CHAPTER IV

GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF TRADE

Production and distribution of economic goods in India as well as in Orissa was based on the co-existence and, at times, inter-penetration of a subsistence and a commercialized sector. As a bulk of the population lived in the villages and the bulk of their needs for goods and services were satisfied through production for use and a network of reciprocal obligations, exchange accounted for a relatively small proportion of economic activity. Yet exchange of goods, found at virtually every level and sphere of economic life, was impressive in its magnitude and complexity. The dominance of subsistence-oriented production was modified by surpluses and deficits necessitating multi-tiered and multi-faceted commercial activity.

I. REGIONAL TRADE:

The regional trade of Orissa was conducted through river line, sea routes and land route. Since Orissa had a number of ports on her coast, a part of the internal trade was carried on by transporting commodities from one port to other by sea-route.¹ During the settlement of the English, native cargo boats were used for transshipping goods from Harishpur to Hariharpur factory.² The Company employed ships mostly in operation between Balasore and Pipli to carry goods into the Roads for the loading of the Dutch and English Ships.³

A major feature of the inter local trade was the predominantly one-way flow of commodities from the villages to towns, and of course sometimes in return they

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¹ S. Safiullah, "Mughal Shipping", PIHC, 1977, p. 5.
³ Thomas Bowrey, p. 228; J.N. Sarkar, "Transport of Saltpetre", JBORS, 1939, Vol. 25, p. 34.
brought from the ports whatsoever was in demand,\(^4\) a corollary of rural self-sufficiency. Such self-sufficiency was of course not total and it is now recognized that the individual village was probably part of a narrow circuit of exchange which encompassed several villages, with the pedlar, the *hats* and the *mandis* mediating the distribution of commodities.

The important centres of trade in Orissa like Balasore, Pipli, Hariharpur, Ganjam, situated on the banks of various rivers formed an important artery of internal trade. There was a network joining the far-flung areas. During the time of Khan-i-Dauran, larger boats were in operation in the Mahanadi.\(^5\) The native traders also used various other kinds of boats to carry goods from one place to another. The local people were allowed by the Mughal rulers to use their own boats and ships for the purpose of their trade and fishing. The owner of the craft had to pay a nominal tax to the ruling Emperor.\(^6\)

The villages around a town are often described in our sources as being dependent on the latter, implying primarily an administrative relationship; the economic ties between town and country were no less strong. The collection of revenue in cash generated a pressure to sell; the towns, providing the necessary demand, were dependent on the villages for the supply of not only primary products but most of the manufactured goods they consumed.

The task of the admiralty of Akbar was to watch the rivers of the country. Active and efficient officers were recruited for the purpose. The officers were empowered to settle disputes relating to the ferries and provided travellers with boats on short notice. They also took care of the goods loaded in boats at one point and its safe unloading at the public wharf.\(^7\)

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\(^4\) *Diary and Consultation*, (hereafter *D&C*), 1688, p. 56.


\(^6\) B.C. Ray, “Shipping and Maritime Activities of Orissa During the Muslim Rule”, *PIHC*, 1951, Jaipur, 14th Session, p. 175.

The internal riverine trade enabled the people living away from the sea coasts to secure articles available at the sea ports of Orissa. The traders loaded their crafts at the ports with articles such as salt, coconuts, spices, etc. and sailed in the various places. The rivers carrying these commodities to the interior parts of Orissa. They also brought articles from the interior parts to port areas. From the mouth of the river Mahanadi, articles were sent to Sambalpur and its neighbouring places. Cotton, paddy, iron and other commodities procured in these place, were brought by the river-route and were delivered to areas on the sea coast.

There was a trade link between Mayurbhanj and Balasore through Subarnarekha. The size of trade was considerable because according to the arrangements made by Mansingh, Balasore and Pipli continued to be in the Zamindari of Mayurbhanj till the time of Motte’s visit to diamond mines of Sambalpur in the eighteenth century.

Pipli was a principal market for nutmeg, cloves and maces which “sell exceedingly well” with the foreign merchants. They carry with them in return, excellent fine cloth, available at this market. The articles sold out by the merchants at Pipli subsequently formed the articles of internal trade for the local traders of Orissa.

At the South Western end of the Chilka lake “Villages of boatmen” flourished. They were engaged in transporting the surplus crops of Orissa to Ganjam in flat-

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9 Ibid.
10 P. Acharya, op. cit., p. 214.
11 Ibid., p. 215.
bottomed canoes.  

O'Malley observed that the river trade between Sonepur in Sambalpur and Ganjam survived even down to the nineteenth century.  

Kanika, which was a centre of rice trade also played its part in the river trade of Orissa. It was situated on the river Dhamra. The zamindar of Kanika even possessed light vessels of his own and was a rich trader.  

Manikpatam was also an important commercial centre and port of Orissa in the early part of the seventeenth century. The Dutch, the Danes and the English carried on their commercial venture from this port. Hamilton says that "The country is watered with many small rivers, whose outlets to the sea are at Manikpatam and Harishpur." Hence, it is evident there existed river trade between Puri and Manikpatam.  

Cuttack was a big centre of trade. The merchants transported the goods into the local markets where it fetched more profit. During the time of Master, the broad cloths which remained unsold at Balasore, were taken by the merchants to Cuttack for sale. The traders, as it evident from the account of Hamilton, transported overland to Balasore variety of textiles, viz. seerbands, samnoes etc. and fetched high profits. Hamilton observed the difference of prices was about sixty percent between Cuttack and Balasore markets.  

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18 Efl, 1637-1641, p. 263.  
22 Ibid.
There was a good deal of trade between Balasore and Mayurbhanj. The commodities manufactured and available at Mayurbhanj were brought by land to the seaport of Balasore,\textsuperscript{23} Mayurbhanj played a vital role in the trade of Balasore and Pipli.\textsuperscript{24} Bhadrak, Remuna and Jaleswar were other centres of trade situated around Balasore. Jaleswar was the next "important populous trade centre" observed Manrique. The chief articles of merchandise at Jaleswar were cotton cloth, silk, herbs and opium. There was a big \textit{sarai} at this place.\textsuperscript{25}

II. INTER-REGIONAL TRADE:

The inter-regional trade in the period was not, as has been sometimes suggested, predominantly an exchange of highly-priced luxury products. Despite the heavy expense of land transport-heavy enough to stifle certain lines of commerce - the trade in foodstuff and a wide range of textile products, some of which surely cannot be described as luxuries, were the most important components of the inter-regional trade of the period. The waterways, both inland and coastal, were cheaper and therefore preferred; much of the inter-regional trade was, in fact, coastal. While virtually every part of the sub-continent contributed to this commerce, it was clearly dominated by certain regions.

The inter-regional trade of Orissa during our period had extensive commercial relationship with Bengal, Bihar, northern India, Gujarat, Surat, Dacca, Kerala, Vizagapatam, Masulipatanam and Madras, Pulicat, Cochin, etc. Both the Indian and European merchants participated in the commercial activities of Orissa along with other different parts of India. The ports such as Balasore, Pipli, Hariharpur and Ganjam which carried on trade with different parts of India as well as world were also centres of coastal trade.

\textsuperscript{23} P. Acharya, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 220.

\textsuperscript{24} Ibid., p. 224.

