CHAPTER III

PORTS

Nature has endowed Orissa with many rivers. Originating in the hill tracts of western Orissa, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, they join the Bay of Bengal. Unlike the Gangetic belt in north India and Bihar, the upstream land of the rivers of Orissa are not fertile, but coastal lands on the other hand are extremely fertile. The reason for this contrast of the soil condition is that the rivers after giving up their mountainous course, deposit lots of alluvial soil in the coastal areas. The entire coastal region of Orissa is enriched by her rivers’ annual deposition of fresh soil. As a result, not only agriculture prospered in our period, but also trade. Almost all the rivers at their mouth afforded enough and safe navigational passage to boats and small vessels. The rivers of Orissa are not deep enough like the tributaries of the gulf of Cambay or the Gangetic delta. But inspite of these difficulties a number of ports prospered in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which attracted both the Europeans and the Asian merchants. The ports which were mainly used for overseas trade and more important, were Balasore, Pipli, Hariharpur, and Gingelly coast. To further highlight our assumptions we shall discuss these mains ports of Orissa in our period separately.

I. BALASORE:

Balasore was the most important mart throughout our period. It was not only the most important port of Orissa, but also one of the major ports in the Indian Ocean, where both Europeans and Asian merchants of different nationalities carried on a busy commercial transaction. It was situated on the right bank of the river Burabalanga, about 21° 30’ 12” north latitude and 86° 56’ 16” east longitude. The port, then was about four miles from the sea in a direct route but about twenty miles from the mouth of the river. Balasore, the coastal district of modern Orissa, is watered by six rivers who were proceeding or flowing from north to south, whose of the Subarnarekha, Panchapara, Burabalanga, Jamka, Kansbans and Baitarini. It has a coastline of 85

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miles, through which these rivers make their way to the Bay of Bengal. On their estuaries were several ports namely, Pipli, Sartha, Chhanua, Balasore, Laichanpur, Churaman, Dhamra and Chandbali.²

The port of Balasore rose into prominence in the early thirties of the seventeenth century, when the Portuguese were driven out of Hijli by the Mughals in the year 1636 and the trade in Pipli decayed. The destruction of the Portuguese settlement of Hugli in 1632 necessitated opening up of new markets in Orissa where the Dutch Company had already a privileged position. Thomas Colley and Cartwright were responsible for establishing factories in Orissa.³ They realised the necessity of stationing an armed fleet at Balasore to protect their trade interests against foreign, particularly the Dutch competition and piratical depredation in an uncongenial climate.⁴ The Dutch had their settlement there from as early as the seventeenth century.⁵ However, all the European companies used Balasore for plotting their ships to their main settlements in Hugli. This practice was continued until the close of the first half of the seventeenth century, though by then this port was of little consideration for them.

After the English established their first independent station at Fort St. George in 1640, the ship *Diamond* was sent in 1641 to the Bay to pay off debts and fetch away the factors. In 1642 the factory at Harharpur seems to have been closed down partly on account of sending goods there by sea.⁶ Francis Day who came to Balasore on a visit of inspection gave a report to the Company on 3 November 1642 deprecating its abandonment. He wrote:

> I think Balasore with the adjacent places, is not to be totally left, for it is no such despicable place as is voted it being an opulent kingdom and you having been already at great charges in gaining the free custom of all sorts of goods. Believe it if you had

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² O’ Malley, Bengal District Gazetteers, Balasore, p. 8.
⁵ *EFI*, 1661-64, p. 66.
⁶ *EFI*, 1642-45, pp. XXVIII, 126.

but an active man, two or three in these ports, you would find it very profitable
provided you double the stock in the coast. 7

Various factors influenced the nature of English East India Company’s trade at
Balasore. The first problem was that of finance. As elsewhere, the English merchants
had to solve the problem of provision of purchasing power in the markets of Balasore
and its adjacent places. They were not supplied regularly with funds by the
authorities at Surat or Fort St. George, and even when money was sent it was not
sufficient. Local borrowing in the Orissan markets was expensive, the rate of interest
being high. The factors had to procure articles for the Europe as well as Persia,
investment, by sale or barter of the goods imported as in 1642-43.

On account of lack of funds timely, purchase of necessary goods in advance of
the shipping season could not be made at the cheapest markets and the factors could
not deal directly with the producers and weavers but had to contract with the town
merchants. The Company suffered financial loss as a result of this arrangement.

Hence, the English factors concerns urged on the Company, the overwhelming
need of supply of funds, sufficient in amount and well in advance of the shipping
season for reasons of economy and early purchases. In November 1642, Francis Day
suggested to the Company that nothing could be done to improve the prospects of
trade at Balasore without doubling the supply of funds. 8 In 1650 James Bridgman
(aboard the Lioness) explained to the Company (Dec. 15) that the prospects of trade at
Balasore depended on sufficient stock of funds.

Secondly, the British factory established at Hariharpur fell into decline for the
fact that the river wherein the vessels used to anchor gradually silted up. This made
quite unsafe for any ship to get in. As a result it was no longer easy to send goods to
the sea through this silted river. Therefore in this situation, the British trade interest
was bound to be concentrated to the Balasore harbour and that helped in the rapid

8 EFI, 1642-46, pp. 65-66.
prosperity of the British trade at this place.⁹

Thirdly, the system of contracting was another problem. Down to the seventies of the 17th century the English factors in Balasore, owing to difficulty in disposing of imported articles like broadcloth, lead and to lack of funds, could not deal directly with the producers in securing articles for their investment, but contracted with the town merchants. From Clavell’s account of 1676, we learn that on the arrival of the ships from England, the factors used to give the merchants half in money and half in goods and the latter contracted with them to supply the local products in October according to agreed musters or samples. The factors could make such abatements, as they considered reasonable. But generally the goods were supplied too late to allow the abatements to be made and the accounts to be adjusted before the departure of the ships. Hence the articles were invoiced home at the contracted price and “the merchants for the price concluded on and the difference carried to profit and loss.” The Company admitted that this system was causing loss, as all the white cloth procured at Balasore was 25 or 30% dearer than that at the coast, Clavell, therefore, suggested that:

(a) Direct dealing with the producers would be more advantageous than the system of contracting with merchants. The Company could send its own servants to Muktapore,¹⁰ Harrapore¹¹, Mohunpore,¹² to make ready purchases of local manufactures and to Danton¹³ and Jaleswar¹⁴ for the manufactures of Ulmara¹⁵ and Kasiari¹⁶.

