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THE COMMERCIAL POLICY OF THE MOGULS

Thesis approved for the Degree of Ph. D., conferred on the Author by Trinity College, Dublin.

OPINIONS

Prof. C. F. BASTABLE, M.A., LL.D., Professor of Political Economy, University of Dublin:—

"It gives me much pleasure to bear testimony to the energy and zeal shown by Dr. D. Pant during his year of study in this University.

"Dr. Pant, with the approval of the Board, undertook the preparation of a "History of the Commercial Policies of the Mughals" and completed a course of inquiry that he had begun in India. I had full opportunity of seeing the lines of Dr. Pant's investigations and **was impressed by the wide extent of his studies.** *The material that he has collected will be of great service to other workers in the same field.*

"The Examiners reported in favour of the award of the Degree of Doctor in Philosophy on the ground of Dr. Pant's work presented to them in duly prepared form.

"I would wish to add that the views expressed by Dr. Pant, as distinct from the body of evidence that he has collected and sifted, are independent and such as would be criticized by other students. His work is his own, and is the more valuable on account of its clear statement of its author's views.

"I need not speak of Dr. Pant's general work as a capable student of Economics. I found him to be specially interested in the difficult currency questions of the day as affecting India. He has had experience as a Lecturer in Commercial Economics."

Dr. BENI PRASAD, M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc. (Lond.), Head of the Department of Political Science, University of Allahabad:—

"Dr. Pant's COMMERCIAL POLICY OF THE MOGULS throws fresh light on the economic annals of one of the most notable periods of Indian History. The fruits of his wide reading and researches should be welcome to all students of Medieval India. I hope Dr. Pant will continue the excellent work he has started."

THE COMMERCIAL POLICY OF THE MOGULS

BY

D. PANT, B. Com., Ph. D.
University of Lucknow

FOREWORD

BY

The Rt. Hon. LORD MESTON
Baron of Agra and Dunnottar, F. R. S. L., K. C. S. I., Ll. D.

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FOREWORD

BY

The Rt. Hon. Lord Meston

Dr. Pant has allowed me to read the proof-sheets of his treatise, and has invited me to write a foreword to it. I gladly testify to the industry with which, while studying economics in Europe, Dr. Pant amassed the information which he has now collected for publication. His treatise provides a mine of facts about the trade and produce of India during the zenith of the Mogul Empire; and Indian researchers in this field are welcome collaborators with those European scholars who are already working it.

As his title the author has chosen "The Commercial Policy of the Moguls"; but with equal justice it might have been "How the Moguls had no Commercial Policy". For none of the four great Emperors who figure in the book had any constructive policy for encouraging or extending the commerce of India: indeed Dr. Pant goes so far as to say that 'the splendour of the Mogul Court was based on the ruin of the Nation', a verdict, however, which will probably not pass without challenge. Akbar made some attempt to rectify taxation; but the uncertainty of the customs assessments and the crushing frequency of transit dues seem to have largely neutralized his reforms. With his successors there was no endeavour to ensure for commerce that freedom from interference which, according to our modern experience, is the breath of its life. Its handicaps were innumerable, for they included, says Dr. Pant, 'religious fanaticism, zenana intervention, official obstruction, fiats of the kings monopolizing this or that trade and the fixation of prices at this or that level irrespective of the economic forces working in the market and, finally, the inclination of the King to earn commercial profits for himself.'

A dynasty like that of the Moguls, whose traditions were all of fighting and conquest of land, never learned the lesson of Sea Power; and their external commerce was permanently at the mercy of the various European navies which, at different times, commanded their coasts. Their internal commerce was stunted by the causes quoted above, but also by the peculiar industrial conditions of the time. Labour abounded, of a sort; but the insecurity of travel rendered it largely immobile. Its standard tendency was towards the great cities; but its employment there was more often on the whims of the rich and powerful rather than on productive work. Another obstacle to trade was undoubtedly the lack of capital, enhanced by the peculiar form of death duties which wealthy