The principal articles of export from Orissa to different places of India were rice, gram, butter, sugar, textile goods, gingelly seed, salt, iron, stone plates, lead and broadcloth etc. Orissa imported mainly articles like tobacco, spices and saltpetre. There are also occasional references to the import of rice and salt into Orissa. We have references to the merchants of Balasore carrying on trade with Calcutta in the sixties of the eighteenth century. They used to send iron, stone plates rice and some other commodities. Their imports from Calcutta to Balasore consisted of tobacco and certain other commodities. Sometime before 1684 a gomastah of Khem Chand purchased huge quantities of cassaes at Dacca.27 There is mention of ship of the merchants of Gingelly coast being burnt by the Portuguese in the ‘Road’ of Pulicat in early twenties of the seventeenth century.28 In the thirties of the seventeenth century Manrique found at Pipli a ship belonging to the local Shiqdar being sent to Cochin laden with merchandise.29 In the same year Peter Mundy (1628 – 1634) noted that cloths of Orissa were available at Patna.30 Thomas Bowrey in the seventies of the seventeenth century observed that the various cotton manufactures of Balasore like sannoes, ginghams, orammals (rumals), cotton yarn and other goods were sent to Patna.31 The English factors at Balasore reported (1659) that salt was exported from Balasore to Patna and oxen were used to carry them.32 Balasore supplied coconuts and timbers to Dacca and other places. The Dacca authorities required timber for the ‘Pent House’ in 1678. The commodity was to be sent to Dacca as soon as they could be procured at Balasore.33

26 EFI, 1670-1677, New Series, p. 250.
28 EFI, 1622-23, p. 260.
30 Peter Mundy, Travels, pp. 154-55.
31 Thomas Bowrey, op. cit., pp. 231-32.
32 EFI, 1655-60, p. 297.
33 Sundry Book, 1677-78, p. 108.
The coastal trade between the port of Bengal and Orissa was carried on by boats called *Purgoos*. In the second half of the seventeenth century their trade flourished along the coasts of the Bay of Bengal especially between Balasore and Hugli and between Balasore and Dacca. The close connection between the ports of Balasore and Hugli necessitated constant coastal trade between Orissa and Bengal. The Company employed sloops to carry goods between Balasore and Hugli. Owing to difficulties of navigation on the Hugli river, the merchants usually brought down goods from Bengal in small ships and transshipped at Balasore. The correspondence of the Company of the 17th August, 1677 shows that the sloops continued playing in those areas till 1677. Merchants of Orissa exported salt, stoneware, iron, cloth and rice to Bengal.

Masulipatanam was a place of huge commercial traffic in the seventeenth century with whom Orissa traded on her product like rice, butter, gingelly seed and sugar. Rice was regularly supplied to Masulipatanam and adjacent region but was stopped in 1677 due to blockade of the coast by the Dutch. We have also references of boats plying between Masulipatanam and Ganjam. In the last decade of the seventeenth century, Ganjam exported rice to the South, as is evident from the records of Fort St. George.

With coming up of the English settlement on the seaboard of Orissa, closer trade-links were forged between Bengal and the Coromandel coast, the Orissa factories acting as convenient halting points. There was regular supply of rice, sugar, butter etc. to Masulipatanam in the early part of the seventeenth century. Sugar was carried in the English ship, the *Thomas*, from Balasore for Masulipatanam in March 1634. The East India Company, in India, had to take into account several factors for

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35 *Sundry Book*, 1677–78, p. 3.
37 *Records of Fort St. George, Letters from Fort St. George*, 1696, Madras, 1921, p. 70.
38 *EFI*, 1634-36, p. 41.
the smooth prosecution of their business. In 1638, the Masulipatanam factors, Thomas Clark and Richard Hudson, advised John Yard at Balasore, that freight goods belonging to Mirza Taqi, Dabir of Golconda should be sent out.\(^{39}\) During the early phase of the English settlements in the Bay of Bengal, the trade between Orissa and Masulipatanam became significant. In November 1642, the Advice,\(^{40}\) brought from Balasore, commodities worth Rs. 5333-12 to Masulipatanam, in the account of the joint stock. She had also freight goods loaded in her to the tune of Rs. 486.\(^{41}\) The commodities invoiced at Rs. 15,879-12 annas were despatched from Balasore to Masulipatanam in December 1642. The Hopewell which carried these goods to Masulipatanam were meant for the General Voyage. But she also brought freight goods worth Rs. 6345. Several passengers travelled in this ship from Balasore to Masulipatanam\(^{42}\) which goes to show the existence of a sizeable trade between two places.

The English had opened their first commercial venture at Hariharpur in Orissa. The port played an important role in the coastal trade of Orissa. The Endeavor left Balasore in November 1642, and reached Masulipatanam after halting at Hariharpur.\(^{43}\) She was also engaged in another voyage from Balasore to Masulipatanam through Hariharpur in December of the same year.\(^{44}\) The English tried to discover other ports on the Orissa-coast for securing commodities in course of their voyage from Balasore to Masulipatanam. The Endeavour, employed in these trips carried commodities in the accounts of the General Voyage and joint stock.

In the second half of the seventeenth century many European traders had settled at Balasore. They were mostly engaged in the coastal trade. Streynsham

\(^{39}\) EFI, 1637-41, p. 65; J.N. Sarkar, “Medieval Orissa’s Seaport”, JBRB, 1950, p. 158.

\(^{40}\) EFI, 1642-45, p. 43.

\(^{41}\) Ibid., p. 77.

\(^{42}\) Ibid.

\(^{43}\) Ibid.

Master despatched letters to Masulipatanam from Balasore by a Danish ship. The Dutch, the Danes, the French traded with Masulipatanam.\textsuperscript{45}

As regards to the commercial relationship between coastal Orissa and Fort St. George, the chief article of export from the former place was rice. Bernier observed that Balasore port was frequented by sloops from Madras coast.\textsuperscript{46} There was arrangement for the travel of general passengers and other officials irrespective of their origin or affiliation.\textsuperscript{47} We have reference to the English authorities at Balasore decided On 14\textsuperscript{th} December, 1667 to send rice and other provisions by sloops to Fort St. George.\textsuperscript{48} Alexander Hamilton in the first decade of the 18\textsuperscript{th} century made mention of export of rice from Ganjam to Fort St. George.\textsuperscript{49}

Apart from rice Balasore also supplied timber, saltpetre, paddy, butter, oil and other victuals to cater to the needs of the people at port.\textsuperscript{50} The colony at Fort St. George was fairly populated. It had a population of 80,000 inhabitants out of which four or five hundred were Europeans. To feed these people, Hamilton observed, “The rice is brought by sea from Ganjam and other places of Orissa, wheat from Surat and Bengal, and firewood from the islands of Diu, a low point of land that lies near Masulipatanam.”\textsuperscript{51} The Nawab of Cuttack, who owned a ship of 200 tons participated in the coastal trade. His ship loaded with rice and other commodities arrived at Fort on 1 March, 1695.\textsuperscript{52}

\textsuperscript{45} Master’s Diary, Vol. I, pp. 302-03.
\textsuperscript{46} F. Bernier, Travels in the Mughal Empire, Reprint, New Delhi, 1983, p. 441.
\textsuperscript{47} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{48} Master’s Diary, Vol. II, pp. 70-71.
\textsuperscript{50} Records of Fort St. George, Diary and Consultation Book of 1687, Madras, 1916, p. 156.
\textsuperscript{52} Diary and Consultation, 1692, p. 32.
The Moors had come to settle in Balasore for trade, as it seemed that Henry Garret was the pilot of the ship 'Calamantram', a Moorish vessel from Madras which got into the Balasore Road sometimes in August, 1693. Another Moorish ship belonging to Balasore sailed on way to Fort St. George and arrived, there in April 1694. The ship 'Devadoolot' and the ship 'Dieumund' brought letters from the president at St. George to the chief at Balasore factory on 25 April, 1695 and on 26 July, 1695 respectively. There is no mention of the commodities brought by them from the fort. The ship Chedrow Shelam belonging to the Moors reached the fort on 20 March, 1696 with goods from Balasore. In December 1696, the sloop Rama Chundry of Piamia Nocqueda was ready at Balasore for its coastal voyage to Fort St. George. The ship Bauvanee Anco Serang arrived at Fort on 29 December, 1697. The said ship had brought goods from Ganjam. A Moorish ship from Balasore arrived at St. George, on 16 January, 1697.

