Chapter-Five

COMMERCIAL GROWTH: PROSPECTS AND STRATEGIES (1680-1755)
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The duties of the Governor were not just confined to discuss questions of administration or of war and peace but were those of merchants too. A cursory glance at the archives would satisfy any inquirer that they were engrossed with both trade and politics. Their duties were to make markets, to cheapen calicoes, procure pepper and negotiate in the Council Chamber with natives for the disposal of European cargoes etc. This becomes more evident on reading many consultations and correspondences of Governors which refer a great deal to calicoes, chintz, cotton yarn, supply of cloves, nutmeg etc. The President and his Council not only performed these duties as merchants but also advised their agents in case of any problem that occurred in the quality of the goods ordered.

ROLL TO JOHN CHILD: YEARS OF TRADING PROBLEMS (1678-81)

The report of Mr. Oxinden in 1677-78 on the internal circumstances of the island of Bombay stated that the revenue from the customs amounted to 300,000 xeraphins per annum and the duty on tobacco to 20,000 xeraphins per annum. Though the inhabitants were numerous (consisting of Gentooos, Muslims, and indeed outcastes of all the sects who had sought protection), they were the poorer classes to whom every indulgence had been shown, in the hope of inducing the more wealthy merchants and manufacturers to place themselves under the English government. 1

The information from Bombay in 1678 was not less alarming and this became more evident from the Company letters: the weavers were so poor that without some advances, manufacturers could not proceed. The diamond merchants could not be persuaded to settle at Bombay while Shivaji occupied the neighbouring countries. Deaths among the soldiers were frequent and few recruits only arrived to fill the vacancies. The Portuguese continued to obstruct the passes at Tannah and Karanja. 2

Even the Deputy Governor, Henry Oxinden, in 1678 considered conditions in

1 Bruce Annals, II, 416-17.
2 Letters from the Presidency of Surat and the Deputy Governor and Council at Bombay to the Court, 21st January 1678-79, Bruce Annals, II, 429.
Bombay unprofitable and called the trading community ‘pittiful broken merchants’. In 1679 trade was affected by the naval operations at Khanderi and Underi. During the whole year only twenty five bales of baftas were sent to Surat.

The problems of the Bombay government were further compounded in the year 1679-80 when the private traders reappeared none of whom had interfered with the Company’s exclusive privileges, by fitting out vessels from England since the restoration of the Company’s Charters by the King in 1661. These interlopers were directed by Captain Alley, whose project was to equip a large ship at Cadiz, to carry from Europe the commodities and to return with eastern produce and to dispose of in foreign European markets. The Company was alarmed by this intrusion and applied to the King and obtained a letter founded on the order of Council directing their principal agents at Surat authorizing them to refuse protection and commercial assistance to interlopers of this description. The Court also sent the Commissioners for enforcing this to the chiefs of their different settlements.

According to Bruce Annals the internal circumstances of the island were more favourable in 1680 than the alarming events in the preceding years relating to the occupation of Henery and Kenery islands and then the humiliating truce or treaty concluded by the Deputy Governor and Council acquiescing these stationed to be retained by those chief’s. Despite all these the trade had not decreased and the number of the inhabitants had not diminished in Bombay. The revenue which had been farmed had produced more than in the former seasons.

However analyzing the factory records it seems that the trade of Bombay suffered heavily because of these disturbances for instance the cloth weaving of Company had come to a stand still and Bombay sent only one bale of baftas for homeward shipment. The Company however also neglected a number of opportunities of

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3 E.F.I., 1678-84, 21.
4 E.F.I., 1678-84, 86-87.
6 Letter from the Presidency of Surat to the Court, 24th January 1680-81 and 11th April 1680-81, Bruce Annals, II, 458.
7 E.F.I., 1678-84,104. The administration of the island of Bombay and Presidency of Surat represented (there being no direct communication from the Deputy and the Council) most difficult and as well as most embarrassing part of duty on account of occupation of the barren rocks of Henery and Kenery by Shivaji and Mughal’s. The obstruction of trade by the Portuguese and above all Sambhaji who is
extending its purchases of calicoes. They write in a dispatch of February 1681 as follows: 'If you shall find calicoes procuring at Rajapore, we would have you to employ such native merchants for securing them from interlopers and buying them for own account as you shall fit.'

Even the goods from Europe did not sell as well as expected. There was difficulty in selling the broadcloth sent out by the Company, though tin and lead sold easily in the Maratha country. Trade at Bombay though benefited by the presence of Sidi men, was hindered by the heavy exactions of the Portuguese. Cloth manufactured at Bombay was not as good and as cheap as that on the mainland, but to encourage them advances were allowed to the weavers. Bombay was able to send only three baftas to England in December that year. With the death of Shivaji and the accession of Sambhaji, there seemed prospects for trade for the island. This prospect however was obstructed by the order of Aurangzeb to augment the customs of Surat from two to three and a half percent. This order obliged the Presidency to offer in conjunction with French and Dutch, a present to the Governor of thirty thousand so that the customs of two percent should be allowed to continue.

YEARS OF STAGNANCY IN TRADE

In 1682 the illustration at the close of the season the President and the Council reported that they had again withdrawn the factory from Rajapore, but endeavoured to keep open the communication with Sambhaji who desired that the Company might once more resort to this port. They had rather enlarged the trade at Karwar, to keep open the means of obtaining the pepper, cardamom, Benjamin and etc, because the factors had explained that though hitherto, they had depended on the banias, who had gone inland for the purchase of the pepper and the cloth at the great expense. Yet on the fair calculation this method had far exceeded the charges which would be incurred by sending some of their own servants, on whose fidelity they could this business. Though the French had built the factory at Tellicherry, the factors had kept up the trade at the port without entering into the discussions with them.

following the plans of Shivaji i.e. adding on every limits of his dominions to his exclusive empire.

Letter from the Presidency of Surat to Court, 23rd January 1681-82, Bruce Annals, II, 473.

Khan, The East India Trade in XVII Century, 162.

E.F.I., 1678-84, 83.

Bruce Annals, II, 454-55.

Ibid., 455-56.

Ibid., 487-88.
In September 1682 the market for broadcloth and lead was reported to be good and European cloth unloaded from the *Sampson* was easily disposed of. Some of it was sold to Sambhaji's ambassador and subhedar of Chaul.\textsuperscript{13} The revenue of Bombay had also increased during this season it is calculated to exceed the two proceeding years by 4700 xeraphins. It was however doubtful whether it would yield this amount at the next sale or farming in March 1683 because Sambhaji continued in possession of the island of Kenery and had 10 or 12 armed galivats which interrupted the trade and because of the Mughal fleet resorting to Bombay had exposed the garrison to attacks and danger. These powers had kept the island in a constant alarm. The island had *Hunter* galley the only armed ship left to protect the trade and settlement.\textsuperscript{14}

In the year 1682-83 the principal events affecting the Company's trade and factories was communicated by the first dispatch from Surat. The dispatch pointed that Bantam had been taken by the Dutch on the 30\textsuperscript{th} August 1682, but was without any explanation of the effects which this event had on the Company's trade and shipping at that port. The Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb was equipping a fleet and assembling a large army to act against his son, Prince Akbar, who had revolted and united with Sambhaji. These circumstances materially affected the inland trade and induced the President and Council to send the greatest part of the Company's goods to Swally, to prevent them falling in the hands of rival powers if the region around Surat turns into theatre of war. French and the Dutch vessels of large size and with rich cargoes of Europe goods and bullion had arrived and this had depressed all the sales and purchases. Portuguese at Goa not withstanding assurances that they would not receive or encourage interlopers had admitted one of their ships to trade at this port, where she had disposed rich cargo and taken in goods for Europe. The Portuguese had also adjusted their proportions of custom duties with King of Persia and obstructed the Company's trade and shipping in the Persian Gulf.\textsuperscript{15}

By these events the relation between the Bombay government, Sambhaji, and the Mughals had become most embarrassing and precarious. With Sambhaji it was expedient to temporize on account of his power extending over those commercial stations on the Malabar Coast from which the principal part of the investments of

\textsuperscript{13} E.F.I.,1678-84,120.
\textsuperscript{14} Bruce Annals, II, 488-89.
\textsuperscript{15} Letter from the Presidency of Surat to the Court, 13\textsuperscript{th}, 18\textsuperscript{th} November 1682 and 9\textsuperscript{th} December 1682, 16\textsuperscript{th} January 1683,Bruce Annals, II,480.
pepper and cardamoms were drawn, as well as over several stations under the Presidency of Fort St. George particularly Port Novo. The power of Mughals commanded the provinces in which the principal portions of the Surat investments were collected. Under these circumstances a reference was made to the Court for instructions and aid.\footnote{Bruce Annals, II, 488-90.}

Apparently in reply, early in 1683, the Court of Directors wrote: “after much charge and wasting of many years in vain attempts, we have (we hope) at length thought of methods to make Bombay a place of considerable trade and business:

- We have ordered the ship Charles top update her cowries there or so many of them as our President and Council at Surat shall give order for and to take in there such homeward lading for England as our President and Council shall think fit.
- We have ordered the ship we are now dispatching for Tonqueen in her homeward voyage to return through the strait of Malacca to Bombay and there unload and fill up with what our President and Council shall provide beforehand to lie in the stores and give order for the shipping abroad her.
- We have written to our President and Council to order such of our ships as he shall think fit that go down to the coast of Malabar and India to return to Bombay and there disperse those goods among any of our ships that he shall appoint to take in their ships loading at that place.
- Tat in order thereunto, if he finds it not particular to our service, he should send from Swally one of our small ships with bales of goods to fill up any bigger ship or ships he shall appoint to take up their full loading at Bombay.
- In the foregoing particular you would see we have referred much to the discretion of our President and Council at Surat. This is most necessary, seeing they are in the head of our business and so near the place; and the more in regard our President hath been our Deputy Governor in Bombay and to give him his due the best that ever set foot upon the island since the English had it.
And now we have opened you a way we hope your own ingenuity will find out other mediums of ameliorating the commerce of that place.

We hope to have a considerable trade with China in a few years and have ordered an experiment to be made for settling trade at Canton. Although we do but now begin to order our ships to return to Bombay from thence, we do intend hereafter, when you have once a good store of pepper by you and ships bound for China which usually stop at Bantam to send directly from hence to Bombay and fill their with pepper and other pepper goods of Surat and those ports. Next year you may expect our China ships shall start from as well as return to Bombay bay in the same manner as they have hitherto done from Bantam. The consequences of this change will be exceedingly advantageous to the island which we must hope to find our share of in the increase of our customs and other revenues. Otherwise it will be detrimental to our stock, because Bantam is the nearest port to china, and pepper and rattans to fill up our ships are cheapest there.

Since business is likely to increase with you, it will be absolutely necessary that you have just, faithful, sober and diligent men for the godown keepers. And though they be never so good, we would have our Deputy Governor as oft as his business will permit to see after them himself and observe how our business is managed in the godowns and frequently inspect their books and accounts.