(b) Balasore, being made a distinct factory, would have more leisure now

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¹⁰ Muktapore is probably Matkadpur in Midnapur.

¹¹ Hariharpur.

¹² Mohunpur in Midnapur district.

¹³ Danton in Midnapur district on the main road between Balasore and Midnapore.

¹⁴ Jellasore (Jaleshwar) south-west of Danton in Balasore district.

¹⁵ Ulmara in Balasore district.

¹⁶ Cashary or Kasiari.
to attend to such business. So an experiment should be made by advancing money to weavers of Soro for *sannoes*.

Fourthly, the silting up of the river Subarnarekha also must have affected the trade facilities so far enjoyed by the Portuguese, who were for some time strong rivals to the British trade. With the decline of the Portuguese trade at Pipli, the weavers or other artisans, who were used to supplying needed articles to the Portuguese traders now diverted their attention to the Balasore port and the British traders. The British took full advantage of winning them over to supply goods for their trade.

Lastly, the British got privileges from the Mughal Emperor and also from the Mughal governors at Balasore, at that time was another attraction for their trade and subsequent prosperity in this field. The British secured two *Parwanas* from Shaista Khan in 1672 through John Smith. One of them granted a free trade and the other friendship. The first, one exempted them from customs on goods imported and exported by the English Company. Besides, it allowed them a free passage of boats owned and hired by them without any obstruction to their trade.¹⁷ This privileges granted by the Mughals were more honoured by them in Orissa than elsewhere in the Bay of Bengal. The less of official exactions and the favourable environment and the free movement of the goods made the British Company authorities to look more to Balasore for trade prosperity than to any other factories they had elsewhere on the coast.

The overwhelming considerations for controlling a vast hinterland producing commodities like textile, opium and rice at Balasore, the strategic position of the Orissan coastal belt and the political uncertainties in Bengal led the Britishers heavy financial investments in Orissa. They also decided to move down to Pipli in 1636 from Hugli. The period of advent of the British traders synchronised with the virtual withdrawal of the Dutch traders from Balasore and in the last decades of the 17th century the Dutch traders finally had to quit Balasore.

Balasore was a great city of maritime trade for the British. The British factors

¹⁷ This farman was in the form of that which was granted by Shah Jahan and his son Shuja.
persuaded the inter or weavers to come together into a large village under the protection of the Company's troops. As a result, the weavers living at different places left their own habitations and took their new abode in the rising new centre of industries. Because of the patronization and encouragement from the British there was a regular influx of the ill-fated and neglected weavers to this area. Thousands of weaving families flocked Balasore to take shelter within the range of English cannon. What the British merchants did was to pay advance in English silver to artisans, and weavers whether established in the new centre of industries or elsewhere in the country and collected the goods according to their choice Balasore was an excellent halting station for the British where commodities were loaded and unloaded from their ships. Besides, coastal trade was profitable from the Balasore Port. Balasore ships on the coast, proceeded to Hugli, Masulipatanam and Madras.

The port of Balasore was also advantageous for internal commerce and overseas trade. It is situated just eighteen miles to the south of Pipli by sea-route and was not very far from the textile producing centre 'Soro' which is about twenty miles from Balasore. Thus, being centrally located in relation to all the textile producing port. But some difficulties related to this port were noticed at the close of the seventeenth century. The bar of the river which appeared better at the time of the foundation of the English settlement proved fatal at the close of this century. But we have seen again, the extensive coastal trade from this post in the early years of nineteenth century.

Balasore was an emporium of cotton yarn: cotton and tasar manufacturers of the hinterland used to sell their commodities at Balasore. Most prominent among the centres arranged in order of quality of goods manufactured were Soro, Harrapore,

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19 Soro or Suro in Balasore district (Lat. 21° 16', Long., 86° 49'), midway between Balasore and Bhadrak, 20 miles from Balasore.
21 Wilson, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-21; Bowrey, *op. cit.*, p. 130.
22 Harrapore (Hariharpur) near Modern Jagatsinghpur, a town in the Mahanadi delta, about halfway between Cuttack and Harispur Gar, a port at which the English landed.
Mohunpur and Kashiary all specialising in the manufacture of _sannoes_.\(^{23}\) It may be presumed from Walter Clavell's accounts (1676), the Factory Resident at Balasore, that the artisans of Soro had manufacturing centres in the outskirts or Balasore also. The establishments of the traders at Hariharpur, an important centre for manufacturing _sannoes_ and _khasa_ was probably closed in August 1642.\(^{24}\) According to Clavell, the best quality and the largest quantity of _tasar_ or _herba_ was procurable from Balasore. The close connection between Balasore and Hugli necessitated constant coastal trade between the two ports via Pipli. This inter-port relation was ultimately extended towards Patna on the one hand and Dacca on the other, when the British Company increasingly participated in the internal trade of the country through water and land routes. The commodities like opium, raw silk, sugar, ginger and saltpetre from Bihar were imported in lieu of textile commodities, rice and butter.\(^{25}\)

But the external trade of Orissa through the British Company was not insignificant even after the Portuguese and the Dutch traders had to recede to the background in the early 18th century. The commodities imported by the English into Orissa, Bengal and Bihar through Balasore were broad cloth of various colours, scarlet, silver, copper, quick-silver, lead, vermilion, coral, glasses, knives and brimstones.\(^{26}\) But these commodities were not in great demand in Orissa and as such the British investments always suffered from over-stocked commodities in the factory warehouses at Balasore. The East India Company had to face some problems for financing their investments at Balasore since the late 17th century. The barter system was generally followed in the Persian trade of the Company which they snatched away from the Indian traders through Balasore.\(^{27}\) In 1642-43 the English factors of Balasore bartered their glasses, knives, lead and broad cloth for sugar, _gurrahs_, _sannoes_, _cassaes_, _ginghams_ and other cotton commodities intending to import them to


\(^{26}\) Bowrey, _op. cit._, pp. 231-32; Peter Mundy, _The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608-1667_, Ed. by Sir Richard Temple, Haklyut Society, London, pp. 154-55.