The letter of Anthony Tester of 1699 to president Thomas Pitt at Fort revealed that the Benjamin was loaded at Pipli Road and despatched to Fort St. George signifying that Pipli, even at the close of the seventeenth century, remained a port and centre of trade as well.

In the early part of the seventeenth century Pulicat was a Portuguese centre of trade. We have reference to the considerable rivalry that was existing among the Dutch, the Portuguese and the English for the rice trade between Orissa and Pulicat.

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54 Letters of Fort, 1694, p. 38.
55 Records of Fort St. George, Diary and Consultation, 1692, Madras, 1917, p. 57.
56 Ibid., p. 97.
57 Diary and Consultation, 1696, p. 35.
58 Ibid., p. 157.
59 Records of Fort St. George, Diary and Consultation Book, 1697, Madras, 1921, p. 151.
60 Diary and Consultation, 1696, p. 172.
The reputation of the place was for various kinds of cotton cloth, both painted and plain.62 Invariably, the cloths were dyed-red by means of the chay root found in Pulicat63 and other neighbouring places. The best chay, a small and thin root was found in Ganjam.64

Ships laden with rice, butter and Gingelly seeds came to Pulicat from Orissa in the seventeenth century. It seems that Dutch settlement to some extent depended on the rice supply from Orissa, Schorer, a Dutch factor at Masulipatnam (1608 – 1614) made mention of import of rice to Pulicat from Orissa every year.65 These ships usually visited Pulicat every year in the month of February or March.66 Schorer informs us about the import of articles like spices of various kinds and salt to Orissa from Pulicat.67 On return voyage the ships were loaded with salt and spices. Usually they sailed on the return voyage to Orissa in the month of April or May.68 As a rivalry between the English and the Dutch, the result of the activity of the English was stopped when Dutch offered protection to the Indian boats carrying such provisions.69 The literary evidence in support of Orissa’s trade with Bombay is extremely scanty. But sugar, which was one of the important items of export from Balasore was sent directly by ship. The fact is revealed by the London correspondence with Hugli on dated 2nd July, 1684.70

The Dutch and the English were engaged in the coastal trade from Balasore to Surat. In 1653 A.D., two Dutch ships from Balasore left for Surat on way to

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63 Ibid., p. 53.

64 Ibid., p. 77.

65 Schorer’s account in W.H. Moreland’s *Relations of Golconda...*, p. 54.

66 Ibid., p. 53.

67 Schorer’s account in W.H. Moreland’s *Relations of Golconda...*, p. 54.

68 Ibid., p. 53.

69 Tapan Ray Chaudhury, *op. cit.*, pp. 105-106.

70 Despatches, 1681-86, p. 95.
Gombrooe in Persia. In 1679 the local merchants of Balasore exported 25 bales of silk at Rs. 150 each to Surat, and in the year 1682, a great quantity of the same commodity was also sent to Surat. It seems that in the second half of the seventeenth century the trade in silk was flourishing at Balasore.

Sometimes ships from Surat came to Balasore via Maldive islands. Four ships from Surat arrived at Balasore in the year 1682-83. In the same year a ship left Balasore for Surat. Hedges mentions that two ships from Surat came via Maldive islands to Balasore with cowris etc.

The Portuguese were the powerful traders at the port of Pipli, but they were not in a good relations with the Mughal administrator, Mirza Sarif because of the religious taboo, for which the administrator at Pipli took strong measures against the Christians. The Portuguese were permitted by Jahangir to reside in Pipli and they had maintained a good trade transactions with Cochin. Manrique observed that there were vessels regularly sailing from Pipli to Cochin. But unfortunately, we have no references in regards to the export-import commodities from Orissa to Kerala. Only we know from the sources of Manrique, that a big ship was loaded at Pipli with different kinds of merchandise and was bound for Cochin in the thirties of the seventeenth century.

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73 Ibid., p. 47.


75 Ibid., p. 40.


78 Ibid., p. 439.

However, apart from Orissa’s trade relations with above mentioned port centres, she had also maintained her trade-ties with Bihar, and Assam in the north-east, Burhanpur in the West and Agra and Kashmir in the north by land routes. Thevenot writes about the trade relationship between Burhanpur and Orissa as:

“The great trade of the province is in cotton cloth and there is as much traffic in Burhanpur, as is in any place of the Indies. Painted cloths are sold there as everywhere else: but the white are particularly esteemed, because of the lovely mixture of gold and silver that is in them, where of the rich make veils, scarfs, handkerchiefs and coverings but the white cloths so adorned, are dear. In short I do not think that any country of Indostan abounds so much in cotton as this does which bears plenty of rice and indigo. The same trade is driven at Orissa...”. 80

The merchants brought red-salu from Burhanpur to Orissa.81

There was a keen competition between the Portuguese and the English in regards to the purchase of calicoes from Patna. But before the English came into the trading scenario of Orissa, the Portuguese who had settled at Pipili visited Patna in 1620 to purchase Calicoes and they sold these articles at Pipili.82 Patna produced huge quantities of amberly calicoes and was reputed for their quality. Later on, the English Company procured saltpetre from Patna for their trade at Balasore and the articles were brought by oxen every year.83 Balasore also sent to Patna articles imported by the English like broad-cloth and lead, which could not be disposed of there.

III. OVERSEAS TRADE:

The volume and value of European trade with India did not rise significantly before the active participation of the Dutch and English Companies. The size of Portuguese trade in Asia as a whole was not negligible, though compared to the later period it was small and lacking variety. The Organization of the north European trading Companies on a joint-stock basis provided an entirely new and stronger

82 EFI, 1618-1621, p. 213.
83 EFI, 1655-1660, p. 297.
institutional foundations for Europe’s direct trade with India. In addition, as time went on private European trade in the Indian Ocean intensified commercial competition and appropriated a large proportion of trade which had previously belonged to Indian merchants. Perhaps the most revolutionary aspect of the new development was the introduction of the methods and spirit of the impersonal abstract firm, which radically contrasted with the traditional forms of mercantile organization both in Europe and Asia. The key to the success and long survival of the two East India Companies, Dutch and English, lay in the fact that from the beginning they put all their corporate efforts into the creation of an organizational system which was independent of both tie and personnel. As a result, economic decisions were taken on the basis of definite operating rules which covered practically every aspect of trade the coordination of a complicated shipping schedule, the level of buying and selling prices, future market-trends, the ordering and delivery goods, and not least the maintenance of carefully planned political relations with indigenous Indian rulers.