merchants were privileged to share with the nobles, by having the whole of their estates confiscated to the Crown immediately after their death. Finally, there was the remarkable practice which Dr. Pant describes by the epigram that 'in those days Trade followed the King'. Even the far-seeing Akbar, and still more so his shorter-sighted successors, made the country's commerce their own commodity. It was open, it is true, to any subject to start a new trade; but when it began to expand, the officials cut in for a share in the profits; and if it still developed, the Emperor stepped in and made it a Royal monopoly. Little wonder that the private treasury of the Grand Mogul waxed enormous. The late Mr. Vincent Smith estimated that Akbar left, in coin and stores, something equivalent to what 80 million sterling would have meant in England in Queen Elizabeth's day; and there would seem to have been no marked diminution of this private wealth until it was drained by Aurungzeb's military ambitions.

Dr. Pant's thesis is the slow and difficult path of India's industries in the past. Under Brahmanical Hinduism, 'Systems of Philosophy and not principles of Economics' were founded. Under Moslem Rule, the well-being of the multitude was sacrificed to the luxury of the few, and the climax was reached when Aurungzeb crippled the economic machinery of the country by his campaigns in the Deccan and by the warfare of his bigotry on his Hindu subjects. In spite of all this, it would be an interesting study, to which perhaps Dr. Pant may apply himself on some future occasion, to see how the cottage arts and village industries of India survived the vicissitudes of dynasties and the tyrannies of the great. It is clear that they had reached a high stage of development long before the Moguls ruled at Delhi. What was the organization which kept them alive through all the changes in India's fortunes and rendered them available material both for the palace-builders of the middle ages and for the industrial transition which we are witnessing to-day? The continuity of human handicrafts and the evolution of characteristic types are ingredients of historical research in any country. They are of special interest in India, because of the vastness of the movement which is sweeping them into the current of international commerce. Dr. Pant describes how this movement was checked during an important period of India's story. Some day he may show us how it has operated during the last two centuries.

MESTON

INTRODUCTION

The book of "One Thousand Nights and a Night" opens with the following lines: "Verily the works and words of those gone before us have become instances and examples to men of our modern day, that folk may view what admonishing chances befel other folk, and may therefrom take warning; and that they may peruse the annals of antique peoples, and all that hath betided them, and be thereby ruled and restrained. Praise therefore be to Allah who hath made the histories of the Past an admonition unto the Present."

The pages that follow are really "an admonition unto the Present." They also reveal the pits into which the Great Moguls fell and which we can avoid to-day if only we correlate the Society of that day with present Society.

The rule of the Great Moguls was based on the following principles:

(1) Kingship recognises no kinship. The destruction of other royal princes was therefore a matter of course. The sons of the successful monarch were however 'preserved'; this rule of extermination did not apply to them.

(2) No law of succession to the throne. Hence wars leading to the destruction of other princes by the successful prince.

(3) "I am the State" policy. Despotism of the worst kind was the inevitable result. No line was ever drawn between private and public funds.

(4) King the sole legatee. This discouraged thrift as maximum expenditure was maintained by all officials. Hence no hereditary nobility.

(5) Issue of *firmans* (signed orders of the King). This multiplied chaos in Political, Social, and Economic fields, for no one knew where he stood. Instability was great.

(6) The daughters of the King were not allowed to marry, as marriage was *infra dig* for them. Corruption and intrigues were thus the order of the day.

(7) The evil institution of the harem. From the King to the lowest person of consequence every one kept a harem. This increased expenditure, multiplied intrigues, increased corruption, and bred effeminacy.

(8) King a Trader. Hence very little private intiative. Trade followed the King.

(9) Belief in the Divine Rights of the King. No *vox populi* as all criticism of the King was tantamount to blasphemy.

and (10) Religious bias after Jehangir. Disintegration of the Empire was the natural outcome of a wrong policy wrongly followed.

So far then for the Moguls.

The English have also to learn a few lessons from the Moguls' history.

The first lesson is a clear perception of the incompatibility of Sovereignty with Trade. The impression that is gaining ground in India to-day, namely, that the Government of India primarily works for Lancashire and Manchester and incidentally for Bombay and Calcutta, lowers the ethical value of Sovereignty. Everything depends on the ethical interpretation of an institution—be it a Sovereignty or a simple Association.