\(^{27}\) Bowrey, _op. cit._, pp. 231-32; _EFI_, 1634-36, p. 24n; 1642-45, p. 65.
This was because the European companies were constantly being harassed by the paucity of funds, the overstocked market at Orissa and lack of purchasing power for the Europeans goods at Balasore. The Company's factory at Balasore had to face the problem of oppression and exactions in the year 1673 and thereafter harassment of local Mughal governors and officials because of the frequent changes of powers. So it was not possible for the English factors to adjust themselves to changing situations when, the old privileges conferred on them was interfered with the exaction which was a very common factor. The increasing volume of private trade also handicapped the Company's factory at Balasore. For this, there came the uncertainty of commerce and the profits they previously derived had to decline. The prosecution of private trade by the factors of European Companies was a characteristic feature of commercial life in those days. Its volume was great, involving considerable loss to the Companies concerned and immense profit to the private traders. Balasore was no exception to this practice.

The commercial privileges of the English at Balasore were questioned about 1670 and the Mughal customs officers wanted to open and search the bales of goods of the English either out of motive of illegal gain or because they suspected some under hand dealings on the part of the English. So the later secured "an attestation given by the customer and brokers of Balasore concerning the English privileges in the import and export of their goods and disposing of them in that port." The beginning of the eighteenth century witnessed chronic political turmoil in subah Bengal associated with the internecine warfare and greater demands for currency in circulation. The European as well as their Indian associates felt the pinch of increased financial extortions by the Mughal Nawabs and their local officials. The more common form of extortion, of course, was the gifts and presents the Company was made to pay regularly to the officials at various tires of the hierarchy. Failure to

29 EFI, New Series, Vol. II, p. XXVIII.
30 EFI, 1642-45, pp. 65-66.
31 Indian History Congress, 1953, p. 289.
32 Om Prakash, The Dutch East India Company in Bengal, pp. 280-82.
satisfy the *faujdari* officers sometimes led to physical coercion.

The physical factors also brought some discredit to the port of Balasore because of the silting of the river. A traveller who once visited Balasore in 1708 made a statement that “the river was blockaded.” The town which was formally situated at a distance of four miles from the shore was shifted to a distance of seven miles from it. Thus, the channels to the sea were silted up. As a result, the mouth of the river became unsuitable for ships to come in.\(^{33}\)

The economic importance of Balasore in the 17th century was due not only to its being a source of supply of cotton manufactures which could be exported abroad, especially, to Europe and Persia and a market for sale of goods imported from Europe but also to its being invaluable as a sea port. With the rise and growth of Hugli as a prominent port on the Bay, the importance of Balasore dwindled, and fall of Balasore was further accelerated with the river mouth silted up more in course of time, to make the harbour no more suitable for commercial purpose. So long as the English had no settlement or factory in Bengal, their ships had of necessity to depend on Balasore as a port. It had of course several disadvantages observed Thomas Bowrey:

> “This Kingdom atfordeah only one, and that none to be admired, affording not water enough for a ship of 200 tunns in burden to goe into the river, and to ride out is very unnecessary and dangerous, by reason, it is not better than a very very wilds open bay that extendeth it self from point conjaguaree to palmeris.”\(^{34}\)

Even after the subsequent establishment of English factory at Hugli and development of Hugli and Kasimbazar as sources of supply of merchandise of English East India Company's trade, Balasore retained its importance as a seaport. Thus in the seventies of the 17th century, Balasore constituted one of the three “most important English settlements in the Bay. Hugli and Kasimbazar for making sales and investments and


\(^{34}\) Bowrey, p. 152.
Balasore for loading and unloading the European ships for Bengal and Orissa.\textsuperscript{35} Ocean-going ships could not, with safety go up the Ganges to Hugli on account of difficulties of navigation and had necessarily to halt at Balasore Road, and articles were transshipped to Hugli on small sloops and pinnaces. But this naturally proved to be very expensive. It was in 1660 that experimental trips up the river Hugli by ocean-going vessels were sanctioned by the English East India Company.

The prosperity of Balasore as the most profitable trading centre on the Bay of Bengal continued for a period of about half a century. But the same conditions that brought about its rise and flourishment were not found generally after 1780. Adverse geographical forces as well as unfavourable political atmosphere brought often discredit to the same harbour, which at one time helped its improvement & mountain its reputation to a high degree.

II. PIPLI:

Pipli is situated on the northern boundary of Balasore district and the trade mart is about four miles from the mouth of the river Subarnarekha. It became the earliest European settlement on the Bay of Bengal and soon flourished as an important harbour on the Orissan coast. Though it was the earliest European maritime settlement of Orissa, it is rather difficult to say that, it was the first European settlement in Bengal, as suggested by Sanjay Subramanyam.\textsuperscript{36} It is only in the mid-sixteenth century when Chittagong declined owning to the decline of Gaur, the orientation of the Portuguese trade shifted to west Bengal and Orissa. Hence, Orissa enters unambiguously into Portuguese trade networks only around 1560. From this time private Portuguese shipping continued to visit this port on the basis of royal grants. In fact, the Portuguese monopolised the entire trade on the coast and their fleet commanded the whole seaboard from Chittagong to Orissa for a century i.e. from 1514 A.D. to 1615 A.D.\textsuperscript{37} In 1580s they were occasionally given the viceregal documents but in late 1590s, stray royal grants to Pipli crop up again in the records.


\textsuperscript{37} J.J.A. Campos, \textit{History of Portuguese in Bengal}, p. 97.

though one does not know if these voyages were actually made or not.\textsuperscript{38}

Before coming to survey the importance of Pipili, it is important to note that how Pipili came into existence as an European settlement in the early years of sixteenth century. The Portuguese were the first Europeans who had made their settlement on the coast of Orissa. After discovering the sea route to India in 1498, the Portuguese came to the coast of Madras and had their settlements there. But the native people of Madras rose against the Portuguese in a mass due to the growth of foreign power, for which they were forced to move northward in search of another place for their settlement and succeeded in establishing a town at Pipili in 1514 A.D.\textsuperscript{39} But there is difference of opinion regarding the date of arrival of Portuguese in Orissa.\textsuperscript{40}

It is not known whether the Portuguese obtained any \textit{Sanad} from Raja Pratapprudra Deva the then Raja of Orissa for their settlement. But it is just possible that instead of the Portuguese securing a \textit{farman} from the Raja, they might have taken the advantage of the confusing situation prevailing in Orissa because of the serious attack made by Krishna Deva Roy, a powerful King of Vijaynagar. The Portuguese after settling at Pipili were accepted by the Raja because of his sympathetic nature to foreigners as according to the statement of Pies, the Portuguese traveller.