An interesting feature in the composition of Orissa merchants engaged in overseas trade in the seventeenth century was the participation of subahdars, faujdars and other members of the ruling class in Orissa. The same feature in the composition of overseas trade are evident from the neighbouring Bengal subah also. As early as the forties of the seventeenth century, we find the subadar of Bengal, Shah Shuja, had his own ships engaged in overseas trade. He even tried to monopolize some sectors of the province’s external trade and made himself the sole purchaser of elephants, one of the chief items of the Dutch Company’s import to Bengal.84 Between January 1682 and March 1684, four ships of Nawab Naurullah Khan of Orissa traded to Pegu and the Maldives. Even Nawab Shaista Khan, the Subahdar of Bengal, was actively engaged in this branch of Bengal’s overseas trade. In January 1682 one of his ships sailed for the Islands of Maldives and another for Tenasserim. Nasib Khan, the Shahbandar of Balasore, who was referred to by Bowrey as an eminent merchant,85

84 T. Ray Chaudhury, op. cit., p. 76.

85 Bowrey, op. cit., p. 74.
sent between January 1682 and January 1683 two ships to the Islands of Maldives and to Tenasserim. The next Shahbandar, Shuja Khan was equally interested in overseas trade and sent four ships between January 1683 and February 1684 to the Islands of Maldives, Achin and Galle. It appears that most of the trading voyages of the ruling class were confined to the eastern seaports. The main items of export and import varied little from those handled by the two prominent Balasore merchants. Bowrey stated that he saw a ship of Nasib Khan, the Shahbandar of Balasore, which was about 500 or 600 tons. The above statement suggests that, at least some of the ships of the Orissa merchants were of the same size as the big ships of the European Companies engaged in Indo-European trading voyages.

Orissa's trade and commerce entered the chessboard of Indian commerce after the coming of the European merchants and the establishment of European factories during our period. The overseas trade of Orissa took a definite shape and a different dimension after the English settlements in Hariharpur and Balasore in 1633 AD, because amongst all the European factors English had a better share in the external trade of Orissa. Manrique informs us that Orissa was one of the twelve kingdoms of 'Bengala' which were much frequented by foreigners and more than one hundred vessels were loaded every year with rice, sugar, oil wax and other similar articles in the ports of 'Bengala'. From the ports of Balasore and Pipli as many as twenty six foreign sailing ships were recorded in the season 1643-1644. Balasore offered itself as a good market for the English trade in spices also. Coaster carried 50 suckles of cloves to Balasore port and the articles needed to be sold quickly. Though a trade in rice was indicated, but the idea could not fructify because of comparative rise in prices of the said commodity at Balasore. Factors were thus instructed to load the Coaster

86 Sushil Chaudhuri, Trade and Commercial..., p. 92.
87 Bowrey, op. cit., p. 74.
90 W.H. Moreland, From Akbar to Aurangzeb, p. 86.
91 EFI, 1637-1641, p. 50.
with sugar and gumlac and ensure her early return voyage. In 1642, the English sold and bartered their glasses, knives, lead, parcels of cloth and the articles they purchased at Balasore were sugar, gurrahs, sannoes, cassaes, gingham, and iron. Of course, all the rest of commodities excepting gingham were meant for Persia. The sannoes and cassaes were intended for Europe.

The English had a good trade on sannoes and gingham for many years past. In 1668-69, the masters had opted for the particular sizes of Orissa textile. Generally their investment at this period consisted mainly of such piece goods as sannoes, nillaes and gingham. In 1671 saltpetre, taffataes, raw silk, sannoes, turmeric, tincall, doesutte or coarse sail cloth had been shipped from Balasore. There were 9365 bags of saltpetre. In 1679, 1800 bales of sugar were loaded at Balasore. In the same year 10,000 pieces of sannoes manufactures in Hariharpur and Soro were purchased which constituted the usual port of supply to England. In December 1679, Bengal merchant, Rosa Marina and Princes anchored at Balasore port for the loading ‘in equal proportions upon each of the ships’ for transportation to England. All the ships from England and from other countries cast anchor at Balasore port for loading of commodities available at Balasore and other places. And all such goods were properly embalmed at the factory before being finally despatched.

Scarlet, broad cloths of different colours, vermillon, quick silver,

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92 Ibid.
94 EFI, 1668-69, p. 310.
95 S. Chaudhuri, Trade & Commercial……., p. 63.
97 Records of Fort St. George, Diary Consultation Book, 1679-80, Madras, 1911, p. 79.
98 Ibid., p. 113.
100 Bowrey, op. cit., pp. 231-32.
101 Ibid.; Diary and Consultation, 1679-80, p. 2.
brimstone, lead, copper raels of eight and coral brought annually from England were in great demand in Orissa, Bengal and Bihar. In 1681, the demands for silk and other goods increased. The factories of Balasore, Malda, Patna and Kasimbazar supplied England with increasing number of articles.

A typical order from court of directors reflects the long list of items to be provided at Balasore in 1682.

- Gingham coloured of finest sort 20,000 pieces
- Silk Rumals 20,000 pieces
- Nillaes of good colours 36,000 pieces
- Sannoes 30,000 pieces
- Herba Taffactaes of cloth colours and lively colours 20,000 pieces
- Herba Lungis 20,000 pieces
- Sousies of several colours 4,000 pieces
- Tassar or Herba thread or Yarn 200 bales
- Cotton Yarn 200 bales
- Stick lac 100 tons
- Cowris 100 tons
- Broad blue gingham, ordinary sort 10,000 pieces
- Herba stuff 2,000 pieces
- Any sort of new stuffs of Herba, Cotton or Silk for trial 12 bales

Other than the above mentioned items, Orissan rice was an important item of export. The East India Company sent rice and paddy to London. As shown in the St. George records, 300 or 400 bags of rice and paddy along with other commodities were transported to Fort and to London.

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102 Ibid. p. 232.
105 Despatches from England, 1681-86, p. 58.
From the available records it is known that Orissa, during the period under discussion, had commercial relationship with the Dutch, the Danes, the French and the Portuguese. Although Orissa’s trade contact with Europe mainly extended to the ports of England but the other European Companies were also active in the seventeenth century. The Dutch were having six factories in the Bay like the English. Balasore and Pipli were two Dutch settlements on the coast of Orissa. Orissa’s rice was exported to Batavia either directly or via Coromandel. In the twenties, thirties and fifties of the seventeenth century a portion of the total quantity of rice exported from Coromandel to Batavia was procured from Orissa. The goods from the outlying factories were drawn to Batavia and redistributed to Europe and other parts of Asia. The Dutch also had traded with Persia on Orissan goods. In April, 1653 two Dutch ships from Balasore left for Basra and Gombroon. The Portuguese traders were active at Pipli in the 40s of the seventeenth century. The Danes had their chief factory at Balasore. The factory records reflected about the trade of the Danes at Hariharpur. The consignments sent by the Danish ships reached safely at this port in 1640. According to the parwana of Shaista Khan the trade of the Danes Nation was carried on free of customs in Bengala and Orixa (Orissa). The merchants who bought their goods and that the charges in procuring the same stood... between four and five thousand rupees. During the time of Master,

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109 *EFI*, 1651-54, p. 183.

110 *The Despatches from England, 1681-86*, p. 179.


Captain Wilkins was the chief of Danish factory at Balasore. However the Danish trade was never significant and they “persisted with varying fortunes”.

The French observes, H. Furber had become serious rivals of the Dutch and the English. From the 18th to 27th August, 1963 Six French ships arrived at Balasore port. In the later part of the year 1694, other French ships, the Royal James and Mary appeared at Ganjam. Though we do not know the cargo they brought with them or the native products they filled in their vessels, yet the French trade was convincingly sizeable on the Orissa coast.