The second lesson that must be learnt is the great utility of good manners in Asiatic politics. Outlandish manners forcibly introduced leave wounds behind which heal with difficulty in tropical countries. And the third lesson is one on which stress was laid by their own countrymen in 1636 A.D. No attention was paid to it then and no attention is being paid to it now.

President Methwold and Messrs. Fremlen, Breton, Peirson, and Bornford wrote on 28th April, 1636, from Surat to the East India Company in London as follows: ".....and therefore wee for our parts doe hold that in things indifferent it is safest for an Englishman to Indianize, and so conforming himself in some measure to the diet of the Country, the ordinary phisick of the Country will be the best cure when any sickness shall overtake him." [1]

"Mendelslo noticed that both Methwold and Fremlen abstained from taking the heavy supper in which the rest of the English indulged."[2] How many Englishmen die in India every year of sun-stroke, typhoid, enteric, and dysentery from which an Indian is immune? Heavy eating and too much alcohol have carried away many Englishmen in the prime of their life.

To the Indians, the history of the Moguls has great educational value, for there is not much difference between Indian Society in 1600 and the Indian Society of to-day! Indian Society can be roughly split up into the Hindus and the Mohammedans who form its two main pillars.

"The Hindus are divided into four main castes: Brahmins, Rajputs, Vaishyas, and Sudras, each of which in turn is divided into innumerable sub-castes or sects. The barriers among these minor divisions are very formidable and unsurmountable.

"Later on, as Society grew more complex, a need for division of labour

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1 "The English Factories in India (1634-1636)" by William Foster, p. 210.

2 Ibid.

must have been acutely felt and that accounts for the splitting up into four main castes. This happened somewhere between 1400-800 B.C.

"Gradually occupational differences created also social differences and these, becoming hereditary, played havoc among Hindus.

"Even after 3,000 years, to-day they have not been able to shake off the shackles they put on them.

"It seems ridiculous to a tolerant Hindu that even in these days of meteoric changes the Hindus have not realised the utter stupidity of continuing the farce first started somewhere about 1400 B.C. "How is it possible to fit conditions of 1926 A.D. in with those of 1400 B.C.?

"We have either to adapt ourselves to changing conditions or withdraw from International competition.

"With the wonderful development of the means of communication, with the development in thought, with the changes in our aims and ideals; we are yet sticking to our antediluvian rules and regulations. They were good enough for those times when man was not much bothered with material needs, when one could pleasantly contemplate life after death, when the conditions of Society were static. But are the conditions to-day the same as they were 2000 years before Christ? If not, then how on earth can we advance when those social rules are nothing more nor less than so many handicaps to us? We must adapt ourselves to the New Order or we must, as we are doing to-day, stagnate and be wiped out.

"The unnatural and artificial conditions created by the Caste System must disappear.

"In the Vedic age, widow marriage was allowed by law and society. To-day, thanks to the humanising British enactment, it is allowed by law. It is not yet allowed by society. That Society Moloch will yet feed on millions of widows before it is reduced to ashes by the fire that turned Carthage into a field of ashes.

"The Mohammedans form as a whole a homogeneous mass though internal divisions amongst them also exist, yet they are not unsurmountable. They have greater liberty as far as social laws go. Of late there is a tendency among them to combine religion with politics. And this is making their bond of union more strong and lasting (to the distinct cost of Indian Nationalism)." [1]

The wretched caste system of the Hindus was fully exploited by the Moguls. Rajputs were bought over and the Brahmins mercilessly persecuted. As long as the Caste System is not ended, and as long as widows are not given their birthright, namely, to produce children in wedlock, so long there is no hope of a Hindu revival. To the Mohammedans a clear lead has been given by Mustapha Kemal

1 "Socialism: Its Embryonic Development in India" by D. Pant, pp. 95-102.