We have now by the Scipio advice of a war between the two Kings of Bantam, which confirms us in our resolution of ordering all our China ships to return to your place and have written to your President and Council at Surat to provide and have in readiness in the godowns the value of £20,000 sterling by January February 1683 in proper goods in India to be put on board such ships as we shall send out next summer to complete their loadings at Bombay and sail directly from thence to China. But if some of you do not become more serious and careful in our business and in your own conversations we shall have cause to doubt you will not be capable of managing so great a trust and such weighty affairs as we shall
have to transact upon that island hereafter. We shall suspend our judgments till we see how well you will acquit yourselves this year."\textsuperscript{17}

The trade at Surat, in this season had been materially injured by the conduct of Mr. Boucher and Mr. Petit, two of the Company's servants as they had encouraged the interlopers and given out that they were employed by the Company and the plan of the Company was to trade on the large capital and pay customs without reserve. This insidious scheme had materially affected the opinion of the Governor of Surat in their favour and against the Company. This made the President to employ a native, at the expense of 400 rupees per annum, to attend the Mughal king's Court, as a kind of envoy or agent to convey information to him, and from time to time, to solicit protection.\textsuperscript{18}

An order of the Mughal Government had arrived directing the customs of eight and half percent at Surat to be levied on money, as well as on goods which the President and Council would have by every negotiation, endeavoured to avert as it would bear down the Company, more than it would do to Dutch and French, as the former bringing no money, in consequence of their possessing the spice trade and latter purchasing the goods which the Company rejected at any price and yet importing such little bullion, that the speculation of trade to Mocha, Bussorah, Gambroon, and then on to Surat and home would not only be unprofitable but probably attended with considerable loss. The trade in diamonds (the price of which continued to increase in India) would also ultimately prove a losing concern if the sales of them in England were at so low a rate as the Court had described, yet notwithstanding these embarrassing circumstances, the Presidency had dispatched six ships for England at the end of this season. The cargoes of which were invoiced at 14, 33,000 rupees.\textsuperscript{19}

In 1683 trade continued to suffer because of the war between the Marathas and the Portuguese. The Sidi prevented merchants from coming to Bombay from the mainland unless each paid Rs. 50 for his pass and also customs on all goods brought

\textsuperscript{17} Court to Bombay without date (1682), Public Department letters from the court, Vol. I, of 1681-85, cited from Campbell., I, 81-82.
\textsuperscript{18} Bruce Annals,II,487-88.
\textsuperscript{19} Letter from the Presidency of Surat to the Court, 26th January 1682-83 and 10th April 1683; Letter from the agent at Karwar to the Court, 10th December 1682 and 8th January 1682-83, Bruce Annals,II,487-88.
An expected event occurred in this season that adversely affected the trade more than any other: several ships of the interlopers had arrived and been assisted in their projects by Mr. Bowcher and Petit, two of the Company's servants, members of the Council who for this conduct had been dismissed from the service. However in revenge they had reported to the local Governors and Princes that the King of England had withdrawn his protection from the Company and transferred it to them as a new commercial association. This insidious report had lessened the confidence of the local inhabitants with whom the Company had till now transacted. While the quantity of goods brought by these illicit traders had affected the sale of the English produce and raised the price of Indian articles. Therefore if effectual measures were not taken to prevent this interference, the Company trade and their settlements faced ruin. These observations applied with equal force to the interferences of the interlopers in Bengal and on the coast of Coromandel.

The King in 1683 authorized the Company by the letter patent dated 9th August 1683 to excise Admiralty jurisdiction in the countries within their limits. The object of this grant was to enable them to seize and condemn the ships of the interlopers. For this purpose the President was appointed Judge advocate and to take cognizance of all naval cases. These powers were given to the President and Council of Surat to resist encroachments on the Company's privileges at the time when the ship and cargoes of interlopers had been detained in England and prosecution instituted against the owners and commanders.

This authority to the President and Council of Surat was however temporary only so that they might be enabled to seize the goods of interlopers and allow the parties to recover by suits in chancery in England. By the Commission from the King dated 6th February 1683-84 and from the Court dated 6th February 1683-84 Dr. St. John was appointed Judge of Admiralty to be erected in the East Indies and to have cognizance of all Admiralty cases within all Company's limits.

20 E.F.I., 1678-84, 165.
21 Letter from the Presidency of Surat to the Court 10th and 23rd April, 30th November and 14th December 1683, Bruce Annals, II, 510-11.
22 Bruce Annals, II, 496.
23 Admiralty Court was to be held in Bombay as it is being in possession of the Crown and by it is vested to the Company in full property. It was to be consists of the Judge and two merchants and the
To defray the charges of this enlarged establishment (taking Dutch at Batavia as an example and proceeding on the practice of St. Helena) a duty of half dollar was ordered to be levied on all ships anchoring in the harbour (the Company ships were not exempted), a duty on all fishing boats, or one rupee each per annum whether those of the island or those of Portuguese at Tannah, to counteract their exactions and one rupee per annum on each shopkeeper on the island, an exception however was made for the ships and boats of the subjects of the Mughal’s and of Sambhaji to prevent disputes with these powers. With these resources of revenue the Deputy Governor and Council were to endeavour to liquidate the debts incurred on the dead stock, estimated at so large a sum as £300,000 that the revenue and debts might balance each other. In the coming years the trade was depressed by the war between the Mughals and Sambhaji, the island suffered from the want of stocks.

During this year (1683) the Company asked the Surat to provide 300 dozen men’s and 400 dozen women’s stockings on the best and the cheapest terms, of meanest, middling and best fineness. This shows that Bombay stockings had made a very great impression in England, for an order was issued to set up the manufacture of such cotton stockings in Bombay of different kinds and of fine quality.

In 1684 the Company wrote to Surat “though our business is only trade and security, not conquest which the Dutch have aimed at, we dare not trade boldly, nor leave great stocks the year about in any country we have not the security of the fort. For this cause we are not lessening our trade at Surat and drawing our concerns more to Bombay.” This clearly indicates the changed attitude of the Company. The Company ordered half of the European shipping was to be loaded directly from Bombay without going to Surat or Swally. Bombay was asked to make provisions for

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Company servants. The judge has a salary of £ 200 per annum and allowances at the Company’s table and he was to take cognizance of and to try examine and decide all cases regarding the interlopers or private merchants who might attempt contrary to the King’s order and in violation of the Company’s exclusive privileges to trade or establish factories in the countries in their limits. All the process were to be in English not in Latin and table fees was to be framed to prevent arbitrary charges on the King’s subject or the inhabitants of India. Bruce Annals,II, 498-99.

Bruce Annals,II,498-99.

Ibid.,499.

Ibid., II, 510-11.

Campbell., II,119.

E.F.I.,1678-84, 87.
all sorts of goods to lie unbaled. The Company also recommended to Surat that, if convenient the greatest part of their estates be kept at Bombay, including the stores of pepper or other goods, since they had determined to make Bombay important.

The Company continued to show concern about the development of the cloth manufacture in Bombay. In 1684 Surat was told to get forty or fifty tons of cotton wool at cheap rates at Broach and send them to Bombay for spinning and weaving into cloth. They also told them to send silk cloth. They also proposed that the workmen in silk and cotton be paid half in rice and half in money. This might they thought attract good spinners and weavers to the island if cheap grains were also provided.

As to the new projects of coming Mocha and Persian trade, the agents at Gambroon and Isphah an reported that basis of this projects or sale of English produce at Mocha, Bussroah etc, had failed or was impracticable. Further they stated that the orders for the Persian goods at Isphah an and Gambroon could not be compelled with for the exports and which could not be disposed of to purchase an investment of silk’s carmania wool etc, but if proper agents with sufficient stock should be employed at Isphah an, these articles might be received for the ships of the following season under the risks of interruption of privileges and uncertainty of being renewed.

In April Court wrote to Surat about the ships to be stationed at Bombay and stated that “the ships Return, Formosa, Tywan, and other of our country vessels will now all belong to your President. We would have their station or home to be Bombay for the security of our island. Notwithstanding it will import us much that you keep them voyaging constantly upon short trips for pepper and rice, especially when you apprehend the island not to be in danger. Otherwise the charge of those ships may eat out a great part of our stock, which we hope our President and Council prudence will

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29 Ibid.
30 E.F.I., 1678-84, 87.
31 Campbell., II, 135-36.
32 Agents and Factors in Persia 30th May, 21st September and 17th December 1683 and 11th January 1683-84, Selection from the State papers: Bombay, regarding East India Company's connection with Persian Gulf with a summary of events 1600-1800, Calcutta, 190, xxviii.
prevent." The Court in the same letter also talks about the advantages of the rice trade beside the profit it can bring to the island.\textsuperscript{34}

The Court recommended to Surat in the same letter that it would not be convenient at all times to keep the greatest part of our estate and stores of pepper or other goods at Bombay.\textsuperscript{35} The Court also resolved that for the future at least one half of European shipping shall be loaded home directly from Bombay.\textsuperscript{36}

**TRADE DURING AND AFTER KEIGWIN MUTINY**

Unfortunately when these directions for the improvement of the position of Bombay and the development of its trade were on their way Bombay saw the mutiny of Captain Keigwin.\textsuperscript{37} Besides this another worrying thing was the interlopers who had been increasing and in the present season they were more numerous than in any other former year.\textsuperscript{38} At the commencement of the year 1684-85 the Court appear to have proceeded on same plan of obstructing (with the support of the Crown) the interlopers in Europe and of abridging the charges at Bombay civil and military.\textsuperscript{39} The interlopers had hitherto clandestinely equipped ships and take in cargo from England and had

\textsuperscript{33} Campbell., I,86.
\textsuperscript{34} The advantages of rice trade which the Court wrote are as follows:

1. Our ships that used to lie idle in Swally Hole will by that means be earning us something towards the charge of their demurrage.
2. Our island and bay will be better secured by the constant resort of so many English ships to and from it, as this trade will occasion, which before was managed by boats of no force.
3. By the store the Company will always have kept of rice and paddy, the island will be secured from famine in case of any sudden breach or affront from your neighbours; Court to Surat, 7\textsuperscript{th} April 1684, Campbell., I,86.

The Court also ordered soldiers and weavers to be partly paid in rice at Company's price and partly in money. Campbell., I, Fn.,86.

\textsuperscript{35} Campbell., I,86.
\textsuperscript{36} Ibid, I, 87.
\textsuperscript{37} Bruce Annals, II, 513-515. During this period Captain Keigwin sent Captain Gary to Sambhaji and succeeded in negotiating the treaty for free trade in his dominions. He also procured and order for the payment of 12,000 pagodas due to the Company. However Keigwin's take over of the island and subsequent events created lot of confusion among the inhabitants as they could not distinguish between those who usurped power and those who really were the representative of the English Company. In this situation President Child and his Council made every exertion to prepare an investment of Surat goods, pepper, cardamom, and indigo, for the Company's ships and to dispatch them for Europe that the home sales might be as little injured as possible by the convulsed state of this seat of their trade and its dependencies. A factory was established at Tellicherry under the instructions to avoid offending the French who had a house of trade at that port, because the arbitrary proceedings of the Dutch in monopolizing the whole of the pepper trade, and the depression of the Portuguese settlements from their war with Sambhaji required conciliatory measures with the French to induce them to transfer their house at Tellicherry to the Company, Campbell.,I,Fn.,89.
\textsuperscript{38} Bruce Annals, II,517.
\textsuperscript{39} Ibid., 522.
proceeded direct to the East Indies. The ships instead of taking their cargoes to the British port had taken to Ostend and took in European produce on British capital and thence proceed to India. The Court discovering this project applied to the King. The King in response to this ordered the Man of War to intercept them but two of their vessels escaped. The instructions were therefore sent to Company’s agent to seize their ships and goods.\(^{40}\)

In Bombay strong apprehensions therefore were entertained that the revolters had been instigated by the agents of interlopers. A connection between Captain Keigwin and adventurers would be formed (for they had frequently reported that a new East India Company had been instituted in England and they were its employees) and that the latter would assist the insurgents and get possession of the island.\(^ {41}\) Apart from these grave problems with which Bombay government was suffering the other European companies was no less threat to their trade. Dr. St. John’s report about the Company affairs in Bombay during this period clearly demonstrated that the aggression of Portuguese and Dutch had been so great and so long that it was impossible that English trade could continue in India unless his Majesty could adopt some measures for restraining their proceedings and protecting the rights and those of his subjects in East Indies.\(^ {42}\)

In 1685-86, the accession of the King’s James II to the throne confirmed the opinion of the Company that they would receive the same protection which they had formerly enjoyed and be enabled more effectually to oppose the interlopers. From the

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\(^{40}\) Bruce Annals, II, 522.

