trust upon the good dispositions of the other.85

Probably neither party understood its own circumstances and certainly not the circumstances of the other. The difficulty of arriving at a complete agreement was enhanced in India by the rival interests of their servants who gave rise to incessant squabbling. At last the representatives of the two Companies consented to appeal to the Earl of Godolphin, Lord high Treasurer of England, who after the most patient

83 Ibid. 124.
84 Consultation at Surat dated 31st December 1701, F. H. S. I., 229-230.
85 Anderson, English in Western India, 166.
investigation of the questions in dispute published on the 29th September 1708 his famous word. From this date the two Companies became in fact as well as in style 'The United Company of Merchants of England trading in the East Indies.' 86 From this point on there was no further challenge to the United Company's monopoly until 1813. However in 1710, Surat, Cambay, Karwar, Tellicherry, Anjengo became Bombay's subordinate factories. 87

During the Governorship of William Aislabie (September 1708-October 1715), who succeeded Nicholas Waite in 1708, up to the arrival of Charles Boone in the island was continually menaced by Europeans and regional powers and progress of trade was hampered by an impoverished treasury and internal schism. The letters and documents pertaining to the opening years of 18th century portray the anxiety felt both by the Court of Directors and Bombay Council at the power of the Sidi, the pirates, the Marathas, the Mughal government and the Portuguese.

In a letter to the Bishop of London dated 5th October 1715, the Reverend Mr. Cobbe, gives the following description of the Town and Island at the beginning of this period: The island is about eight miles long and twenty in circumference. It is much healthier than heretofore, or than is usually reported, partly perhaps owing to the prohibition of the Buckshaw (Baushe) 88 or smaller fish, with which they used as a manure for their ground and trees, partly to stopping the repair of several sea breaches, through which a third part of the island was formerly overflowed. The soil is poor and barren, a sandy rock, yielding little besides rice, coconuts and a few greens. Still the neighbouring coasts plentifully supply us with a variety of provisions. Syrsh (Shiraz) wine, our chief liquor, we have from Persia, very strong and wholesome, but not so well tasted, arrack from Goa and Batavia and extraordinary good wheat from Surat, with which we make the best bread in all India. 89

86 Bruce Annals, III, 642
87 Burnell, op. cit. 9
88 Colonel Yule, under the word Buckshaw gives the Konkani bausha the little fish of all kinds. He doubts whether bousha is the correct form and also whether it was applied to more than one kind of fish. Enquiry in Bombay and in Karwar supports the correctness of Col. Yule's authority. The word is boushe or baushem a Konkan term for fry still in use in Goa and Kanara. Campbell, I, Fn. 253.
89 Cobbe Cf. Campbell, I, 253-54.
Cobbe further continued that they had three good forts here and one strong built and fortified castle. Including the English, the inhabitants are reckoned about 16,000. They are different languages and religions. The Moors and Gentus have their mosques and pagodas. The Portuguese several, I think five, churches supplied with Padres and Clerics from Goa; the English only have the private chapel for their public devotion. Here are indeed the remains of a spacious Church formerly intended but never brought to perfection, the ruins of which are to this day a standing monument and byword of reproach to us among the heathen. This reproach we hope in a little time to wipe off, having already gotten considerable large contribution from the neighbouring factories, as well as this place, in order to rebuild it. Generally speaking the inhabitants of this place are ignorant and poor. They consist chiefly of Moors, Gentus, Portuguese and Cooley Christian some converts which the Portuguese have by marrying to their families, the better to ingratiate themselves with indigenous people.\textsuperscript{90}

**BOMBAY UNDER CHARLES BOONE**

The title of General ceased from the time of Aislabie, left India in 1715, and after a brief inter-regnum during which Stephen Strutt, the Deputy Governor discharged the duties of the executive, was succeeded by Charles Boone, usually styled either President or Governor; who again in 1720 was succeeded by William Phillips.\textsuperscript{91}

Charles Boone became Governor in 1715.\textsuperscript{92} Boone's first achievement was to render Bombay secure from attack, with this objective he carried out the plan, which Aungier had formulated forty years earlier. Alexander Hamilton points out: "Mr. Aungier advised the Company to enclose the town from Dungaree to Mendham's point, for securing the trading people from the insults of their troublesome, beggarly neighbours on the continent; but his proposals were rejected, and the necessary piece of work was reserved for Mr. Boone also. And happy it was for the inhabitants that the town was

\footnote{\textsuperscript{90} Ibid., 254.}
\footnote{\textsuperscript{91} Ibid.}
\footnote{\textsuperscript{92} Downing a sailor, recorded: "Hitherto the town of Bombay was unwalled and there were no grabs or frigates to protect anything except the fishery. When the Honorable Charles Boone arrived in 1715, the island was in declining position but that gentleman soon promoted the trade and tranquility of it." Foster (ed.), \textit{A complete history of Indian wars}, Oxford, 1924, 14.}
secured by the wall, otherwise Connajee Aungarie would have harassed them with continual insults since his war with the English began. 93

He also extended the old Dockyard in the fort, established a Marine, encouraged the erection of several buildings in particular, post office, a cotton press, bank, church now St. Thomas cathedral which was opened with considerable pomp on Chrisman day in 1718, 94 He also issued the proclamation prohibiting the killing of cows and levied a cattle tax amounting to Rs. 4 per cattle head per year. 95

One task of importance for Boone was to deal with piracy, and Kanhoji Angre 96 who was demoralizing shipping trade in the western waters. Accordingly in 1717 he declared war on Kanhoji Angria. 97 Unfortunately for the Company the series of raids on his strong holds at Keneri, Kolaba (Alibagh) and Gheria also known as Vijaydurg proved ineffectual, even though Boone himself superintended the naval excursions. 98

The attack on Alibagh in 1718 was equally unsuccessful despite Portuguese support extended from Chaul. 99 These humiliating failures made Boone give up this fruitless chase.