Pasha. They must follow in his footsteps or stay where they are, focussing their attention on Mecca and Medina. The communal tension in India to-day is more a tension within the Hindu fold than one due to any misunderstanding between Hindus and Mohammedans. A compact Hindu group of two hundred and fifty million people would turn the understanding with the seventy million Moslem group into a real and lasting friendship.

But not till the "Belgewarras (Balija Varn)—right-hand caste" fights with the Bereewars (Beri Varn)—left hand caste" and calls upon Mr. Baker, the President of the Madras Factory in 1653, to define the portions of towns and disallow processions on forbidden routes! A fusion of the East with the West is not desirable, for a blending of the culture of the East with the culture of the West would not be harmonious. There is need for both Oriental and Occidental civilisations. Both are necessary for the Larger Humanity. A harmony between East and West must be established, for Friction is Waste.

"The Indian is still, in general, what he always was, in spite of all the profound activities of Europe; and, however forcible the new and unprecedented influences now at work upon an instructed minority, one can with difficulty imagine any serious change in the rooted character of the time-honoured instincts of the vast mass of the people; nor is it at all certain that such change would be for the better." [1]

May the day soon dawn when India, combining the philosophic teachings of the Vedas with the Empire-building genius of Akbar, tackles her great and ever-growing economic problems to the advantage of the Larger Humanity.

D. Pant.

1 "Mediaeval India Under Mohammadan Rule" by Stanely Lane-Poole, pp.423-424.

BOOK I.

AN ECONOMIC SURVEY OF INDIA UP TO 1556 A. D.

".....Man loves man...Discover what is truly human, not only what is old, in India, Persia, Arabia, in Babylon and Nineveh, in Egypt—aye, in China also—and Oriental studies will not only become popular—that may be worth very little—but they will become helpful to the attainment of man's highest aim on earth, which is to study man, to know man, and, with all his weaknesses and follies, to learn to love man." (Prof. Max Muller's inaugural address delivered before the R. A. S. on Wednesday, March 4th, 1891.)

AN ECONOMIC SURVEY OF INDIA UP TO 1556 A.D.

The contribution of early Hinduism to the science of Economics and Finance is negligible. Trying to trace the evolution of Hinduism from the archaic days of the Vedic Period (4000-2000 B.C.), we get a glimpse of the happy contented life of the people who were forced to move South-East into the Punjab—the land of the five rivers—from Central Asia where the low fertility of the soil and the growing increase in numbers were causing untold hardships to the virile race of the Aryans.

To the people in those days the Valley of the Indus was the country of Hindustan, presenting a happy contrast to the dull and dreary plains of Central Asia. They, therefore, settled down there and took to Agriculture. Being immensely superior in culture and organisation to the former inhabitants of Hindustan, and being also more advanced in the arts of war, they easily drove them out of the area they in turn occupied.

As land was abundant and fertile, they found time to think of and discuss things which do not pertain to the body. Coming in close touch with Nature in all her ruggedness and nudity, they tried to interpret her in terms known to them. This attempt to express the Unknown and the Unknowable in terms of Time and Space later on gave to mankind that System of Hindu Philosophy which in intellectual circles receives the highest praise even to-day. This was not the work of a century or so. The germs born on the banks of the Indus grew to maturity on the banks of the Ganges.

The Vedic period, therefore, synchronises with Indo-Gangetic development. The contribution of this age could not have been a contribution to the science of Economics, for, life was so simple and necessaries were so plentiful that the family stage of production was amply adequate for all the needs of men. The contribution of this period has, therefore, been to the sciences of Ethics and Metaphysics. The Vedas rich in observation, the Upavedas rich in Philosophy were the inevitable outcome of this Age of Thought. The ideas above discussed are supported by a writer of fame. He says, "The truth is, that the Aryans

in India worshipped—first, as they feared; then, as they admired; and finally, as they reasoned. Their earliest Vedic gods were the stupendous phenomena of the visible world; these deities became divine heroes in the epic legends; and they were spiritualised into abstractions by the philosophical schools."[1] The Hindus of that period had no caste system; they freely ate beef used an alcoholic liquor made from the *Soma* plant. They gave a high position to women and held marriage sacred. Husband and wife were both rulers of the house (*Dampti*). Widow burning was distinctly disallowed, while widow marriage was permitted. This Age of Formation, the Vedic Age, passed into the Epic Age which covered six centuries, 2000 B.C.—1400 B.C. The most glorious period of the Hindus is this Epic Age. When one notes carefully the contribution of this period to the world of to-day, not in the science of Economics but in the field of war and in the sphere of Ethics, then alone one can form an idea of the moral and mental greatness of those people.

