CHAPTER 4: NEGOTIATED PHYSICAL SPACES AND THE ECONOMIC LANDSCAPES IN EARLY COLONIAL BENGAL

INTRODUCTION:

Bernier has vividly described the wealth of Bengal about a century before British conquest. According to him, Bengal mass-produced rice in such profusion that it not only supplied its neighbors but many remote places. Bengal's excess rice was transported by sea to Masulipatam and the ports on the Coast of Coromandel, Maldives, and Ceylon. It's sugar was exported to Golkonda, Arabia, Mesopotamia, and Persia. Of commodities of value, silk and cotton cloth exported as far as Lahore and Kabul but also for all the neighboring kingdoms and Europe.[1]

Verelst ascribed the prosperity of Bengal before Plassey to the "cheapness and quality and the huge traffic of the products manufactured. Besides the huge investments of the many European nations, the Bengal raw silk, cloth, etc., to a vast amount was dispersed to the West and North inland as far as Gujarat, Lahore, and even Ispahan." [2]

The disorder and anarchism in the Asiatic countries, the breakup of the Mughal Empire and the flow of inexpensive Chinese silk, and the Dutch sugar to the ports on the western coast of India, no doubt, led to a sizeable reduction of this massive movement of goods. The *Bargi* invasions into Bengal generated some momentary dislodgment on her western frontier. But the effects of these turbulences must not be exaggerated. The Mughal Empire disintegrated during the years 1739-1759, but the Mughal institution remained. The Mughal noblemen, who were successful in carving out independent principalities, felt that they would command respect if only they could make miniature replicas of the Mughal darbar in their courts. During all these an inordinate length of time, from 1739 to 1759, there was the Mughal Emperor in Delhi, Nawab Wazir of

Oudh, the little ruhela chiefs in the north and the Nizam in the south. Despite occasional disturbances, the cotton fabric and Bengal silk must have been sold almost as before in different parts of India and the neighboring regions. We see that the House of Jagat Seth was at the pinnacle of its riches in early 1757. The following description of Bolts, although he does not assign the date, was accurate from Bengal at the time of the demise of Alivardi Khan ... 'A variety of merchants from different nations, religions, such as Multanys, Cashmeerians, Patans, Sheiks, Poggayahs, Sunniasys, Betteeas, and many others used to recourse to Bengal in *Caffeelahs* or large groups of thousands along with oxen troops to transport products from diverse parts of Hindostan. But throughout the period from 1757 to 1772, the so-called servants of the English East India Company with the support of agents were responsible for such procedures that deterred all merchants from various parts of India from approaching to Bengal. The domain of the favored British private traders altered the state of the Indian market, and in the 1760s and 1770s, it was very dissimilar from what it was in the 1750s. The "prodigious traffic" of its manufacturers in India became a thing of the past very soon. In the 1980s, the British tried to generate an Indian market for Bengal products and also for European imports. They looked around and discovered that domestic trade had gradually declined for many years. [3]

4.1 COMMUNICATION (LAND AND WATER)

The state of communications within a country greatly influences its economic condition. The whole province of Bengal was then covered with a network of roads not to speak of places like Calcutta, Patna, Murshidabad, and Dacca[4] (which were connected by roads with Bhutan and Nepal in the north, Ganjam in the south Singbhum, Palamau, and Chotanagpur in the south-west, Benares and Gazipur in the west, Betiah in the north-west, Sylhet, Jaintia and Khaspur in the

northeast, an Islamabad (i.e., Chittagong), Rajeghat, and Julkuddar in the south-east),--even places like Burdwan or Nagore, which were not then regarded so important as the four cities mentioned above, had important roads running from and to the different parts of the country. For example, from Burdwan, there were two roads running to Chandernagore and thence to Calcutta, one to Tamluk, one to Rajmahal, one to Sainpahary (Tinpahar, E. I. R. Loop), one to Lacaracondah,[5] one to Radhanagore, one to Chandracona, and one to Furruckabad (a few miles above Sooty, the junction of the Ganges and the Bhagirathi). Similarly, Cassimbazar was connected by the following roads with different parts of the country. There was one from Cassimbazar to Patna,[6] one to Burdwan, one to Jalanghi and thence to Dacca, one to Rampur Boalia, one to Meenkhot and Dinajpur; one to Ballitunghee, [7] one to Birbhum, one to Maldah, one to Rungpur an thence to Rangamati and Gwalpara passing through Bowanyganj, etc.,[8] one to Birkity;[9] one to Jummucandy (Kandi in the Murshidabad District) and thence to Surrool (Surul near Bolpur) in the Birbhum district[10] Such instances may be easily multiplied.

Not only did the roads run from one important centre of a part of Bengal to other important centres in different parts but also a single district was intersected by many roads, running from one part of it to another, As for example there were the following cross-roads in Birbhum –(a) from Nagore to Deoghur,[11] (b) from Nagore to Comerabad (Koomrabad),(c) from Nagore to Malutu,[12] (d) from Nagore to Margong (Maragrama),[13] (e) three roads from Nagore to Suri—(1) north road, passing through Bolioghat, Battua, Suri, --(2) middle road, through Dulebpur, Coddya, Suri,--(3) south road, through Beccesore (Bakkeswar), Serampurghat, Suri, (f) from Nagore to Kistnagur and Elambazar, (g) from Nagore to Supur,[14] (h) from Nagore to Lacaracoddah and Ukhara, (i) from Nagore to Pachet,[15] (j) from Suri to Boudgram, (k) from Suri to Gomhi, (l) from Suri to Bahary(near Surul), (m) from suri to Surul and Supur, (n) from Suri to

Curnagore (Karnagada), (o) from kackanpur (a small village on the Ajay river) to Jallyne, (p) from Fatepur to Dyoucha, (q) from Margong(Margram) to Noagong(Noagrama). The road from Nagore to Jangipur[16] lay through Bohoghat, Carracoondy, Puranagrama, Purchandpura, Bilaspur, margong (Maragrama), Ningha, Badhur, sonkoe, Mirzapur, Jangipur.[17]

The most interior parts of the country were also connected by roads with the distant capital cities, these roads were always in use, and have been carefully noted by Rennel. The interior of the Eastern part of Bengal, especially the tract lying east of Dacca, was not provided with so many good roads as the Western part[18] owing chiefly to the presence of numerous rivers and creeks. The famous places in that part were, however, connected by roads from Calcutta small hills to the eastward which sometimes came within half a mile of the roadway.[19]

From Rennel, we can also get an idea of the "post-roads" of the time.[20] These were six in number running towards different directions from Calcutta:--

(1) From Calcutta to Buxar (through chandernagore, Hugli, Khulna, Plassey, Berhampur, Cassimbazar, Murshidabad, Garreah, Sooty, Udayanalla, Rajmahal, Terriagully, Bhagalpur, Mongye, Balgauda, Bar, Patna, Dinajpore, Arrah, Buxar).

(2) From Calcutta to Dinajpur, via Murshidabad(through Bhogwangola, crossing the Ganges at Godagarry, Nabobganj, Nishapur, Buxiganj, Dinajpur)

(3) From Calcutta to Dacca (through Mullickpur, Moorley (Jessore), Mahmudpur, Hajiganj, Dacca).

(4) From Calcutta to Burdwan

(5) From Calcutta to Balasore via Minapur, Narangur, Jelasore, Balasore

(6) from Calcutta to Kulpi.

Up till the middle of the 18th century, there were no good roads from Calcutta towards the up-country, through the western part of the Subah(i.e., through the Chotanagpur hills), used by ordinary traffic, although military troops had during the 16th and 17th centuries passed through that portion. This was because the limits of efficient Mughal Administration reached with the present districts of Birbhum and Santal Parganas, and, beyond them to the West, the rest of the country was in the hands of various semi-independent native chieftains. In the early days of East India Company, this upland country was referred to by multiple names indicative of certain portions of the whole country, such as 'Ramgur,' 'Nagpore,' Shereghauty,' 'Bellagaut,'; Jarakond,' etc., and up till the middle of the 18th century, the country between Sherghati and Pachet(Western Regions, i.e., Raniganj and adjacent tracts) was a blank on the map.[21] But the importance of "ascertaining the most practicable way through the hills" was being gradually recognized.[22] In December 1763, Lieutenant Nicholl (who ten months later showed his gallantry at the battle of Buxar) "was sent to survey the line of road between the Karamnasa river and Calcutta and he executed the task to the great satisfaction of his Military service"[23] In November-December 1763 a considerable body of British troops, in Major Adam's campaign against Mir Kasim, marched across the Chotanagpur plateau[24] In 1766 Dugloss (An Engineer) was deputed to South Bihar to examine the passes through the hills.[25] The road from Patna to Gaya passed via Futwah through Parsura, Hilsa, Islampur, Bunadiganj, Manpur, Muradganj, and it is also significant to note that in a journey from Patna to Gaya the travelers had to pay tolls in twenty-four places.[26] Vijayarama's *Tirthamangala,* mentions that Krsnacandra Ghosala who went on a pilgrimage in about 1767 A D, had to pay tolls at Muradganj (for all the members of his party) amounting to Rs 8 or Rs 9, at Manpur the members of the party had to pay 12 pice (8

annas) each. At that time, all this toll money went to the pocket of one Madhavarama, who had perhaps taken the road in a lease for that term.[27]

WATERWAYS:

The Ganges and the Brahmaputra and with their numerous tributaries were the chief waterways throughout the country, Rennel writes – "The Ganges and Burramooter Rivers, together with their numerous branches and adjuncts, intersect the country of the Bengal (independent of Behar and Orissa is somewhat larger than Great Britain) in such a diversity of directions, as to create the most comprehensive and tranquil inland navigation that can be perceived. So equally and commendably diffused are the natural canals, over the country that approaches closely to a perfect plane, that, after expecting the lands contiguous to Burdwan, Birboom, etc., which may be reckoned a sixth part of the Bengal, we may securely pronounce, that almost every other part of the country, even in dry season, some navigable watercourse within 25 miles at furthest, and more usually within the third part of that distance. It was supposed that inland navigation almost gives constant occupation to 30,000 boatmen. It is wondered at, that all the salt and the large proportion of food consumed by ten the millions of people are carried by water throughout the Kingdom of Bengal and its other dependencies. These must be supplemented with the transport of commercial exports-imports and probably to the volume of two millions of sterlings per annum, the substitution of manufactures and the products throughout the country;"[28] There were two chief water-passages from Calcutta upwards –(1) one via the Jalanghi river passing through[29] Ghyretty, Chinsurah, Hugli, Kumarhatta, Kanchrapara, Somda, Miaserai, Patvagrama, Guptipara, Gokilganja, Harinadi,[30] Chogdah, Pubeah Haut, Culna, Nadia, Krishnanagar, Rookpur Creek, Taigaree, Putimari, Natyputah, Jhinukghata, Ballitunghee,

Kassibarya, Buxipur, Peapur, Boyrub Creek, Cutlamary, Bogwangola, Meankot, Head Cossi River,[31] the other via the Bhagirathi River, up to Nadia as before and then through Mertala, Kasthasali, Beldanga, Sikiragachi, Gotpara, Ghoraiksetram Kasipur, Gradvip, Dnaihat, Matiari, Barbazar, Katwah, Plassey, Mahata, Syamnagar, Chumrigacha, Khidirpur, Saydabad, Kassimbazar, Dahapara, Snaikuli, Murshidabad, Jiaganj, Saddekbari, Bellyeah, Laksipurm (modern Faeullapur), Sahebghata, Sooty.[32] From Sooty the route lay through the Ganges proper, passing by the following places:-- Farakkabad, Khajuria, Kasyaban, Udayanala, Rajmahal, Sakrigaly, Terrigully, Pirpainti, Sahabaj, Patharghatta, Colgoan, Bhagalpur, Sultan-ganj, Jahangera, Mongyr, Surajgara, Darriarpur, Punarak, Barh,[33] Bykuntpur, Futwah, Patna.[34] In the water-passage from Calcutta to Dacca, one had to go first to the Head Jalanghi (or Padma) river (as before); then down the Ganges to Pubna, and through the Ecchhamati river to Jaffarganj and along Dhaleswari to Dacca.[35] From Dacca to Goalpara the water-route lay up the Lakhmia (Luckya) river and along the old Brahmaputra.[36] The route from Dacca to Sylhet was through the Buriganga, Little Meghna, and Surma rivers.[37]