Governor Boone, settled quarrels about custom duties in a treaty with the Portuguese in December 1716, but the Portuguese continued to intrigue with Angria against the English. 100 In 1718, a quit rent was imposed on the inhabitants to reimburse the Company for charges they put in for the fortification. 101 The Bombay Council imposed a quit rent in lieu of liability for military service for those living within recently completed town walls. However, the residents were less prepared to concede that the entire amount of the tax was justified. 102 In 1720 they remonstrated against its burdensomeness. The authorities accepted the argument and reduced the levy by half

93 Hamilton, op. cit., 186.
94 Edwards, op. cit., 138-139.
95 See consultation of 30th Sept 1720, PDD No-1 A/ 1720, 235; Proclamation issued on 30th Oct 1720, 238
96 For details about Kanhoji Angre see chapter 11.
97 For details see the chapter 3.
98 G.B.C.I., I, 408.
99 The force consisted of 2409 British and 3860 Portuguese but the attack was a failure. Cadell, A History of Bombay Army, London, 1938, 42.
100 G.B.C.I., II, 91-92.
101 G.B.C.I., I, 440.
102 G.B.C.I., II, 321.
which was now also imposed on those living outside the walls but within the canon shot. The intention was to tax those who had moved beyond the walls to avoid payment.\textsuperscript{103} In July 1720 it was decided that the duty towards carrying on the war should be taken off and only half percent for repairing the church be continued.\textsuperscript{104} The custom dues of one rupee a ton on all shipping, entering the harbour, which were abolished for some time, were re-levied in 1720.\textsuperscript{105}

During this period in Bombay the Governor’s salary was £300 a year. The Deputy Governor who was also Accountant, received £100, and Lawrence Parker, who succeeded Strutt in the office, received another hundred pounds as Chief Justice. The third in Council had £70; the fourth and fifth £50, a gratuity, if found deserving. A physician and two surgeons received £36 each. Altogether in 1720 there were 46 covenanted servants in Bombay-Military officers not being then included under that head-whose salaries were paid half-yearly, and amounted to £ 78614s. 9d. or Rs. 6293 annas 3 pies 7 exchange being at Rs. 2620 made on these gentlemen’s account for diet and other allowances, and horses were provided for them at the Company’s charge. A separate account too was kept for extraordinary disbursements, under this head came the Steward’s bill of Rs.1170, for festivities on New Year’s and Christmas Days.\textsuperscript{106}

There were no restrictions on private trade, so that Civil and Military Officers were openly engaged in large mercantile speculations with the Company’s sanction, as may be seen in the extant ledgers, called the Latty Customs or Records. Occasionally the Government remunerated their servants for special services, as when in this year (1720) they recovered Rs. 9,05,000 by the payment of debts long due to the Factory at Surat, they ordered with great liberality that five per cent should be presented to the Governor and two percent be divided amongst the other Members of Council. Governor Boone’s share is entered in the books as Rs. 43,255, and each Member of Council obtained Rs. 2876, prizes which they richly deserved for the adjustment of the Company’s claims was entirely the result of their spirited efforts.\textsuperscript{107}

\textsuperscript{103} F.H.S I, xxiv.
\textsuperscript{104} Consultation 30\textsuperscript{th} July 1720, PDD No. 1 A/1720, 206-207.
\textsuperscript{105} GBCI, II, 446-447.
\textsuperscript{106} Campbell, I, 254.
\textsuperscript{107} Ibid.
In 1724 the question of the English deserters came forward and these deserters from the Company continued to be a cause of disquiet as the Company believed that it was a step ahead towards becoming a pirate or interloper. This in turn would hamper Company's trade and security. This apprehension of the Company becomes clearer from the letter of 22nd September written to Surat from Bombay: "We understand several English deserters from Bombay now in the service of the Governor have been so audacious as to insult commanders of our vessels as well as the Factory. Learn how many such the Governor has entertained; and represent to him the improbability of their being of any service to him. Persuade him it is through such vagabonds that pirates, common enemies to mankind, become so numerous and try and induce him to deliver them up. If he refuses, give him to understand you have made demand according to our orders, and that you must acquaint us of the denial he makes you."108

BOMBAY AFTER CHARLES BOONE

When Phillip took the charge of the Bombay the revenues of the island were small. Therefore to increase the revenue of the island, he took some active steps. He gave the ground along the Back Bay over to five persons to plant Coconuts. These five persons were- Antonio De Silva, he was to plant two hundred twenty trees, Ramjee Purbol, he was to plant two hundred twenty three trees, Jessing Ransonar and Pandujee Posjee, they were to plant three hundred sixty three trees, Moratjee Purva, he was to plant two hundred twenty six trees, Durma Balajee, he was to plant three hundred eighteen trees. Thus total trees to be planted were one thousand there hundred fifty five.109 Apart form it the whole of the Malabar hill was lent on lease at a yearly rent of Rs.100. These measures, thus enhanced the revenues of the island from Rs 1,25,000 (1717) to Xeraphins, 2,39,899.110