The "Mahabharat" and its offshoot the famous "Bhagwad-Gita" and the "Ramayana" are the works of the supermen of those days who have no counterparts in India to-day. There was no need for them to dabble in Economics for all their necessaries and luxuries were easily available to them. The growth of the artisans, however, was rapid in the Epic age and the crystallisation of the Caste nucleus was complete. Its four facets, representing as they did then the four great Castes—Brahmins, Rajputs, Vaishyas, and Sudras—were adequate to impart that solidarity to the Society in India which was needed for the expansion and consolidation of Society. In the Vedic age, specially in its latter part, the germ of the Caste system was visible, but it was based on occupational division of labour and not predetermined by the accidents of birth. In the Epic age, this monster of a Caste system became a creature of birth and not of occupation.

No writer on the Social History of the Hindus can afford to lose sight of this important change in the evolution of the Hindus *qua* Hindus. The deterioration that thus set in was magnified many times in the next age of Darkness—the Puranic age (1400 B.C. to 700 B.C.)—which really marks the downfall of the Hindus. Gradually but steadily the Hindus travelled the downward path till they lost the light of Reason. Occasional glimpses of the Rajput ascendancy, the sudden flare-up of the

1) "The Indian Empire" by Sir W. W. Hunter.

Marathas to flash in the pages of the history but they are so few and far between. The seed that was visible in the Vedic age was seen sprouting in the Epic age. It grew up to such a giant structure in the Puranic age that life, in its shade, became a life organised for destruction. Let us see how this curse blighted the Hindus and how they got branded by those contemptible terms with which their forefathers branded the aboriginies of India with whom they came in contact when they poured down from Central Asia into India. We have seen the formation of four distinct Castes in the Epic age, namely, Brahmins, Rajputs, Vaishyas, and Sudras. Brahmins were in charge of the intellect and conscience of the nation, Rajputs in charge of protection of the people and their property, Vaishyas in charge of trade and industries, and Sudras were to act as menial servants. A beautiful allegory clearly portrays the functions of the different castes. The allegory runs as follows : From the mouth of Lord Brahma —the God of creation—came the Brahmans ; from his arms sprang into existence the Rajputs (the fighting class) ; from his stomach came the Vaishyas (thus the materialistic conception of the origin of the Vaishayas is clear), and from his feet the Sudras and so menial service was their divine lot. After the inculcation of this doctrine, Society could function well. But the shrewd Brahmins saw the distant day when their position at the apex might be seriously disputed. So, instead of working from a purely altruistic motive by destroying root and branch the various ramifications of the Caste system and merging the different divisions into one homogeneous whole where labour should be the only criterion, they adopted a purely selfish plan, of weakening the other Castes and concentrating all effective control in the hands of their class. How did they accomplish this great feat? They weakened the other Castes by encouraging subdivisions and then separating the sub-sects so formed. One sub-sect could have no social relations with another sub-sect of the same group and the germ of jealousy so assiduously created has yielded rich harvests to the Brahmins at the cost of the Country. They centralised all effective power in their group by sub-dividing their community and reserving for each group within their community special spheres of work. They did not quarrel among themselves for a long time on account of the high ethical value set on all and also on account of the rich booty they shared on an equitable basis.

The Brahmins monopolised all brain work, and they used this monopoly for bettering and strengthening their community.