The large number of tributary rivers, nullahs, and creeks, running almost through every part of the province, especially East Bengal, afforded excellent means of communications through which even the interior villages were always within the easy reach of travelers or merchants, Rennel observed—"The Kingdom of Bengal, particularly the Eastern Front is naturally the most convenient for trade within itself of any country in the world; for the rivers divide into just a number of Branches that the people have the convenience of water carriage to and from every principal place"[38] Stavorinus also made a similar remark –"The country is everywhere intersected, with large and broad channels, which all run into the Ganges. All merchandise is conveyed, by means of these passages, with great facility, from one place to

another throughout the land, and the chief branches of the river communicate hereby with each other. They are agreeably bordered on either side, with many towns and villages, and with pleasant fields, of arable and pasture-land, which reders the face of the country very beautiful Among these channels, there are some, which are wide and deep enough, to be navigable for large ships."[39] The numerous canals in the Sunderbans were "so disposed as to form complete navigation through and across the lower portion of the Delta without any delay of going round the head of it or the hazard of putting to the sea."[40] The Budarashon creek was navigable throughout the year for large boats and was a "good track for boats bound from Sunderbund to Jelenghee."[41] Another small creek running out towards Rajanagore[42] and thence to Luricule,[43] and then the Meghna afforded a good passage for large boats from one river to another, but the creek which ran out four miles farther down, supplied a shorter passage. In the dry season neither of these was navigable or large boats at low water but "the delay occasioned by that" was "of trifling consequence when compared with the danger and risk of navigating Meghna, for unless this creek existed, the boats for Sunderbund to Dacca, Assam, etc., must have gone up that river."[44] The Kobbatuck or Kobaduck river (an offshoot of the Mathabhanga), which formed the boundary between the districts of Nadia, the 24-Paraganas, and Jessore and was said to be a branch either of the Corner or the Ichhamati river, was navigable up to Sunderbans for large boats. The Burashee river, another branch of the Corner (Passing thorough the present Jessore district), was also navigable throughout the year for very large boats. The common route from Kusthia to Jaynagore and Hobbygunge lay through the Lethydoman (or eastmost branch of the Kusthia creek).[45] The shortest passage from Hajiganj to Dacca and Luckipur was provided by the Nawabganj creek, which by joining the Ichhamati and the Dhaleswari rivers about Feringybazar sent out several branchs, and was navigable throughout the year.[46] The Ichhamati river was

navigable all the year for large boats. A small creek running out of the Dhaleswari river at Sapur up to the Ichhamati river was navigable throughout the year for boats of moderate size. The Karnaphuli river afforded a water passage from Chittagong for nearly 50 miles up to Rangamati. Opposite to the north-west point of Hajiganj, a large creek ran out to the southward and southeast making the shortest passage to Habiganj from that part of the country, thuis creek was navigable all the year for large boats.[47] The Durgapur creek running opposite Barisal to the eastward afforded the common rout from Luckipur to Bakarganj[48] , and the Buriganga river, on which Dacca was situated, was navigable in the dry season for large boats.[49] At Allynya,[50] a branch of the Meghna's turned off to the south-east and fell into the great Meghna again at Chandpur, after taking a course of about 24 miles; this branch named the Panghia was navigable all the year for large boats. Two miles above Alyynya, a large creek fall into the Meghna on the east side; this was commonly called the little Meghna and afforded the shortest passage to Sylhet and Asmarygunge.[51] From Baganbary[52] a small creek fell into the Luckya river during the rainy season and allowed a much safer passage for boats than the latter.[53] Besides the Ganges, the Atri or Atrai river[54] afforded a passage from Jangh8i to Dacca, but the passage through the Ganges was 10 miles shorter. The breadth of the Atri river was from 150 to 300 yards, and "depth sufficient for the largest boats during the dry season."[55] The passage by water from Hajiganj to Dacca was about 69 miles in February and March. The route was through Meggala creek and into the Ichhamati at Kardupur; then by way of Nawabganj and Churan; through Tulsi creek and into the Dhaleswari by Tagarpur and Fatllylur and up the Buriganga to Dacca.[56]

Similarly, the northern part of Bengal also provided with water-routes through the Teesta river, the Manas creek, [57] the Ghagat creek, the Purnabhaba river, the Purnabhaba river,[58] and the Dherla or Durla river with their branches. The Ghagat creek was navigable for boats of 150

mounds till the month of January; the Dherla river was navigable all the year for boats of 2,000 maunds between Kurigram[59] and the great river Brahmaputra. It separated the Parganas of "Baharbund" and "Vittiebund" and joined the Brahmaputra at Baggoa.

The time it is ordinarily required in traveling from one place to another by land routes or water-routes.[60]

(a) From Patna to Jalanghi, 20 days by boats

(b) From Maudapur(at the head of the Chandna or Chunnah river) to Bhusna on the Barasia, a little to the east of Muhammadpur, eight days through the Chunnunah and Corner Creeks Rennel's *Journals*, p 128.

(c) From Moanpur on the Chunnunah to Habiganj, four days by land.

(d) From Calcutta to Kusthia, six days by land.

(e) From Kusthia to Culna, ten days by boat.

(f) From Kusthia to Jaynagore, eight days by boat.

(g) From Hajiganj to Habiganj, one day by boat, 1.5 days or two days by land.

(h) Mola (a minor village on the Ganges above the mouth of Chandna River), from Hajiganj 1 day by boat, from Dacca 3 days by boat, from Jalanghi 3 days by boat, from Pabna 1 day by boat, from Jalanghi 1.5 days by land.

(i) Amidabads (Ahmirabads of the Bengal Atlas, a paragana of the Noakhali District), from Luckipur 1.5 days by land, from Hajiganj three *prahars*[61]

(j) Bakarganj, from Culna three days, Sewtylewry from Culna 0.5 day, Govindapur from Culna 1 day, Buckinagore from Culna 1.5 days.

(k) From Sihenpur to Dacca, one day by land, from Latanagore to Dacca, one day.

(l) From Habetnagore (probably Hybutnagar, close to Kishorjang of Atlas of India, sheet 125) to Bagram 5 *prahars* to Lilhedapur 1 *prahar*, to Asmanygunge 4 days. To Akrosonda 3 days, to Sylhet 5 days, to Dalalpur 3 days.

(m) From Jangalbari to Adampur, two days by the water, one day by land, to Osunpur 1.5 days, to Asmarygunge 1.5 days, to Sylhet 7 days.

(n) From Dellipara to Asmeygunge 3 *prahars*, to Dalalpur 3 *prahars*, to Akarsonda 1 day, to Adampur 1 day(by dingy boat), to Abdulpur 2 *prahars* by land and one day by water; to Sylhet six days.

(o) From Kurogram to Chilmari one day's journey for a cossid.

(p) "Rungpur was four days cossid from Muxadavad (Murshidabad)"

(q) Vansittart left Patna on 5th January 1763, arrived at Mongyr on 9th January, and reached Calcutta on the 18th of that month.[62]

(r) Vansittart proceeded in a light boat from Cassimbazar on 16th January 1768 and reached Calcutta on the 18th of that month.[63]

Thus, there was no want of means of communication throughout the country, including even the most. Perhaps it was this which led Mr. Dow to observe –"The easy communication by water place to place eased a mercantile communication among the populaces. Every village has its canal, every purganah its river and the kingdom the Ganges, which dwindling by many mouths, into the Bay of Bengal laid open the ocean for the export of commodities and manufactures"[64] Now the usual statement that the w\ant of communications at the end of the Mughal and the beginning of the British period made the villages economically independent and self-sufficient units become irreconcilable with the foregoing facts, which clearly show that the internal communications of the country were not very defective. We have already seen that there were

roads connecting the important centers of the province with places in the extreme interior Rennel carefully noted many places of importance along these roads.[65] It is clear that the villages of Bengal, where nature was lavish in her bounties and where the leisure of agriculturists is recorded to have been given to manufactures, had surplus produce and manufactures over and above their necessary consumption; but even if these surplus commodities be supposed not to have been carried from one part of the country to another, the villages being economically isolated from one another, it would be due not to the want of means of communications, but to some other factors which the unstable and insecure political conditions of the time had produced. If there was self-sufficiency at all, it was forced on them and was not a normal condition of their existence. The weakening of the central authority had increased the rapacity of the Mugs[66] and the Portuguese pirates, and the frequent incursions of the Marathas[67] into the heart of Bengal had made commerce unsafe; the same weakening had led to the growth of numerous economic barriers set up by Zamindars and other local powers. Perhaps it was the necessity for the defense against these dangers, the fear of losing their merchandise in the hands of the plunderers or brigands, and the dimensions that the tolls had reached, together with the extortions and corruptions in internal trade, that drove the village within its shell and fostered internal cohesion and unity within it, Commerce came to be monopolized by those only who could withstand such dangers (like the European Companies and their clients or up-country adventures like the Sikhs, the Marwaris, the Rajputs, etc.) and the poor villagers had to remain satisfied within the limits of their villages. Thus, weakness of the central authority, want of strong governance in the country, the ravages of the Maratha, the Thugs and other bandits and robbers, and the avaricious habits of the Company's servants might be regarded as probable causes for the economic isolation of the villages from one another.

There were arrangements for daks or postal communications throughout the country, and runners were employed to carry letters from one part of it to another. Those runners were of two classes, viz*, tappies* (ordinary dak-runners), and *cassids* (mounted postmen). We have already seen that there were six 'post-roads' running from Calcutta to six important directions, and through these roads, the runner usually passed. The *cassids* could ordinarily run 25 to 30 miles a day,[68] but sometimes they could manage to "travel with great rapidity, and letters from Cassimbazar sometimes arrived at Calcutta in as short a time as 27 hours. Accordingly, Mr. Watts' letter of 2nd June (1756), saying that the Nabob had arrived at Cassimbazar, reached Calcutta next day."[69] Early in 1758, *cassids* were "fixed at the different stages between Calcutta and Murshidabad."[70] In 1748 there were dak-runners between Cuttack and Ganjam,[71] but they were exceedingly indolent, and it was proposed by the Company to substitute mounted post-men for them[72] in the line of Madras. But we find that between March and September no communications from Calcutta reached Madras for which the Governor of Calcutta remarked that it was "not worthwhile to put the Company to the expense of *kasids* (mounted postmen)" when they had "nothing to advise"[73] In 1763 the faujdar of Mir Kasim at Rajmahal obstructed the dak-runners and thereby stopped for some time the communication between Calcutta and Patna which lay through the Calcutta-Banares post-road. There were daily daks from Calcutta to Patna, to Murshidabad, and to Dacca. In 1768, Mr. O. Williams was appointed "to superintend the *Kassids* or mounted postmen to be sent to the different factories. The same year a *Kassid* post was established between Calcutta and Ballasore via Midnapur and Jellasore but very bitter were the complaints of the postmen of the difficulty in procuring oil and the almost impassable jungles they had to tread" Ordinarily letters from Murshidabad reached Calcutta within 2 to 4 days,[74] though, as has been already noted, under exceptional circumstances these could be sent more

quickly; from Balasore letters reached Calcutta within 7 or 8 days[75] Rangpur was "four days' cassid from Muxadavad (Murshidabad)" A *cassid* usually took one day to run from Kurigram to Chilmari (the intervening distance between the two places being 30 miles) and from Rungpur to Kurigram (the intervening distance between the two places is about 25 or 30 miles).[76] The Zamindars and the people of those parts of the country, through which the *daks* or postmen passed, had to supply them with provisions and other necessary articles. The Nawab of Bengal wrote to the President of the Council in Calcutta on 30th September 1764 –"*Dawks* have from of old been stationed from Choonacolly to Jellasore to convey news from these portions. At present, conferring to the ancient custom Bunmolly (Vanamali) is appointed chief of the *Dawks*, and I accordingly wrote to you some time ago to desire that you give orders to the Zemindars, fowzedars and other officers of Burdwan and Midnapur, etc., to supply the said *dawks* with necessaries"[77] Francis Sykes, Resident at the Nawab's darbar, wrote to the Secret Committee in Calcutta on 31st October 1765 –"Representations of late have been made to me by the Zemindars of different villages, that the King(the Mughal Emperor) is fixing Dawks from Illahabad (Allahabad) to this lace, and Calcutta, that it will be a very great burthen (burden) to the inhabitants in many parts of the country if they are under a necessity of supporting them with the usual necessaries having already both the Company's and the Nabob's *Dawks* to provide for and request they may be relieved from so heavy a grievance."[78]

4.2 MANUFACTORIES AND INDUSTRIES

Bengal being provided with many avenues for trade was also rich in the production of commercial goods she produced "cloth of all kinds, most beautiful muslins, silk, raw or worked" [79] it has been already noted in the chapter on 'English factories and investments' how there was a great demand for Bengal manufactures in the markets of England and other provinces of India

itself. the select committee in Calcutta wrote to the court of directors on the 26th of September, 1767:- "it's (Bengal's) manufactures found their way to the remotest parts of Hindustan and spices flowed in by thousand channels that are at present (1767) lost and obstructed" of course the majority of the people, but "the break from agriculture," as Mr. Orme has remarked, left "a much larger numeral of the inhabitants, than can be spread in others, at leisureliness to smear themselves to the loom and this would lead to more cotton and also silk production by Bengal than in the whole empire and thus consequently at much cheaper rates the greater part of this manufactures and Europe receive the largest share, the rest goes by land sea to different parts of the empire"[80] thus in Bengal agriculture and manufactures went hand in hand. in different parts of the province the weavers produced silk and cotton cloths of various qualities (superfine, fine, etc) rightly Mr. Pattullo remark that the "burdens for Bengal manufactures can never diminish, in regard that their superiority is so strange to that country, that no state on the earth can moreover equal or compete them. "

LOCALISATION OF MANUFACTURED GOODS.