In the seventeenth century the port of Pipili had become an important seat for both the Mughals and the Portuguese. The importance of this port further went up when the Dutch established their earliest and chief settlements of Bengal in 1637. But as the conditions in Hugli became favourable, the chief factory was shifted to the later place and the former became progressively less important till it was finally abandoned.

\textsuperscript{38} Sanjay Subramanyam, \textit{IESHR}, 24 (3), 1987, p. 278.
\textsuperscript{39} J.J.A. Campos, op. cit., p. 97.

\textsuperscript{40} While P. Acharya gives the date of coming of the Portuguese to Pipili in 1516, ("Mayurbhanj and the European factories in Pipili & Balasore"), IHRC, Dec. 1939, p. 225; C.R. Wilson carries the date to 1599 (The Early Annals of the English in Bengal, Vol.- I, p. 636); L.S.S. O’ Malley (Bengal District Gazetteers, Balasore, p. 36); and R.D. Banerjee (History of Orissa, Vol. II, p. 25) supported him in this respect.
in 1676 A.D. due to the silting of the river.\(^{41}\)

But from the account of Bowrey it is evident that some Asian merchants were still active in this port with large ships.\(^{42}\)

Pelsaert in the twenties of the seventeenth century referred to the Portuguese carrying on trade at “Bipilbande (Pipli)”. In April 1633 William Bruton an English factor, then at Hariharpur, described Pipli as a “Port town of the Portuguese.\(^{43}\) The English factor Thomas Colley mentioned in 1633, Pipli as the “ancient rendezvous (i.e. ancient rendezvous) of the Portuguese.\(^{44}\) In 1636 the Portuguese obtained a permission from Mutaqad Khan, the nawab of Cuttack, to establish an additional residency at Pipli.\(^{45}\)

Pipli was another important centre of Dutch commerce. But here also the date of their coming to this place is controversial. At first it was held that the Dutch came to Pipli in 1625.\(^{46}\) Modern researches show that they actually came to Pipli in 1627.\(^{47}\) Certain circumstances brightened the prospects of Pipli. In 1636 the Dutch decided to withdraw their trade from Hugli to Pipli because to monopoly of all trade at Hugli was granted to two merchants and the governmental authorities of the place being unfriendly to the Dutch placed many impediments on their trade.\(^{48}\) The Dutch left Hugli for Pipli in January 1637. At the latter place also they faced opposition from the Muslim merchants, but by obtaining grants from the emperor they succeeded in making Pipli factory their “stable and profitable concern” by 1639.\(^{49}\) Thereafter, the

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\(^{42}\) Bowrey, op. cit., pp. 162-63, 179.


\(^{44}\) EFI, 1630-1633, pp. 308-309.


\(^{47}\) J.J.A. Campos, op. cit., p. 97n.


\(^{49}\) W.H. Moreland, From Akbar to Aurangzeb, p. 47.

\(^{50}\) A. Chatterjee, Bengal in the Reign of Aurangzeb, p. 184.

\(^{51}\) T. Ray Chaudhury, Jan Company in Coromandel, pp. 76-77.
Dutch had a flourishing trade at Pipli and this factory at Pipli was described by John Marshall (1668-1672) as a "handsome one." There is reference to the Dutch demolishing their factory at Pipli by 1676.

Coming to the English establishment at Pipli, here also scholars disagree among themselves. As C.R. Wilson says, "the truth is that the English never had any factory at Pipli, except in the imagination of historians." Sir Henry Yulu, who examined all the records extend relating to this period, is of the same opinion that the English never had a factory at Pipli. On the other hand, W.W. Hunter and Wheeler believe that the English had a factory at Pipli perhaps arose from the provision of Shah Jahan's farman of 1633-1634 (2nd Feb. 1634), allowing the English to trade in Bengal but confining them to Pipli. Alexander Hamilton speaks of an English factory as formerly existing at Pipli, whose river by that time (i.e. 1708) silted up. His statement appears to be too vague to be relied upon. But even though the question of establishment of a factory at Pipli remains uncertain, it is possible that the English ships used to go and stay there on commercial missions.

In his "Travels in the Mughal Empire," Bernier (1656-58) says that Pipli was the most important harbour in the Orissan coast, on the Subarnarekha river about 16 miles from its mouth. There was English settlement in 1634 at Pipli. After the decay of Pipli, Balasore became a considerable harbour.

Thevenot mentions Pipli as a prosperous town. Apart from the cotton manufactures of Pipli, a number of other commodities were also available there. During the visit of Hamilton it was an important centre of trade because it produced

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55 F. Bernier, Travels in the Mughal Empire (1665-58), New Delhi, 1891, pp. 441-443.

the same commodities as Balasore does.\textsuperscript{57} Broad cloths and fine clothes of superior quality were produced and were available at Pipli.\textsuperscript{58} Thevenot while writing of Pipli noted that cotton and silk manufactures were carried on in that place.\textsuperscript{59}

Pipli was a centre of extensive trade. The Portuguese brought from Mallacca and Macao spices, woolen clothes, tin, quick silver and vermilion. They purchased at Pipli many kinds of white cotton cloth and muslin. This brought them huge profit.\textsuperscript{60}

The Mughal officers also owned ships for the purpose of trade. Manrique mentions that the ships of a Siqdar, captained by a Portuguese named TEOTONIO VIEGAS, was to sail for Cochin from Pipli. The ship awaiting her voyage to Cochin had been filled in with different kinds of merchandise.\textsuperscript{61}

The Portuguese even after obtained permission from Akbar to built a church and a fort at Hugli and opened a settlement at Dacca,\textsuperscript{62} continued Pipli remained the main centre of their activities. Pipli turned out to be a great slave market. Portuguese and Arakanese Pirates, were accustomed to sell their prisoners at this place. Pipli also remained a principal centre of Christian religious activities. Early in the 17\textsuperscript{th} century the Angustinians built churches and a good number of residential quarters were built for the Christian fathers.\textsuperscript{63}

The close connection between Balasore and Hugli necessitated constant coastal trade between the two ports via Pipli. This inter-port relation was ultimately extended towards Patna on the one hand and Dacca on the other, when the British Company increasingly participated in the internal trade of the country through water and land routes. The commodities like opium, raw silk, sugar, ginger and saltpetre

\textsuperscript{58} Ibid., p. 304.
\textsuperscript{60} J.J.A. Campos, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 97.
\textsuperscript{61} Manrique's \textit{Diary}, Vol. I, p. 441.
\textsuperscript{62} C.R. Wilson, \textit{op. cit.}, Vol. I, pp. 136-37.
from Bihar were imported in lieu of textile commodities, rice and butter,\textsuperscript{64} which were mainly sent to Bengal. In order to coordinate the country-made commodities from the inland regions for the purpose of trade and also perhaps for their religious propaganda, the Portuguese also had a small settlement built up there. But in the hands of the Portuguese, as it appears, Balasore never played any important role as a trading centre as Pipli\textsuperscript{65} did.