Brahmins were teachers, and as such, they impressed in the people of other communities the Divine origin of the Brahmins. Brahmins were priests and as such all the social functions in other communities must be performed by them. A King was no King unless he had received the blessings of his priest. Brahmins became law-givers and the laws that they formulated were mostly to raise the prestige of their class. For example, a Brahmin could take unto himself a girl from any community he liked, but if a Rajput or a Vaishya—a Sudra is unimaginable—took unto himself any Brahmin girl, he must be beheaded; a Brahmin might kill any man, murder him in cold blood, he would go unpunished, but if a man of any other community killed a Brahmin, his life had to be taken.

Being in direct communion with his Creator, a Brahmin could absolve himself from all sins only if he, and not the Creator, was pleased. To please the Creator—the First Cause—was the Brahmin's business. If another man displeased the Brahmin—God did not count—the Brahmin had the chart of hell in his pocket, and he would consign the man to any section of hell he liked. This power of playing with the souls of human beings, just as a badminton player plays with shuttle-cocks, raised the prestige of the Brahmins to immense heights. The one important anti-social work of that period is *Garur-Puran,* where hell and heaven are so clearly classified and sins are so categorically described, that all one has to do is to shut one's eyes and visualise the conditions under which one may live after one has shuffled off the mortal coil.

The book is worthy of the age of Darkness through which India was then passing and a *Sakyamuni* (Lord Buddha) was needed to save India by dispelling existent darkness about Life and the Life-to-be. Lord Buddha, Prince of Light, himself saw the light in 632 B.C. From the sixth to the second centuries before Christ, Buddhism fought its bloodless battle against the Brahmanic cult in India. Buddhism, based on the sanctity of life, could not tolerate the high-handed atrocities of the Brahmins. Therefore, it tried to break down the Brahmin-made barriers between one man and the other.

Kings in those days did not favour this new religion, because they had no free-will of their own. They were very rigidly bound down by the Brahmanic rules and ritualism. As late as the enlightened rule of Chandra-Gupta (316 B.C. to 292 B.C.), Buddhism was struggling against adverse circumstances in India. The mighty Brahmin opposition, on the one hand, and the non-

recognition of this religion by the State hampered the free growth of this highly intellectual religion.

It was only in the reign of the enlightened Asoka (264 B.C. to 223 B.C.) that Buddhism became the State religion. It then flourished throughout the length and breadth of the country as the various edicts of Asoka show. *Asoka-lats* (the pillars of Asoka) were fixed in different parts of the Hindu Empire and were also sent out of the country.

But, unfortunately for Buddhism, the disciples of Buddha forgot the noble teachings of their Lord, namely, the attainment of *Nirvana,* that is to say, freedom from re-births through the complete annihilation of self. Buddhism had nothing to do with dogmas and ritualism. When it became the State religion, the Buddhist monks were as anxious to inhale the fumes of power and riches as the Brahmin priests had been. So, instead of carrying on the war with the Brahmins to a finish, they compromised with them and thus signed the death-warrant of their creed.

The centuries of traditions instilled into the minds of the people by the Brahmanic cult enabled the Brahmins to absorb Buddhism into Hinduism. That is why Buddhism did not succeed in India. Buddhism by its compromise became a part of Hinduism. Consider Gaya and Jagannath. They are essentially Buddhistic centres of pilgrimage, but to-day two hundred and fifty millions of Hindus worship there. Buddhism, however, found a congenial soil outside India, namely, in China and Japan. But its position in those two countries is analogous to the position it occupied in India after the second century before Christ. It is tottering and it may be replaced by a new cult in the future.

Centuries of mal-practices have played havoc with the social and economic conditions of China. And to-day China is busy in retaining only one head where two exist!

Japan with its compromise with the West has replaced the renunciation policy of Buddha by the aggressively materialistic policy of the West and the fate that Buddhism shared in India after its compromise with the Brahmans will be the fate of Buddhism in Japan.

So we see that neither early Hinduism nor Buddhism in India played any important part in developing the Science of Wealth. Society was limited and needs were few, and mother Earth fed all her children. Production moved from the individual stage to the family stage and then to what is known to-day as

the Agricultural stage. It did not go beyond the Artisan stage till even the latter part of the Nineteenth Century.