The weaving manufactures "were dispersed through the country, ' and a distinct kind was woven in each district[81] some important towns like Malda, Harial, Serpur, Balikushi of Natore were famous for manufacturing the following species of piece-goods – (a) " for the Europe markets, *cossaes* (*khas*),[82]*soosless* (*susi* or stripped fine-colored fabrics), *seersuchers*; (b) for the markets of bussorah, Mocha, Jidda, *Cossaes, baftas* ('woven"("woven" –cotton stuffs), *saunoose ,mulmulls, tanjebs* (a kind of fine muslin), *kenchees,* etc." from the *aurungs* at Rungpur, Goraghat,[83] Santose Buddal, all being situated within the zamindari of the Raja of Santose , the English East India Company was supplied with *sannoes, malmals* (fine plain muslins), and *tanjib.*[84]

The towns like Burdwan, Khirpai, Radhanagare, Dewanganj and Balligissagur, all situated within the zamindary of Raja Tilakchand of Burdwan, manufactured the following assortments of piece-goods, viz, *dooras* (stripped cloths), *terrendams (taradam), cuttanies , soosies cherriderries, chilys custas, doosootas (dosut-* coarse cotton cloth), and several places of lesser importance within his jurisdiction manufactured other inferior quality of cloth, as *seerbunds, gullabunds*, etc.[85] Silk and cotton cloth of rather inferior quality were manufactured within the Bankura district, especially near Bishnupur,[86] and the East India Company was provided with a large number of *gurrahs* from Elambazar, the "principal town of trade" within the Birbhum district.[87] various kinds of muslin and other cotton cloths were manufactured at midnapur.we find the following species of piece goods in the list of goods to be provided at Midnapore for the year 1763. It was further mentioned that "If you have any other species of goods not mentioned here you may send us two or three pieces of them for a sample you must or take care in all colored goods that the colours may be light and lively, *gurrahs* and other *cahcoes* for printing, *hummums* expected, are in good demand for want of long cloths. We, therefore, recommended for want of long cloths. to your particular attention for a supply of these articles over beyond what we have ordered till you hear from the chormandel (coromandel) of that we can be supplied with a large number of long cloths, by which information you are to govern yourself"[88] at Balasore and Pipli were produced "manufactures of cotton in sanis (sanus), cases (khesis-wrappers or robes), dimities, mulmuls, silk romals and romals of silk and cotton, gurahs and *lungies* (" head and wast cloths " according to Budwood)"[89]

Radhanagore was " famous for manufacturing cotton cloths and silk *romals* and handkerchiefs "[90] *coares* blue handkerchiefs were manufactured at Baranagore, near Calcutta [91] certain places in Birbhum(the most important being Elambazar) were centers of cloth manufacture. [92] Nadia

and Murshidabad were especially famous for the manufactured of various kinds of cotton and the production of various types of cotton, silk cloths like mammals, cossaes and other species of Barran, etc. within the zamindari of Raja Krishnachander of Nadia for the markets of Europe,[93] Grose remarks that " the country about it (Cassimbazar) was very fertile, and the inhabitants being employed in many useful manufactories. They generally furnish 22,000 bales of silk a year each bale weighing 100 lbs. They also make the most beautiful cotton cloths of the country."[94]

Stavorinus also gives a similar description [95] we find in the Letters from the Gentlemen from Cassimbazar factory to the council in Calcutta, dated the 8th and the 13th of December, 1759, proposing a requirement of two lacs of rupees only for purchasing raw silk. Similarly, in the year 1763, they asked for nine lacs of rupees as an advance for purchasing silk. Rennel wrote about Cassimbazar –"Cossimbazar is the general market of Bengal silk and a great quantity of silk are manufactured here, which are circulated throughout a great part of Asia; of the unwrought silk, 300000 or 400000 lbs. weight is consumed in the European market". Stavornis notes that "printed pieces of cotton, commonly called *chinzes* (chits) were "not manufactured in Bengal except near Patna in the province of Bihar, which was called from the name of the place – *patnachintzes.*"[96]

But of all the places in Bengal, Dacca occupied the premier position in the manufacture of fine muslins and cotton clothes of different species.[97] Rennel has remarked that Dacca in muslins, manufactures the most delicate one, among those that are so much sought after in Europe ."[98] The author of Riyaz-us-Salatin has noted that 'white muslin' was " excellently manufactured there "weaving work was carried on/ more or less, n almost every village of the Dacca district but the important places where muslins were manufactured were the cities of Decca, Sunargomng, Dumroy, Teetbari (situated on the eastern of the liver luckier), Jjunglibari (lying on

the eastern side of the Brahmaputra river)and Bazetpur.[99] Sunargong was famous for the muslins of thin texture and also for flowered fabrics the author of Ryaz-us-Salatin has remarked:-" a species of very fine muslin is manufactured there, and in the mouza of Kathrahsunder there is a reservoir of water; whatever clothes are washed there are turned into white linen."[100] Dumroy, which stood on the river Bunsi, a branch of the Brahmaputra, about 20 miles west of the Dacca, supplied the weavers with the greater part of the fine thread required for the Dacca looms.[101] Besides those places, muslins of various kinds were manufactured in Moorapara, Babapara, and other villages on the banks of the Luckia River and mixed cotton and silk cloths at Abudullapur in Bikrampur paragana.[102] Coarse fabrics were produced at Kalokopa in Decca, and Jalalpur, Narainpur, Chandpur, and Serampur in Tipperah.[103]

Regarding the looms at Dacca manufactured cloths of various gradations, Stavorinus remarks. "Muslins are sometimes weaved so fine, that a piece of twenty yards in length, and longer can be enclosed in a common pocket tobacco box. This was done with a very small apparatus, and the Europeans are very surprised to see the perfection of manufacture, which was exemplified in almost every handicraft and effected with so few and such imperfect tools"[104]In the letter from the Court of Directors to the Council in Calcutta which is dated the 19th of December, 1755, the said species of cloths were referred to as being made at Dacca: *sarbatis* (semi-transparent like a glass of ' serbat,'….fruit-juice), *alaballies, malmals, tanjeeb*, nainsooks (pleasure of the eyes,'), *terrindam*, *dooreans* (striped muslins), *jamdanies* (figure muslins), *seerbandeonnaes*, etc. In the letter to Court of Directors from the Bengal Council, dated the 27th of January, 1749, we discovered the names of the different kinds of cloths manufactured in different places in Bengal; these have been duly noted in connection with the respective places in the chapter on ' English factories and investments. It may be added here that Islamabad (Chittagong) also supplied the

company with cloths. The council in Calcutta wrote to Mr. Verelst at Chittagong on the 28th of September, 1761 "We with pleasure observe the good qualities of the cloth you have sent us the care you have taken in the improvement of our manufactures."[105] A prodigious quantity' of course cloths was manufactured near about the English factory at collinda.[106]

Each variety of muslin was manufactured at Dacca by "fabrics of three or four assortments or degrees of quality," which were distinguished at the company's factory by the "terms 'ordinary,' 'fine' 'superfine,' and 'fine superfine.'"[107] The muslins were plain, striped, chequered, figured, or coloured.[108] Dacca was famous for embroidery and flowering works on cloths. Thus we find the references in the contemporary records about cloths being sent by the company from Calcutta to Dacca's for embroidery and flowering work. "From Dacca," wrote Abbe De Guyon in 1744, "come the best, and finest Indian embroider in gold, silver, or silk, and those embroideries in cloth and fine muslins which are seen in France."[109]

So prodigious was the quantity of cloths manufactured and so many looms were worked in Bengal, owing to the development and protraction of an almost worldwide demand during the 16th and 17thcenturies, such was the demand that cotton had very often to be imported from Bombay and surat certain references on this point have been already noted, a few more may be added here.[110] It is specified in Fort William Consultations of the 4th of December,1752-"agreed that we inscribe by her (that is the ship hector) to the gentlemen there (i.e., Bombay) recommend them of disposition of our tonnage, and desire them of providing a cargo of the finest broach cotton for Durrington that she may be returned to as early in the season …" referring to Natore, Howell remarks .- "this country also produces *coposs*, or Bengal cotton along with the above sortments of goods are in part contrived, but the produced does not stand any amount to the consumption so that they are obligated to foreign markets for this item, and chiefly to the port of

Surat"[111] Stravornus also refers distinctly that the Bengal looms required the importation of cotton from outside the province, chiefly Surat [112] Stravonier also refers distinctly that the Bengal looms the finest cotton[113] out of which the greater portion of the Dacca muslins was manufactured. The commercial resident of Dacca in the year 1800 remarked –"a tract of land extending from Fering bazar, twelve miles southeast of Dacca, along the banks of the Megna to Edilpore, twenty miles north of the sea, occupying a space as per as three in breadth and situated in the pergunnahas of Kidderpore, Brickrampore, Rajenagur, Cartickpore, Serampore, and Edilpore, is allowed to produce the finest cotton (kapas) grow in the Dacca province, and I believe, I might add, in any part of the world since no cotton that has yet been compared with it, whether the producer of India, cotton is celebrated for its superior quality, has been found equal to its "[114]

The other cotton-growing tracts noticed by him were "the banks of the Luckia from the Dulaseree river to a little above Roopgunge, about sixteen miles in length, and a few miles on the banks of the Brahmaputra, north of the Dulaseree" which together with the country mentioned above furnished " the greater part of the *kapas* used in the Dacca province " of the rest, some was grown in Buldecal, Bhowal, and Alephsing, and some imported from Bussora in the adjacent district of Rajeshye (Rajshahi)"[115]

Excellent guns were manufactured in different parts of the province we find in the Seir-ul-Mutakherin that Mir Kasim "was amassing and manufacturing as many guns and flint- muskets as he could, with every necessary for war"[116] Haji Mustafa, the translator of that work, remarks:- "these firelock manufactured at Mongher proved better than the best tower – proofs, sent to India for the company use and such was the opinion which the English officers gave then when they made comparison by order of the council of Calcutta their flints were all agates, and their

metal more mellow and even today, Colonel Martin, a Frenchmen, who has greatly distinguished himself these twenty-two years in the service of the English had at Lucknow manufactory where he made pistols and *fujils* better, both as to lock and barrel, then the best arms that come from Europe."[117] Rennel noticed a great gun at Dacca [118] and three others at Murshidabad. we find in the Consultation, dated the 4th of December, 1752, that gun carries were made both in Calcutta and Cassimbazar, but the former place these were made cheaper and better than in the latter. [119] There is reference to the manufacture of gun powder in the letter from court of directors to Council in Calcutta, dated the 3rd of march,1758-" as you have the materials on the spot and cheaper than in any other part of India, we are well satisfied that, with proper management, sufficient quantities may be produced not only for our settlements in Bengal but for our other settlements."[120]

Rennel has noted several places in Birbhum where iron manufactories existed. He writes-

(a) "forges from iron are bought at Dyoucha (Deocha)and Muhammad Bazar (a village between Suri and Deocha), the ore is brought from the Mullarpur pargannah," (b) "iron mines are bought near Damra (16 miles from Suri) and forges at Damra and Mysara," (c) iron mines are bought at Kistnagur." [121]

Huge and well-fashioned boats were constructed in different parts of Bengal, and boat – building industries formed the occupation of many carpenters these boats[122] were of various kinds, as for example (a) *baira*[123](b) *mayurpankhi*[124] (c) *koshkhan*,(d) *palwara* (long, low and narrowboat with sails fit for moving in shallow a waters),[125] *seringas*,[126] and *pancwaya* (small boats)[127]

Haji Mustafa, the translator of Seir-ul-mutakherin, writes – "the mountains of or rather hills of Rajmahal, at three or four days northwest of Murshidabad, produced natural ice to the thickness of a shilling, but besides such ice, Indians have a method of manufacturing artificial ice with boiled water (and no other) exposed the whole night to a still weather, where it congeals in plates of earth to the thickness of a crown but this boiled water needs be sheltered from the wind not only by sinking the plats in an exaction two feet deep, where they are ranged in rows but also by screening it with mats of straw. This ice is manufactured from November to February, and when a sufficient quantity has been procured, it is thrown in heaps and rammed down in a closet made up of thick walls with a door made fast, and thickly covered with straw, nay the closet itself is further defended from the by an additional roof of straw rising some feet above the other.[128]

4.3 THE EMERGENT ECONOMIC SPACE: TRADE AND COMMERCE

Commerce plays an important part in modem history. It is one-half of politics. For in the first place, the importance of a nation significantly depends on its prosperity, and its wealth greatly depends on commerce. Thus, a desire to develop commerce, rather than a merely scientific inquisitiveness, has been the impetus of adventures in pursuit of new lands. The same spirit has led to military expeditions. Conquest and occupation have been encouraged, in modem times, not by a love of authority but by adoration of wealth. No Authority cares to proclaim supremacy over a miserable and barren terrain. The personality of a discrete is said to be identified by his company. With identical truth, it may be believed that the condition of a nation is known for its fortune. The prominence of nations as Powers is measured, according to

European standards, by their fighting capacity, but that it is very fundamentally an issue of wealth, they say, is the sinews of War. Trade and Commerce played a great role in the development of Calcutta—possibly the greatest—and some account of it as effect this town must be attempted. It may be left to antiquarians to decide when the populaces of Bengal first had commercial intercourse with other nations and countries.[129] Heeren, Macpherson, and other convincing writers have thrown substantial scholarship on this subject mater. Sir William Hunter, on Orissa,[130] has inscribed that the decay of Tamluk as an important seat of maritime commerce, gives an explanation of how the Bengalees stopped to be a sea-going people. In the Buddhist era, we can see that they sent belligerent fleets to the east and the west and had colonised almost all the islands of the Archipelago.