\(^{41}\) Ibid., 517. The statement of Court in 1684 stated that “though we have been in hurry of trouble and confusion and forced to please everybody during the competition of the interlopers and the rebellion of the Bombay, yet we have the arrival of this and our following ships will put our General and Council into such spirit and our affairs into such a flourishing condition that good discipline may be restored again as well in our factories as in our garrison.” Edwards, Rise of Bombay, 126-27. Dr. St. John report on Company’s affair (1684-85) and particular causes of revolt at Bombay: On the revolt at Bombay after an attentive examination of the conduct of President Child who had maintained a steady loyalty to his King and country. During twenty five years he had been in India and an uninterrupted probity and activity in his administration of the Company’s affairs. He stated that the rebellion at Bombay had arisen from the depredation and crimes of the interlopers with whom Captain Keigwin was intimately connected whom he termed the “oliver and protector of the island of Bombay” and who though used King’s name and authority in his proceeding and rebellion motives. Dr. St. John therefore gave it as his advice to the King’s Lord Admiral in India with full powers to seize and bring to justice the interlopers of every description and conducted with repeating that unless the Portuguese and Dutch should be prevented from carrying into execution their fixed projects of expelling the English from their trade between England and the East Indies could not continue for three years. Ibid., 538-39.

\(^{42}\) Ibid., 538.
information sent to the President of Surat, the Court appears to have resolved to prosecute in Court of King’s Bench forty eight of principal interlopers. Several of whom had by confessions and by petitions to the King admitted their guilt and saved the Company from the trouble and expense of adducing evidence against them. The Court directed the Judge advocate to try the Commanders or officers of the interloping ships, but the Presidency were to avoid all questions in India on the legality of the proceedings and to order the Judge in discharging the duties a code of martial laws, the same as observed in the Bombay army was forwarded to become the rule of his conduct. 43

In 1685 the Court renewed the orders for large quantities of pepper and cardamoms and desired that Surat cloths might be of greater breadth and finer quantities and the prices specified should not be exceeded. 44 Towards the close of the season, the Court on receiving information that Madras government had fixed an agent and Council at Priman, on the island of Sumatra, resolved to afford this station every support, in preference to that on Hippin’s island in the Strait of Sunda at which Sir Thomas Grantham had left an officer and a small detachment. 45

As a supply of salt had been required from Sumatra, the Bombay Council were ordered to direct the ships from Persia to touch at Hormuz and bring from that island as large a quantity of salt, as their spare tonnage would hold. The Court also sent directions to hire a country ship at Bombay to carry it to Priman and Tekoo in which one half of the cargo was to pay the charges of freight and the other to be delivered to the Company’s factories in Sumatra. 46 The agents in Persia were censured for not having afforded the Court information of the events and consequences of the war between the Persians and the Dutch and for neglecting to let out the Company’s ships on freight during this war which would have yielded considerable profit. 47

In 1685-86, the commercial instruction during this period were formed on more limited scale than in the proceeding years on account of the great quantity of Surat

43 Bruce Annals II,553.
44 Letter from the Court to the General or President and Council at Surat 6th and 13th May, 1685, Cf. Bruce Annals, II,555.
45 Ibid.,555-56.
46 Ibid.
47 Ibid.,556.
goods in the Company's shipping consigned to Surat and on those intended to make an experiment of trade to China. All old debts (as had been done at the Company's other settlements) were to be cleared off, leaving only a small floating debt to keep up the connection with the native merchants. 48

In a letter of 29th December 1686 the Council suggested that the ships take in store ballast in their outward voyage. Now in lieu of ballast it suggested to send out 10 or 20 chaldron of sea coals for the use of the smith's forge, which may in the years time save a great part of what is expended in charcoal which was said to burn away like dirt, and did little service for any great work that must be made for the garrison use. 49

As regards cloth the Company had made many attempts to increase its sale in the east. All these were however fruitless. The cloth was offered at prohibited price and the Indian workmen could not afford to buy it. A dispatch of 29th July 1686 referred to sale of cloth in Persia and provides that cloth should not remain unsold for more than six months. It adds: 'for the like purpose of venting great quantities of English cloth, though but at our invoice price, and for one third truck in a Legee or Ardos silk, by which trade we know we shall get nothing a present, but however, to please his majesty, and for the good of our country and to turn the course of that trade from Aleppo, we shall be content to carry it on upon such mean terms for 2 or 3 years, in hopes that we may make our markets hereafter.' 50 However during this year as a part of harassment by the Portuguese many silk weavers from Thana and Chaul came to Bombay. 51

BOMBAY'S RISE AS HEADQUARTERS: TRADING PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS

In the year 1687-88 the commercial instructions were nearly the repetition with the following variation only: apprehending from the continuance of the war in Bengal that silk could be expected from that quarter, purchases of that commodity were to be attempted at Ahmadabad and as Surat banias (notwithstanding the war) were allowed to trade in Bengal it was recommended that through them the valuable portion of the investment might be procured. As teas also had been made an article of Company's

48 Ibid., 555.
49 Bombay to Court, 29th December 1686, cf. F.H.S., 1,148.
50 Khan, The East India Trade in XVII Century,265.
51 F.H.S., 1, 149.
trade the Court desired "that very good tea might be putt up in tutineague pott, and
well ad closely packed in chests or boxes, as it will always turn to accompt here, now
it is made the Company's commodity; where as before there were so many sellers of
that commodity, that it be thrown away or sold for 4d. or 6d. per pound." 52

The relation between English and the Dutch during this year got worse and were at
the verge of war. As a consequence of which the trade of the Company in pepper
suffered. As for twelve hours Dutch continued to engross the pepper trade and this
was of considered consequence to the Company not in commercial view but as a
resource which might have the worst political tendency because the gain from the
pepper would enable them to equip a fleet which would not only be formidable in
India but might contest the sovereignty of the seas in Europe. These consequences had
to be averted and the Court directed the Presidency to use every effort to obtain
fortified settlements in the Queen of Attinga's 53 country on Malabar Coast and always
to have a thousand tons of pepper in store at Bombay. 54

The Company's affairs in 1687 became more critical on account of interlopers
favoured by the Mughal and the intrigues of the Dutch. Sir John Child dispatched two
of the largest ships to Mocha and Bussroah to seize all Mughal vessels under the
command of Captain Charles Andrews, one interloping and six Mughal vessels under
Dutch colours detained by Captain Andrews. 55

Though the Company was facing many obstacles in the development of the island as a
commercial centre, it did not stop the Company from taking several measures for the
commercial development of island. In 1687-88 the Court ordered to mint money at
Bombay and all country ships to take passes from the Governor General. 56 In 1688-

52 Bruce Annals, II, 588.
53 Attinga is twenty miles below Quilon and four miles above Anjengo, here Company established their
factory in 1694. E.F.I., 1678-84, fn., 365.
54 Measures taken by John Child was to make Bombay the key seat in India and it was to be fortified
(to use their expression) "as strong as art and money could make it". To acquire Salsette and to increase
the Company's garrison to ten company exclusive of militia i.e. "one hundred and twenty soldiers were
embarked on the ships of the season and all the subjects of the England, who might be in the service of
the country powers were to be invited to enter into that of Company." Bruce Annals, II, 585-87.
55 The General and Council at Bombay to the Court 17th and 18th May 1687, Selection from the State
papers; Bombay, regarding East India Company's connection with Persian Gulf with a summary of
events 1600-1800, xxviii.
56 Bruce Annals, II, 587-88.
Sir John Child and his Council were ordered in future to reside at Bombay only. The ships from Europe were to clear out from this port and not as formerly from Surat and Swally. The commercial intercourse between Surat and Bombay was to be kept open by the residence of the Company's agent and factors and by small vessels carrying to that city such of their exports as would sell at this market and to bring off the articles which were collected for the investment or were purchased by the Company's brokers. It was expected by this plan that when peace should again give confidence or enable them to negotiate sales or purchases or to draw articles from the inland provinces which the Company had been in the practice of purchasing, they might make up full assortments for the investments.\textsuperscript{57}

With the object of rendering Bombay an efficient Regency and seat of trade and to keep up the commercial relation between Surat and Bombay, it was ordered that a dry dock would be built. A duty of one dollar per ton was to be levied on every ship that might be repaired or careened at it. A wharf and piers would be erected for loading and unloading vessels and rates established to be paid on landing of shipping goods. In order to make the revenue balance a progressive duty would be imposed from one shilling to two shilling and six pence on every house in Bombay and for the English inhabitants not in the Company's service the duty of consul should be levied. A post office would be established and reasonable rates for the letters imposed either in the island or sent and received in the Company's commercial stations and along with an insurance office should be constituted on the same principles as the St. Fort George.\textsuperscript{58}

In the year 1688, encouragement were to be held out to the Armenians to settle in Bombay by offering them protection and a profitable market and allowing them to send their goods in the company's shipping (Armenians at this time carried on trade in India on their funds and credit and travelled largely). Armenians being also principle merchants in Persia, similar encouragement were to be held out to them to bring silks and carmania wools to Bombay to be sent to Europe, as part of the Company's investment by which they would receive great profits than by sending Persian produce though Turkey to Aleppo. This system was expected to create a large stock ready to

\textsuperscript{57} Bruce Annals,II,612,13.  
\textsuperscript{58} Ibid., 615-616.
be shipped to Europe and arrive to preoccupy the market before the Dutch imports could depress the markets.\textsuperscript{59}

For the next few years Bombay (1688-90) went at war with the Mughals which jeopardized the trade of the island and its development as the commercial centre. Apart from the political significance of this war on the island the other consequences were also of no less concern as during this period it was nearly impossible to carry out the measures recommended by the Court for improving the revenue of the island. The revenue from lands and houses could not be collected and the projects of establishing the post office and an insurance office also did not materialize. Hence it was impossible to raise revenue equal to the Company’s estimate which had erroneously been adopted in imitation of the Dutch with out reflecting that what had been practicable in the old establishments could not be possible in the case of Bombay as it was only held recently by the Company. During this period it was also exposed to the insubordination of the garrison and inhabitants and to the opposition of the Portuguese, occupying the stations from which supplies could be brought to the island. They were also liable to the perpetual alarms of invasion by the contending powers on the neighbouring continent.\textsuperscript{60}

The commercial transactions of Bombay Presidency were further impeded by the ships being employed in the war and by the heavy damage which was incurred from it. It became impracticable to dispatch them to the ports at which the investments were collected or to order them to proceed from Bombay to Europe. The prospect also (even supposing peace was restored to India) was discouraging from the number of French and Dutch country vessels employed in the trade which had advanced the price of freight beyond what any competition would allow. Meantime the encouragement ordered by the Court to the Armenians would be offered to them so that by indirect means a remedy for the evils under which trade was placed might be

\textsuperscript{59} The Court to the General and Council of Bombay, 11\textsuperscript{th} April, 1\textsuperscript{st} May, 26\textsuperscript{th} July, 27\textsuperscript{th} August, 8\textsuperscript{th} October and 5\textsuperscript{th} December 1688, 11\textsuperscript{th} January, 15\textsuperscript{th} February and 19\textsuperscript{th} March 1688-89, Selection from the State papers; Bombay, regarding East India Company's connection with Persian Gulf with a summary of events 1600-1800, xxix.