Pipli, where the Portuguese had built their earliest habitation on the Orissa coast, remained the centre of their activities in the seventeenth century. The visit of the Portuguese Captain from Macassar to this place indicated the close Portuguese trade link with the place in the 1630s.\textsuperscript{66} During the visit of Manrique, Pipli was not only a maritime town of Orissa, but a busy port frequented by many Asiatic nations. Manrique speaks of Portuguese activities at Pipli. They maintained trade relationship with Pipli in the 40s of the century.\textsuperscript{67}

The Dutch founded their first settlement at Pipli in 1625 AD\textsuperscript{68} but they shifted their factory to Balasore about the year 1633,\textsuperscript{69} owing to the constant fear of the Portuguese attack.\textsuperscript{70} The dimension of trade at Pipli had enormously grown up during the visit of Manrique. Large quantities of merchandise were collected at this place from the “twelve provinces” of Bengal\textsuperscript{71}. The author has pointed out that the port was frequented by many Asiatic nations\textsuperscript{72}. When, in the thirties of the seventeenth

\textsuperscript{64} Master’s Diary, Vol. II, pp. 215-218, 227, 314-316.
\textsuperscript{65} History of Portuguese in Bengal, p. 97.
\textsuperscript{66} EFI, 1634-36, p. 50.
\textsuperscript{68} J.J.A. Campos, op. cit., p. 97.
\textsuperscript{69} L.S.S. O’Malley, Balasore Gazetteer, p. 37.
\textsuperscript{71} Manrique, Vol. I, p. 144.
\textsuperscript{72} Ibid.
century, cargo of sugar, gum lac, wax, etc. were sent to Surat from Bengal. Hariharpur and Balasore were the only settlements of the English in the Bay, on the seaboard of Orissa.

The ship Josiaha, a rich ship and richly loaded too, set out on her voyage to London from the port of Pipli on 26 February, 1700. The vessel was loaded with 500 bales from sutanuti, about 200 bales from Kasimbazar, and 7 or 800 bales of finest sorts from Pipli. Her Cargo on board was valued above 8 lakhs of rupees. In the mid-seventeenth century the Dutch used to import saltpetre from Patna and its neighbourhood to Pipli, where they refined it and then exported to Europe. The amount of export was about 2000 tons a year. It is to be further noted that the volume of yearly import was 1000, 2000 or 3000 mound.

The port of Pipli was once admirably suited for a harbour, but it is an irony that, this river which discharges water to the level of 500,000 cubic feet per second at a maximum, was first to be silted up of all the rivers in Balasore district. Except monsoon, the bar of the river was unsafe throughout the year at least from the thirties of the seventeen-century. Another cause was that the British factory at Pipli did not fare better. The river Subarnarekha was silted and therefore there was a need for the transfer of British factors stationed there to Balasore factory. Above all this silting up of the bed of the river Subarnarekha also must have affected the trade facilities so far enjoyed by the Portuguese, who were for some time strong rivals to the British trade. With the decline of the Portuguese trade at Pipli, the weavers or other artisans, who were used to supply needed articles to the Portuguese traders now diverted their attention to the Balasore port and the British traders took the full advantage of

73 EFI, 1634-36, p. 212.
75 Ibid., p. 41.
76 EFI, 1655-1660, p. 297.
77 EFI, 1651-1654, p. 95.
winning over them to supply goods for their trade.

Inspite of this disadvantage, Pipili was a place of great commercial importance. Its importance arose because of the fact that most of the finest textile producing centre like Mohanpur, Olmara, Danton and Jaleswar stood very close to her. Hence, during the time of Manrique, it was a very busy port frequented by many Asiatic nations. Throughout the period Pipili remained a Portuguese dominated trade centre in Orissa. Their dominance and control over this trade was a natural corollary of Portuguese domination over Indian Ocean trade which was signified by the introduction of the system of pass or cartazes for the native traders in India by the Portuguese. It imposed restrictions on the trade of Indians in pepper, iron, copper, wood and spices. The above mentioned articles of trade were treated as royal monopolies. But what exactly, happened to the traders of Orissa, we, at the moment, are not in a position to describe owing to paucity of data.

III. HARIHARPUR:

Hariharpur is a village adjoining the present Jagatsinghpur, situated about 25 miles from Cuttack. On the mouth of river Patua, a bifurcation of Mahanadi. This place was also called Harsapur or Harishpur. It was a place where the English formed their first settlement in Orissa in the year 1633 because of the decline of their trade establishment at Masulipatanam and more due to the growing scarcity of cloth. It was then a town, six or seven miles in compass. Many merchants lived there and the town was fairly populous. It is stated that a governor also resided at Hariharpur. Bruton states “the town is very full of people, there are many merchants in it and a plenty of all things; here is also clothes of all sorts, great store, for their belong to this

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81 W.H. Moreland, India at the Death of Akbar, p. 224.
84 It is stated that Hariharpur was a city of Vishnu and Shiva combined.
town at least 3000 weavers,\(^{86}\) that are all house keepers, besides all other that do work being bound or hired.\(^{87}\)

The Dutch also established trade settlement at Hariharpur. Peter Mundy (1628-1632) mentioned Horrespore as a port.\(^{88}\) From Hariharpur the Dutch purchased *calicoes* of considerable quantity in the seventies of the seventeenth century.\(^{89}\)