Mr. Walter Hamilton estimates[131]that "occasionally fewer than one million sterling in clothes fitting to the native merchants was placed, in Calcutta for sale, and other species of products in an equivalent quantity." The overall capital of the native monied and the commercial interests was estimated to surpass 16 million sterling, employed by them in Government Funds, loans and discounts to individuals, internal and external trade, and in numerous additional ways., The Calcutta Government Bank was established in September 1808 with a capital of mere 50 lakhs of rupees, of which the Government had ten lakhs and entities the balance. The notes dispensed are not less than 10 rupees or more than 10,000."[132]

The following table, taken from W. Hamilton's East India Gazetteer, shows the state of trade in the country (Trade from 1st June 1811 to 30th April 1812).

IMPORTS		
Merchandise	……	1,13,38,692.
Tressure	……..	67,85,698.
	Sicca Rupees	1,81,24,390.
EXPORT		
Merchandise	……	3,40,03,009.
Tressure	……	6,14,673.
	Sicca Rupees	3,46,17,682.
Total	……..	5,27,42,072.

Table 2: Showing Imports and Exports from 1st June 1811 to 30th April 1812 (source- W.Hamilton, *East India Gazetteer*, London, 1815, p 217)

The ships and vessels that arrived at Calcutta in 1811-12:

TONNAGE

Under English colours	193	78,504.
Under Portuguese colours	11	4,180.
Under American colours	8	2,313.
Under Indian colours, including denies	389	66,227.
Total	601	1,51,224.

Table 3: Showing the ships and vessels that arrived at Calcutta in 1811-12 (Source, W.Hamilton, *East India Gazetteer*, London, 1815, p 218)

Ships and vessels departed from Calcutta in 1811-12:

TONNAGE

Under English colours	194	77,072.
Under Portuguese colours	10	4,020.
Under Spanish colours	1	650.
Under American colours	8	2,369.
Under Indian colours including donies	386	65,650.
Total	599	1,49,761

Table 4: Showing the ships and vessels that departed from Calcutta in 1811-12. (Source, W.Hamilton, *East India Gazetteer*, London, 1815, p 218)

Much valuable information can be acquired from Milburn's Oriental Commerce,[133]

TRADE AND COMMERCE WITH LONDON

The following is an account of the merchandise imported into Bengal from London of the East India Company's during the years 1802 to 1806; similarly of the products and treasure transferred from Bengal to London for the duration of the equivalent period; together with the list of articles of which the imports and exports consisted in 1805.

IMPORT INTO BENGAL FROM LONDON

years	Merchandise	Treasure	Total
	Sicca rupees	Sicca rupees.	Sicca rupees
1802	35,90,683	12,63,387	48,54,070
1803	30,55,400	9,85,601	40,41,001
1804	29,34,485	7,97,680	37,32,165
1805	36,28,301	8,69,576	44,97,877
1806	59,12,500	5,68,921	64,81,421
Total	1,91,21,369	44,85,165	2,36,06,534

Table 5: Showing imports into Bengal from London in the year 1805. (Source, W.Hamilton, *East India Gazetteer*, London, 1815, p 219)

EXPORT FROM BENGAL TO LONDON

YEARS	Merchandise	Treasure	Total
1802	1,11.45,261	……	1,11,45,261
1803	1,08,15,545	…….	1,08,15,545
1804	89,16,168	……	89,16,168
1805	60,99,065	……..	60,99,065
1806	90,34,869	……..	90,34,869
Total	4,60,10,908	……	4,60,10,908

Table 6: Showing Export from Bengal to London in the year 1805. (Source, W.Hamilton, *East India Gazetteer*, London, 1815, p 219)

ARTICLES OF IMPORT IN 1805 IN RUPEES

Books	90,656.
Boots and Shoes	54,735
Cutlery and Hardware	1,39,144.
Copper	135.
Carriages	1,16,218.
Cordage	14,178.
Glass and Looking-glasses	2,79,575.
Hosiery	1,06,794.
Haberdashery	95,448.
Hats	80,629.
Jewellery	28,630.
Ironmongery	65,907.
Millinery	97,746.
Malt Liquors	1,35,212.
Oilman's Stores	1,67,763.
Perfumery	63,624.
Provisions	16,444.
Plate and Plated ware	56,591.
Piece-goods	67,792.
Saddlery	1,32,827.

Wines and Spirits	7,87,265.
Metals	1,03,775.
Naval Stores	55,693.
Stationery	61,487.
Woollens	1,15,580.
Sundries	6,94,453.
Treasure	8,69,576.
Total	44,97,877.

Table 7: Showing articles of import in rupees to Bengal from London in the year 1805. (Source, W.Hamilton, *East India Gazetteer*, London, 1815, p 220)

ARTICLES OF EXPORT IN 1805 IN RUPEES

Piece-goods	3,31,582.
Indigo	45,23,124.
Sugar	54,478.
Raw Silk	7,87,106.
Cotton	1,18,912.
Elephant Teeth	9,278.
Gums	24,160.
Ginger	2,750.
Cossumba	4,815.

Sal Ammoniac	2,680.
Cutch	1,025.
Shell-lac	12,139.
Sundries	9,466.
IMPORTS RE-EXPORTED, viz.	
Wines and Liquors	55,176.
Camphor	72,009.
Spices	20,366.
Cassia	24,983.
Books	14,354.
CoculusIndicus	5,571.
Coffee	4,676.
Galls	2,520.
Sundries	17,895.
Total	60,99,065.

Table 8: Showing articles of export in rupees from Bengal to London in the year 1805. (Source, W.Hamilton, *East India Gazetteer*, London, 1815, p 220)

From the account of the merchandise and treasure traded into Bengal from London as well as of the merchandise exported from Bengal to London, in the years previous to 1802—from 1795 to 1801 inclusive—we find that the imports into Bengal amounted to Sicca Rs. 1,64,03,175, and the

amount of merchandise exported was SiccaRs. 5,30,43,579. Evidently, then the 'exports surpassed the imports by 3,66,40,404, and when we take into account the quantity of treasure imported into Bengal from London, during the same period, which was about Rs. 82,23,924, we also find that the balance was in favour of Bengal abut Rs. 4,48,64,328, which, at 2s. 6d. Per rupee, it is £5,608,041, at an average of seven years £8,011,485. 12s.[134]

According to Milburn, in 1715 the loftier skill of the English in triangulation tempted all types of merchants of Bengal to merchandise most of the goods which their exported to overseas markets on the freight belonging to the colony and this in ten years amounted to 10,000 tons, by which many private prosperities were assimilated, without harming the Company's trade, or endangering their possessions to arguments with Government; and people of different denominations in Calcutta relished a degree of independence and freedom unknown to the other inhabitants who were oppressed by the Nabob. The East India Company in the year 1795 appointed a Reporter of External Commerce for this Presidency, and particular directives were given as to the mode of keeping the accounts; since which period a clear and comprehensive account of the volume of the merchandise and treasure imported to Bengal and shipped from Bengal, has been yearly calculated and communicated to Europe along with the articles list of which the imports and exports comprised.[135]

The commerce of the Presidency is arranged under the followings heads, viz.

(I) Act 33, Geo.111, Chapter 52, allowed the cargoes of the officers and commanders of the company ships exclusively of the East India company trade to and from England. The cargoes were allowed to move from Bengal to England and return with European commodities.

(II) To and also from the United States of America

(III) Under the quantity of Foreign Europe to and from other parts of Europe, comprising Hamburg, Denmark, Madeira, Cadiz, Lisbon etc.

(IV) To and from British Asia, which known, in 1801, the under-mentioned places; and nonetheless the procurements which have since taken place, is continued under the same arrangement:

1. The Coast of Malabar, which comprises the whole of the western part of the Peninsula.
2. The Coast of Coromandel including the entire eastern coast.
3. The Island of Ceylon.
4. Coast of Sumatra.

(V) Under the head of Foreign Asia, to and from the named places below in 1801, and though some of the places have since been added to the British possessions, the same arrangement is continued.

1. Arabian and Persian Gulf
2. Pegu
3. Penang, and places to the eastward
4. Malacca
5. Batavia.
6. Manilla.
7. China.

Trade and commerce from port to port in India, commonly known as the country trade, is handled by the individuals, and the East India Company did not interfered in their business. “Calcutta possesses the advantage of excellent inland navigation, foreign imports being transported with great facility on the Ganges, and it's subsidiary streams, to the northern nations of Hindoosthan, while the valuable productions of the interior are established by the same channels.

In 1762 money was first devised in Calcutta, and it is mentioned that as late as 1770, no copper coin was issued. Pice was then hardly in use. Cowries (a kind of shell) were then in extensive use. As early as 1680, Mr. Smith was sent out from England as Assay-Master, on an annual salary of £60. The Old Mint was situated west of St. John’s Church, where the Company coined its rupees for 1179 tom 1832. The New Mint on the Strand Road was opened in 1832. Previous to 1791, the coinage was accomplished by contracts, the copper coin chiefly by Mr.Prinsep (father of the late James Prinsep), who showed an establishment at Fulda. Coining their own names (though with the Moghuls’ head and a Persian inscription) was an object of early spirit with the English and other European Powers.[136]

If English commerce made Calcutta what it is, it is also true that it benefited English capitalists no less by a rich return. But there were men in England who were jealous of it. “There was a strong party in England opposed to trade with India, who raised clamorous complaint loud and general.”[137] At the end of the eighteenth-century, trade was opened with many countries, notably with America, China, &c.[138] In 1789 European commodities were offered to the Indian markets almost at a half-price of their original cost. It is said that in consequence of the market being overstocked, such a course was adopted. The officers of the Company’s ships experienced

very heavy losses, and after the authorities being satisfied with their hardships complained of, the payment of the Company's duties on their outward investments was remitted.

In the "Gentleman's Magazine" for 1784 the following appeared:

"There is no branch of European commerce that has made so rapid a progress as that to the East Indies. The total number of ships directed to Asia by all the seafaring countries of Europe at the beginning of the present century did not amount to fifty sail, of which England sent 14, France 5, Holland 11, the Venetians and Genoese together 9, Spain 3, and all the rest of Europe only 6; neither the Russians nor Imperialists at that period sent any. In the year 1744, the English increased their number of ships to 27, the Venetians and Genoese sent 4, and the rest of Europe about 9. At this period, 300 sails of European ships belong to the several powers are employed in the East India traffic, of which England alone sends 68, being the whole of the East India Company's shipping. The French, last year, employed 9, the Portuguese 18, the Russians and Spaniards make up the remainder. But neither the Venetians nor Genoese now send a single ship to India." In those days, trade was also carried on by the officers of the Company on their own private and personal account, and not infrequently, the interests of the master clashed with those of the servant, and the consequences can better be imagined than described. According to Mr. Bolts, a private company was formed in Calcutta among the servants of the Hon'ble Company to carry on trade in salt, betel-nut, and tobacco. The Company existed for two years, and it is stated that the shareholders had a net profit of Rs. 10,74,002. The Directors at home put a stop to this private trade, as it clashed with that of the Hon'ble private trade of the officers at the Company's sales at London, during the period (from 1784 to 1791), amounted sums which including the goods imported from China. This amount comprises duties of this period the whole

of the duties, on goods exported and also used at home were remunerated by the Company, and drawn back on exportation."[139]

Bolts pointed out that "town duties included a duty on licenses to carry at the rate of 3 Sicca rupees per party," but I have failed to trace the issue of any such licenses in the records of the office; also a percentage on the sale of slaves" and "sloops and boats." He also states that "all-grain brought into the gunges or public granaries, and other articles to the bazaars or public markets in Calcutta, pay duty upon importation, the collection is supervised by the collector. The rights of selling items s farmed by the collecter in lieu of sums against the license of exercising and taking part trade." [140]

The Calcutta Committee of Revenue, the 1st March 1774, mentions that according to Nabob Mahammed Reza Khan, merchants and traders of earlier times used to export, after extensive local consumption, various indigenous and manufactured articles to different parts of the world.