\textsuperscript{60} Bruce Annals,II,642-43. According to Hamilton the Governor, John Gayer preferred a prison in Surat where he would employ his money to government house in Bombay, where there was no chances of trade. Hamilton, op.cit, I, 236.
found. A cargo of pepper from the Malabar Coast had been slipped and was to be sent to England. But no Bengal goods could be procured to put up an investment. As considerable difficulties had risen from the objection made by Commanders of frightened ships to accommodate their services to actual state of affairs the presidency of Bombay recommended that the Company should employ their own ships only because the Captain would be obliged to conform the circumstances without pretending to act according to strict terms of their charter party. The instructions of the Court to form the settlement in the Attinga country had not carried in to execution on account of the wars which had prevailed in the vicinity and the commercial intercourse between Karwar, Calicut, and Bombay had not been opened either during the war or during the negotiation of Surat.

In order to prevent the recurrence of similar dangers, the Bombay governors pointed out the necessity of additional fortification and a walled town to be built which would induce the merchants or traders to live under the protection of the English. By such influx of the inhabitants the revenue of the island would be increased. The merchant store would become the security for their residence and enable the governor to carry his orders into effect. This would in general establish the Company's power in the island and confirm the government over the island.

When the Company was fighting wars on the subcontinent, the threat of the interlopers at home was no less alarming. In 1688-89 the Company was actually afraid of the rise of the interlopers who might take advantage of the new political situation in England. These interlopers might receive the assistance from some of the greedy servants of the Company and the native Indian powers. Consequently the Company informed its agent in India of the potential peril, while a letter of 1693 read "after a multitude of conflicts the interlopers and their adherents and all others

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61 Bruce Annals, II, 643-44.
62 Letter from the General and Council at Bombay to the Court, 5th December 1668, 10th February 1688-89, 7th June, 16th December 1689, 25th February 1689-90, 22nd June 1690; letters from Mr. Harris and company at Surat to the Court, 27th February 1689-90, 28th April, 6th May 1690; letter from the General and Council of Bombay to the President and Council at Fort St. George, 5th December 1688; letter from Sir John Child to the Mughal, February 1688-89, Cf. Bruce Annals, II, 643-44.
63 Campbell., I, 103-104.
that have envied or emulated the Company's former presently, we have obtained of their present Majesty's King William and Queen Mary a charter and are in possessions of it under the great seal of England, bearing date the 7th instant, of this character we shall send you copies by our shipping and think it fit that before. That comes to your hands, upon receipt of this letter you should make such solemn public intimation of it to the natives as in usual upon such occasion.\textsuperscript{65}

CLASH OF OLD AND NEW COMPANIES: BOMBAY'S TRADE

In 1693 the Court of Directors proposed to increase trade and wrote to the Bombay Council that they would send twelve or fourteen ships this year to replenish the warehouse and promised to send goods worth £150,000 produced in England.\textsuperscript{66} In the Company's list of goods to be provided at Surat for the year 1695, the quantity of chintz of different types which the Company wanted, reach the high figure of 50,000. Quilts formed another popular manufacture. The Company demanded for quilts and chintz from Surat and Bombay showed no great fluctuations. The quantity of chintz required in 1696 was 50,000 pieces.\textsuperscript{67} The quantities of chintz required in 1699 reached still higher figures. The list of goods to be provided at Surat and Bombay included the following: Cotton yarn 400,250 bales, quilts 25000, chintz of all kinds 46,000. Bombay and Surat seems to have been the principle sources from which the Company secured the supply of goods.\textsuperscript{68}

There is no reason to doubt the Company's statement that they sustained loss by the export of cloth to the east. We find this confirmed by several dispatches in Company's records at India office. One to India dated 1\textsuperscript{st} July 1696, referred to the "unhappy circumstances our affairs were in Persia, by reason of our cloth, lying unsold there. We hope our agents have retrieved, as much as in them lay, the misfortune of the great mismanagement and not suffered our cloth to lie rottenly."\textsuperscript{69}

Nor was the weaving trade of Bombay neglected. A letter to Bombay dated 1\textsuperscript{st} July 1696 says: 'we can not but commend the beginnings which our general has made to

\textsuperscript{65} Edwards, \textit{Rise of Bombay}, 126-27.
\textsuperscript{66} Campbell., I, 106-7.
\textsuperscript{67} Khan, \textit{The East India Trade in XVII Century}, 256.
\textsuperscript{68} Ibid, 258.
\textsuperscript{69} Ibid.,266.
promote the weaving trade on the island of Bombay, where in we would have all manner of encouragement given.\textsuperscript{70}

The 1694 records contain two notices of timber trade between Bombay and the north Thana coast. On the 17\textsuperscript{th} November 1694 the Bombay government wrote to Mr. Aislabie: “Captain Lund is coming up in the sloop to convoy the timber boats to Daman. Before he proceeds receive of the owners of all the great boats 10 Xs. And small 5 Xs. For all the others that shall go under the convoy Rama Kamati has written to Narshaji Purvoo (Prabhu). On the same account you must take them to your assistance in this affair”.\textsuperscript{71} In December 1694 the following order is issued to Sergeant Eason: “On receipt thereof make the best of your way with the bonny boat (Dutch fish boat is the English bum boat) under your command to Umbrassary (Umarsadi) and there stay till a man comes from Balfare (apparently Balhar or Balsar) to advise you that the 15 or 16 boats of timber belonging to Merji Nana and Rustam Kaka are ready to sail. The three men that accompany this you are to take in the boat with you and put them ashore at Umbrassary from whence they will go overland to Balfare. These well know you are to take all possible care of the boats and make what dispatch you can with them towards this place”.\textsuperscript{72}

The coming years saw the struggle between the new and old Company which further impaired the trade of the island. It was only in 1702 that the union of the two Companies occurred. But it was finally in 1708 the two Companies entered into a formal agreement.\textsuperscript{73}

**TRADE AFTER THE UNION OF TWO COMPANIES: PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS**

On the union of the London and East India Company in 1708 a new system was also introduced. The Company’s good from this date were conveyed chiefly in hired ships and the Company only kept “some swift sailing packets and a very few trading vessels. The articles composing the import trade to England were chiefly calicoes and other woven manufactures of India, raw silk, diamonds, tea, porcelain, pepper, drugs,}

\textsuperscript{70} Ibid., 257.
\textsuperscript{71} Campbell., I, 105.
\textsuperscript{72} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{73} See for detail the earlier chapters.
and saltpetre. The Company exported lead, quick silver, woolen cloths, hardware and bullion to the average amount for the same twenty years of £ 634,638 of which 4/5th was bullion. Owing to this confusion prevailing throughout India, the Company forbade its servants to distribute its goods in the interior. This business thus was left to the local inhabitants and other independent dealers. For the purpose of goods for exports, agents were employed. Warehouses were built and made advances to the native weavers while engaged at work on the cloth which they required. The kacheri was at the outset of the place of business of the gumastha (clerk or cashier) employed by the Company's European agent to arrange with the employers of the work people and fix the price of the cloth when furnished. Bombay profited directly from the new system thus introduced and from the determination of the Court of Directors to render her first port on western coast of India and during the whole course of the eighteenth century. She was steadily advancing in wealth and importance.

The Court of Directors in March 1710 ordered the Bombay government to take special care of all who pay the duties and deal fairly and further ordered that none of the traders be suffered to engross all or any commodities imported, or to do anything else that may discourage island.

Burnell noted in 1710 that the regular shipping was carried on between Bombay the metropolitan and its subordinates at Isphahan, Bunder Abbas, Tellicherry, Calicut, and Anjengo. There were also small crafts dealing in “doll, butter, gue, oil, coconut, goger (coir), cotton, fish, fowl, and fruits.” A guardhouse mounted with a Sergeant, a Corporal, and Topasses ensured that nobody defrauded the Company of their customs and suppressed all the disturbances. Boone, though, discovered in 1715 that the custom master at Mahim was keeping back himself a quarter percent duty on the large quantity of provisions imported for the population.

In order to entice weavers in 1711, the Company policy had been to permit the “utmost latitude to the natives and invite them to come hither. We would have you

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74 In 1719 Court recommended that the ships of Madras and Bengal should always call at Bombay where they should have such fair and just usage as might invite their return G.B.C.I, I, 407-8.
76 Campbell, I, 256.
77 Burnell, op.cit, 10.
78 S. Gopal, Commerce and craft in Gujarat in 16th and 17th Centuries, New Delhi, 1975, 102.
putting the natives upon making of such calicoes as they are capable of and lest they
want cotton for that purpose we would have you procure it.”\(^{79}\)

In a letter of 1715 for encouraging of trade the Court directed the Company that in
case any of their ships by their late arrival or otherwise if cannot be dispatched in the
same season should be employed on country voyage then lie idle. The Court further
directed that whenever such a ship is sent to China, factors should take care to provide
sufficient gold to be sent to Karwar and other pepper factories. It is because gold was
twenty percent more in value at Calicut than at Bombay.\(^{80}\)

In order to bring merchants and merchandise especially grains on the island. The
Bombay government in 1715 decided to take only half of the custom duties if the
grains were not sold in three months and were to be valued by two persons one on the
behalf of the owner other by the Company if they were not sold even in three
months.\(^{81}\)

In order to make Bombay the great mart of western India the Court in 1719 directed
the Company to ask their other settlement especially Madras and Bengal to send their
ships to anchor at Bombay if they come to western coast for trading. In return they
were only to pay the customary duties of the port excepting they were such goods as
had paid the duties at Fort St. George. The Court further said that if the Company’s
grant of being custom free at Surat continued, then they were to pay consulage\(^{82}\) but
not on any goods not sold at Bombay.\(^{83}\) In other consultation of same year the Court
directed the Company to look that their boats under the command of warehouse
keeper and master attendant should only be given on hire to private traders and also
boat should not carry more soldiers than required. This will help not only to save
charges of their maintenance but will bring revenue to the island.\(^{84}\)

\(^{79}\) Ibid., 202.
\(^{80}\) Campbell, I, 257.
\(^{81}\) Campbell, III, 321.
\(^{82}\) A duty or tax paid by merchants for the protection of their commerce by means of a consul in a
foreign place.
\(^{83}\) Campbell, I, 258.
\(^{84}\) Ibid., 259.
In November 1719 the Court advised the Bombay Council to increase the duty on the passes alike that of Angria which had it one rupee a khandi. This will bring revenue for the island. 85

In June 1720 the Bombay government decided to open the bank on the island. In order to materialize this government appointed Mr. Brown and Mr. Phillips to prepare the scheme for the same. 86 Their proposal was approved in July 87 consequently the bank was finally erected in November 1720. 88

The consultation of February 1720 continued the debate of 6th February 1718 on the order of the Council that all goods belonging to the persons living under the protection of the Company which have paid the duties of this island should be exported custom free to Surat or to any other port where the Company enjoyed that privilege. To this the Board approved that the said order to be executed accordingly and that no goods imported by such persons as aforesaid and paying the full duties of the island, shall pay any further customs to the Company either at Surat or at any port belonging to the Mughal’s in western India from 1st January 1720. 89

In the consultation of 25th July 1720, the Board observed that the additional duty of two percent that was levied towards carrying out the war against Kanhoji Angria should cease as the war with him was over. After much deliberation it was resolved on 30th July 1720 to take off the custom duties of one and a half percent in order to encourage the trade on the island. 90

At the close of the year 1720 to meet the additional expenditure a fresh duty was ordered to be levied. This was in consequence to the great expense caused due to the pirates on the coast and to protect the trade of India, Persia and Arabia that an additional duty of two percent for six months to be levied at Bombay, Persia, Surat and Mocha towards defraying the said charge. It was also decided that the President will pay the maximum duty so as to avoid any uneasiness among the merchants. 91
Bombay during this period faced troubles from his neighbours such as Angria and Portuguese. To overcome these troubles due to Angria it was also decided in December 1720 to charge one rupee a ton from all the subjects trading to India with their license in order to defray the heavy costs incurred due to Kanhoji Angria and other pirates on the coast. The Bombay government in 1720 sent Robert Cowan to Goa to meet the Viceroy Don Juan Fernandez De Almeida about the passage of Bombay goods from Thana and Karanja.