Trade was by barter and was limited to certain specified areas. As mobility, both occupational—thanks to the Caste system—and spatial—due to uncertainty of life and property in the highways and lack of roads and means of communication —was not possible, so life flowed evenly. People took delight in such abstract thoughts as life after death; the Soul and its functions etc. They liked to

"Annihilate all that's made,
To a green thought in a green shade."

They consequently founded systems of Philosophy and not principles of Economics.

The stern facts of life could not be solved by spiritual doctrines alone as they realised when Alexander the Great in 327 B.C. by his series of victory in India and out of India woke them up from their reverie.

Therefore the first important landmark in the history of India as regards its coming in contact with the West is the year 327 B.C. Before Alexander of Macedon conquered India, India was sung by Herodotus as the land where rivers of honey and milk flow side by side. He spoke of India as the wealthiest and most populous country in the World. It is a historical fact that the Phoenician pilots of King Solomon's fleets "brought gold and silver, ivory, apes and peacocks" from India. Darius I, King of Persia, by his conquest of the Western part of India, established intercourse between Indians and other nations before the rise of Alexander in Greece. But Darius I could not bring India into touch with the West for two reasons. First, his conquest was a weak conquest (more in the nature of a raid than a decisive settlement) and second, because of the insatiable demand for Indian goods in Persia itself. It was left to Alexander to leave his mark on India. He conquered Darius III and reached the Punjab. He found several cities on the Indus and ordered Nearchus to survey the coasts from the mouth of the Indus to that of the Tigris. Thus he laid open India both by land and by sea. By land the route that was followed was through the Persian gulf into the interior of his (Alexander's) Asiatic dominions, and by sea the route was to Alexandria through the Red Sea.

The Ptolemies followed the policy of Alexander and established an important port on the Red Sea which they named the port of Berenice. Goods from India were conveyed to Berenice and

thence by caravan to Coptus on the Nile and thence to Alexandria which became the *entrepot* of the Indo-European trade.

Persians were addicted to the Articles-de-luxe manufactured in India. These articles-de-luxe included commodities like perfumes, *Kimkhwabs* (gold and silver threads interwoven in a costly specially prepared cloth), musk, cinnamon and other spices, *malwal* (fine cotton cloth), silk, etc. These commodities were sent to them on camels from the banks of the Indus to those of the Oxus, down which river they were conveyed to the Caspian, and thence circulated either by land—carriage, or by navigable rivers to the various parts of Persia.

An Indian embassy was sent to Caesar Augustus in Rome (22 B.C.-20 B.C.) and the Emperor admired some of the wonderful articles made in India which were presented to him by the embassy.

After Rome won its victory over Egypt, it was anxious to get direct from India articles of luxury manufactured there. The discovery by Hippalus of the Western monsoon gave Rome what she desired, namely, a direct water route to India. Pliny describes Indo-Roman trade as follows : "The subject is well worthy of our notice, inasmuch as in no year does India drain our Empire of less than five hundred and fifty millions of sesterces (£1,400,000), giving back her own wares in exchange, which are sold at fully one hundred times their prime cost."[1]

The West, specially Rome, imported from India precious stones and pearls, spices, and silk which last, on account of India's monopoly of the article was valued at its weight in gold. Spices which included frankincense, cassia, and cinnamon were much in demand on account of their use in religious worship and in cremating the dead.

The usual route in those days was from Alexandria to Juliopolis. Thence to Coptos, thence to Berenice, thence to Gehla (a harbour at the South-Western point of Arabia), and thence to Barace (Cochin). After the partition of the Roman Empire, the Red Sea route began to decline. The trade centre shifted to Constantinople which became the centre of commerce between Asia and Europe on account of the overland route. Persians again entered the field and completed the annihilation of the Egyptian trade. Constantinople and Persia being frequently at war, a need for a new route was felt in Constantinople.