NON-TEXTILE INDUSTRIES AND CRAFTS

On to some extent, though the gradual decline of the old aristocracy must have affected this industry a great deal. Next to Lucknow,[141] Ghazipur was the principal centre of this industry in Northern India. South India excelled, particularly in two industries-wood carvings and tannery. Mysore was an important centre of sandal-wood works, while Madras was famous for tanning. In the list of subsidiary industries, mention should also be made of the making of gold and silver wares, diamond-cutting and jewellery. The first gave employment to three classes of people in

Bihar. Finally, it may be noted that superior iron and steel products were made in some places. At Munghyr, the "miniature Birmingham of the East", was made different types of knives, corkscrews, tea-kettles, sauce-pans, iron-stoves, sickles, guns, carriages and palanquins. At Cossipore, suburbs of Calcutta and at Fatehgarh in U.P. there were government workshops for the manufacture of gun-carriages.[142] The advent of European manufacturers did not, it is true, at first effect these minor industries, for they mostly confined their activity to large towns. To say, however, that the indigenous industries were left wholly untouched would by no means be true. A contemporary Bengali newspaper of 1836 notes that owing to the coming of European architects, jewellers and cabinet-makers into Calcutta, some of the indigenous artisans became "as thin as a needle".[143]

No account of Indian industries would be exhaustive without a reference to indigenous mining. The clusters of hills, extending over Munghyr, Patna and Gaya districts, and continuing further south in Chotanagpur, contained plenty of mineral resources, such as quartz, jasper, hornstone, mica and crystals. The southern hills stretching from Gaya to Ramgarh had a number of mica mines, which were worked for ten months in the year.[144] Thirty-five rupees a year was the average per capita income of the labourers in these mines when Buchanan visited them in the course of his survey.[145] Further south, the Barabar hills contained some iron-ore and a quarry of stone-marl used for making porcelain. The working of Iron-mines was a profitable industry of Ramgarh, from where iron was exported to other parts of Bihar and to Bengal proper.[146] Between Bhagalpur and Dumka[147] Buchanan found several iron mines, which were worked by about a hundred houses of smelters.[148] The highlands of Birbhum contained exceedingly fine iron-ore. Equally, good iron-ore existed on the Madras coast, especially at Salem and Ramanand.[149] The

iron of Ramanand sold at a better price than British or Swedish iron, though the indigenous method of working the mines was rather crude and defective.[150] Iron-ore was found in great abundance on the Malabar frontier; while in Cutch iron was so easily available that it was generally gathered in baskets and burnt with charcoal.[151] The finest steel in India was made in Cutch-out of which armour, sabres, horse-shoes and other things were made. On and immediately below the Nilgiri hills, some gold was collected, and on the bed of the Subarnarekha in Chotanagpur gold-dust was gathered. The hills near that river also contained a species of copper which, however, was rather inferior in quality.[152] The lead could be found near about Dumka. In the hill areas of the Madras Presidency, that is, in Bellary and Cuddapa, and in Guntur, Kurnool, Rajamundry and Nellore, there were useful grinding and polishing materials-limestone, clay, chloride slates and sandstone.[153] A mine of precious garnets existed at Gharlipet in Hyderabad, and there were corundum mines about forty-five miles north-west of Seringapatam.[154] In 1842 the sum of 530 pagodas was paid for working these mines for two years. Fine rubies were from time to time discovered in many of the corundum localities.[155] Indigenous mining, however, suffered a progressive decline due to the competition of imported mineral goods from the West. In 1853 Captain Sherwill found many of the iron mines of Birbhum abandoned.

Far from depending on outside for this essential ingredient of gunpowder, India made regular supplies to British and other foreign markets, During the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars Bihar had been the main source of England's supply of saltpetre. And it will be no hyperbole to say that Nelson won his Trafalgar, and Wellington his Waterloo, partly on the plains of North Bihar. A monopoly in saltpetre had been established by the Company's government as early as 1793. The monopoly was temporarily withdrawn in 1811 and finally

abandoned in 1814.[156] Outside of Bihar, saltpetre manufacture was carried on in several districts of Uttar Pradesh, and on a limited scale in North Bengal and certain parts of Madras. Actual manufacture was left to a class of workers, who in Bihar went by the name of Nunias. The Company had four saltpetre factories[157] in that province under the commercial residency of Patna, of which the kothi at Singhia was the most considerable Singhia,[158] which is now a dilapidated village, part of which has been washed away by the Gandak, was until a hundred years ago a flourishing mart-the site of many a romance. Thither came from a hundred neighbouring and distant villages big batches of Nunias with basketfuls of crude saltpetre to be delivered to the Company's *dalals* and *mustajirs*. The total number of Nunias at the beginning of our period in Tirhut would be not less than four thousand, and in Saran larger still.[159] While there was no dearth of employment among these people, they were "composed of the lowest order of the natives" having no regular habitation or property, and "scarcely a cloth to cover them".[160] The Company paid one rupee and six annas to the pykars for one maund from the Nunias. Added to this, the poor Nunias were otherwise exploited, too. Since, however, no other avenue of employment was open to these wretched creatures; they had to cling to this profession, which by tradition and caste was theirs. There was a marked increase in the demand for Indian saltpetre in Europe after the Napoleonic Wars, paradoxical as it may appear to be. During the fifteen years following the wars, Calcutta exported on an average ten to fifteen thousand tons per annum, apart from exports from Madras.[161] The United Kingdom, France and America were regular importers of Indian saltpetre; Portugal, Gibraltar and Malta and China were occasional purchasers.

During the period under review, the indigenous sugar industry was carried on more particularly in the Bengal Presidency, and rather on a limited scale in Madras and certain other parts of the country. Bombay practically produced no sugar, though plenty of sugar-cane was grown there. In the eighteenth century, and even later, sugar was regarded as a luxury in India. This is evident from the current Bengali proverb from the poet Ramprasad Sen's "Better to taste sugar than be sugar itself". Its consumption was generally confined to the upper-class people. But sugar was exported abroad in fairly large quantities. Benares was the greatest Sugar-producing area in India, and the metaphorical use of "Kasir of "Kasir chini" in early nineteenth-century Bengali 1iterature[162] speaks for its high quality. The other important centres of the industry in the Bengal Presidency were Rangpur, Birbhum, Nadia, Hooghly, Murshidabad, Burdwan and Patna. From all these districts, the Company's sugar investment was regularly obtained. More than ninety per cent of the country's total output of sugar was made from cane-juice. In Bengal, however, some date sugar was produced. The Company's investment was provided by the commercial residents, who usually got it through pykars. But in some of the commercial residencies, eg., Patna, Sonamukhi and Shantipur, there were factories where *dobarra* (crystal) sugar was made under the immediate supervision of the residents. Europeans did not engage themselves in sugar manufacture to any considerable extent during the first half of our period The European sugar *kothis*, established in North Bengal, Tirhut and elsewhere about twenty-five or thirty years before the beginning of the present period, were later abandoned or converted into indigo factories. One reason for this was that sugar required a much greater initial outlay than indigo.[163] Another reason was that East India sugar had to pay exorbitant duty in England which made the trade rather unprofitable. Nevertheless, Bengal's sugar trade increased by leaps and bounds after 1813-14. To the United United Kingdom alone over 18 lakhs of rupees worth of sugar was shipped

from Calcutta in 1826-27.[164] In 1836, when the Whig party was In power, the duties on East and West Indian sugar were equalised which gave an immediate impulse to the beginning of a considerable private enterprise in the Indian sugar industry. A good number of European factories were established in the province of Bengal, as well as in Tirhut and certain parts of U.P. A question soon arose whether the lands "appropriated to the growth of sugar" should be exempted from the payment of rent or not. A resolution of the government of India in the Revenue Department laid down that while it was the wish of the government to stimulate sugar cultivation in the country, and to see it relieved from all discouragement, they were "far from desiring that encouragement should be given to it over any other product of the land, for the same, and in some instances greater, advantages would be derived to Great Britain and to this country in the successful cultivation of hemp, of cotton, of silk and of a variety of other substances than in that of sugar".[165] However, the export of Bengal sugar to the United Kingdom showed a phenomenal increase from 1837-38. In 1840-41, for example, there was a shipment of over 17,00,000 maunds.[166] Exportations fell off after a few years which, however, was purely temporary. The Parliamentary Select Committee on sugar and coffee planting (1848) examined the conditions and prospect of the sugar plantation, and made certain recommendations. The number of sugar factories steadily increased, especially in Tirhut, where costly types of machinery were introduced from Europe by some of the planters.[167]

The only plantation industry worth mentioning, and which existed before 1833, was the European indigo manufacture. Started on a meagre scale in Bengal, where a few pairs of vats and press-houses were established before 1780,[168] the industry had been placed on a secure footing through the pecuniary support of the English East India Company. The superior quality of

Bengal indigo, combined with the failure of the supply from the French colony of St. Domingo, gave it a new turn at the end of the eighteenth century, and at the close of the first decade of the next. It came to be reckoned among the pioneer planting industries of the world. The great demand for indigo and the comparatively inexpensive method of manufacture attracted an overwhelmingly large number of speculators into the field after 1813. And in no time the whole of the Bengal Presidency became studded with indigo concerns. A cross-country tour from Aligarh to Dacca-Jalalpur (Faridpur) in 1830 would take the tourist round something like a thousand nil-*kothis* owned by dare-devil adventurers beginning with two rather quiet, unimposing factories in Meerut, he would pass by an increasingly larger number of *kothis* along his eastward journey-12 in Cawnpore, 29 in Allahabad, and 50 in Jaunpur.[169] By the time he reached Gorakhpur, the number would dwindle to 9, but in Ghazipur he would find as many as 35. Taking a north-east wise swing from Patna where he would be shown round only one factory, he would cross Tirhut with 48 *kothis* and Purnea with 65, until the highest number, 99, was reached in Pabna.[170] Jessore and Dacea and Dacca Jalalpur had 63 and 74, respectively.[171] There were, besides these, several factories run by Indian capitalists in partnership with Europeans or independently, and in spite of every conceivable obstacle thrown in their way by the neighbouring European concerns.[172] The average shipment of indigo from Calcutta during the seven years ending 1829-30 exceeded 1,10,000 maunds a year, which was much less than the average sugar export during the same period, Since, however, the selling price of indigo was about thirty to forty times higher than that of sugar, enormous profits were made by the planters, the great majority of whom were Englishmen.[173] The benefits accrued to this country from indigo plantation were: first, the reclamation of extensive waste and forest tracts; secondly, the opening of good many roads in the interior which facilitated communication; and thirdly, the

employment it gave to numerous people, many of whom amassed fortunes by serving in the indigo factories which they invested in land, and partly in building double-storeyed pucca dwelling houses for themselves and their descendants. As against these, the abuses and mischiefs were gross and vast. Broadly speaking, two systems of indigo cultivation prevailed in Bengal and Bihar: the nijabad are the *rayati*. Under the first, cultivation was carried on land over which the factory had a tenancy or occupancy right. Under the second, the Raya's bound themselves by agreement to cultivate indigo on their lands and to supply the products to the planter, from whom advances were received, for certain remuneration. The rayati system of cultivation was much more common than the nijabad, and it was a source of perennial mischief. Two rupees a bigha was the invariable rate for the cultivation of the indigo plant in Bengal proper. As paying crop indigo stood very low in the scale, much below rice indeed. So no one in his senses would cultivate it without some kind of inducement or compulsion. The rayats were generally forced to cultivate, and once a rayat had the misfortune to accept advances, he was doomed. Even if he failed to deliver a part of the crop, his whole labour was practically disavowed, and the money paid in advance was set down as debt against him, which went on accumulating from year to year.[174]