The Portuguese became too much envious at the presence of the English factors at Hariharpur (21\(^{\text{st}}\) April, 1633) for the reason that their monopolistic trade would suffer and the profits they derived from such trade would decline in consequence of a competition with another prospective European power like the English. This prompted them to pick up hostilities with the English and if possible to drive them away from the Orissa coast. Therefore, when the English opened a port at Hariharpur, the Portuguese frigate from Pipli launched an attack on the first English 'Junk' and brought the defeat to the English on the coast of Orissa in the same year 1633.\(^{90}\) Similarly, the Dutch having been established in Balasore did not wish to tolerate rivalry in trade. The Dutch were the pioneers of Bengal trade. The "ruthless efficiency of the Dutch commercial machine," posed a very trying problem for the English traders. Commercially speaking, for the larger part of the 17\(^{\text{th}}\) century, the East India Company was far behind of the Dutch Company.\(^{91}\)

Hariharpur was an important centre of trade and manufacture of all kinds of cloths. *Sannoes* and *cassae* were produced in huge quantities. Within a month of the English settlement at his place, Mr. Colley made a bulk purchase of cloths. In 1633, he purchased nearly four thousand pieces of cloths at Hariharpur.\(^{92}\) The Company’s


\(^{88}\) Peter Mundy, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 152.

\(^{89}\) T. Bowrey, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

\(^{90}\) J.I.A. Campos, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

\(^{91}\) *Bengal Past and Present*, Vols. 79-80, Serial 147-148, 1960, p. 31.

agent at Hariharpur wrote on 17th July, 1633 to Cartwright at Balasore that "I can get musters of cassaes which are now making ...." at Hariharpur.\textsuperscript{93} The sannoes produces here usually went by the name Hariharpur sannoes.\textsuperscript{94}

Hamilton observed that Hariharpur was a prosperous town and a great commercial centre. "There is a fine river that invites strangers to frequent it" for cotton cloth, rice, which were produced in great plenty. Thus articles available at Hariharpur could be transported to other parts of Orissa by the river Mahanadi.\textsuperscript{95}

Bowrey mentions that a considerable quantity of calicoes manufactured at Hariharpur were sold to the Dutch and English traders. He observes "English and the Dutch are first to bring over land the textiles of Hariharpur to their respective factories at Balasore."\textsuperscript{96} 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. In this year two Danish ships arrived at Hariharpur.\textsuperscript{97}

It is evident that Sannoes were produced in Hariharpur which was an important item of British commerce in Orissa. Master noted the size of Sannoes manufactured at Hariharpur. It was 30 covids long and 2 covids broad. The Company needed a supply of 200 corge of sannoes of the above size.\textsuperscript{98} The Company off and on insisted upon Hariharpur sannoes. In 1677-78, they opted for the same variety of sannoes which were sent home in 1676.\textsuperscript{99} Obviously, the sannoes produces in Hariharpur were qualitatively superior. In 1678, Richard the Company's factor at Balasore, was directed to contact the merchants of Hariharpur for sannoes in

\textsuperscript{93} EFI, 1630-33, p. 308.
\textsuperscript{94} E.B. Sainsbury (ed.), A Calendar of the Court Minutes etc. of East India Company, 1650-54, Oxford, 1913, pp. 209, 339.
\textsuperscript{96} T. Bowrey, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 129.
\textsuperscript{97} EFI, 1637-41, p. XIV.
\textsuperscript{99} Sundry Book, 1677-78, p. 92.
Head, Belly and Foot.\textsuperscript{100} The contract for the investment made by the chief of Balasore on 17\textsuperscript{th} July 1679, reveals that huge quantity of Hariharpur \textit{sannoes} was needed as per the requirement of the Company.\textsuperscript{101}

It is evident from the account of Hamilton that Hariharpur flourished as an important town towards the close of the seventeenth century. Traders frequented this place for its long celebrated cotton cloth and various other commodities.\textsuperscript{102} The English East India Company, transported their goods from Hariharpur by land routes to Balasore,\textsuperscript{103} for transshipment to various destinations. During the visit of Hamilton, Hariharpur was the principal market of Orissa for its cotton cloth and rice.\textsuperscript{104} Traders visited this place both by land and river routes. From the account of this author, it seems that trade links existed between Hariharpur and Puri.\textsuperscript{105}

Like Pipli, Hariharpur port also in the first half of the seventeenth century was already silted up. Manrique in the forties of the seventeenth century described the mouth of this river as “sand-banks, being soaked by the lashing and driving were which the sea raised and he entered the port with great difficulty” by a boat thus leaving the ship.\textsuperscript{106} Bowrey in the seventies describes it ‘none to be admired, affords not water enough for a ship of 200 tones in burden to go into the river, and to ride out is very unnecessary and dangerous.’\textsuperscript{107} Thus it was for this reason that the English factory was abandoned here in 1642.\textsuperscript{108}

\textsuperscript{100} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{101} Master’s Diary, Vol. II, p. 217.


\textsuperscript{103} Master’s Diary, Vol. II, p. 236.


\textsuperscript{105} Ibid., p. 214; EFI, 1630-33, p. 308.

\textsuperscript{106} Manrique, Vol. II, p. 95.

\textsuperscript{107} T. Bowrey, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 129.

\textsuperscript{108} EFI, 1642-1645, p. 126.
IV. GINGELLY COAST:

The Gingelly coast which was extending from the Godavari delta to Jagannath Puri, was one of the most important trading centre in our period. Thomas Bowrey in the seventies of the seventeenth century gives a glowing testimony about the fertility of land at Gingelly coast. He writes that, "it was the most delicate country for the use of man......and the land abounding with all necessaries for the sustenance of mankind." He further says this was one of the most fertile lands in the universe. Where they have annually three crops, each yielding great increase. And their butter and rice and oyle is for the most part made of mustard seeds and is vendible all India and south seas over. Hamilton found, Ganjam fruitful in rice and sugar-cane. and they make pretty good sugars both white and brown. The often-notable manufactures were bees-wax and iron which were pretty good. The inland countries also manufactured several sorts of cotton cloths of both fine and coarse varieties which were fit for exportation.