Apart from Europe, Orissa had commercial relationship with Persia, Maldives Islands, Malaysia, Burma, Indonesia, China and Ceylon in Asia. We have also reference regarding Orissa’s trade relations with Africa.

The English apart from their European trade in Indian commodities also remained active in Persian markets. Orissa’s chief articles of export through the European merchant to Persia were cloth, sugar and iron. In the early 30s, the textile of Orissa and other parts of the Bay of Bengal were considered most suitable for markets in Persia. English temptation for Orissa textiles in particular had brought them first to the delta of the Mahanadi. In November 29, 1641 the Hopewell, was directed to procure sannoes, cassaes and coloured gingham and to make a voyage to Persia, from Balasore. In 1644 the Surat factors sent to the Balasore factors one chest of rials with orders to provide for Persia 150 bales of Sugar, 10 or 12 bales of gurras and the
same quantity of coarse Sannoes.\textsuperscript{122} There was a regular supply of sugar to Persia.\textsuperscript{123} The \textit{Hare} which arrived Balasore Road on 8 July, 1683 was sent with loads of sugar to Persia in November.\textsuperscript{124} The commodities brought by them are not mentioned. The Persian silk, which had caught the fascination of the English trade in the early 20s continued to be an item of trade till its final replacement with Bengal silk.\textsuperscript{125}

Orissa had extensive trade contact with Maldives Islands. The route between Orissa and the Maldives passes by Ceylon and the merchants took advantage of the situation to trade with Ceylon. Maldives had to depend upon Orissa for rice, butter and cloth. Maldives chief articles of export were \textit{cowris} and caires.\textsuperscript{126} There was regular shipping from Balasore to Maldives and the merchants chiefly imported \textit{cowris}. According to Bowrey, six or seven ships belonging to the \textit{nawab} of Bengal and the merchants of Balasore, Pipli and Hugli went every year to the Maldives to bring \textit{cowris} and coir.\textsuperscript{127} In 1670-71, two ships from Maldives arrived at Balasore port.\textsuperscript{128} Many ships loaded with \textit{cowris}, came to Balasore. Bowrey observed that \textit{cowris} were brought from Maldives and 3200 \textit{cowris} were equal to one rupee.\textsuperscript{129} Master, at Balasore, observed in 1679, the incoming of a ship of 300 tons from Maldives. The ship brought \textit{cowris} and caire.\textsuperscript{130} In 1680-81, four ships sailed from Balasore to Maldives.\textsuperscript{131} In the year 1682-83 two ships set out for Maldives from

\textsuperscript{122} EFI, 1642-45, pp. 206-07.
\textsuperscript{123} Despatches from England, 1681-86, p. 215.
\textsuperscript{124} Hedges Diary, Vol. I, p. 140.
\textsuperscript{125} H. Furber, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 92.
\textsuperscript{127} Bowrey, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 179-80.
\textsuperscript{128} Om Prakash, \textquotedblright The European Trading Companies\textquotedblright, \textit{IESHR}, Vol. I, No. 3, 1964, p. 43.
\textsuperscript{129} Bowrey, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 200.
\textsuperscript{130} Master’s Dairy, Vol. II, p. 236.
\textsuperscript{131} Om Prakash \textquotedblright The European Trading Companies\textquotedblright, \textit{IESHR}, Vol. I, No. 3, 1964, p. 40.
The same year witnessed the arrival of four ships from Maldives in Balasore Road. Cowris were very cheap in the Maldives Islands where 40 or 42 pans of cowris (3200 or 3360 numbers) could be bought for 6 to 7 annas in 1682.

Although Balasore's shipping with south-east Asia and Ceylon declined, her trade with Maldives Islands increased quite considerably. From 1680-81 to 1683-84 as many as 14 ships are recorded to have left for Maldives Islands from Balasore, averaging $3\frac{1}{2}$ per year. But from 1697-98 to 1699-1700, 24 ships have left for Maldives Islands and 1700-01 to 1706-07, 26 ships, thus averaging about 8 ships per year left Balasore for Maldives.

But this increase of trade with Maldives was less than proportionate to the decline with south-east Asia and Ceylon. Hence it is obvious that her total export handed by the native merchants suffered to some extent.

As we know from our sources that the decline of trade with south-east Asia was due to the virtual withdrawal of Mughal aristocracies from shipping. On the other hand the increase of shipping of Maldives was largely due to the rise of participation by the ordinary merchants. The reason for this trend is not quite clear. Whereas the decline in participation by the state officials is generally attributed to Mansabdari crisis that began at the close of the seventeenth century, it is not easy to answer why the participation by the ordinary merchants increased so considerably. But the reason may be that the trade with south-east Asia was a large venture in which the investment was financed by the merchants with substantial capital. That's why in this branch generally that state officials could participate who could use their official

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132 Ibid.
133 Ibid. p. 43.
134 Bowrey, op. cit., pp. 218n-219n.
136 From 1680 to 1683-84, in four seasons, 42 ships left for Ceylon and South-East Asia from Balasore, excluding 14 for Maldives. But from 1697-98 to 1700-01, 40 ships left for Balasore for various destination including 33 for Maldives; Ibid.
137 Om Prakash, Dutch East India Company..., p. 233.
positions in many ways to support their trade. But among the ordinary merchants only the merchants like Khem Chand or Chintaman Shah, who had large capital could trade on their own account. But on the other hand, in case of Maldives the trade could be operated by the merchants of moderate capital. The reason was that the trade of cowri for rice did not need any substantial capital and here the merchants operated on the basis of small profits only.

This of course, does not answer basic query of the growing trade with Maldives with the rising participation by the ordinary merchants. It has to be explained partly in the context of the commercial need of these two countries (Orissa and Maldives) at the close of the seventeenth century in general and the participation of merchants like Khem Chand and Chintaman Shah in particular.

Khem Chand and Chintaman Shah two rich merchants of Balasore carried trade with Maldives,\textsuperscript{138} Ceylon and other places in the Archipelago. Though many of the ordinary merchants owned ships, yet Khem Chand Chintaman exercised great influence on trade and traffic at Balasore.

The \textit{Keshari} set out on her voyage to Maldives and left Balasore on 25\textsuperscript{th} February 1683. She carried in her 600 \textit{maunds} of rice 50 \textit{maunds} of butter, 325 piece goods. A ship which came from Maldives to Balasore, brought in her 1800 'cahan' 'cowris' and 500 coconuts. She entered the port on 1\textsuperscript{st} September 1683. Chintaman Shah was the owner of the ship and her cargo.\textsuperscript{139}

Khem Chand and Chintaman drove a long trade to Maldives as revealed in the Dutch records. 5500 \textit{maunds} of rice, 100 \textit{maunds} of oil, 100 \textit{maunds} of butter, and 800 piece goods were sent to Maldives in the account of Chintaman and the vessel left Balasore port on 18\textsuperscript{th} February 1684.\textsuperscript{140} In 1691, two of the ships of Chintaman

\textsuperscript{138} Hedges Diary, Vol. III, p. 8.

\textsuperscript{139} S. Chaudhuri, \textit{Trade and Commercial...}, pp. 88-89.