By their circular orders of 13 and 20 July 1810, the Bengal government had prohibited the use of violent methods by the planters. But these orders proved wholly ineffective. The rayats who declined to cultivate indigo, or "disowned the alleged outstanding balances against them", were kept in confinement for days without food, beaten or whipped, until they or their relations promised by written agreements to pay off the original debts with interest.[175] The breaking off of agreements, whether intentional or accidental, was repaid with prosecution and penalties, More

sinned against than sinning, the poor miserable cultivators had no other remedy against oppression beyond an appeal to the court of law, where they had little chance of getting justice.[176] Not that the Company's government were totally indifferent to it all. Indeed in 1829, they instituted a thorough enquiry into the planters' conduct towards the cultivators. But while they were satisfied that the indigo manufacturers were often guilty of oppression and violence,[177] they singularly failed to enforce the law on their European subjects. On the other hand, the European planters often took the law in their own hands. Each factory had a set of lathials[178] attached to it. And affrays, assaults and violent accidents in the course of taking forcible possession of lands between the planters men and the rayats, or between the competing concerns themselves, were of frequent occurrence. No wonder that the Magistrate of Faridpur made the sharp comment: "Not a chest of indigo reaches England without being stained with human blood".[179] While the brunt of the planters' oppression fell on the cultivating class, persons unconnected with indigo often had to bear it, too. In 1832 the Samachar Chandrika, a Calcutta weekly, published a graphic account of the indigo planters' conduct. Extract from the English translation of this account is given below, and will speak for them: planted with Turning up the fruitful land which the ryots have planted with grain, he (planter) sows it with indigo; not a soul in the village of the farm gives his consent to cultivate. If any bullock or man of that village or any other go (sic) by the path at the borders of the indigo fields, the cow-herds, like cow-destroyers, seize them, and carry them off to the factory. If they are men, they are beaten and, according to the rule of the factory, they are let off with a fine of two or three rupees. As to the bullocks, if they look well, they are taken, and the factory 'mark' is put upon them. If they are lean and old, their herd is brought in and beaten or confined, and a fine of one or two rupees is exacted for each bullock. Indigo fields are almost unfathomable oceans; if a bird flies, Saheb

shoots it; the wary bulls are set at the plough, and the cow-keepers near the factory are like broken pots of the Saheb. They must give their help in whatever is going on; must supply Saheb orders, milk and butter, and the dewan and pyadas also use milk excessively. Yet with a wry mouth, they cannot get an occasional rupee, or if they do, they are ruined by some information or the seizing of their cows".[180]

The general aversion for indigo in mid-nineteenth century Bengal found expression in a popular couplet, which, when translated into English, would read as follows:

To golden Bengal what a shape
Been given by the indigo-ape![181]

Yet the evils connected with indigo manufacture persisted in the province until in 1859-60, when the rayats of Nadia rose in revolt against the planters. Others of the neighbouring districts pressed hard for the redress of their grievances. At this psychological moment appeared Dinabandhu Mitra's Nil Darpan (Indigo-Mirror) a Bengali drama, which gave an undisguised picture of the scandal connected with indigo cultivation. Although Reverend Long had to suffer imprisonment for publishing an English translation o translation of the work, a commission had to be appointed immediately to enquire into the system of indigo cultivation. Investigations revealed and such a system, as the commission remarked, could only, be revealed that the whole system was vicious in theory and harmful in practice worked "by oppression and ill-usage".[182] After the publication of the commission's report conditions in the indigo factories definitely improved, the indigo rising of 1859-60 was the culmination of a spirit of discontent that had existed among the cultivating class since the beginning of the nineteenth century. There were, however, hardly any signs of industrial unrest during our period despite the continuance to some

extent of the Company's harsh domination over certain classes of workers. Until towards the end of the eighteenth century, the industrial guilds had been quite active in their respective fields. Refusing the Company's work, declining to have written agreements with the commercial residents, persuading others to shirk, and finally, as a last alternative, to lower the quality of the fabrics at the instance of the mandals,[183] had been among the usual methods the weavers' guilds resorted to for the redress of genuine grievances.[184] Combinations among the weavers had been common in spite of all attempts on the part of the residents to prevent them from coming together.[185] With the decline of textile industries, these precursors of trade-unions suffered a real set-back. And death, which carried away many hundred thousand artisans and manufacturers, further weakened the guilds.

We have no very definite information about the wages of industrial labour during this period. A statement of 1814 shows that the workers at the Kumarkhali filatures were paid slightly more than one anna and nine pies a day.[186] During the next twenty years, the price of labour in general increased by about 150 per cent[187] for the simple reason that the value of money after 1817 fell considerably. There was, however, in all probability, no increase in the Company's wage rates. The saltpetre manufacturers of Tirhut, for example, continued to get what they had received in 1814. During the quarter-century following the abolition of the Company's trade, there must have been a further rise in wage rates. Down to about 1833, there was a general scarcity of non-agricultural labour notwithstanding growing unemployment among the vast body of industrial workers.[188] The explanation of the apparent paradox probably lies in this that men who had previously pursued an independent calling as manufacturers, or a semi-independent business as journeymen workers, felt it beneath their dignity to dignity to sink to the position of porters or

ordinary domestic servants, They saw, of course, no objection to tilling their own lands or cutting the harvests with their own hands.

The decline of indigenous industries was not accompanied by a corresponding fall in India's foreign trade viewed as a whole. While the demands for Indian industrial products in foreign markets fell off, there was a marked increase in the export of raw silk, raw cotton, opium, indigo, sugar, grain and raw jute. The necessity for viewing India as a primary producing country and one of the main sources of supply of the needs of British industry was stressed in the Court of Directors' dispatch to the Bombay government of 18 February 1829.[189] The attention of the government was particularly called to the importance of growing long stapled cotton on Indian soil. Accordingly, some government farms were established in the Southern Maratha country and the Deccan, as well as in the vicinity of Broach "for introducing the cultivation of Bourbon cotton".[190] And it was decided for this purpose of allowing Europeans to hold land on leasehold tenure. Similar steps were taken by the Madras government and by the Bengal
Government with the assistance of the Calcutta Agricultural and Horticultural Society. These attempts were, however, for the most part, unsuccessful, except in Tinnevelly, where-owing to favourable circumstances of soil and the climate-a considerable area was cultivated with superior seeds from the Isle of France.[191] Nevertheless, the cultivation of short-staple cotton was extended as far as possible. Already raw cotton formed a leading export to China, both from Bombay and Bengal. And during the seven years following 1822-23, the yearly consignment to China amounted to more than 1,50,000 maunds,[192] and to Britain about 30,000 maunds.[193] Under the pressure of British cotton manufacturers, the import duties in England on Bengal cotton was repealed in 1836, and those on Bombay and Madras cotton were abolished in 1838 and 1844,

respectively. Meanwhile, the attempts to grow long-staple cotton were renewed in 1840 and onwards, when the Court of Directors, sent American cotton seeds and employed American planters as superintendents.[194] The cultivation of American cotton increased quite speedily in Dharwar and the adjoining territories of the Bombay Presidency.[195] The rayats were, however, reluctant to cotton, which they stated, put them to a certain loss. The official pressure had to be used for the purpose.[196] A Select Committee was appointed in 1848 to enquire into the state of cotton cultivation in India. It was found that the Indian supply to the total British import ranged between 8 and 15 per cent.[197] In Broach cotton absorbed 43 percent of the total cultivation in assessed lands; in Surat 22 percent. Several witnesses deposed before the Committee that there were some obstacles to the better cultivation and larger export of cotton, such as heavy assessment in the cotton-growing districts, the want of good roads and transport facilities, and of suitable cleaning machinery.[198] But the Court of Directors were of the opinion that these obstacles could be overcome. The Select Committee reported that India had the capacity to supply cotton of improved quality to an indefinite extent, but the means so far adopted would not in the opinion of the Committee produce the desired effect.

Since 1837 the government had been anxious to obtain some machine that would clean Indian cotton "more expeditiously than the slow and clumsy churka", and for this purpose, large money prizes had been offered in Calcutta.[199] Although many machines were brought forward, none proved successful. The province of Berar then yielded about 140,000 bales of cotton per annum, but most of it was piled up in heaps where it lay for months being mixed up with sand and earth.[200] Much the same was the case in the Bombay Presidency. A simple, rapid and efficacious machine was, therefore, a pre-eminent need of the time. At last Surgeon, General Forbes

succeeded in making a gin which, with the established labour of one man, gave out-turn of about 100 lbs. of cotton wool per day, or about five times the quantity cleaned by the charka.[201] A cotton gin factory was established in Dharwar, and the cultivation of American cotton was vastly extended in that district. The number of acres under cultivation rose from 3,200 in 1848-49 to nearly 172,000 in 1861-62.[202]

As regards the development of modern industries on the Western lines, the progress made before 1833 was quite negligible unless we consider indigo plantations and silk-winding in the Company's factories as specimens of modern industry. Practically the only examples of these, beside the numerous indigo factories and the several opium and silk reeling *Kothis*, were the inconsiderable number of European sugar factories, a few mills and workshops like the Baptist Mission's paper mills at Serampore, Mr. Kemp's canvas factory at Chandernagore, Josiah Heath's iron-smelting works near Madras, the Company's gun-carriage factories at Cossipore and Fatehgarh, and a coal mine in West Bengal. Even these stray and unimposing attempts were not all successful. Nor was there any marked advance in the development of factory industries during the next quarter-century. In 1851 the Bombay Spinning and Weaving Company was formed, and the first mill built by it began to work really from 1854. By 1853 hardly more than half a dozen cotton mills were in existence in and around Bombay city even in the jute mill industry there not much to record. By cutting off the supplies of Russian hemp, was the Crimean War no doubt gave an impetus to it, and jute manufacture with the help of machinery was started in Bengal in 1854, In that year a jute mill was established at Serampore by an Englishman.[203] Within the next few years, another mill was started. Late in the present period, the Madras tanning industry showed some progress. A tanning factory was established in Madras about

1845, and shortly after this, the industry spread to certain other parts of the Presidency. The result was that trade in tanned hides and skins grew up with the United Kingdom.

Steps were taken on a modest scale to develop tea and coffee plantations during our period. The indigenous tea plant was first discovered in the jungles of Assam about 1820, and the attention of the Company's government was directed to its culture both in the north-western slopes of the Himalayas. Dr Royle of Assam Botanical Gardens recommended the cultivation of tea in Kumaon. An experimental garden was started in Assam in 1835. After working it for five years, the government made it over to the Assam Company, and the first tea was made in 1842. During the next few years, progress was almost negligible. By 1853, however, the cultivation was extending all through the North-West Himalayas as well as in Assam. A private garden was started in 1852, followed by an increasing number of gardens. It was not until 1859, however, that the tea industry was placed on a sound footing. In that year there Year were 48 tea-growing estates in Assam whose total production exceeded a million pounds.[204] The labour for working the tea plantations was till then supplied locally. Coffee had been introduced into India in the seventeenth century, and its cultivation was already going on in South India when Europeans turned their attention to it. The incentive came from the equalisation of duties on East and West Indian coffee in England in 1835. The first European coffee garden was laid in 1840, but no appreciable progress took place during the next twenty years, though a Select Committee of the House of Commons was appointed in 1848 to enquire into the condition and prospects of a coffee plantation in India and elsewhere.

The modern method of coal mining in India began in 1820. The existence of coal in Birbhum and in the vicinity of Raniganj in Burdwan had been discovered by S. G. Heatly, Collector of Ramgarh and Palamau, as early as 1774. The attempts to work the mines at these places, however, proved unsuccessful. A subsequent experiment made by one Mr Jones to work a mine at Raniganj sometime after 1814 equally failed.[205] And so made an effort to work a coal mine at Sylhet about the same time.[206] The lease of the property given to Mr Jones was taken over by Messrs. Alexander and Company, and regular operation in the Raniganj field began in 1820. The demand for coal for steam navigation soon gave an impetus to the development of Raniganj coal. But not until the 1850s did the Bengal coal industry show real progress. Three other mines were opened by 1854. Some years after new pits were opened in large numbers when the industry received fresh impetus from the opening of the first East Indian Railway line.

Although the first steam-engine was imported into India from England in 1820 and set up in the Serampore Paper Mil,[207] it was not till the second half of the nineteenth century that steam power was supplied to Indian industry to any considerable extent. But steamer communication with Europe was established before that. The first voyage was performed in 1825 by the Enterprise, a small steamer under 500 tons. The success attained was by no means encouraging. However, the experimental voyages made by Hugh Lindsay during 1830-35 along the Red Sea route showed that the journey from Bombay to London could be covered in eight weeks. Soon a resolution was passed in the British House of Commons that speedy communication between England and India was a matter of national importance. By 1838 the time of transit from Bombay to London was reduced to thirty-five days, though from Calcutta it still took sixty days. Regular steamer communication between India and Europe was established in 1843 when the Peninsular and

Oriental Steam Navigation Company undertook the transport of mails and passengers across Egypt and France.[208] This route, was, however, not used as a trade route, except for small cargoes, For the conveyance of goods to and from England, therefore, the Cape route was used until the opening of the Suez canal in 1869.

While the great bulk of the country's foreign trade was carried in British and other foreign bottoms, a large number of India-built ships were also used. Ship-building, which had been an important and profitable industry of India from time immemorial, survived in Bombay, where, in addition to trading vessels, the Marathas possessed a fighting navy. In Bengal, on the other hand, it had become almost a dying industry until after it was revived by Europeans, who undertook the construction of ships in the Sunder bans as well as at Chittagong and Sylhet. The additional stimulus was given by Lord Wellesley's measure of allowing the free merchants of Calcutta to use Indian shipping in the export and import trade with Great Britain.[209] A shipbuilding yard was established at Kidderpore in Calcutta. The materials for ship-building were partly supplied from within the country, and partly from outside. Teak, Timber and planks for Bengal ships were imported generally from Morang. The frames of the Bengal ships were usually composed and of Pegu; sal and sisu (sisam) timber came from Nepal, Bhutan and 18 timber, beams and inside planks of sal, while the bottoms, sides, docks, keels and sternposts were made of teak. The Bombay ships were generally built entirely of teak, which was obtained from the
Malabar Coast. The metals, sail-cloths, ship chandlery, guns and gunners' stores were obtained from Britain and other European countries. The Indian shipbuilding industry was soon viewed with disfavour in Britain, and the conditions and restrictions imposed on India-built ships practically prevented their use in the Indo-European trade. In the Asiatic business, however, they

were frequently used. We learn from the Register of Ships Built in India (1823-1841) that a considerable number of these ships were employed in the China trade.[210] Until towards the end of our period Indian ships continued to be used in reasonably good numbers. But the advent of steamships gradually displaced the sail-driven vessels from water. And Indian shipping, after all, could not stand in competition with foreign shipping, which had all the advantages of the mechanised knowledge and scientific improvement of the West. Finally, India's dependence on Britain for most of her industrial and transport needs to be brought about stagnation in this important branch of national industry.