In 1722 in order to bring more goods and merchant to Bombay market it was decided to exempt two percent duty on the goods which had come to Bombay for Surat market. In 1724 the Bombay government sanctioned the advance of Rs. 6,000 to weavers for making provisions for raw silk for the ensuing season and for laying batty for their families. The commodities mentioned for export during this year from Bombay were sugar, bettlenuts, sugar candy, quicksilver, vermillion and pepper.

In December 1731, Laldas Vithaldas, the Company's broker at Surat petitioned for building a house for himself and his family at Bombay and asked for same exemption as given to the Rustam family. These exemptions relate to paying any ground or quit rent to the Company. After deliberating on this issue the Board decided to approve his petition on the ground that this will bring more merchants of Surat and other places to this port.

The Company mainly relied on the integrity of their servants in the procurement of pepper. By 1708, 1000-2000 tons of the superior pepper of Karwar was obtained. Tellicherry too relied upon for large amount of the pepper. Tellicherry was so important for pepper that it sent one thousand twenty five candies of peper.
ship Manmouth in May 1733 for Great Britain.\footnote{P.D.D. No. 5-A/1732-33, 177.} Hence in 1731 the Directors warned Bombay council not to allow the Dutch to “insert themselves in Dharampatam”, just three miles north of Tellicherry.\footnote{Rodriques, Bombay fort, 142.} In 1733 any transportation in pepper was forbidden in any of the settlement, nor could the pepper be appropriated for private use until the Company had procured its own requirement.\footnote{Ibid., 142.}

In 1733 the Court of Directors stated that their servants take it for granted to carry their goods and silver from one port to another freight-free upon Company's vessels. They thus directed the Company that all goods and treasure belonging to anyone should be charged according to the usual method of computation when put on country ships. The Court further asked to keep this account in separate logbooks to see how much profit it generates for the Company.\footnote{Campbell, I, 263.}

During this period relations among the powers on the coast was far from smooth. There was a general atmosphere of distrust among them. This not only hampered the trade on the coast in general but for the Bombay government it was detrimental to their trade. This becomes evident from the consultation of August 1733 regarding the advantages and the risks of maintaining a ferry boat between Bombay Island and Revanee (Revas) in the river Pen. “These places (Thal and Revas) are under the jurisdiction of Angria, so it becomes impossible to prevent him gaining intelligence of all things transacted on this island. On the other hand if the Company prohibits the said passage boat going to and fro, it will be a great detriment to the trade of the port as the passage boat brings sundry provisions for the use of the island. The Vanjaras from the ghat country come here and return with goods and merchandise from this passage. Since the Revanee passage boat is the most immediate and frequent means of securing intelligence about affairs on both sides 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 was prisoner for two years in Angria’s country is well acquainted with most of Angria’s subjects, should be placed at the
custom house to inspect all boats with passengers and to distinguish which are traders or spies of Angria. For this he was to be paid Rs. 6 per month by the customer.\textsuperscript{103}

The political condition on the coast became tense because of the ongoing struggle between Marathas and Portuguese during this period that it has become tough to find contracts for the goods. Apart from this the ferry boat could hardly be used as there were no visitors because of wars in the adjacent areas. This led the trade to suffer.\textsuperscript{104}

There were not only political troubles on the coast but there were other difficulties related to the company's brokers and merchants whose ship had been captured by the neighbouring rulers. It was thus necessary for the Bombay Council to take stern action against them otherwise Company might loose their reputation on the coast and among the merchants residing in Bombay and Surat under their protection. One such instance occurred in December 1733, when the cargo of Jagannath Laldas, the Company's broker at Surat coming from Muscat anchored at Porbandar in south-west Kathiawar because of the bad weather on the seas. The vessel and cargo on arrival at Porbandar was seized and detained by Raja or governor of Porbandar. It was kept detained in spite of a certificate from Mr. Henry Lowther Chief at Surat that the vessel and her cargo belonged to the English broker. The President wrote to the Raja, demanding that the vessel and her cargo be handed to Vandravan Lalji the representative of the Surat broker. In reply the Raja offered to deliver the vessel and asked Rs. 3000 in lieu of such part of the cargo as he had disposed of. Vandravan refused to accept the vessel and the Rs. 3000 alleging the cargo to be worth Rs. 25,000. On this the merchants of Porbandar applied to the Raja representing the risk that the Governor of Bombay would make a reprisal on the Porbandar vessels trading to Bombay. The Raja was inflexible, saying he had given his ultimate answer to Vandravan Lalji. In consequence the broker applied to the President requesting that some of the Porbandar vessels in Bombay might be stopped. The President taking into consideration the little regard paid by Porbander Raja to the friendly offices despite goods treatment shown to their subjects at this port. Thus in response to this Bombay governor seizes and detainted the ship of influential merchant of Porbandar until the Raja had returned the cargo and vessel.\textsuperscript{105}

\textsuperscript{103} F.H.S., II, 58.
\textsuperscript{104} Campbell, I, 265
\textsuperscript{105} P.D.D No.5/B/1732-33, 308-9.
In 1735 the question of irregular levies on Bombay traders came before the Council. On the 5th December 1735 the President acquaints the Board that complaint had been made by some Vanjaras that the Bombay merchants employed as brokers charge extraordinary duties amounting in some cases to 14 per cent. The details of duties are:

- Bombay Customs ........ 5.5 percent;
- Weighing Duty ........... 0.5 percent;
- Brokerage to Ambaidas.. 0.5 percent;
- Other Brokerage ....... 1.25 percent;
- Cooly Hire ............... 0.125 percent;
- Karanja Duties ........... 3.0 percent;
- Thana Town Wall ....... 1.0 percent;
- Bassein Duty .......... 2.0 percent;
- Total ..................... 13.875.

After the proper inquiry it was found that it had been customary to pay the three percent duty on all goods passing through Karanja, one percent at Thana and the two percent at Bassein. But inquiry failed to find the authority to which it was paid. On inquiry the broker Narandas Takidas (Sakhidas) confessed to have defrauded the Company in their customs to the amount of Rs. 839 in three years and had in like manner defrauded the Portuguese too. On further inquiry it was further found that the Narandas Takidas had advanced to the renter of the customs at Karanja Rs. 500, Nagardas Lalji has advanced Rs. 500, Lakhmidas Shankar Rs. 250, and Lakhmichand Govind Rs. 100. The account use to get adjusted at the end of the year.  

After the inquiry it was resolved that it was a great offence to collect duties under the name of any nation and need severe penalties to stop this. But the difficulty that came forth was that this practice was noticed for the first time and the accused could plead their ignorance. So it was decided to fine them rather than punishment. Thus accordingly Narandas Takidas was asked to restore Rs. 839 customs to the Company along with fine. Rest of the brokers was asked to pay half i.e., Narandas Rs. 250, Nagardas Rs. 250, Lakhmidas Rs. 125, and Lakhmichand Rs. 50. However exemption

106 P.D.D No.8/A/1734-35, 256.
was made in the case of Lakhmichand since he was instrumental in bring out this fraud, his fine of Rs. 50 was remitted. It was also directed for future that no merchants of this island would presume to charge or receive from the Vanjaras or from others any duties that was due to Company.\footnote{107}

Seeing the evils perpetuated by brokers the Court of Directors wrote in January 1737 wrote to the Company to do away with the office of brokerage from Bombay and Surat, but also at all other subordinate settlements. Court also wrote that they were satisfied that their investment can be carried in a better way by contracting directly with the merchants, and that their duties and the consulage at Surat may be collected equally well by a proper person appointed for that purpose.\footnote{108}

Accordingly in April 1737 it is unanimously agreed to dismiss Jagannath Govindas and Manordas Laldas from the post of brokers of Company at Surat. As the system cannot be done away in a single stroke other reliable person named Manekji Navroji was appointed at Surat at their place.\footnote{109}

The west coast during this period became the centre of struggle between various powers. The Marathas were approaching everywhere on the subcontinent but their action was more direct on this coast especially against the Portuguese at Bassein. Since Bassein was too close to Bombay in July 1737 lead export was prohibited by the Bombay government owing to the troubles between Marathas and Portuguese. This becomes evident from the following consultation of 4th July 1737 in which president proposed the Board to stop the exportation of all warlike stores from Bombay to prevent Marathas from capturing them. In this prohibition lead was included. As it is necessary to continue the prohibition during these commotions as they were assured that the lead lying on the island will not fetch more than Rs. 7 per man. This proposal was later unanimously agreed.\footnote{110}

The Bombay government in 1741 came out with the proclamation that the merchants with the company passes carry the merchandise of other inhabitants on their ships. In

\footnotesize{
\begin{itemize}
  \item \footnote{107}{Ibid., 256-57.}
  \item \footnote{108}{Campbell, I, 268.}
  \item \footnote{109}{P.D.D No.10A/1737, 142.}
  \item \footnote{110}{Campbell, I, 188.}
\end{itemize}
}
such a case if the ship is seized or checked by the Company in that case such merchandise will belong to the company.\footnote{Ibid., 271.}

By 1741 pepper was such a valuable asset that the King of Travancore expressed his willingness to transact business in all his surplus pepper, and cloth provided “I would be furnished with guns, arms, mortars, gunpowder and other kinds of ammunition against the Dutch who had invaded the country. I will erect a fort. You supply the guns for which I will pay... if you do not assist (me) I shall have to look elsewhere for another power.” These veiled threats had the desired effect and resolved the Company to protect their pepper with their flag.\footnote{Rodriques, \textit{Bombay fort}, 142.}

The consultation of 1742 reported that it put the merchants in great trouble both in trade and credit as they were obliged to pay the customs in every two months or before the arrival of the freight money from Mokha. So it was desired that custom master in future should give credit for whole year. On this Board referred the matter to Court and in mean time it was decided that the earlier common method to be continued.\footnote{P.D.D. No. 15 –1 of 1742, 165.}

A consultation of August 1744 record about the custom duties that there were no public orders affixed for collecting the customs since July 1740, it was thus thought proper to renew them. A new set of orders is therefore drawn up, read, examined and approved. The details of the orders are:

All sorts of merchandise except those under mentioned shall pay four and half percent namely:

- Bombay customs........ 3 percent
- The town ditch...........1 percent
- The new custom house...1/2 percent

For any goods afterwards exported to Surat or Cambay the custom master shall grant certificates. All goods imported from Surat or Cambay having made the good the customs of two percent there shall have to pay two and half percent at Bombay. India
tobacco imported by tobacco farmers or others has to pay nine percent, horses seven percent, timber one percent, grain if imported from rivers to pay three percent, if there from the north to pay only one percent, plate and jewels custom free, soap to pay ten percent.