\textsuperscript{140} Ibid., p. 88.
sailed on trading voyages to Maldives. In 1695 his ship the *Fatechund* sailed for Maldives with 10,000 *maunds* of goods in it.\textsuperscript{141}

Hamilton observes about Maldives that, "this cluster of Islands which reaches from 7 degrees 20 minutes north latitude into 1 degree south, are all low, sandy and sterile, bearing no sort of corn .......... Their seas produce abundance of fish, but their trade is chiefly from a small shell-fish called *courie* and the *bonetta.*" About its population Hamilton says "They are most part inhabited, but the inhabitants were very poor".\textsuperscript{142} About trade Hamilton observed in 1688 that, "Balasore supplied all accessories to the people of Maldives and in return brought *cowris* and *caire*, for the service of shipping."\textsuperscript{143} Usually Balasore exported rice, butter, sugar, cloth, etc. to Maldives.\textsuperscript{144}

Thus, in this type of economy where the state did not have any resources or the inhabitants were generally poor and unskilled either to manufacture and cultivate themselves anything for their own consumption or had little capacity to purchase anything from countries other than their bare necessities, such country was bound to depend upon a state who could only provide her their bare necessities in exchange of their only resources *cowris.* Hence this country was relatively under developed even by contemporary standard. It provided typical instances of economic level of organization, technique and standard of consumption.\textsuperscript{145} But on the other hand most of the coastal regions in India, Ceylon or some other regions in Asia which were tied by one another in the network of trade, were economically advanced in terms of country like Maldives. They had attained a high degree of commercialization and a certain level of specialization in productive functions though the base remained primarily

\textsuperscript{141} Ibid., p. 73.


\textsuperscript{143} Ibid., p. 218.

\textsuperscript{144} Ibid., pp. 192-193.

\textsuperscript{145} Tapan Ray Chaudhury, *Jahangir* Company ......, p. 89.
agriculture. They had the capacity to pay for the imports of other regions which would fetch some handsome profits to their merchants who imported them for sale. These included not only the Asian merchants but also the European Companies whose import of bullions also found market in these regions, though the demand for other Asian products like spices, shunks, cinnamon and textiles were universal.

At the end of the seventeenth century there was a rise of entrepreneurial spirit among the merchants. The Dutch records reveal that two ships from Maldives entered Balasore port in 1697-98. In the same year 12 ships sailed for Maldives from Balasore port. The year 1698-99 saw the arrival of 6 ships at Balasore were from Maldives and departure of 7 ships on their trading voyages to Maldives. Balasore welcomed 6 ships from Maldives and sent 5 ships to the said island obviously with native products. In the year 1700-01, 9 ships came here from Maldives. Owing to a parwana issued by the King of the Maldives, the Dutch at Balasore enjoyed between 1740 and 1772 exclusive privilege in the trade of cowris brought there by the merchants of the Maldives. These references as well as the facts that cowris passed for money in Orissa and it was now produced internally seem to indicate that Orissa depended on the Maldives for the supply of cowris.

The merchants with large capital were engaged in over-seas trade, but the merchants with moderate capital were generally engaged in coastal trade in small vessels. Of course, there was also over-lap between these two operations, but the case was purely general. With the growth of the entrepreneurial spirit among the ordinary merchants the coastal trade in India had increased considerably in this period. In such a situation the merchants of Bengal found that the traffic to coastal India was dominated by the non-Bengali merchants. Hence they were left with the choice of

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146 Ibid.
148 Ibid., p. 40.
149 Ibid., pp. 40-43.
trade with Maldives Islands only. At the beginning of the seventeenth century Maldives had also commercial relationship with many parts of coastal India like Gujarat, Coromandel and Bengal. But at the end of this century the merchants of these regions had no interest with the trade of Maldives. The reason was obvious. These merchants' typical export and import were based either on spices or some other expensive items, but not on cowris. Maldives also needed such a trade partner who could provide to her food-stuffs and coarse textiles in exchange of cowris. In such a case trade with Orissa was most suitable for her. She also imported some raw silk, saltpetre and opium, but their demand were never so significant like other regions in Asia. Hamilton in this time has not mentioned any other ports trading with Maldives except Balasore who brought her rice, butter and cloth for cowris. The only other port that traded with her was Achin, who imported bonetta from her, but this traffic does not seem to be as important as the former.

As Maldives was depending upon Balasore for her food-stuffs, so also Balasore was depending upon her for cowris. Overall like other regions in India, the economy of Orissa was still not perfectly monetized and even at the turn of the eighteenth century the revenue was collected in rice. Her excessive production and relative cheapness of this grain. Obviously to facilitate small transaction cowri was needed. Of course, all the imported cowris were not needed for home, some were exported to other parts of India as well as Africa by the English. Thus, in this process the economy of Orissa and Maldives had become inter-dependent to each other by the close of this century.

So far the trade with Ceylon is concerned, in the history of Indian commerce, it had been traditionally dependent on India for food. During the period under review Ceylon also received the supplies of rice from Orissa, and Balasore perhaps the most important traffic for the merchants. At Pipli the Dutch factors also exported rice from

152 Ibid., p. 193.
their factory to Ceylon in the forties and sixties of the seventeenth century. Thomas Bowrey mention that ships of considerable burden were playing from the ports of Balasore and Pipli to Ceylon on trade mission. Along with rice other articles of export were textiles, sugar, butter and silk. The most important item of import were elephant and ivory, followed by areca-nuts, shank and cinnamon. Master, the Agent of the English at Fort St. George and his associated found on September 9, 1679 two ships that came from Jaffnapatam in Ceylon unloading elephants at Balasore. Bowrey also refers to the import of elephants from Ceylon to Orissa. This not only fetched a good profit to the merchants of Balasore, but was also very important for the economy of Ceylon. Generally Ceylon needed her bulk of rice from the Bengal region which was far more cheap than the rice of Canara coast. Hence the rice trade was much more frequent with the former inspite of the distance. And the exchange of elephant and rice very often left a surplus of cash in favour of Ceylon.

When the Dutch became territorial master of part of the coastal Ceylon from 1658 they wanted to monopolize Ceylon's trade with other countries. This they did by taking into their hands the supply of all the commodities to the merchants. Similarly, the foreign merchants had also to dispose of their commodities to Dutch only. The price, quality and quantity on both the occasions were to be dictated by the Dutch. Though the motivation behind the measure was to restrict the Indian merchants to come to purchase her products and sell them in India, which would provide competition to the Dutch but they were not interested to prevent the merchants of Bengal coming to Ceylon. The reason was that as ruling power in part of the territories, it was their responsibility to provide rice in their jurisdiction. Due to limited availability of shipping spaces at their disposal, they themselves were not in a

154 Tapan Ray Chaudhury, op. cit., p. 168.
159 IBID.
position to import the required quantity of rice from Bengal. Secondly, the export of elephant was also not easy, which would not only need many spaces in the ships but also risk the death during the voyage. Hence in this branch the Hugli factors in Bengal readily issued passes to the merchants who were willing to see their ships to Ceylon. But inspite of this we see that by the end of the 1660 the trade between Balasore and Ceylon dwindled to a considerable extent. It seems that the policy of the Dutch made some set back to the merchants of Bengal and Orissa.

When the Dutch were pursuing their policy rigorously, some other factors coincided with it. For example, in the late 60s, the Dutch tried to be self-sufficient in rice in Ceylon by cultivating it. There was also a fall in the prices of Ceylonese goods in Orissa like areca-nuts and conch-shells and a temporary restriction by the rulers to export rice, following local shortage. When all these factors came into operation simultaneously, it is no wonder that trade between Balasore and Ceylon came into a total stand still. Thus in 1668-69, one Dutch report says that out of 28 vessels that left Balasore for various Asian destinations, not a single of them went to Ceylon. When the merchants were requested to send at least a few ships there, they replied that they could make double the profit by sending their vessels to other places like Maldives, Tenasserim and Achin.