CONCLUSION

Cotton and silk industries were by far the most important of all mentioned above. The decline of these industries, once so famous, is indeed is a tragic story in the economic history of the Benga Province. It did not commence or end at any definite day but was a long process continuing through many years much has already been said on this subject. The influence of the Maratha invasions on the manufactures of Bengal remained highly catastrophic. "Uncertainty of person and property overwhelmed the merchants and weavers, and the production of the country was greatly affected many of the inhabitants, weavers, husbandmen fled, the Aurungs were in a great degree deserted, the lands untilled, and despicable fugitives escaped with nothing but their wives and children along with whatever they could carry in their hands believed there was no security for them until they reached the eastern shore (of the Padma river).''[211] Even *gurrahs* and other piece goods were available with great difficulty. [212] The ruinous effect of the Maratha ravage also stroked the silk manufactures also, and thus the" weavers and the inhabitants fled, silk (was) often carried away wet, and the Reels and piece goods before (being) manufactured –the one

wound off and the other finished in utmost hurry and confusion."[213]A letter of 1751 from the Cassimbazar factory to the Council in Calcutta indicated: "the dearness of raw silk and silk piece goods for some years past, they find, is owing to the maharattas constantly entering Bengal, preying and scorching the houses and destroying the chief *aurungs*, from which the workmen have fled to distant places." In the same year, Mr. Kelsall wrote from Bulrumgurrhy that the disturbances occasioned by the return of the Marathas had prevented him from being able to purchase any ready money goods as almost all the weavers had been obliged to abscond.[214]

Thus, in the light of these foregoing facts, it may be affirmed that the economic degeneration of Bengal began since the days of Alivardi (if not earlier, from Murshid Quli's time) to hold that the oppression of the company's servants and *gomastas* were alone responsible for the decline of Bengal manufacturers and industries and that this began closely after Plassey, is to see from only one side of it. Nobody will deny that their oppression increased as a result of the power gained by them by then after Plassey. But this also is to be acknowledged that there were already certain cankers eating into Bengal's economic vitality. Her capital manufactures, and agriculture had been disturbed and had lost respectively, their original, strength purity and productivity when the horrible storm of the Maratha incursions had blustered over her soil.

The company's servants only passed this bad state of things to a worse by their unjust and cruel conduct to the native traders, manufacturers, and weavers. It may be fairly asserted that the economic decline was a natural sequel to the general political disorders which had begun many years before 1757 but which were certainly aggravated later due to the intercession of the East India Company. Mentioning about the commercial decline of Dacca, Rennel remarked in august 1765 – "we may effortlessly account for its deterioration, by the continual wars which have of

late years wasted the whole country, and in the fomenting of which we have had too large a share."[215]

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[1] Bernier's *Voyages to the East Indies* (re-printed for the Society for the Resuscitation of Indian literature).

[2] *Home Department Public General Letters*, Letters to Court, 5th April, 1767, para 6.

[3] Charles Ross (ed.), *Correspondence of Charles, first Marquis Cornwallis*, 1859, Vol.. 1, p- 554,

[4]Rennel, *Description of Roads in Bengal and Bihar*, London, 1778, pp. 11-13

[5]A place of note in Rennel'stime,--at present a village in the district of Birbhum.

[6]Rennel, Description *of Roads in Bengal and Bihar*, pp. 55-56.

[7]Ballitunghee, a town on the Jalangi River, SE of Murshidabad.

[8]"Bowyanygunge-would appear to be Bhabaniganj in Begmarathana of the Rajshahi district map Shown in Rennel's map as an important place from which a road leads to Murshidabad"—*Bengal Past and present*, 1924, Vol. XXVIII, p. 192.

[9]At the foot of the Rajmahal Hills, a place of note in Rennel's time—at present a mere village in the Pakur sub-division, a few miles from the Murarai E.I Ry Station and near Mahespur. Rennel's *Journals,* Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1910, pp 98-100.

[10]Ibid, p. 104

[11]Rennel's *Journals*, Description of Roads in Bengal and Bihar Deoghur now included within the Santal Parganas.

[12]At present a village in the Dumka Sub-division.

[13]A village in the Rampurhat Subdivision of the Birbhum District.

[14] Near Raipur, birthplace of the late Lord S P Sinha.

[15] Modern Raniganj and the surrounding places.

[16] A Sub-division in the Murshidabad District.

[17] Rennel;s *Journal*, pp 104-105.

[18] "After leaving Barrasat, we seldom found the roads good, they being excessive narrow, rough and crooked and very frequently running across paddy fields so that when the ground is ploughed there are no traces of road to be found" – Rennel's *Journals,* p 87.

[19] Ibid., p. 76.

[20] Vide the map in Rennel's Description of Roads in Bengal and Bihar Post roads were roads on which there were posts or rest houses at regular intervals for changing the carriages on which travellers travelled rapidly, and which carried also the "dak."

[21] Bengal *Past and Present*, Vol.. XVIII, 1924, pp. 21-36 'The Grand Trunk road—its Localities,' published in *Calcutta Review*, No. XLI, Vol.. XXI, pp. 170-224.

[22] In this period, the East India Company's trade through the Gangetic Valley of Bihar and the hills of Santal Parganas was exposed to unfriendly attitudes (of Mir Kasim and the Marathas), on the other hand a route through Chotanagpur to Benares region would pass the states of Hindu chieftains who might welcome a new outlet for their trade and who might serve the interest of the E. I. C as the Hindu Zamindars and traders of Bengal had just done.

[23] Caraccioli, *Life of Clive*, Vol. I, p. 338. Thus military advantage consisted in the survey and establishment of an alternative, a more direct, shorter and easier(owing to absence of big rivers) route to the frontiers of Bihar and the Benares region,--which enable the E I C to be prepared for any Afghan or Maratha invasion in future. In this matter the E I C was doing what Sher Shah had done in the 16th century.

[24] *Bengal Past and Present*, 1924, pp 21-36.

[25] For further details, vide ibid, pp 21-35 Rennel in his Description of Roads in Bengal and Bihar mentions one road from Calcutta to Junchpass in Chotanagpur (p. 40), one from Calcutta to Koondah (p

41), one from Calcutta to Palamu (p. 53), two from Calcutta to Pachet (p. 52) and four roads from Calcutta to Singbhum (pp. 70-71)

[26] Vijayarama's *Tirthamangala, pp- 74-78*. It is a contemporary book of travels in Bengali of much historical value. We know from internal evidences in the book that it was completed in 1177 B.S. (1770 A.D.). A MS. Copy written by the author himself four months after its completion has been edited by Srijut Nagendranath Vasu and published by the Vangiya Sahitya Parisad, Calcutta.

[27]The author Vijayarama joined Krsnacandra Ghosala on a pilgrimage in the year 1769 to the holy places of Northern India and he has given very valuable descriptions regarding the routes followed and the places visited by them. The descriptions being accurate are of much importance for a student of history. Krsnacandra Ghosala was the elder brother of Gokula candra Ghosala, who was the Company's dewan from 27th January, 1767, to 26th December, 1769

[28] *Memoirs of the Map of Indostan*, p 245

[29] Vijayarama's *Tirthamangala*, pp 18-21.Between Hugli and Calcutta there were the following ferry Ghats –(a) Candapala Ghat near the High Court, (b) Vanamali Sarakara Ghat (Vanamali Sarakara was a very influential man and was the Kotwal of Calcutta at that time. He had then the biggest building in Calcutta. We can compare the following—Govindarama Mitrera chadi, Vanamali Sarakarera bari, Omicandera dadi, Huzurimalera kadi (Govindarama Mitra's stick, Vanamali Sarkara's house, Omicand's beard, Huzurimal's wealth); (c) Bagbazar Ghat, (d) Malir Ghat

[30] This village was situated two miles from Santipur in Nadia District. Greater part of it has been swallowed by the Ganges, the only remains being the village Bhatsala which also has been removed 1 mile from Ganges. *Tirthamangala*, p 27, footnote.

[31] Rennel's *Journals*, pp 118-20

[32] Rennel's *Journals*, pp 188-20, Vijayarama's Tirtha-mangala, pp 180-201.

[33] Vijayarama refers to the heavy exaction of tolls in the 'chowki' at Barh, which led to a serious alteration between the men of his party and the sepoys stationed there—*Tirthmangala*, pp 58-60.

[34] Rennel's *Journals*, pp. 118-20.

[35] Rennel's *Journals*, pp 118-20

[36] Ibid. "The Luckya River is the west-most Branch of the Baramputy and falls into the Issamutey a few miles below Dacca after sending out a navigate Creek which leads to Dacca and thereby allows a much shorter passage from that city to Chilmary and Gwalpura than any of the branches of the Meghna"—Ibid, p. 46.

[37] Ibid.

[38] An unpublished Letter of major James Rennel, dated 8th August, 1765, printed in *Bengal Past and Present*, July-September 1988.

[39] *Voyage to the East Indies*, Vol.. I, p 399.

[40] Rennel, *Memoir of the Map of Indostan*, p. 259

[41] Rennel's *Journals*, p 31 In course of his journey from Calcutta to Jalanghi, Rennel saw salt-boats (boats carrying salt from the seaboard to Patna and other towns on the Ganges) sunk near Gowgatty and Bickrygunge Ibid, p.12.

[42] Built by Raja Rajballabh, who flourished in the second quarter of the 18th century, Ibid, Appendix 'A' p. 135.

[43] "Lurricule, once a remarkable village lies almost halfway between the Ganges and Meghna, is about 28 miles S ½ W from Dacca, 3 ESE from Rajanagore . Here are the ruins of a Portuguese Church and of many brick houses." Rennel's *Journals*, p 89.

[44] Ibid These creeks were almost due west of Chandpur. Their position is now mainly occupied by the united waters of the Ganges and the Meghna.

[45] This route was of use only "when the rivers have rose enough to make it navigable which commonly happens about the latter end of may" Rennel's *Journals*, p 22.

[46] Ibid., p. 28.

[47] Ibid., p.29.

[48] Ibid., p 36.

[49] Ibid, p 40.

[50] "A small village close to Daundkandi, where the road from Dacca to Comilla leaves the river" Rennel 's *Journals*, p 44.

[51] Ibid, Asmarygunge, a large village on the Surma in the Silhet district, about 80 miles north-east of Dacca.

[52] Baganbary,--spelt Bygonbarry in Rennel's map. It is equivalent to Maimansingh or Nasirabad, the headquarters of the Meymansingh district. Baiganbary is mentioned by Hunter as a village with a large indigo factory near Gobindganj about 5 miles NW of Meymansingh, *Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. V, p 415.

[53] Rennel's *Journals*, p 47.

[54] "This Creek, which leaves the Ganges at Pubna now goes by the name of the Ichhamati in some places and of the Atrai in others" Rennel's *Journals*, p 81, footnote 8

[55] "In going against the stream this river is preferable to the Ganges, on account of their being good tracking ground all the way, and few sands, but in going down with the stream the other is preferable" Ibid, pp 81-82.

[56] Ibid, p. 193.

[57] "We passed the Teesta about 6 miles N.W of Olyapour(spelt Oliapur in Rennel's map, plate 44, part 2, equivalent to modern Ulipur, head0quyarters of a thana of that name and still the seat of the principal cutchery of the "Baharbund" Zamindar, *Bengal Past and Present*, 1924 Vol. XXVIII, p. 192) at a small village named Tytari (probably the Totires of the Rungpur district map), after this its course is more to the North-west about a mile and half west from Tytari crossed the Monnas creek which is now fordable, its course is to the ESE, joining the Teesta at Calygunge" Rennel's *Journals*, p 54. The Manas creek was one of the numerous branches of the Teesta and not the larger Manas or Banas Assam. Ibid, footnote 5.

[58] The Purnabhaba River lies considerably to the west in the Dinajpur District, and was at that time one of the main branches of the Teesta.

[59] Kurigram, on the right bank of the Dherla river in the Rungpur District.

[60] Rennel's *Journals*, pp 128-80

[61] Hind Pahar or Pour is strictly a measure of time equal to a fourth part of the day and of the night' Hobson-Hobson, p 786)

[62] Vansittart's *Narrative*, Vol. II, pp. 184-87.