108 Ibid., 261.
109 Letter Dated 26 March 1728, F.H.S II, 43-44.
110 G.B.C.I, II, 440-441.
## BOMBAY RENTAL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Land</th>
<th>Xs.</th>
<th>Miscellaneous</th>
<th>Xs.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mazagaon</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>Salt</td>
<td>2,650</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Varli</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>Distilleries</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parel</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>Customs</td>
<td>52,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vadela</td>
<td>1,900</td>
<td>Tobacco</td>
<td>49,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maigam</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>Spirits</td>
<td>12,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matunga</td>
<td>1,700</td>
<td>Quitrents</td>
<td>3,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sion</td>
<td>2,025</td>
<td>Ferrues</td>
<td>12,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bombay</td>
<td>30,424</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahim</td>
<td>50,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colaba</td>
<td>4,500</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koliwadas</td>
<td>7,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,06,249</strong></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,326,150</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Grand Total Expenditure – Xs.2, 39,899**

**Source:** Gazetteer of Bombay city and island, II.

It is a coincidence that when Phillips took charge of the island their alliance with Portuguese against Angria was formally broken. Their policy with regard to Sidi, becomes evident, in 1724, when President Phillip reported, “Sidi Saut of Angjavel or Dabhol has to Sundry times sent off to our vessels provisions and refreshments, while cruising of that port, and has been otherwise very courteous in his advices in relation to Angre. In order to keep him in the like good disposition, it is resolved to make him present of three yards of scarlet cloth, a pair of pistols, and a gilt Sword”.\(^{111}\) Bombay relation during this period with Angre was under strain.\(^{112}\)

The judicial system in Bombay\(^{113}\) at the close of first quarter of eighteenth Century was so ineffective that the Court of Directors made a representation to the King in

\(^{111}\) G.B.C.I, II, 96-97.  
\(^{112}\) For detail see under the chapter 11.  
\(^{113}\) For details of the judicial system see chapter 8.
which they emphasized the need to establish Mayor Court at all the three Presidencies, for speedy and effective administering of Justice in civil cases, for trying and punishing of capital and other criminal offences and delinquency. As a result of this request on 24th September 1726, a new charter was issued creating Mayor's Courts at Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta.114

The new charter did not reach Bombay until February 1728. On 10th February 1728, it was publicly read on the recently built pier in the presence of the Europeans and leading native inhabitants, the President, Council, Sheriff, Mayor, Alderman who took the oath of allegiances.115 The first mayor was Mr. William Henry Draper, who was re-elected in 1731,116 on a yearly salary of Rs 500, while the Alderman were granted a monthly allowance of Rs 12, which was subsequently raised to Rs14 to cover the attendance in Court.117

After many years of request the court took up the question of gaming in 1727. Gaming led to many grave consequences and even women were not immune from it so the Court decided that no covenanted servants or others under their service whether civil, maritime, or any free merchants under their protection, or any women whether married or unmarried belonging to their covenanted servants or others under their protection shall ever be discovered to have played at one time at any sort of game, for the value of ten pounds sterling or upwards, and be thereof convicted before you by two credible witnesses, such offender, whoever he be and in what station so ever, shall ipso facto be dismissed from the service and sent home by the first shipping. The ten pound limit was made as per the rule prevalent in England where by Act of Parliament all gaming for above ten pounds value is strictly forbidden.118

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114 On 24th September 1726, Charter was granted to the United Company of Merchants of England, Trading in the East Indies, John Shaw, Charters Relating to English East India Company 1600-1761, Madras, 1887, 230-47. For Details about the Mayor Court see under the chapter 8.
115 G.B.C.I, I, 214.
116 PDD No. 3A/1728-29, 275.
117 At the outset the mayor and two Senior Alderman were appointed treasurers and cash keeper of the Court. Fees of the Court is too high, for any small cases, the court, upon the complaint of the Party, may relieve, but if said complained be frivolous, then the Party is to have a small fine laid on him; PDD 3A/1728-29, 154-156, F.H.S II, 45-46.
118 On the 28th February 1727, the Directors wrote: "We are greatly concerned to hear that the mischievous vice of gaming for great sums of money continues and even increases among our covenant servants, free merchants, and others residing at our settlements in India, and that the women are also infected therewith, to the ruin of many as well on boardship as on shore. In England by Act of Parliament under severe penalties all gaming for above ten pounds value is strictly forbidden. That we
The Mayor Court that was established under the charter Act of 1726 for effectual administration of Justice in civil cases was not free from defects; this led to the grant of Charter Act of 1753. This Act reestablished Mayor’s court and repealed the provision of earlier charters regarding the powers of the Governors and Council as a criminal court. The Mayor’s Court was thereby limited in its civil jurisdiction and was forbidden to entertain suits between natives of Bombay except with the express consent of Parties.

May do what in us lies to prevent the evils which sooner or later generally attend and frequently ruin gamesters, we peremptorily forbid all manner of gaming whatsoever in any of our settlements or elsewhere in India, to the amount of ten pounds or upwards. If any of our covenant servants or others in our employ whether civil, maritime, or any free merchants under our protection, or any women whether married or unmarried belonging to our covenanted servants or others under our protection shall ever be discovered to have played at one time at any sort of game, for the value of ten pounds sterling or upwards, and be thereof convicted before you by two credible witnesses, such offender, be he who he will and in what station so ever, shall ipso facto dismissed the service and sent home by the first shipping. The court proceeds: We easily foresee that the reproach of informing may keep persons silent who may know of such gaming. To prevent this we direct that you enter in your Consultations a particular account of the persons who shall from time to time be proved guilty of such gaming, and also of the accuser or accusers. For the encouragement of such accuser, if he be a covenant servant, we direct that he shall be allowed a year’s standing in our service and be further entitled to our favour as a person inclined to check this vile practice.” Court to Bombay 28th February, 1727, Campbell, I, 261-62.