Goods in general transported from ship to ship shall pay four and a half percent and if designated to be carried to Surat or Cambay a certificate has to be taken of having paid the duties at Bombay.

Duties to be paid by Indian merchants on importation: all goods imported in three-mast vessel except the under mentioned to pay four and half percent, Bombay custom three percent, town ditch one percent, all goods in small vessels over and above the foregoing four and a half percent, two percent to the town wall.

Duties to be paid by Indian merchants at Bombay customs on exportation: Vanjaras to pay no custom duties if there goods are sold in eight days. Boats sold to foreign merchants to pay six percent, salt twenty percent, and coconuts nine percent on Company sale rate.\textsuperscript{114}

In February 1742, in order to boost the trade on the island it was decided to allow Vanjaras to stay on the island. As these Vanjaras in fair season bring considerable sum of money on the island and purchase large quantities of goods. The trade carried by these Vanjaras are beneficial to the island so it was resolved that any Vanjaras who come to the house of the merchant or broker will be permitted to stay provided the concerned persons report their coming to the Governor immediately and took responsibility of their behavior during their stay.\textsuperscript{115}

In 1748 in order to protect the trade from Angria’s it was resolved to continue to employ cruisers on the coast. Consequently the cruiser Trial was asked to join Triumph against the Angria’s to protect the trade between Kenery and Vesava.\textsuperscript{116}

\textsuperscript{114} P.D.D. No. 17 of 1744, 256-63.
\textsuperscript{115} P.D.D. No. 15-I of 1742, 67-68.
\textsuperscript{116} P.D.D. No. 21-II of 1748, 322, 334.
In 1751 the Bombay government decided to levy the import duty of nine percent on all broadcloths imported by the French and other foreign traders from Basra and Surat as it has greatly prejudiced the Company trade in woollen goods at Bombay and other places.  

In 1752 the Court wrote to Bombay to check the unlicensed trade in woollen goods which has greatly hampered the Company trade. It further ordered the Bombay government to seize all unlicensed goods and use it for the Company. To encourage this it also asked the government to pay at least half of the value of the confiscated goods to the person or persons or to their representatives in England. In the same letter the Court observed the great satisfaction on the increase of demand of European goods in Bombay market.

**BOMBAY MINT: NEEDS AND PROBLEMS**

After the transfer of Bombay by Charles II to Company in March 1668 many schemes were under taken by the Company for the development of the island. One of the earliest was the establishment of English currency which besides meeting the local needs such as payment of garrison, construction of buildings on the island etc. helped in bringing the trade to the island. The importance of establishing mint on the island was of utmost importance as the island faced many difficulties because of the depleting treasury which was mainly supplied by Surat. Though the Surat Council sent cash from time to time, the exchequer at Bombay was often very low and had to resort to borrowing money, which could not be raised very cheaply.

The problem of depleting treasury was the regular feature for Bombay because of which island has been always surmounted with problems. For instance in March 1670 Gray reported that their treasure was so exhausted that they could hold out only for a fortnight longer. The council at Surat thus did their best to help Bombay. In April they sent Rs. 15,000 and in May they also sent Rs. 300 in small pice (paisa), as there was scarcity of small coins, which was needed for paying labourers, who require it for buying provisions. In October they sent a ‘convenient stock’ of Rs. 20,000 by the

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117 P.D.D. No. 24-I of 1751, 50.
118 Campbell, I, 300.
119 Ibid., 301.
Berkley Castle. Yet in December the cash in treasury had fallen to between 200 to 300 Xeraphins.\textsuperscript{120}

The problem of depleting treasury however, continued in the year 1671. In 1671 there were constant requests to Surat for money, especially for meeting the cost of building the fort and the pay of the garrison. For the former, pice (a copper coin worth under \( \frac{1}{2} \) d.) were much needed because as soon as there was any scarcity of them labourers left the island to seek other work.\textsuperscript{121} However there was difficulty in getting supplies from Surat. Though cruzados were sent but many of these were defective and were not taken by the people. In November Rs.10,000 were sent to Bombay, still the Council reported that they were in great need of money and had to borrow Rs. 3,000 within the next two months to keep their men at work and said there was not a farthing (British bronze coin) available to meet the next garrison pay day.\textsuperscript{122}

Seeing the grave problem faced by the Company on the island Court of Directors in February 1671 recommended for the establishment of mint on the island, for the coinage of gold or silver.\textsuperscript{123} However these coins were not to bear any resemblance to the King’s coins and were to be as such as the need of the place where the Company traded.\textsuperscript{124} But this was naturally a deliberation and was deferred till Aungier arrived at Bombay.\textsuperscript{125}

In November 1672 John Child was appointed as overseer of the ‘mint which is to be erected in East India House for coining pice and buzeroocks\textsuperscript{126} until a convenient room in the fort can be fitted for coining silver.\textsuperscript{127} However during this year the Surat factory’s extreme need for money made Aungier send silver, which arrived from

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{120} E.F.I. 1670-77, 23. Xeraphins were Portuguese coin with strong brass and copper alloy. On the one side there was the arms royal of Portugal and on the other was the holy cross. Their intrinsic value was one shilling and six pence and weight seven penny and four grains. Burnell, op.cit, 111.

\textsuperscript{121} Ibid,30.

\textsuperscript{122} E.F.I. 1670-77, 30. This want of money continued next year too. On 13\textsuperscript{th} March 1672 Giffard wrote that they had no money left but 100 bags of pice. On 9\textsuperscript{th} April he wrote that they do not even have Rs.1000 in cash. The condition further worsened to the extent that in May there was not enough to pay the garrison and workmen on the fort at next day pay. Ibid., 41.

\textsuperscript{123} Bruce Annals, II, 229-30.

\textsuperscript{124} G.B.C.I., I,274.

\textsuperscript{125} E.F.I. 1670-77, 30.

\textsuperscript{126} A buzeroock was the Portuguese bazarucco. It was of low value. Thus in 1671 sixteen went to one piece (also see E.F.I., 1668-69, 52), E.F.I., 1670-77, Fn., 52. In 1710 according to Burnell, fourteen went for a piece. Burnell cf. E.F.I., 1670-77, Fn., 52.

\textsuperscript{127} E.F.I., 1670-77, 52.
\end{footnotesize}
Company's ship earlier this year at Bombay, but he kept some silver so that he can start mint. A consultation of 29th November fixed the names of the Coins as follows:\footnote{Ibid., 53.}

- The gold coin as Carolina
- The silver coin as Anglina
- The copper coin as Coperoon
- The tin Coin as Tinny

Silver, copper and tin coins were struck accordingly by the end of December and specimens were sent to the Company in the ships leaving Swally in January 1673.\footnote{Ibid, The Angliana corresponded to Surat rupee, the Coperoon to a Surat pice, and the Tinny to a Portuguese buzerooks. E.F.I., 1670-77, Fn., 53. Bruce Annals, II, 318.}

The mint, in fact was a source of profit from its copper and tin coinage, which supplied a distinct want and gave satisfaction to the inhabitants and their neighbours. Though mint had started working but scarcity of pice on the island continued and in March 1673, the Council imposed five percent duty on all pice exported. On the other hand ‘tinneys’ were in demand and were more profitable. By the end of the November 1673 all the tin on the island had been minted, and fortunately in December the Company's ships brought a good supply. The mint was thus continued to operate for coining of the copper and tin under the superintendence of Richard Adams,\footnote{Richard Adams was witness in the case against Captain Young in 1670 and seems then to have been the steward at the fort. E.F.I., 1670-77, Fn., 77.} but the silver ingots formerly reserved for the Mint was disposed of, as there was 'no convenience' yet for expansion of this work.\footnote{Richard Adams was witness in the case against Captain Young in 1670 and seems then to have been the steward at the fort. E.F.I., 1670-77, Fn., 77.} The same year steps were also taken against the coin-clipping that was prevalent.\footnote{E.F.I., 1670-77, 77.}

In 1673 again there was a consequent scarcity of money. In January Aungier found less than Xs. 1,000 in cash in the treasury and Xs. 30,000 was borrowed at interest.\footnote{Ibid, 75.}

The problem seems to become persistent for the island despite the provision of the mint on the island. In 1675 the financial problem was making both ends meet. In January this year Aungier asked the Surat Council to send at least Rs. 8,000, as they were in great straits for want of cash to defray the public charges, owing to the long
delay in the arrival of the other two ships. He added that no silver was procurable on the island since the proclamation has reduced the rate of exchange for a dollar to Xs.3.\textsuperscript{134} Consequently the Modi (house- steward), who was owed Rs.16,000 could only be paid Rs. 7,000 in \textit{pice} to buy provisions for the island. The Surat Council accordingly sent Rs. 8,000 on the \textit{hoy}.\textsuperscript{135} But Aungier said they were so hard pressed that he did not expect that sum to last fortnight.\textsuperscript{136}

In March 1675 money was equally scarce in Bombay as in Surat, and at the beginning of May the stock of copper had been exhausted and money was unprocurable. The debt to the Modi had risen to Rs. 20,000. The consequent tension was not relieved until the middle of May, when the \textit{Golden Fleece} reached Bombay.\textsuperscript{137} Part of the \textit{Fleece}'s gold and silver was sold in Bombay, and some of her copper was sent to the Mint to be coined into \textit{pice}. But, realizing the urgent need of the Surat factory, Aungier arranged to send it a large proportion of their treasure and stock to Surat.\textsuperscript{138}

In November Bombay government was again facing the financial problems and debts became very high after Aungier left for Surat and there was no cash available in October. The Council drew bills on Surat for Rs. 16,500. On the arrival of the ship \textit{Unicorn}, four chests of silver, worth Rs. 40,000 were taken off from her, but the bullion could not at once be converted into money and further bills for Rs. 6,000 had to be drawn on Surat. Giffard explained that they were so indebted to the Modi that, without this help, he could not supply provisions for the island, and that they were in great need for money to pay the soldiers.\textsuperscript{139} As a result of this Aungier asked Giffard to avoid drawing more bills. Financial exigencies thus forced the Council, with the approval of Aungier, to coin the bullion into rupees. A stamp made by Modi in 1674 was first of all used for this.\textsuperscript{140} The end of the year showed the profits accruing from mint.