[63] Vansittart's *Narrative*, Vol. II, p 194.

[64] Dow's *Hindoostan*, Vol. I, cin

[65] Such places have now sunk into insignificance and many of them are no better than ordinary villages, e.g. Lacaracondah in the 'Burdwan to lacaracondah road,' Birkity in Calcutta to Patchwary Road.

[66] Bolts' *Considerations*, p. 168, footnote.

[67]Gangarama*, Maharastrapurana*, Vangiya Sahitya Parisad Patrika, Vol. XIII, Part IV, 1906 (1313 Bengali Year), p 220.

[68] Rennel's *Journals*, p 181

[69] Hill, *Bengal in 1756-57*, Vol.. I, p 126

[70] *Proceedings of the Select Committee*, 18th February, 1758.

[71] Of Calcutta Gunjam Road in Rennel's *Description of Roads in Bengal and Bihar*, pp 29 31

[72] *Consultations*, February, 1748 A D

[73] Long's *Selections*, Introductions, LIII.

[74] "*Proceedings of the Select Committee,* 22nd February 1758, Firminger's *Bengal Historical Records* (1758), p 12 *Proceedings of the Select Committee*, Oct 13, 1757 A D. It would thus appear that a distance of about 150 miles was covered in 2 days, this would be impossible under any other postal system, except regular relay and of horse post or post-coaches.

[75] *Proceedings,* December 8, 1759 A.D. , Firminger, *Bengal H R*, p. 16.

[76] Rennel's *Journals*, p. 131.

[77] *Midnapur District Records*, p 18

[78] Bolts, *Op.Cit,* Appendix, p 142.

[79] Hill , *Op.Cit*,Vol...II. p 216

[80] Orme,*Op.Cit.* ,Vol. II ,p 4 ..

[81] Stravornus Op. Cit ,Vol. I,p 474

[82] Birdwood, *Industrial Art of India* , London,1880, p 246.

[83] Holwell, *I H E*, p 193

[84] Holwell, *I.H.E.*, p 194

[85] Ibid., pp 195-96

[86]Ibid., p.200.

[87] Ibid., p202

[88] *Midnapur District records,* pp 8-9

[89] Abbe de Guoyn, *A New History of the East*, Vol. II, London, 1757, pp 496-97

[90] Grose, *Voyage to the East Indies* ,Vol. II,p 286 Abbe de Guoyn, op,cit, Vol. II, p 498

[91] Stravorinus, op,cit Vol. I, p 519

[92] Holwell, I H.E, pp.201-202

[93] Ibid., p.202.

[94]*Voyage to the East Indies* ,Vol. II,P 240

[95] *Op. Cit*. ,Vol. I, 99 472-73

[96]Ibid., p. 464

[97] Stavorinus,op cit, Vol..I, p. 474

[98] *Memoir of the Map of Indostan*, p. 61

[99] A descriptive and Historical account of the cotton manufacture at Dacca by a Resident, p. 4.

[100] Ibid., p. 40

[101] A descriptive and Historical account ,etc, p. 8

[102] Ibid, p. 9

[103] Ibid,

[104] *Op. Cit* .,Vol. I,P 413 "A common sized tobacco- box ,such as they wear in the poket ,is about eight inches long ,half as broad, and about and inch deep"Ibid. p.413,foot-note

[105] *Bengal Past and Present* ,present,Vol. XXXVII, p. 20

[106] Rennel's *Journals*, p. 75

[107] A descriptive and Historical account ,etc.p.24,

[108] Ibid , p41

[110] Quoted in Taylor, *Op.Cit.*

[111] *I.H.E*, p 193

[112] *Op.Cit.*, Vol. I,p.473

[113] Ibid,p.474

[114]*A Descriptive and Historical account* ,etc., pp 11-12

[115] Ibid. Right up to the 20th century the tradition amongst Dacca weaving families was that the cotton (tree-cotton) grown for earlier Dacca muslins was grown in the black soil of the districts adjacent to Dacca town in the north of it ,of which are 'bowal' (Bhowal states was a part ,the black soil extends into North Bengal.

[116]Gulam Husain, *Seir-ul-mutakhern* ,(An English translation of this work was published by a French renegade to Islam, Haji Mustafa), Calcutta ,1789, p 9

[117]Ibid.

[118] *Memoir of Map of Hindustan*, p. 61.

[119] Long, *Op. cit,* p 39

[120] Ibid., p. 120 .

[121] *Journals*, pp 109-11

[122] Vijayarama's *Trithamangala*, p. 9. We have a description of ship-building in Dvija Vamsivadana's *Manasamangala*, a Bengali work of the 16th century. *Typical selections from Old Bengali literature*, Part I , p 220

[123] Such boats having arrangements for convenience were used by the Europeans and the rich Indians for travelling purposes these were of various size, "from twenty-five to sixty feet in length and longer" Stravorinur op. cit, Vol.. I, pp 465-66.

[124] These were "very long and narrow sometimes extending to upwards of an hundred feet in length, and not more than eight feet in breadth. These boats are very expensive owing to the beautiful decorations of painted and gilt ornaments which are highly varnished. Ibid., p 468, foot-note

[125] Ibid., p. 467.

[126] Rennel's *Journals*, p 68 for full description of '*seringas*.' In the evening of 27th May, 1764, Rennel "counted no less than 400 fishing boats" in the space of 2 miles between the "villages (on the Jananghi) of Malacola and Sela (probably a corruption of Sara)".

[127]Stavorinus, *Op.Cit.* Vol. I, p. 468, foot-note.

[128] *Seir -ul- mutakherin*, Vol.. II, p. 158, foot-note.

[129] Raja Binay Kumar deb, *The Early History and Growth of Cacutta*, Edited by, Subir Ray choudhuri, Calcutta, 1905, p. 100

[130]W. W. Hunter, *The History of Orissa*,Vol.. 1,1872, page 314-15.

[131] Hamilton, Walter, *The East India Gazetteer; Containing Particular Descriptions of the Empires, Kingdoms, Principalities, Provinces, Cities, Towns, Districts, Fortresses, Harbours, Rivers, Lakes, Etc. of Hindostan, and The Adjacent Countries, India Beyond The Ganges, and The Eastern Archipelago; Together With Sketches of the Manners, Customs, Institutions, Agriculture, Commerce, Manufactures, Revenues, Population, Castes, Religion, History, Etc. of Their Various Inhabitants*, London: Printed For J. Murray By Dove, 1815.

[132]In William Milburn, *Oriental Commerce,* Vol. 2, London, 1873 the following account of the establishment of the Bank is given: A bank was established in Bengal and incorporated by charter on the 2nd January, 1809. The capital stock amounts to 5,000,000 Rupees and is divided into 500 shares of 10,000 Rs. each; of which shares 100 belong to the Government and 400 to individuals. All persons in the service of the Company, and the Judges in the several courts, as well as others may hold shares in the Bank. The affairs are managed by nine Directors, of whom three are nominated by the Government and six by the proprietors. The bank is prohibited from engaging in trade or any kind of agency, and the business is confined as far as possible to discounting negotiable private securities, keeping cash accounts, receiving deposits and circulating cash notes; and they are at liberty to receive in deposits, and for safe custody, bullion, treasure, jewels, plate and other articles of value, not liable to spoil or waste, on such terms as they may deem reasonable.

[133] *Oriental Commerce* contains a geographical description of the principal places in the East Indies, China and Japan, with their produce, manufactures and trade, &c, William Milburn, Esq. Published in 1813 (London).

[134] W.Hamilton, *East India Gazetteer*, London, 1815, p 219

[135] Raja Binay Kumar deb, *Op.cit*., Calcutta, 1905, p. 106

[136] *Calcutta Review*, Vol.. XV, p. 201

[137]*Calcutta Review*, Vol.. XXXV. p. 163.

[138]W. Milburn *, Oriental Commerce*, p. 102

[139] *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 1784, Vol.ume 54, Part 1.

[140]Bolts ,*Consideration of the Indian Affairs,* appendix

[141] For a description of the process of making attar at Lucknow see Supplementary Vol.umes to the works of Sir William Jones, Vol. I, pp 161-63.

[142] Bengal: *Past and Present*, XL.VlI, part 1, p 54.

[143] Ghosal, H. R., op cit, p 175,

[144] Ibid, p 171.

[145] Ibid,

[146] Ibid,

[147] Dumka which is now the headquarters of the Santal Parganas was then a mere village.

[148] Martin, op cit, Vol. II, p 191.

[149] Appendix to *Report from Select Committee* (1833), Vol. II, part 2. p 471

[150] Ibid.

[151] Ibid.

[152] J.A.S.B. (New Series) XI, part II, p 739.

[153] *Annals of Indian Administration* (1857), pp 376-77.

[154] Ibid, pp 377-78.

[155] Ibld, p 378.

[156] Ghosal, H. R., op cit, pp 146-50.

[157] At Chapra. Singhia, Mau (near Singhia) and Fatwa (Patna district).

[158] Near Lalganj in Hajipur sub-division of Muzaffarpur district.

[159] Muzaffrpur Collectorate Records.

[160] Ibid.

[161] Appendix to *Report from Select Committee* (1833), Vol. II, Part II p 895,

[162] See Dasarathi Ray's panchali songs in *Rasa-granthavali*, Calcutta (Basumati Sahitya Mandir).

[163] Ghosal, H. R., op cit, pp 77-78.

[164] Ghosal, H. R., op cit, p 75.

[165] Muzaffarpur Collectorate Records.

[166] Ghosal. H. R., op cit, p 77 (footnote).

[167] *First Report from Select Committee* on Sugar and Coffee Planting, pp 12-84.

[168] Ghosal, H. R., op cit, p 80 (footnote).

[169] Ibid, App. D.

[170] Ibid.

[171] Ibid.

[172] Ibid, pp 87-88.

[173] According to an estimate made by the planters of Jessore in 1829. The average out-turn of indigo in European factories throughout the Bengal presidency then was 9,000,000 lbs. a year. *General Appendix to Select Committee's* Repo (1833), p 349.

[174] Ghosal, H. R., op cit, p 91.

[175] Ibid, p 94.

[176] *Minutes of Evidence before Select Committee* (1833), Vol. I, p 222.

[177] The majority of the Magistrates indeed expressed favorable opinions about the planters. But the Court of Directors remarked in 1832 that the Magistrates statements "must be received with some allowance for the delicacy of the enquiry and for the disposition which men naturally feel to speak favorably for those with whom they are in habits of familiarity and of social intercourse." General Appendix to Select Committee's Report (1833), p 334.

[178] Bludgeon men.

[179] Quoted in *Nil-Darpan* (Kar, Majumdar & Co. ed., p 266, App.),

[180] Appendix to *Salt Committee's Report* (1838). pp 33-34.

[181] In original Bengali it is "*Nil bandare sonar Bangla karlo chlharkhar"*

[182] *Indigo Commission's Report*, p XXVIIL.

[183] Village headmen.

[184] Ghosal, H. R., op cit, pp 20-22.

[185] Ibid, p 22.

[186] *Bengal Board of Trade (Commercial) Consultations*, 31 May, 1815

[187] Ghosal, H. R., op cit, pp 263-64

[188] Ibid, pp 265-67.

[189] Appendix to *Report from Select Committee* (1833), i, part 2, p 668.

[190] Ibid, p 669.

[191] Ibid, p 445.

[192] Ibid, p 853.

[193] Ibid, p 851.

[194] *Annals of Indian Administration*, Vol. 1, part 5 (1861), pp 237-39.

[195] Ibid.

[196] Ibid.

[197] Dutt, R. C., op cit, p 131.

[198] Ibid, pp 130-42.

[199] *Annals of Indian Administration*, Vol. I, part 2 (1861), pp 237-39.

[200] Ibid.

[201] Ibid.

[202] Ibid.

[203] Mr Auckland by name.

[204] Gadgil, D. R., *Industrial EVol.ution of India*, p 5.

[205] Ghosal, H. R., op cit, p 173. Also Bengal: *Past & Present*, LXXXIX, part 1, Pp 35-36, 41 (footnote).

[206] Ibid.

[207] O'Malley, *Modern India and the West*, p 231.

[208] Ibid, p 233.

[209]Dallas, A., *Letter to Sir William Pulteney*, pp 27-28. See also Wellesley's letter to Court, 30 September, 1800 (Owen, Wellesley, *Despatches*, pp 701-18).

[210] Ghosal, H. R., op cit, Appendix.

[211] Howell*, I.H.E* ,P 128

[212] Letter to Court, dated 13th August, 1748, para 10

[213]Letter to Court, dated 8th January,1742 ,para 61; ibid, dated 30th November, 1746, para.15

[214] Letter to court, 4th February, 1751 A.D

[215] An unpublished letter of Major James Rennel, Bengal, August 31, 1765, printed *in Bengal Past and Present,* July-September, 1933.