By the charter of 1753, all vacancies for Alderman were to be filled in by covenanted servants if possible and two names were to be submitted of which the Governor, and Council as a Mayor would choose one. The charter made it very clear that the mayor’s court was forbidden to entertain suits between the natives of Bombay without the express consent of both parties. An accountant general was appointed to keep accounts between the President and Council and the Court, to pay in suitors money, effects and securities and a registrar was also appointed. (G.B.C.I, I, 218.). These Courts had a jurisdiction solely over disputes related to Company’s factories and to offences committed within Bombay and in places directly subordinate to it. They did not have jurisdiction over the native inhabitants whose affairs were left to be decided among themselves, until they specifically requested to be tried by the English in these courts. (According to Morley the natives of Bombay were never actually exempted from the jurisdiction of Mayors Court. In charter of 1726 the right of electing a mayor had been given wholly to Alderman. Ibid). A Court of request was also created in addition with summary disposal with the commissioners from 8 to 24 and authorizing the court of Directors to frame rules and byelaws for the working of the Court. (Rodriques, Bombay Fort in eighteenth Century, Bombay, 1994, 16.) The court accordingly issued certain rules for this and other courts. The charter also appointed eight commissioners of the Court of requests, with the instructions to continue holding office for a certain fixed period and to arrange for three of their members to sit every Thursday. It appears form a letter of 1753 form the court of Directors that they had long considering the establishment of such court and will deal with small cases not exceeding 5 pagodas or Rs. 15 in value, G.B.C.I, I, 219.

BOMBAY IN 1730'S

In 1729, January, Robert Cowan became the Governor of Bombay. During this period, desultory warfare with the Angria continued Bombay also helped Sidi against Marathas but the latter ultimately prevailed and deprived the Abyssinian of all effective power. In September 1734 Cowan was dismissed from service due to his preoccupation with private trade. He was however, busy trying to remit £28,000 to England to increase his estate when he died at Bombay at last month of 1737, his associate in his activity was Henry Lowther, chief at Surat, though less fortunate materially, he lived to return to England. Bombay relation with both Portuguese and Marathas and Angre were not cordial through out this period. For detail of their relations see the subsequent chapters.

In 1731 the problem of deserters again came to forefront and entrenched Company's viewpoint about them turning pirate and interlopers. In this regard Directors wrote to Bombay on 3rd March to avoid the problems of deserters: “We have good reason to apprehend that several ships with English officers and seamen are designed for the East Indies now fitting out in collusive manure. If any should arrive on the Malabar coast under the commission or pass of any Foreign Price or State, who are not used to send ships to your ports, we direct that no manner of assistance be given them, no, not so much as water or provisions. We positively forbid any of our orders be transmitted

121 Robert Cowan, an Irish man who went to Bombay on the ill fated Cassandra, behaved so gallantly in action with the pirates and in assisting Captain Macrae, to get the survivors to Bombay in the former pirate sloop Fancy, that Macrae, loaned him £ 22,000. He was awarded with the seat in Council and was briefly in command of Bombay land forces by 1723. Cowan was owner of at least one country ship and freighter of others, Furber, Holden., Bombay Presidency in Mid Eighteenth Century, New York, 1965, 27.
122 He was dismissed mainly on two charges (a) He bought Coffee on his account and resold it to the Company instead of having Company buy it direct (b) He charged a private commission for use of Bombay Mint. He was also accused of lending money to the Indian Shroffs without interest in return for private favours and of frightening his own ships in preference to the Company ships. Furber, op. cit., 27-28; The activities of Robert Cowan showed that during this period, Governors could build up a private torture and it was around 1730, power of Company Governor could favour their Private interests in exercising the Company’s power to take into custody the books and property of the deceased country captains.
123 Om Prakash., European Commercial Enterprises in Pre-Colonial India, 28, For Details see, I.B. Watson: Foundation of Empire, 1979, 82-106.
124 Henry Lowther, was Cowan’s business associate at Surat who rose to be the Chief of Company’s factory at Surat in 1734-35. Lowther’s career reveals corrupt practices of most flagrant character. His method was to pass large sums of Company’s money in the names of Indian brokers on Company’s books, speculate with money himself for the month gaining 9 per cent interest on it and then frequently repay sufficiently to avoid suspicion. Between 1724 and 1735 he never had less than a lakh of rupees on the books in Indian brokers’ name and thus defrauded the Company of more than £ 120,000 until he was found out. Ashin Das Gupta., Indian Merchants and Decline of Surat, reprint Manohar, 1994, 240-244.
to all the subordinated settlements, for we will excuse none that act contrary to them."125

John Horne succeeded Cowan as President and Governor of Bombay. His tenure witnessed the increase in revenue, which had always remained the prime concern of Bombay Government. The increase in revenue from the early period becomes evident from the accounts and statistics of the contemporary period i.e. in 1730-31 the land revenue collection was: Ground and Quitrent Rs. 4,085, Pension Rs 7,670 and Batty grounds Rs. 7320126. These increased to Ground and quitrent Rs. 5,461, Pension Rs 7,229 and Batty grounds Rs. 7,745 in 1735-36. The custom revenue was Rs. 89,000 and miscellaneous receipts, which aggregated half a lakh in 1735-36.127

The following table shows various heads of receipts and the collections under each head in the year 1735-36:

**I. RENT AND REVENUE UNDER THE CASE OF COLLECTOR OF BOMBAY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tobacco Rent</td>
<td>Rs. 29,225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrack Rent</td>
<td>Rs. 14,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rent of Old Woman's Island</td>
<td>Rs. 200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rent of Malabar Hill</td>
<td>Rs. 131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rent of brabtrees on Butches island</td>
<td>Rs. 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pensions</td>
<td>Rs. 7,229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quit and Ground Rent</td>
<td>Rs. 5,461</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooleries</td>
<td>Rs. 2,366</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salt grounds</td>
<td>Rs. 1,492</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>Rs. 1,952</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total land revenue</strong></td>
<td><strong>Rs. 70,116</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

125 Campbell, I, 261.  
126 G.B.C.I, II, 321.  
127 Ibid, 441-444.
### II. CUSTOMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In ports and exports</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contribution</td>
<td>Rs. 14,590</td>
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<tr>
<td>Weighing and measurement duty</td>
<td>Rs. 2,827</td>
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<tr>
<td>Additional pepper duty</td>
<td>Rs. 945</td>
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<tr>
<td>Convoy duty</td>
<td>Rs. 1,290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Excise on Punch houses</td>
<td>Rs. 1,310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duty towards the new customhouse</td>
<td>Rs. 8,488</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Customs</strong></td>
<td><strong>Rs. 91,684</strong></td>
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### III. OTHER HEADS

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<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>Coinage duty</td>
<td>Rs. 12,174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Account freight</td>
<td>Rs. 13,265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Account tonnage</td>
<td>Rs. 6,184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cocoanuts and oart rents</td>
<td>Rs. 7,226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Batty produced by Salt grounds</td>
<td>Rs. 49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pier and waterway</td>
<td>Rs. 398</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fire, confiscations, interests etc</td>
<td>Rs. 9,614</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>Rs. 48,910</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**GRAND TOTAL OF I, II, III**  

**Rs. 210,710**

*Source:* Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island, II
The political condition on the coast was far from favourable in 1733, the authority of the Bombay Government was so confined that their relation with the neighbours were full of distrust across the harbour especially regarding the advantages and the risks of maintaining a ferry boat to the gentlemen of the Board. It becomes more evident from the letter of 24th August 1733 "that when it was first agreed to establish a passage boat betwixt this island and Revanee (Revas) in the river of Pen, the said port of Revanee was under the jurisdiction of the Sidi. Since his reducing that place and Thal, Revas is now under Angria. That therefore when on that side the farmer of the said passage must be under Angria's direction. In these circumstances it will be impossible to prevent his gaining intelligence of all things transacted on this island. On the other hand should we prohibit the said passage boat going to and fro, it will be a great detriment to the trade of this port as the said passage boat brings sundry provisions for the use of the island and the Benjars (Vanjaris) form the ghat country come hither and return with goods and merchandise. Taking this into consideration we are but too sensible that with all the precaution we can possibly use, the enemy is but too well acquainted with most things that pass on the island, the port being free for all that do come hither under the notion of traders and we esteem it more advantageous to this settlement to receive intelligence of what passes in the enemy's country than it is to him to learn what passes here. As the Revanee passage boat is the most immediate and frequent means of securing such intelligence, it is agreed that the said passage boat be permitted to go to and fro. To prevent any inconvenience it is agreed that Mankoji Putlaji Parbhu, inhabitant of this island who being two years a prisoner in Angria's country is so well acquainted with most of Angria's subjects, be placed at the custom house to inspect all boats with passengers and to distinguish such as are traders form those that may come on pernicious designs, and that for his trouble he be allowed Rs. 6 per month to be paid by the customer." 128

In 1738, the Directors appointed a treasury committee comprising of the President, the second and the third members each with a separate lock to the treasure and bullion vault, so that all three members had to be physically present to open the vault and be responsible for financial transaction, besides they were a check on each other. 129 A covenanted assistant was appointed in charge of all receipts and payments, lands were

128 Bombay government Consultation, 24th August 1733, F.H.S., II, 58.
129 Campbell, III, 297.
constantly surveyed and let out; wastelands and reclaimed lands were leased out on easy terms for cultivation, with liberty of renewal, instead of outright sale, which now was prohibited.\textsuperscript{130}

In 1738, salt batty grounds were also reclaimed and assigned to individuals at nominal rental on condition of their improving them in order to ascertain and improve the revenue arising from the claimed ground and to encourage the people to till more of it. In 1738, it was ordered that the Vereadores and Mhataras should survey and report to the board to produce dimensions and boundaries of each piece of ground and the name of the occupier.\textsuperscript{131}

During Horne's period the attention of Bombay was specially directed towards the Marathas and latter's struggle against the Portuguese over Salsette and Bassein. Apparently the English remained neutral, deliberately refraining from becoming involved in the bitter struggle between the Portuguese and Marathas in Salsette with carefully concealed self-interest. These events are discussed in detail in the subsequent chapters.

In April 1739, Stephen Law was appointed as the Governor of Bombay. During his period an important step for strengthening the defence of the island was taken. In 1739, government observing the irregular practice of planting trees and building houses within the distance prescribed for the safety of all regular fortification, published the following order: "...That no houses be made or rebuilt, nor any trees planted within the distance of 400 yards from the town walls, nor any house erected within the laid walls, nor any house erected within the laid walls until the ground be surveyed by the Engineer for the time being and by him to be recommended to land paymaster for his approbation and leave"\textsuperscript{132} By this regulation no person could repair or build within the walls of the fort without the permission of government or their officers, who would not grant permission upon known lands with out authority or with out observing the rules prescribed in 1731 or in 1733.\textsuperscript{133}

\textsuperscript{130} Rodrigues., op. cit., 164.
\textsuperscript{131} Campbell, III, 319.
\textsuperscript{132} Consultation, Bombay castle, 4\textsuperscript{th} April 1737, F.H.S II, 70-71.
\textsuperscript{133} G.B.C.I, II, 323.
Bombay government in consultation of the 28th September 1739 also decided about issuing certificates to foreign vessels rather than the usual passes from now onwards. The letter reads as “the nature and intent of the new regulation for issuing to foreign vessels certificates instead of passes being considered, it is unanimously agreed that as the certificates are in English, the Honourable Company’s seal should not be affixed, as this might serve to mislead such as through ignorance of English cannot understand the distinction between a pass and a certificate. Further that with the withdrawal of our right to issue passes our power to collect the tonnage must cease.”