\textsuperscript{134} Also see E.F.I., 1670-77, 108.
\textsuperscript{135} A flat bottom boat for carrying heavy loads (especially on canals).
\textsuperscript{136} E.F.I., 1670-77, 121.
\textsuperscript{137} 'St. John' was a corruption of Sanjan in the Thana district. E.F.I., 1670-77, Fn., 121.
\textsuperscript{138} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{139} E.F.I., 1670-77, 139.
\textsuperscript{140} Ibid.
In 1675 Aungier estimated profits from mint were Xs. 10,000 a year, but this was probably depended largely on getting a good supply of Japanese copper from the Company. The coinage of gold and silver was still held up for ‘positive orders’ of the Company authorizing it, but toward the end of the year a start was made in the coinage of rupees.\textsuperscript{141} In October 1676, King’s Charles II’s Charter authorized the Company to coin rupees, \textit{pices}, and \textit{buzerooks} at Bombay, but the sending of detailed directions and stamps for the coinage was deferred till 1678. Meanwhile the Bombay Council was told to go for minting as before. No coins therefore issued under new charter during 1677, and as already stated the rupees of the old pattern were coined, if at all, during first three months of the year.\textsuperscript{142}

In 1676 the supply of money for the mint was very deficient. The Surat letter to Bombay dated 12\textsuperscript{th} September 1676 observed we cannot spare so considerable a quantity of money as you desire from our great engagement at interest. If hereafter you shall be in want … we shall duly satisfy your bills when you draw them as hitherto we have done”.\textsuperscript{143}

In 1677 Bombay faced the problem in exchange rate as \textit{buzerooks} were light enough and had to be replaced by ten percent heavier new coins. The Portuguese prohibited their passing in their country, though the coins were twice as good as their in weight and fineness. The \textit{coperoons}, however, went off the island as fast as they were coined, and were also used in Shivaji’s dominions. The Japanese copper sent by the Company however proved useful and profitable. As tin could not be coined, in great quantities thus by September mint had enough of it left over from its previous supplies to serve till the end of March 1678, so none was taken over from the ships, though this had been authorized by the Surat Council.\textsuperscript{144}

The coinage of silver rupees was also restricted in 1678 and none were minted after 25\textsuperscript{th} March. The main reason for this was that the value of silver had risen so much that it did not pay to turn into rupees, and the bullion sent out could be more advantageously sold in the Surat bazaar and thus used towards defraying the

\textsuperscript{141} Ibid., 129, 139

\textsuperscript{142} Ibid, 181-82.

\textsuperscript{143} Campbell, II, 207.

\textsuperscript{144} E.F.I., 1670-77, 180.
Company's debts. Consequently James and Chamberlain disapproved of a proposal of the Bombay Council to mint all the silver that the ships brought out.\textsuperscript{145}

There was also the controversy about the purity of the Bombay rupees that had been minted early in the year. Aungier said they were coarser and lighter than the former one, and on this account the Surat shroffs depreciated them. Petit disputed this saying the coins were at any rate better than the Surat rupees, and suggesting 'roguery' on the part of the shroffs to debase the value of Bombay money. But the Surat Council struck to their view and thought there was 'some abuse put on (the Bombay Council) by the coiners, which could be checked. As a matter of fact, Petit did discover the fraud in the coining of silver, though of a different kind. This was that the coiners misappropriated the dross left in refining the metal to the alloy of Surat rupees, by which he calculated they made 6 to 7 thousand rupees.\textsuperscript{146}

In 1678 an attempt was made to coin milled rupees with a stamp sent out by the Company. But this failed owing to the minter's want of skill.\textsuperscript{147} Thus mint seems to have a poor contribution to the revenues and was coined only in tin and copper in 1678.\textsuperscript{148} Mint in Bombay though had been started amidst several problems but the difficulty of getting the good chief coiner remained till August 1678, when Govindji Madhavji, was called from Surat. He promised to coin rupees and buzeroooks cheaper than had been done before, but desired protection from the malice of the old coiners on the island. In October John Jessop, who had been promoted to a factor's post was put in charge of the mint.\textsuperscript{149}

In January 1678 old buzerooks were ordered to be melted into blocks of tin for disposal to merchants after the issuing of a new set of coins. The records contain no other reference to these coins and most of the mintage was probably in copper. In January the mint got 625 chests of bar copper from Advice, but Rolt declared that all the copper plate in hand to be sent to Surat and allowed none of the copper on the Company's frigate Tywan, which arrived early in February to be landed. The Bombay

\textsuperscript{145} Ibid, 181.
\textsuperscript{146} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{147} E.F.I., 1678-84, xxiv.
\textsuperscript{148} Ibid., 17.
\textsuperscript{149} E.F.I., 1670-77, 180.
Council said they were certain the mint would soon be in want of more copper, to the
detriment of the Company, which made a considerable gain by coining it. But they
had to wait till the arrival of the Company’s ships in August for a fresh supply. They
were then limited to taking only as much as that would just suffice to meet the
requirements of the mint till the arrival of the China ships.\textsuperscript{150}

The Surat Council also objected to their having landed other copper for sale. In
November Oxinden reported that they had only a small quantity left and asked for
orders as to be taken from China ships. The coinage of silver was still restricted and
did not become possible till the end of October\textsuperscript{1678}.\textsuperscript{151} The Company had sent out
ships ‘several stamps for coining’ including some dies for making milled rupees of a
good appearance. It also sent John Morice, an employee in the London mint, and two
newly appointed factors, George Cooke and Samuel Annesley, who had been
instructed to use them. The two later went with four writers from Surat to Bombay on
the \textit{Sampson} in October.\textsuperscript{152}

In spite of all these precautions no milled rupees seems to have been properly struck
during the year for the reasons given in the following report of Oxinden to the
Company: “We have received the coinage engine, and stamps, etc., thereunto
belonging and have made tryall thereof, but to our admiration (surprise) and sorrow
cannot with all our skill and experiments make a clear impression therewith – the
words proving blurred and imperfect, as well as the Royall Arms. All possible
industry hath been used to find the reasons of its deficiency without the desired effect.
John Maurice to our great greife deceased with in a weeke after his landing, being a
person addicted to drink strong drink… had it pleased God to have spared him, he
would have sett all things in their right posture but Annesley or Cooke know little
thereof, so that we allmost despaire of bringing, which in our opinions are to (o)
shallow cutt.”\textsuperscript{153} He accordingly asked for some that were more deeply engraved.

The mint therefore had a bad year and it can scarcely have been as profitable as it was
in Aungier’s time. In November the Surat Council called for a report as to the benefit,

\textsuperscript{150} E.F.I., 1678-84, 17.
\textsuperscript{151} Ibid., 11.
\textsuperscript{152} Ibid., 18.
\textsuperscript{153} E.F.I., 1678-84, 18.
if any, derived by the Company from it, but Oxinden merely referred them to the accounts.\textsuperscript{154} The Surat Council, however in December, disapproved of the mint being employed by anyone but the Company and forbade private coinage till further orders. Rolt also talked about mint ‘under better regulation’ after the homeward ships had left, a project in which Oxinden and his Council said they would gladly assist so as to increase its profit. Meanwhile Oxinden was considering a proposal to reduce the cost of the mint they seem much dissatisfied.\textsuperscript{155}

The question of improving mint was again raised this year and in February 1678 Surat Council settled revised regulations for its administration. These laid down that there should be only one mint and that its employees should ‘work jointly in one place without or division.’ The proposed reduction of the rate at which the minters were paid was disapproved. Minting for private persons, whom the Council had suspended was allowed, but the charge for it was raised from one lari to one rupee a maund. Cooke was disappointed to take charge of the mint in place of Jessop, who had taken an illicit commission from the coiners as bribe for overlooking their misappropriation of 92 pounds of broken pieces of copper, worth Xs. 300, which they had sold to their profit. Such fragments were to be melted in future.\textsuperscript{156}

Oxinden and his Council said the orders would be observed, but expressed the view that the charge of one rupee a maund for private minting was too high and would result in stopping this source of revenue. The Surat Council however disagreed and confirmed their orders on the point. A protest by the minters that coining fragments of copper into piece would entail double the ordinary labour was also ineffectual. The mint had plenty of copper available, as the Council took 367 chests of it from the Advice, which arrived from Amoy on 20\textsuperscript{th} January. The coining of tin being into buzerooks was specially recommended by the Company on account of tin being a home production, but it is doubtful whether much was done during the year, as in August the Council reported that they had a quantity of it on hand, which they proposed to send to Surat for sale. No coinage of silver is mentioned and the mint

\textsuperscript{154} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{155} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{156} Ibid., 26-27.
stopped working during the troubles at the end of the year.\textsuperscript{157} Thus it appears mint made hardly any profit and becomes clear from the revenue estimate of Child in 1680 showing no profit from it.\textsuperscript{158}

When mint at Bombay had its problems like supply of silver, copper, skilled minters it also had to face the problem of counterfeiting of coins from the shroffs. For instance in 1675 two shroffs employed in the mint were detected in the manufacture of light pice and were ordered to be persecuted.\textsuperscript{159} Similar instance occurred in June 1680 a serious fraud by Bombay shroffs in passing off counterfeit tipke \textsuperscript{160} pagodas, was discovered through the vigilance of Henery Walton, the clerk of the market, who reported to the Deputy Governor their readiness to exchange genuine coins for others at a considerable premium. Child promptly had the offending shroffs arrested and their houses searched, under the supervision of Mansell Smith and other Company servants, for papers relating to the fraud. All tipke pagodas were also called in, with the result that no less than 2,350 false pagodas were found to be in circulation on the island. These were all made of silver with only a tincture of gold and were about a tenth of what they passed for. The books and correspondence of the shroffs concerned showed they had been imported from Chaul.\textsuperscript{161}

In face of this evidence, the shroffs on 29 June offered to write and get their correspondents at Chaul to exchange the counterfeit pagodas for good money. Accordingly Robert Harbin was sent to Chaul with 100 of the false coins to be shown to the Captain there and melted, if necessary. Harbin’s mission met with the entire success, and altogether 2,000 of the pagodas were exchanged for 1,400 St. Thomas\textsuperscript{162} their full value this was remarkable as Harbin reported that the counterfeits had been made elsewhere in Maratha country and the Chaul merchants, who sent them to Bombay, only got commission on the transaction. Rolt highly praised the Council for their care and vigilance and suggested the shroffs concerned should be punished.

\textsuperscript{157} E.F.I., 1678-84, 27. It stopped owing to operation of Undheri and Khanderi. See the details of this episode in the chapter West coast Politics.
\textsuperscript{158} Ibid., xxiv.
\textsuperscript{159} E.F.I., 1670-77, 129, 139.
\textsuperscript{160} This was one of the numerous varieties of pagodas, it is mentioned by Fryer (Fryer, II, 130), in connection with the coinage of the Deccan, E.F.I., 1655-60, fn.2, 243.
\textsuperscript{161} Ibid, 70.
\textsuperscript{162} The St. Thomas was a gold coin from Goa, so called because his effigy appeared on it, ibid, fn.3, 70.
They had already been fined Xs. 1,000, which they paid up, in addition to exchanging the rest of the false pagodas. The Surat Council did not think this severe enough and wanted to have two of them banished, but Child pointed out this would be prejudicial to the island, which had few substantial men on it and their punishment would discourage others from living under the Company's government. In spite of this Rolt called for 'full and precise reasons' why this banishment should cause inconvenience and prejudice- a typical instance of this tendency to procrastinate. 163

An important result of discovery of this fraud was the framing of new regulations under which only four shroffs were licensed to exchange money in the bazaar after giving security that they would change only good coins and such as were allowed to pass on the island. This was to check the practice of passing bad money among themselves on an allowance for it, and to limit the number of moneychanger. The incident is also noteworthy for bringing Rama Kamati 164 into Company's service. He was appointed to attend in the treasury to see that the bad money was not accepted there. 165

Mint seems to have been working well up to 1684, except for the short time in 1679-80. When it stopped working owing to expedition of the Undheri and Khanderi 166 and later for the want of copper to which its coinage seems to have been mainly restricted.