Though Ceylon was most convenient destination for the merchants than any other overseas ports, the policy of the Dutch ruined their trade. It is no wonder that they could have sold their rice in Maldives, another major recipient of Orissa’s rice, more profitably in exchange of cowri than Ceylonese elephant. In this time many merchants also turned to Queda and Aracan for elephant, apart from the fact that they were also available at Tenasserim and Achin.

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160 Arasaratanam, Dutch power, p. 152.


162 Arasaratanam, Dutch power, p. 152.

In 1670 the Company introduced another measure of safeguard “permitted goods” to make more effective of their monopoly.\textsuperscript{164} By this policy the pass issued to the traders specified the articles he was to export and import and in case of violation of it, his ship were to be confiscated with severe consequences.\textsuperscript{165} However, immediately it was not made applicable to the merchants of Bengal or Orissa with regard to areca-nut or cloth. The reason was that to abolish this traffic, required a suitable replacement by the Dutch themselves which otherwise would cause dislocation to the economy of Ceylon. But they themselves were not in a position to replace it, because they had no sufficient capital, ship or manpower for this purpose. But though they did not interfere directly with this branch, nevertheless, tried to control over the main trade routes.\textsuperscript{166}

It has already been said that in late 1660s, the trade between Balasore and Ceylon was affected for a multiplicity of reasons in which the monopolistic attitudes of the Dutch was one of the factors. In the early 70s, this trade was also disturbed owing to the Franco-Dutch naval war. But this traffic again resumed in the seventies or late seventies and early eighties. In 1670-71 eight ships from Ceylon arrived at Balasore.\textsuperscript{167} Two ships arrived at Balasore port with elephants from Jaffnapatam, on 9 September, 1679.\textsuperscript{168} The Ceylonese elephants were highly esteemed in India. They were supposed to be endowed with “more sense and reason” than those of Tenasserim, Quda or Siam.\textsuperscript{169}

\textsuperscript{164} Om Prakash, “European Trading Companies…… 1650-1725”, IESHR, 1964, p. 49.
\textsuperscript{165} IBID.
\textsuperscript{166} Arasaratanam, Dutch Power……., p. 153.
\textsuperscript{168} Master’s Diary, Vol. II, p. 236n.
\textsuperscript{169} Thomas Bowrey, op. cit., p. 180n.
In 1680-81, five ships sailed from Balasore to Ceylon. In the year 1682-83 four ships set out for Ceylon from Balasore. The same year, one ship from Ceylon came to an anchorage at Balasore.

Khem Chand and Chintaman had trade links with Ceylon. The ship Krishna Prasad left Balasore on 25 February 1682 for Jaffnapatam. She had 700 maunds of rice, 10 maunds of cummin, 100 maunds of long pepper, 4 maunds of opium, 50 maunds of peas and other piece goods. The Prasad entered Balasore port again on 21st September, 1682 with fetches 5 elephants, 4000 cowris, one maund of nutmeg, half a maund of mace and 1 1/2 maunds of cinnamon from Jaffnapatam. Chintaman was the owner of the vessel and commodities.

On 28th January, 1682 the ship ‘Bhagabat Prasad’ with 500 maunds of rice and other piece goods left Balasore for Galle in Ceylon. She returned on 10 August, 1682. The vessel had brought home 7 elephants 40 maunds of araca, 12 lbs. of nutmeg from Ceylon. The ship Mosiaeddy loaded with 100 maunds of rice and piece goods was despatched to Galle on 4 February, 1682. The vessel was back to Balasore on 12 September from Galle. She had brought 11 elephant, 225 maunds of araca, 200 coconuts and 800, ‘cahan’ ‘cowris’. All these ships belonged to Khem Chand.

The ship ‘Bhagabat Prasad’ loaded with 1400 maunds of rice and piece goods and the ship ‘Maemeddy, having on board 7000 maunds of rice, 5 maunds of candy sugar and piece goods departed Balasore port for Galle on 21st February and 3rd March of 1683 respectively. Sometimes in October 1683, a ship with 14 elephants, 1000 cahan cowris, 200 maunds of arac, 10 maunds of cinnamon, 8 maunds of nutmeg

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171 Ibid., p. 40n.
172 Ibid., p. 43.
174 Ibid.
from Galle anchored at Balasore Road. The transactions were in the account of Khem Chand.\textsuperscript{175}

On 21\textsuperscript{st} February, 1684, a ship left Balasore for Galle carried 600 \textit{maunds} of rice and piece goods on behalf of Chintaman. Khem Chand sent 13,000 \textit{maunds} of rice, 400 \textit{maunds} of sugar, 20 \textit{maunds} of candy sugar and 2200 piece goods to Galle on 9\textsuperscript{th} March, 1684.\textsuperscript{176} In 1683-84, five ships left Balasore for Ceylon. There is no mention of commodities that the vessels had taken in them.\textsuperscript{177}

In March, 1685, a vessel reached Balasore with 9 elephants, 750 \textit{maunds} of \textit{arrack}’ and 36,000 \textit{cowris} from Galle. Chintaman was the owner of these commodities.\textsuperscript{178} Generally the \textit{cowris} circulated as small money in Bengal and Orissa were sold to the Europeans at Balasore.\textsuperscript{179} On 1\textsuperscript{st} February, 1685, the Bengal merchant was despatched in the vessel loaded with 300 bales of cloth and 300 bags of \textit{cowris} at Balasore.\textsuperscript{180}

All these above mentioned records gives impression of a trade in very large scale between Ceylon and Balasore. But after the Franco-Dutch war, Company’s economy was largely affected which it decided to recover partly by enforcing its monopolistic policy strictly. In 1684, it enforced the safeguard “permitted goods” to the merchants of Bengal.\textsuperscript{181} The immediate reason behind the implementation of this policy was to prohibit the merchants to bring cotton cloth to Ceylon.\textsuperscript{182}
It has been pointed out that there was an enormous growth in power and trade of the Dutch in the 60s. in 1669 the Dutch had establishment trade links with China and Japan.\(^{183}\) This involved trade between their settlements on Orissan seaboard and the far-eastern countries.

Junk-Ceylon (Janselone) was an Island southward of Tenasserim. With Junk-Ceylon and Mallacca Orissa established her trade contact by sending her articles like butter, oil and gingelly seed. Butter and oil used to come to Junk-Ceylon Islands from the coast of Gingelly in the seventeenth century.\(^{184}\)

In the seventeenth century, rice and muslin remained an important item of export from the ports of Pipli and Balasore to Pegu and Tenasserim. Orissa’s import from Tenasserim consisted of elephants and lead. In 1679, Chintaman and Khem Chand jointly traded with the island of Sumatra.\(^{185}\) The Dutch records furnished the list of a number of ships those left Balasore port for different destinations in 1680-81. Four ships left for Tenasserim, three for Achin and one for Pegu. The period ranging from 1680-81 to 1683-84 witnessed the departure of one ship every year from Balasore.\(^{186}\) In 1681-82, there arrived 9 ships from Tenasserim, 3 from Achin, 2 from Pegu at Balasore port. In 1682-83 4 ships left from Balasore for Tenasserim and 2 for Achin. This year Balasore sent one ship to Manila in Philippines. Again in the same year, there arrived 4 ships from Tenasserim, one ship from Malacca and 2 ships from Achin.\(^{187}\)

India supplies through various agencies a long list of commodities to different parts of the world in the 17\(^{th}\) and 18\(^{th}\) centuries. It is not surprising that Balasore

\(^{183}\) EFI, 1668-69, p. 179.