It was during this year that Nadir Shah invaded Delhi, giving a great jolt not only to the Mughal Empire but also to the Company as it meant a great loss of business in Delhi. This insecurity was more pronounced in the company letter which reads as “…a party of the late Moghal’s forces having raised a quarrel in Delhi on account of some religious debate with Nadir Shah’s soldiers, five hundred Persians had fallen. This so greatly incensed Shah that he gave a general order to his whole army to massacre at discretion. After the massacre had lasted two days the Shah issued a proclamation to forbear any further effusion of blood. These troubles had put a stop to all business in Delhi and bred such insecurity that Tarwary shroff—the drawer of bills to the amount of Rs. 50,000 on the Honourable Company’s account—had offered repayment thereof with the growing interest in a month’s time. This proposal they had accepted and request us to advise the President and Council in Bengal of this affair…”

As far as relations with Marathas go, Stephen Law adopted the policy of encouraging the Portuguese to continue the struggle with the Marathas and also supply the Marathas as they may require, so they may dwell as good neighbours at the conclusion of their conquests of Bassein and Salsette. The Bombay Council was thus called upon to decide what policy to adopt towards the Marathas whom they were dependent for peace and free trade, both absolutely necessary for the Company. The Maratha conquest of Salsette and Bassein is one of the most significant turning point in the history of the relations between Bombay and the Marathas.

134 Campbell, I, 271.
No Sooner had Bassein fallen, the English dispatched an emissary to Chimnaji Appa with a letter of congratulations. In 1739 the Company concluded through Captain Inchbird a treaty with the Peshwa, whereby they were permitted to trade freely throughout his dominions. Captain Inchbird was also appointed to act as a mediator between the Portuguese and Marathas in the matters of transfer of Chaul and Mhar in 1740.

BOMBAY IN 1740'S

It seems that the problems of the deserters continued as reads the consultation of 15th March, “the President moves to the Board that since, notwithstanding all precautions and orders, the escape of people, more particularly of our European seamen and soldiers, is so frequent as greatly to injure the public service and the island in general, a publication be issued, offering a reward of Rs. 10 for every person (excepting labourers) who shall be stopped or detected in an attempt to convey themselves secretly off the place. Also that in order that the punishment may be adequate to their crime it is provided that if the persons so attempting to elope are employed by the Honorable Company the amount of the gratuity be afterwards deducted from their pay.” This was agreed to by the Board.

Similar problem was also discussed in the Consultation of 10th July 1741 in which many inhabitants were found helping people to escape. The consultation reads “several depositions relating to the recent conveying away one Babu will his family and the flight of Wodou (Udhav) Naik the treasury shroff. The President remarks that he had been under the necessity of promising a pardon to Ramset Danbaji to secure his evidence. At the same time Ramset is suspected of contributing to the departure of others, the Board agrees he should be directed to remove from this island receiving such recompense as may be found reasonable for any loss he may sustain from

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136 For Detail See chapter Bombay and West Coast Politic. For the treaty with Peshwa, See F.H.S, II, Appendix A, 699-704.
137 Campbell, III, 228-230; In this agreement Inchbird succeeded in obtaining more favourable terms for the Portuguese. The articles of peace were signed on 14th October 1740. The English first occupied tow forts (Chaul, Mhar) and after the Marathas had with drawn their forces from the neighborhood of Goa. This being their part of the condition Chaul, Mhar was handed over to them in November 1740. Ibid.
138 Campbell, I, 277.
leaving his house or otherwise. Chaya Thakur admits he assisted in carrying off Babu and his family. For so heinous an offence he is directed to receive a public whipping at Bombay of 39 lashes, and within a month after, the like number at Mazgaon, then to be confined at labour on the town ditch for the term of six months, and afterwards to be transported from this island, never more to be permitted to return. The charge against Bhiku Sinay junior of being in Company with Udhav Naik is not proved. At the same time as several of Udhave’s effects were found secreted in Bhiku Sinay’s house, there is a just cause to suspect him. It is therefore directed that Bhiky be dismissed his present employ in the custom-house and be deemed incapable of holding any trust in any branch of our Honorable Masters’ affairs”.

Since escaped persons from Bombay are generally entertained by the Marathas. The Company in order to take caution decided in 1741 to have a travelers register. Thus the Company proposed that two capable and intelligent persons to be stationed at the passages of Bombay, Mahim and Sion, to keep at each place exact registers of all that come and go, the register will carry noting of the day of landing, to whose house they say they will repair, and go, noting the day of landing, to whose house they say they will repair, and the time of departure, reporting every fifteen days to the President of all strangers remaining on the island. To secure the accurate record of all resorters, no stranger shall be allowed to leave the island except at the place he landed. Nor may any one go ashore at Mazgaon or elsewhere without making his appearance at Bombay Custom-house, at Mahim, or at Sion, to be there registered. This proposition is approved and ordered to have effect form the 1st of August 1741.