In 1680 the mint was again opened, but at the end of March the supply of copper was almost finished and could not be brought from Surat or by ships, the coining of copperoons thus had to be stopped. This caused great inconvenience in September for lack of copper coins on the island, and forced the Council to use buzerooks, which were not so saleable or satisfactory. In December as no copperoons had been coined for several months, the soldiers had to be paid in buzerooks at the same rate. This entailed loss of 3 feadas in xeraphins to them, to which they complained. The Council, 'to prevent any disturbance' on this account, decided to buy copperoons, although this would involve a loss to the Company, but it would be less than paying them the

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163 Ibid, 70, 71.
164 He was an able shroffs and was a man of great repute on the island. For details about him see the chapter Bombay and judicial administration.
165 E.F.I., 1678-84, 71.
166 For details see the Chapter 3.
whole of their wages in gold or silver. It was also feared that if the Council once started the latter, it would be difficult to resume the customary payment of half the wages in gold or silver at 25 fedas and half in copper at 21 fedas.  

In view of this lack of copper, the mint seems to have come a standstill and in September when Mitchell took charge of it in a place of Cooke, he had nothing to do. In the meantime the mintage for private coining of copper, was raised from 1 lari a maund to 1 Re. a maund in 1679. According to Deputy Governor this increase had stopped the bringing of copper due to its heavy charge. To this The Surat Council asked Bombay government to reduce the charge to whatever rate was equitable and beneficial to the interest of Bombay.

In 1682 the appointment of Robert Smith as armourer in addition to his duties as mint master suggests that the mint was still working though not very busy. But no other mention of it’s made in the correspondences between the Bombay and Surat Councils. Under Child’s orders 500 maunds of the lead brought out by the Sampson were sold to Captain Gary, but this metal was more probably used for ammunition than for minting. The ‘coining engine’ was sent out by the Company in 1681, as well as a skilled ‘artist’ for the work. But he proved a failure and was discharged in December 1683.

In December 1686, a proposal was made by the Company to alter the value of the rupee. This proposal was objected strongly by Bombay Council on the score of the high price of provisions occasioned by the hostilities with Mughal’s, Maratha, and Portuguese. In 1688-89, John Child negotiated by a provisional convention with the Mughal Governor of Surat, Mukhtar Khan to coin money at Surat mint house. But Court preferred acting on the authority given by their Charter a mint at Bombay, in the belief that it would impress the indigenous people with the importance of the place and in time they would be able to supply the Bengal market with rupees coined at

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167 E.F.I., 1678-84, 80.  
168 Ibid., 80.  
169 Ibid., 114.  
170 Ibid., 122. lead was not used for any of the ordinary Bombay coinage. Ibid, fn.3.  
171 Ibid., xxiv.  
172 Ibid., 27.  
173 Bombay to Court, 29th December 1686, Cf. F.H.S., I, 149.
Bombay. Failing this, the Company hoped to exchange their Bombay rupees for those coined at Surat which can be circulated in Bengal or in any other part of the Mughal dominions. They also suggested that the Bombay coinage ought to include gold **mohurs** as the Company had the Mughal **farman** and the King's authority to exercise this branch of delegated sovereignty.\(^\text{174}\)

In 1710 Burnell visited Bombay and found many coins in circulation at Bombay.\(^\text{175}\) These coins were gold **mohur**\(^\text{176}\)s, the St. Thomas\(^\text{177}\), Venetians and Gubers. In silver, there were **Rupees**\(^\text{178}\), Xeraphins\(^\text{179}\), Fedee-piece\(^\text{180}\) and Lari.\(^\text{181}\) Those of copper were the **Pice** and **Ducanee**\(^\text{182}\) and of lead are **eray**\(^\text{183}\) and **Bugeruck**.\(^\text{184}\)

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\(^{174}\) Court letters to General and Council of Bombay, 11\(^\text{th}\) April 1688, 19\(^\text{th}\) March 1689, Bruce Annals, II, 614, 618.

\(^{175}\) Burnell, op.cit, 111.

\(^{176}\) The Gold Mohar was as large as rupee and is stamped with Muslim characters. It weighs seven pennyweights, 2 grains and goes for (blank) rupees current in the market. Ibid., fn.2, 111.

\(^{177}\) The St. Thomas is a flat thin piece of gold, like the Venetian or Guber having the effigy of that apostle. It was coined at Goa.

\(^{178}\) There were rupees of various marks and stamps. It weighs six pennyweights, 19 grains value 2s. 3d. or 2s. 6d.

\(^{179}\) Xeraphins were likewise called Pirdows, being a Portuguese coin with strong brass and copper alloy. On the one side of it there was the arms royal of Portugal and on the other was the holy cross. They were generally very much disfigured by shroffs. their intrinsic value was one shilling and six pence and weight seven penny and four grains. Xeraphins were silver coins of varying value generally less than 1s. 6d. (Burnell’s pirdow) was popular name among the Portuguese for gold coin from local mints of western India. Its value was as Burnell said identical with that of the Xeraphins. Burnell, op.cit, fn.1, 112.

\(^{180}\) the Fedee pieces are of different value, as the six, eight, and ten, being so called by the English because they contain just that number, though the Fedee is an imaginary coin of three half pence value. The ten Fedee goes current for 14 ducanees and 4 bugerrucks, being marked like xeraphins. The Portuguese called it Tanga and by others as Momuda, (Mahmudi) but both of these are of several sorts, as ten fades makes a tanga. Likewise half xeraphins is called Momuda, as is likewise the ten fadee tanga and so is two laree. Five of these tangas (tanka) make two xeraphins or three shillings sterling. Ibid.

\(^{181}\) Lari in the Portuguese orthography, but pronounced by English as laree, it is a silver coin valuing 12 ducanes or six pence. At Goa the exchange goes to six fades but at Bombay it is received at the payment of eight. It is stamped with the Moors character and is made of silver xeraphins. Ibid, fn.3 112, Fryer too gives the same value of laree as Burnell in his vol. 2, 131.

\(^{182}\) The Surat Pice (paisa) is a round lump of copper beat flat, with Muslim characters and is two farthings value so was the Ducanee, agreeing with the pice both in exchange and shape. Of these there are two sorts, one side bearing the Crown Royal and on the other side this Latin sentence Monet Bombay Angliae Regnis, the other being stamped with the Company’s arms. Ibid, 112-13.

\(^{183}\) Burnell’s ‘Eray’ is the Portuguese real, a small money of account. Ibid, fn.2, 113; In fryer’s days 80 ‘reis’ went to a ‘laree’ at Bombay, so the value had varied but slightly by 1710. Fryer, ii, 131; The eray is a small thin piece of lead marked with the Company’s chop, seven of them going to ducany. Burnell’s “ducanee”, “ducany” is the do-kani of western and southern India, an aliquot part of the tanka (tanga) that is, a piece of two kanis. At a consultation held at Bombay castle on 21\(^\text{st}\) September, 1722 information was received of “false ducanees discovered in the bazaar “ a proclamation was ordered to be drawn up in imposing penatities on all such ‘coiner or coiners’ guilty of issuing them.” Burnell, op.cit, fn.3,113.

\(^{184}\) The Bugerrooks is half the eray, being marked like the former. the bugeruck, Portuguese bazarucco, was a coin of low denomination and varying value and metal, being struck in copper, tin and spelter as well as lead. Ibid, fn.4, 113.
To encourage circulation of money and trade on the island Charles Boone in 1720 proposed the setting of bank on the island which would be beneficial to both the Company and the inhabitants on the island.\textsuperscript{185} The capital stock of rupees of one lakh was advanced from the Company’s cash and bank started operating under the immediate direction of the Governor and two appointed members of the Council.\textsuperscript{186}

During the first half of the eighteenth century, a considerable quantity of silver rupees of varying coinage and alloy and of value inferior to the standard of the Bombay from the inland provinces were brought up by the shroffs at the unreasonable discount and they pass them in payment for goods and merchandise brought at a less discount and sometimes at par to the great prejudice and discouragement of trade in general.\textsuperscript{187}

This practice seems to have continued with impunity notwithstanding, a publication was issued by the orders of the board in February 1729 and in consequence a further notification was issued in 1733 in the following terms: “all persons whatever inhabitants of this island who have in their possession any number of rupees above 10 may coin or alloy other than those of Surat and Bombay, shall in 10 days after the issuing of the said publication bringing the said rupees to Honourable Company’s mint where due attention shall be given to receive and exchange them for their real value, discounting only 1% for their recoinage.”\textsuperscript{188}

The notification also makes it clear that the “persons not observing this shall forfeit all such sums and sums of foreign rupees as shall be found in their custody 10 days after the issue thereof, one third to be paid to the informer and two third to the Honourable Company. But all strangers who shall bring the said to export foreign rupees but all strangers who shall bring the said foreign rupees hither and are not willing to exchange the same in the mint, but desire to export them again, shall in three days after their arrival declare to the custom master for the time being the quantity they desire to export. Finally it is expressly prohibited that any rupees but those of Surat and Bombay shall be tendered or received in payment as current coin under the penalty of forfeiture to be incurred by tender or receiver.”\textsuperscript{189}

\textsuperscript{186} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{187} P.D.D. 3 A/1728/29, 150-51.
\textsuperscript{188} P.D.D. 5 B/1732/33, 275-76.
\textsuperscript{189} P.D.D. 5 of 1732/33, 275-76.
In 1743 persons were appointed at the land pay office to exchange rupees for price at the rate of 80 pice for a rupee. The same practice appears to have obtained in the case of copper coin for in this year an order was issued that no pice but those coined in Bombay mint to be received in treasury. This was due to the instruction a large quantity of pice, of much less value than in Bombay pice, from the Maratha dominions. It was in 1741 the scarcity of copper had obliged the authority to coin pice in value of Rs. 2,000. This coin seems to have continued till 1773.

In 1751 the Council, being in want of silver to send to Karwar to pay for the pepper contracted for at that place, directed the Chief and factors at Surat to purchase from 10,000 to 15,000 Venetians on most reasonable terms they could to send them down to Bombay by the first proper currency. In 1757 the want of small currency led to the coinage of half quarter pice to the value of Rs. 10,000. Great scarcity of silver in the middle of the eighteenth century led to the establishment of the silver currency in 1765.

In the foregoing section we see that Bombay was always surrounded by problems relating to the minting of coins. This has much corollary effect for the island such as problem of payment of the garrison and labour. Keeping the labour was important for the island for the construction of many buildings such as hospital, streets, ware house etc. In case of no money on the island there was always probability of labour running away from the island in search of work which led to delays in completion of various company schemes. Despite the King's letter patent for establishing mint house on the island the problem of depleting treasury could not be solved and Bombay has to resort to borrowing or has to wait for the ships to arrive with silver, lead and other metal which can be coined on the island. Apart from these problems the grave problem was the need of expert mint master for the island. Other such and related problem was the counterfeiting of the coins by the shroffs.

190 G.B.C.I., I, 277-78.
191 Ibid., 277-78.
193 P.D.D. 30-II of 1757, 289.
194 G.B.C.I., I, 278.