The date of arrival of the Dutch into Orissa definitely refers to their trade settlements in the Gingelly coast. Bowrey opines that the Gingelly coast was accommodated for navigation sake enjoying many pleasant and good harbours. He, however, does not specify the names of the harbours. In spite of poor demand of their wares in this region, the Dutch were able to make a gross profit of 2,500 pagodas by investing 1,000 Pagodas in 1618. Their trade at this place was efficiently

109 EFI, 1622-1623, p. 154n.
110 T. Bowrey, op. cit., pp. 120-121.
111 Ibid., p. 128.
112 Ibid., p. 120.
113 Ibid., p. 121.
114 Ibid., p. 128.
115 The town remained under the Kingdom of Golconda in our period.
117 Ibid., p. 209.
118 Ibid., p. 208.
119 T. Bowrey, op. cit., p. 120.
120 One Pagoda was equal to 3½ rupees.
organised in 1628-1629 by deploying one or two large ships.\textsuperscript{121} There is also reference to the Dutch carrying on considerable trade at this place in 1638\textsuperscript{122}

Towards the end of the seventeenth century the English attempted to found a factory at Ganjam. The initiative came from the chief and council at Vizagapatam. In reply to their letter, the Fort St. George authorities observed in April, 1694 that the Company had forbidden to found any new settlement. But they assure the Vizagapatam factors that they would refer the matter to the Company.\textsuperscript{123} The sequel is not known except that is 1747-1748 John Andrews was President at Ganjam Factory. The Ganjam factory was a great commercial establishment of the English, having a resident, a council artillery and troops.\textsuperscript{124} Though the English are reported to have trade contracts with Gingelly coast but it is uncertain if they had any factor there. In 1675 an English factor went to Gingelly to see what goods would be available there.\textsuperscript{125} William Norris, the English ambassador, requested Aurangzeb in 1698 to grant him permission for establishing English factor at Gingelly.\textsuperscript{126} But as Norris embassy ended in failure, it is likely that this prayer also not granted by the Emperor.

At Ganjam and the adjacent places, Alexander Hamilton noticed in 1708 the manufacture of several varieties of cotton clothes. He however does not mention their names. Ganjam was an important centre for cotton textiles in Orissa. The English purchased \textit{salampores} from Ganjam in 1747-1748. Though not definitely mentioned, it is likely that these were produced there.\textsuperscript{127} It is evident from the account of Bowrey that \textit{calicoes} especially the \textit{betillis} were produced in Ganjam and other places on the coast of Gingelly which extended from the estuary of the Godavari to Jagannath.\textsuperscript{128}

\footnotesize
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{121} T. Ray Chaudhury, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 78.
\item \textsuperscript{122} F.C. Danvers, \textit{Reports to the Secretary of State for India on the Portuguese Records relating to the East India}, p. 42.
\item \textsuperscript{123} \textit{Letters from Fort St. George}, 1694, pp. 36-37.
\item \textsuperscript{124} W.W. Hunter, \textit{Orissa}, Vol. II, p. 44; \textit{Bengal Past and Present}, Vols. 79-80, Serials, 147-148, 1960, p. 27.
\item \textsuperscript{125} Sir Charles Fawcett, \textit{EFI}, 1670-1677, New Series, pp. 268-269.
\item \textsuperscript{127} A. Hamilton, \textit{op. cit.}, Vol. I, p. 209.
\item \textsuperscript{128} T. Bowrey, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 120-121.
\end{itemize}

The industry also flourished in various centres situated in the interior parts of Ganjam. Different types of clothes both fine and coarse were manufactured. But we do not have any reference to the production of woollen cloth. Again it is evident that woollen cloths were worn by the people of Puri and sheep were available at Gingelly coast, so most probably in medieval Orissa some woollen goods were produced. Hamilton observed that all these clothes manufactured in Ganjam were of high quality and hence were fit for export.

The English merchants found Ganjam suitable for their investment in various commodities besides textiles. *Cassaes, mulmuls* and *sannoes* were manufactured in Ganjam and the centres situated north of Ganjam. Printed cloths were being produced in Ganjam during this period. The textile of this part of Orissa was famous for its quality as well as cheapness of price.

The English East India Company had established close contact with the weavers of Ganjam. There was a rush of merchants other than the English for securing cotton textiles manufactured here. Nollacopille Dowle was the most influential merchant at Ganjam in 1700 A.D. He offered higher prices to the weavers in the hope of persuading them to sell their textiles to him rather than to the English. Ganjam also attracted the Moors and Comty traders. The competition for obtaining the local textiles was so keen that Moors and Comty traders resorted to bribery.

The Coromandel coast traditionally depended upon the Gingelly coast for rice. This dependency though was not absolute, still not unconsiderable. In 1679, Master then agent of the English at Fort St. George found on the river near the Dutch factory at Narasapur many vessels that were engaged in the rice trade of Gingelly. In

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130 T. Bowrey, *op. cit.*, p. 121.
135 Ibid.
1712, the interference of the Vizagapatam authorities hampered the import of rice to that place from Ganjam.\(^{137}\) Generally, a few areas in southern Coromandel produced sufficient rice; but in the time of any natural calamity they failed to meet their own need and imported from Orissa. Hence, the places to which she exported rice, would depend on the supply situation there. If there were any shortage in central or southern Coromandel, then almost all the shipments would be directed from Bimlipatnam and Ganjam to places like Pulicat, Madras, Sadrasapatam and Porto Novo.\(^{138}\) But if there was no shortage here then rice from Gingelly coast was exported to Achin, Malacca, Ceylon, Maldives and even to West Asia.\(^{139}\) Butter and oil used to come to Junk-Ceylon islands from the coast of Gingelly is the seventeenth century.\(^{140}\) In the seventies of the 17th century Bowrey refers to the export of lac from the coast of Gingelly\(^{141}\) without mentioning its destination.

In the later part of the year 1694, one French Ship, the Royal James and Mary appeared at Ganjam.\(^{142}\) The servants of the English East India Company were alarmed at the appearance of the French ships at the Ganjam port in August 1694.\(^{143}\)

The local merchants were subjected to the payment of internal customs duties, as well as, other exactions to the government officials. The Hindu merchants of the Gingelly coast besides paying the usual taxes and duties had to pay many extra taxes that the Muslim officer of the place used to charge from them. Although some of the richest Indian merchants lived there they could not display their wealth for fear of extortion by the Muhammedan officials as well as for the fact that after their death their properties would belong to the emperor and their descendants could inherit these only by the mercy of the emperor.\(^{144}\) Sometimes the merchants evaded internal