In 1741-42 efforts were again made for maintaining the security of the inhabitants as is evident from the consultation dated 20th January 1741-42: “... The various and large numbers of people who continually resort hither, either on trade or otherwise... inhabitants or any occasions of emergency and as it is undoubted and fundamental maxim of all states to pursue such cautionary measures as may be best calculated for the prevention of any design whether attempted from open and public force or secret treachery, which last method it is well known that the Marathas are but too prove to, and by means of bribes after successful and as from the nature of his station its more

139 Ibid.
140 Campbell, I, 271.
immediately incumbent on him to attend to whatsoever shall appear conducive to the
general good and safety of the place. ... That as the Bazaar gate where these is
continual conourse of people either to or from the town at present, has only a few
people on duty under the sergeants commands, he apprehends it would be better, both
in front of security as well as discipline, that an Ensign be stationed in that post with
two sergeants, two corporals the thirty private men and that a proper apartment be
provided for the accommodation of the office...”

We also learn from the consultation that the two of the town gates viz.... Apollo gate
and Church gate were closed at Sunset while the Bazaar gate was shut half an hour
after sunset. In 1740, a publication was issued after full enquiry, giving notice that
Government was willing to receive proposals for farming unleashed lands in parcels
or as a whole. The lands were at four reas a burga, and parcels were allotted to
different Kunbis.

In 1742 the Bombay government brought out certain rules for the buildings in
Bombay. In February 1742 a list of several inhabitants were taken by the committee
comprising of Rawdon and Stoncham. On the basis of this list the Board decided to
distinguish several castes and separating the old inhabitants from the new who had
come because of the troubles created by the Sidi and Portuguese. Thus to
accommodate them Board decided to allot the vacant places to them as suggested by
the Edward Owen, Robert Rawdon and Thomas Stoncham. They were also to decide
who all new comers are menace for the island and who all can be invited to the island.
It was also decided to provide the necessary sites the Moody and others who have the
vacant ground must either build on it or recover the reasonable ground rent from the
occupiers. At the same time particular regard was to be had that the main street was to
have the best houses and the small houses on the street were to be removed and the
place given to those who wanted to erect good houses. It was also decided no
particular castes should suffer because of it and should be allowed to remain where it
is most agreeable to them.

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142 Ibid.
143 G.B.C.I, II, 324.
The aforesaid resolution also enforced a complete clearance of 300 yards round the town wall including the demolition of several houses if they were within this yard. It was also decided to remove the bucket makers, sweepers residing at Dongri with their appropriate satisfaction so that Muslims and Hindus can be settled there. On 18th March 1742 the President also acquainted the Board that they require the Company garden for settling the several inhabitants whose places were taken. It was also thought that some private oarts would be required for the benefit of the people as to make the building uniform and regular. The Board agreed to it and decided to fix the places for gardens too.

Governor Stephen Law retired from the service on 15th November 1742 and William Wake took the charge of his office. The period of William Wake becomes very important in the history of Bombay largely because of political developments of 1740’s and rise of Country and private trade from the 1730’s onwards, in which Governors of Bombay began to take active part. There it would be pertinent to mention that William Wake himself was a country trader in his personal capacity.

The other political developments of 1740’s were mainly: the alliance of Maratha, Tulaji Angria against Sidi, French menace and their capture of Madras (1746), complication at Surat (1748-52). All these events added to the pressures on Bombay’s defence thereby leading to an increase in Bombay’s expenditure. In 1752 the total revenue of Bombay was insufficient for its maintenance despite Wake’s stringent efforts. But the credit cannot be taken away for regular measures for reducing the charges and using the revenue from the honourable William Wake.

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145 Ibid. 146 Ibid, 141. 147 William Wake began his career in the East, as a free merchant and a super cargo of several country ships in 1720s. He rose to become Governor of Bombay in 1742. By this time the life of E.E.I.Co.’s Governor as ‘Country trader’ had become far more complex taking hired ships from Muslim ship owner Mulana Fakruddin, at least two “country ship Captains”, if not more. To provide neutral cover for his ‘country trading’ during the war of Austrian succession, he got in touch with Jacob Mossel, Dutch East India Company’s second in command in Batavia through Mossels Savoyards business agent – Jean Andreas Paravinci and with the Dutch Company servants at Surat. From the very detailed account in Dutch records we know the failure of one of his ventures that employed a considerable staff of Indian writers to keep the records of his ‘country trading’. Furber Holden, (Art.) “Asia and West as Partners, Before ‘Empire’ and After, JAS, 1969, 714. 148 Furber, Holden., Bombay Presidency in mid Eighteenth Century, 54 -61. 149 See details in the chapter 3.
The important measures taken by Wake were namely: encroachments upon the Company's property were checked by the introduction of survey of the island under the special officer styled "clerk of he works". Registration of deeds of sale in Secretary Office was made compulsory. A good deal of land improvement was also executed. The amount of work he put in increasing the revenue can be estimated by comparing the total land revenue in the year 1744, which was around 31 lakh and in the year 1750, i.e. when he delivered to his successor Mr. Bouchier, Rs 97,766 as a balance of the current cash, Rs 58, 842 as the bank balance, Rs 3,00, 156 as the treasury balance of £ 5813, as the balance of he foreign Silver. The revenue however still fell short to meet the expenditure. In 1752 the court asked the president to do all in his power: "To encourage trade and augment the number of substantial inhabitants at Bombay that we may at least have the satisfaction of finding the revenue adequate to the charges and expenses."