\(^{184}\) Thomas Bowrey, op. cit., p. 27.


\(^{187}\) Ibid., pp. 40-43.
ginghams were sold in Africa in the later part of the seventeenth century. Lockyer observed that "Balasore ginghams etc. were sold her (Cape of Good Hope)" in Africa in 1706 A.D.\textsuperscript{188} Besides the finer sorts of textile of Orissa, "coarse white cloths were exported from lower Sindh, Orissa and other parts of the East coast to many countries in the southern Asia and in small quantities to Japan and Europe.\textsuperscript{189}

IV. PRIVATE TRADE:

The prosecution of private trade by the Mughal officials, factors of the European Companies, interlopers and free merchants was a characteristic feature of commercial life in the period under review. Its volume was great, involving considerable loss to the Companies concerned and immense profit to the private traders. Orissa was no exception to this practice. The familiar pattern of this private trade was to employ ships in inter-Asiatic voyages as also carrying cargoes of indigenous merchants on freight. The private traders were also engaged in inland trade and some times send export commodities to various destinations on their own account.

Private trade of Mughal officials, meant monopoly of trade not only in many precious articles but also in most of the necessaries on life on behalf of the governor. Monopoly purchase of the merchandise was made at the centre of production or at the ports of lading and the retail dealers were forced to purchase these goods at increased prices. Private trade was undertaken in Bengal by Mughal officers like Shah Shuja, Mir Jumla, and Shaista Khan and Azimuddin.\textsuperscript{190} Though we have no direct reference, Shah Shuja and Shaista Khan who were also in charge of Orissa at times, might have undertaken private trade there, Malik Kasi, the Mughal 'governor' (officer in charge)

\textsuperscript{188} C. Lochyer, \textit{An Account of Trade in India}, London, 1711, p. 302.


at Balasore in 1676 sent iron, coir and other articles to Malik Zindi at Hugli by an English vessel for the purpose of private trade.\textsuperscript{191}

The Company was much concerned throughout the period about private and interloping trade which hindered its own investment. (Orissa and in Bengal). The participants in private trade were chiefly the Company’s servants and free merchants. But sometimes not only the servants of lower category but also the big guns like Sill (once selected agent for the coast of Coromandel), Fransic Day (a member of the Council at Masulipatanam), Streynsham Master (agent at Fort St. George) were engaged in trade on private account. The factors who participated in such trade naturally sacrificed the Company’s interest to their own and often appeared the role of commercial rival to the Company. At times these traders would offer higher prices to the middlemen and buy up from the weavers cloth for which the Company had already advanced money and thus deprived it of its legitimate return cargo. However, the Company gave legal sanction to protect private trade. In November, 1676, Company’s ‘indulgence’, allowing their servants and the captains and crews of their vessels to trade in certain goods were recommended to be duly observed by the agent and his council in the Bay.\textsuperscript{192} While framing the rules for private trade in 1679 the Bay Council also observed that the private trade “being a just privilege of the Company’s servants in Bengal” the chief of the council should assist “all fair private trade”.\textsuperscript{193}

We have reference to the extent of private trade carried on by the servants of the English East India Company in Orissa. Thomas Colley\textsuperscript{194} and Sill\textsuperscript{195} English merchants carried on private trade in Orissa in the third decade of the seventeenth century. In inland trade the private traders dealt in any commodity which yielded a profit. Edward Reade wrote from Hugli in 1678 to Richard Edwards at Balasore to

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\textsuperscript{191} Master’s Diary, Vol. II, p. 65.
\textsuperscript{192} Ibid., Vol. I, p. 41.
\textsuperscript{193} EFI, 1678-1684, New Series, p. 198.
\textsuperscript{194} EFI, 1630-1633, p. XXVII.
\textsuperscript{195} Ibid., pp. 170, 264-65, 268.
\end{flushright}
dispose of the long pepper and rice on the former’s account charging due commission for it and also to buy tin on his account when ships from Tenasserim had arrived. An interesting feature was that the servants of the Company assisted each other in carrying on this lucrative trade. The Bengal factors also helped their colleagues stationed outside Bengal in the letter’s private trade. Thomas Pitt, the governor of Madras, was closely associated in his business deals not only with President Board of Bengal but with other factors like Ralph Sheldon, Curgenven, etc. 196

The volume of export commodities sent to England on private trade account was not very insignificant. In 1679, John Naylor, a dyer from England made an investment of Rs. 13,000 according to his own admission, though the factors believed it to be much more. 197 Francis Day brought some cloves from Masulipatanam to Balasore possibly belonging to his own account for trade. Further, from his personal account he invested a sum of 4000 rials of eight (Spanish dollar) at Gingelly 198 on trade. Streynsham Master’s letters to Richard Edwards at Balasore (May and June, 1678) revealed that he invested considerable money in long pepper and spelter (zinc). 199 Master did brisk business on his private account in 1679 and 1680. 200

A major problem connected with private trade and one that gave concern to the Company was the fact that often the factors traded with the Company’s own money or often borrowed it from local merchants who were connected with the Company’s investment and also made it obligatory for the Company to repay the same. In 1651, Bridgman and Edward Stephens, the factors in the Bay (Bengal and Orissa) borrowed money from the country people i.e. from the local people in the name of the Company for investing in their private trade. Bridgeman made the Company responsible for repaying the same. In order to prevent this, the Company wrote to Bengal in 1703:

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197 Ibid.
198 EFI, 1630-1633, pp. 75-76.
200 EFI, 1678-84, New Series, pp. 220-21, 270-71n.
“......(We) give due encouragement to all our factors and servants who are employed and desirous to improve their private fortune in the fair way of trade allowed by us whether it be from port to port or inland traffic, provided always that no person presume to trade with any of the Company’s money or goods or with their own stock so as to interfere or prejudice the Company’s affairs in any manner of way.............”201

For furthering the cause of private trade the servants of the East India Company in Bengal and Orissa secured an order in the fifties of the seventeenth century with a view to suspend the custom of giving large presents to the local Mughal officers, then prevalent.202 But this could hardly check the evil practices. Edward Littleton, the President of the new Company in Bengal, was indebted to the Company for Rs. 227,572 which he borrowed both in his own name and in the name of local merchants.203

The authorities of the Company in England framed rules from time to time to suppress or regulate the excesses of private trade. The English authority also adopted some measures in Bengal and Orissa for controlling private trade. To prevent smuggling of ‘prohibited goods’ Master, then supervision and second of the council at Fort St. George issued an order in 1676 to the effect that goods should be taken neither abroad to sloops nor to the vessels ready for despatch to Europe without a written order from the chief of Hugli or Balasore or any other person authorised by them.204 On 28th April, 1679 the Bay Council laid down three rules regarding private trade. First, to trade in ‘prohibited goods’ and to make contracts with the weavers who usually worked for Company was forbidden. Second, the servants of the East India Company should do all business regarding private trade e.g. receipt, packing and despatch of goods inside the factory and not in a place specially hired for this. Third, investment for private trade should not be made in places where the Company’s weavers resided without obtaining prior direction of the chief of the factory as to the

202 EFI, 1651-1654, p. 233.
203 S. Chaudhuri, op. cit., p. 225.
weavers to be employed. But these rules failed to control private trade owing to the lukewarmness of the Company's home authorities and halfheartedness of its servants in India in making these rules effective.

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