\(^{138}\) S. Arasaratanam, Merchants, Companies and Commerce on the Coromandel Coast, 1650-1740, O.U.P., 1986, p. 103.
\(^{139}\) Ibid.
\(^{140}\) T. Bowrey, op. cit., p. 247.
\(^{141}\) Ibid., pp. 121-122.
\(^{142}\) Diary and Consultation, 1694, p. 108.
\(^{143}\) Letters from Fort, 1694, p. 70.
\(^{144}\) T. Bowrey, op. cit., pp. 126-127.
customs duties by eluding the constant vigilance of the faujdari officials.\textsuperscript{145}

At the end of the seventeenth century, there was a rise of entrepreneurial spirit among the merchants. This was largely due to the effects of the boom of the seventeenth century Asian trade. 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. In the second half of the seventeenth century, the trend of rice export from Gingelly coast to Coromandel itself was brisk, "because of the rising population of her port-settlements along the coast and a greater incidence of failure of harvests caused by natural and political factors."\textsuperscript{146}

V. OTHER MINOR PORTS:

Apart from the above mentioned ports, we have also in records name of ports such as Hijli, Manikpatam, Kanika, Cuttack, Bimlipatam, Vizagapatam and Ganjam, etc. in our period. But these ports were used only for occasional coastal trade in foodstuffs in small boats and vessels because the northern ports, particularly Balasore, Pipili and Hariharpur came to much more prominence than these ports after the Muslim conquest of Orissa. During the time of Akbar, the centre of gravity being changed, some of the southern ports of Orissa lost their former glories. The reason of such change lies in the political situation. Orissa being included in the province of Bengal for the administrative purpose in the early part of the Muslim rule, the Muslim governor with its headquarters in Bengal was naturally more interested in the northern ports than in the southern ones, which were due to their distance or due to their not being completely subdued for certain times.

The Portuguese after getting established at Pipili, proceeded further northwards in search of other foothold and founded a settlement at Hijli, which was noted as a sea port situated at the mouth of the Rusulpur river.\textsuperscript{147} Manrique (1628-29) observed it to

\textsuperscript{145} EFI, 1670-1677, New Series, p. 365.
\textsuperscript{146} Arasaratanam, Merchants, Companies and Commerce.........., 1650-1740, pp. 11.
\textsuperscript{147} R. Fitch in W. Foster's Early Travels, p. 25n; L.N. Rout, Socio-Economic Life in Medieval Orissa, 1568-1751, Calcutta, 1988, p. 172.
be a port of trade.\textsuperscript{148} We do not know when the Portuguese came to Hijli, but ultimately it became an important centre of their trade as Manrique mentioned that the Portuguese who settled at Hugli conducted the salt trade of Hijli.\textsuperscript{149} The port of Hijli was crowded by ships from different countries. Generally ships from “Negapatam, Sumatra, Malacca and diverse other places came there for trade purposes.”\textsuperscript{150} However the Portuguese were expelled from Hijli in 1636\textsuperscript{151} but their pillaging activities in the Orissa coast continued unabated. The English Company also sometimes engaged in Hijli for trading activities as it evident from the English Factory Records. The English factors in Bengal in their letter to Madras (1\textsuperscript{st} September 1665) made mention of export of salt from Hijli to Hugli.\textsuperscript{152} Ralph Fitch informs that ships from Sumatra were coming to the port of Hijli.\textsuperscript{153}

At Manikpatam the Dutch were invited by the Mughal ‘Governor’ or ‘Faujdar’ in 1621 to open a factory there,\textsuperscript{154} Manikpatam was a harbour situated near the mouth of Chilka.\textsuperscript{155} Abul Fazl mentioned (1595-1596) Manikpatam to be a ‘large port’ where salt dues were collected.\textsuperscript{156} Bowrey mentioned Manikpatam as a seaport on the coast of Gingelly.\textsuperscript{157}

Towards the end of the seventeenth century, the English attempted to found a factory at Ganjam. The initiative for this came from the chief and council at Vizagapatam. In reply to their letter, the Fort St. George authorities observed in April 1694 that the Company had forbidden finding any new settlement. But they assure the Vizagapatam factors that they would refer the matter to the Company\textsuperscript{158}. We do not

\textsuperscript{148} Manrique, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 149.
\textsuperscript{149} Ibid., p. 392.
\textsuperscript{150} W. Foster, Early Travels in India, p. 23.
\textsuperscript{152} EFI, 1665-1667, p. 138.
\textsuperscript{154} EFI, 1618-1621, p. 254n.
\textsuperscript{155} EFI, 1630-1633, p. 189n.
\textsuperscript{156} Abul Fazl, Ain-i-Akbari, Tr. by H.S. Jarrett, Vol. II, p. 156.
\textsuperscript{157} Bowrey, op. cit., pp. 122-123.
\textsuperscript{158} Letters from Fort St. George, 1694, pp. 36-37.
know what was the exact sequel of the Ganjam Factory except that it was a great commercial establishment of the English.\textsuperscript{159}

About the port of Mamentipatam as we know that the Portuguese carried on a large amount of trade there in the year 1621. This place was about 15 to 20 miles from Pipli. The Governor of Mamentipatam had sent a message through the Bengali merchants inviting the Dutch to come to this port for trade. A large amount of Bengal textiles were reportedly available at this place.\textsuperscript{160}

As regards Cuttack factory, we have no details prior to 1708. Alexander Hamilton, tells us that the English had a ‘fine factory’ at Cuttack and that its walls were still standing during his visit to that place.\textsuperscript{161}

The Dutch had moved to Vizagapatam following the temporary closure of the Masulipatanam factory in 1619. An agreement had been reached with the Governor Vizagapatam obliged the Company to pay a duty of 2.5 per cent on goods actually sold there. A considerable amount of trade used to be carried on from Vizagapatam but most of it had now been lost. At Vizagapatam, one could buy cotton-yarn, rice, arak and other provisions over the last two years a severe drought had inflicted the area. As a result, there were a number of starvation deaths and a virtual cessation of trade. This was revealed from Andries Soury’s letter at Vizagapatam to Coen at Jakatra on 16\textsuperscript{th} September 1619.\textsuperscript{162}

\textsuperscript{159} W.W. Hunter, \textit{Orissa,} Vol. II, p. 44; \textit{Bengal Past and Present,} Vols. 79-80, Serials 147-148, 1960, p. 27.
\textsuperscript{160} Om Prakash, \textit{Dutch Factories in India, 1617-1623,} New Delhi, 1984, p. 161.
\textsuperscript{162} Om Prakash, \textit{Dutch Factories in India, 1617-1623,} pp. 112-113.