Other important measures relate to raising the rent of salt batty ground to 6 reas a burga in 1744 and were further to 9 reas in 1748. The Company oarts commenced to be regularly framed for terms of nine year from 1743. In 1744, a set of orders for the guidance of Bombay custom master was published in which it was ordered that all the merchandize imported by Europeans, subject to the certain exception, should pay a duty of 4½, of which 1% was allocated to town Ditch and ½% to new custom house. Goods imported by the native merchants in three- masted vessels paid 4%, but when imported in smaller vessels paid an additional 2%, towards the cost of the town wall. Grain and timber exported by native merchants paid a duty of 5%.

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150 It is not known how much was received annually as judicial receipts. The Mayor court deposited cash in the Company's treasury from time to time. In 1747 for instance, it paid Rs. 6000. The land revenue in 1744 was Rs. 25,000, custom revenue Rs. 1,19,000, while tobacco and arrack farms fetched Rs. 44,000 and Rs. 27,000 respectively. Campbell, III, 15.
151 Ibid, 373.
152 In 1744, an appointment of Overseer was abolished and it was ordered that "From the Honourable Company's oarts being farmed out, the office of overseer does not require so much attention as when they were in Company's hands, it may therefore be executed by the person who was charge of revenues. This at present is Mr. Hugh Howard, one of the member of Council whose allowance as collector, notwithstanding the office is of great consequences in more than 23 rupees, 3 quarter and 26 reas a month, although the overseer of the oarts had 50 rupees a month, the board resolve to vest those offices in one person with a monthly appointment of sixty rupees. By this will result is an annual saving amounting to Rs. 165 qrs, 3 & reas 12." G.B.C.I, II, Fn.2, 324.
153 G.B.C.I., I, 450.
BOMBAY IN 1750S

Richard Bourchier succeeded Wake to the Governorship of Bombay on 17 November 1750 and held his office till 28 Feb 1760. Throughout this decade, Bombay Council never lost an opportunity of strengthening the bonds of friendship between themselves and the government of Poona, being encouraged in their policy by the Directors of the Company in England who to their advices on the subject of alliance with the Marathas always added a note of warning against possible acts of treachery or hostility. This period also saw the fall of ‘Angrias’ and the new alliance called ‘Anglo-Maratha’154. This was the great victory for the Bombay government, as now they aligned with the greatest Indian power of the time on an equal footing. Thus began the journey from commerce to territorial conquest. Coupled also with the commercial rivalry with the Dutch between 1750 and the close of the period under review, one witnesses the marked strengthening of fortification of Bombay.155

To enhance the revenue and finances of the island in 1752, a special 1% duty advolorem was levied in addition on the value of all goods imported and exported at Bombay and Surat in ships hired from the Company and in all country ships and vessels whatsoever, that were entitled to the Company’s protection and bore the English colours; subject to proviso that the said duty was not to be levied on shilbars, galivats, boats that supplied the island of Bombay with timber wood, fruit, grain cattle or provisions of any kind from the adjacent rivers and countries.156

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154 Detail See under chapter IV; on Angrias fall, Dougious James in Bombay and western India wrote “our readers would not thank us for a history of Kanhoji Angria’s exports. Each of the three great European nations in Indian waters had a shy at him and his family and each came of second best”.
155 April 11, 1760, the morning and the evening gun for the first time were fired. There was some fear that the court of Directors would grumble at the trifling expense and it was therefore arranged that a saving should be made by diminishing the number of Honorary salutes; GBCI II Fn. 2.,110.
TABLE SHOWING LAND REVENUE OF 1750-51 AND 1760-61

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1750-51</th>
<th>1760-61</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ground and Quit rent</td>
<td>8,441</td>
<td>8,143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pension</td>
<td>7,692</td>
<td>8,024</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Batty grounds</td>
<td>5,166</td>
<td>2,726</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tax on landed estates</td>
<td></td>
<td>7,681</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coconuts oarts</td>
<td></td>
<td>2,723</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>21,299</strong></td>
<td><strong>29,297</strong></td>
</tr>
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SUMMING UP

In the foregoing essay the attempt has been to analyze the role of various Governors of Bombay after Aungier. The years following the death of Aungier till 1708 saw the decline in population and prosperity of the island. It was the period that witnessed invasion, piracy, mortality on the island. Trade rivalries between the new and the old companies brought considerable strife to the living on the island. Added to these there were troubles of war with Mughal's in 1689.\(^{157}\) There were fresh French alarms as well.

The early years of eighteenth century were again periods of steady growth and progress of the town. The population of the island also increased. Neibhur stated that the population of the island numbered 70,000.\(^{158}\) This restoration took place despite the continued threat of external aggression by Portuguese and Sidi. It was surely a period when company was changing its role from purely mercantile community for that of great political power. Bombay government also took various measures to

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increase the revenue of the island for which special taxes on goods imported and exported were levied from time to time. Apart from it governors also took various measures to improve the defences of the island by reviving the much delayed work of town wall.

During this period when the policy of the Company up to the middle of 18th century was to temporize with various native powers in western India and to utilize the comparative tranquility thus engendered in gradually strengthening their political and commercial position. Complete isolation was impossible, but having decided which of their natural enemies was likely to prove the most troublesome, the Bombay Council endeavoured to keep on good terms with that party; whenever it became necessary they rode with one power or the other, they sought to afford such assistance to weaker entities as would prevent their being too speedily overwhelmed.

With regard to the Angre, Sidi, Marathas, Portuguese their policy was based on these considerations. They fully pursued this policy towards the external forces. At the same time they settled domestic administration, rendered possible by the fact that the dual control of affairs by the President at Bombay and Surat and the internal schism, which had marred progress at the close of 17th century, had disappeared and yielded place to unity. Thus by the end of the period the Company was exchanging the role of a purely mercantile community for that of a great political power.