The wave of Islam at this juncture submerged Turkey, Per-

1) "India in the Fifteenth Century" by R. H. Major, p. VI.

sia, Egypt, and Spain and thus secured for Arabs a complete monopoly of Eastern commerce. The founding of Busrah between the junction of the Tigris and the Euphrates on the one hand and the Persian Gulf on the other by Khalif Omar shifted the trade centre thither. Prior to the Arab merchants establishing themselves on the Western Coast of India, a Chinese sage Hioun-thsang came to India, and stayed for seventeen years (629 to 645 A.D.) He travelled over different parts of India, and left an account of his journey. He had no trade mission of his own. He came to see the land which gave birth to his spiritual leader Sakyamuni (Lord Buddha) and he observed the country from the standpoint of his religion. But his observations are important for more than one reason. They are free from personal passions and prejudices and he describes India and the Indians just as he found her and them in a purely Hindu atmosphere. He describes the country as wonderfully rich in resources and lays stress on the high morals and principles of the natives. The inviolability of contracts, the generous hospitality of the people and their God-fearing nature receive their due recognition. The route he took from China to India was as follows : Liang-tcheon (North-West extremity of China—Konatcheon—Igon (Kamil)—Samarkand—Peshawar. The Arabs made various incursions into India, but mostly with a view to plunder and not to found any permanent colony of their own. Of the three important invasions of 664 A.D., 711 A.D., and 977 A.D., the 711 A.D. invasion under Mohammed Kasim is the most important because Kasim saw the need of founding a permanent Arab Kingdom in India. With that in view, he extended the Arab power considerably in the interior. He would have based Arab conquest on a permanent basis, had he not been put to the sword by his master whose suspicion was falsely excited against his loyal and faithful servant. With Kasim's death departed the dream of an Arab empire in India. He was the only constructive Arab genius of his time.

When Arab merchants established themselves on the Western Coast of India, they rigidly kept out of the Indian trade all Christian countries and what little they (the Christians) got from India they got through Tartary. The crusades forced open the door and very soon Venice, Genoa, and Florence became important Indian trade centres. Later on, the discovery of America by Columbus in 1492 A.D. and the rounding of the Cape of Good Hope destroyed the Commerce of Venice and enabled the Portuguese to monopolise the Commerce of India.

An important landmark in the history of India is 1498 A.D., when Vasco Da Gama presented himself before the Zamorin of Calicut. While these world forces (the Crusades, the rounding of the Cape of Good Hope) which were to link the destiny of India with Europe and not with Asia were in the womb of the future, India after the last Arab invasion (977 A.D.) became a playground for the savage hordes of the North-West which poured down in successive streams.

Mahmud of Ghazni plundered India several times and founded an empire which lasted up to 1186 A.D., and was overthrown by the Afghans of Ghor. After the assassination of Muhammad Ghori in 1206 A.D., and the conquest succession of the Slave Dynasty which carried on the Government till 1288 A.D., the North-West streams ceased pouring into the plains of the Indus.

Ghazni and Ghori had no imperial ambitions. They aimed at plundering India and enriching their barren countries. The number of slaves and the amount of wealth that they carried out of this country sounds like a romance to-day, but the whole of the wealth that was taken out of this country bore but a small relation to the destruction of life and wealth in the country itself.

Through the little outlet called the Khyber Pass, India became a hunting ground for the freebooters of the North-West. No Pass in the world has played such a tragic part as this Pass has played in the destiny of India. The following description of the Pass will make its position clear :

"A little north of latitude 34, a natural cut in the mountains runs for a distance of twenty miles from Jamrud on the edge of the trans-Indus plain, through the outer range at right angles to its axis, to an open spot at Landikhana on the frontier of Afghanistan. It is known as the Khyber Pass, and its peculiar importance is derived from the fact that it forms a connecting link in the chain of connection between the Kabul river valley and the plains of India."[1]

It is fortunate for India that Ghazni and Ghori, while in India, dreamed of their countries and so were not anxious to settle down here. The real work of founding an empire on a lasting basis was made by Ala-ud-din Khilji who came to the throne in 1294 A.D.

But before we come to Ala-ud-din Khilji we have to take

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1) "India: A Bird's-eye view" by Lord Ronaldshay, p. 52.

stock of the excellent record left by Marco Polo of the India of 1271-1294 A.D. He found the commerce of India stretching from Kublai Khan's territories to the shores of the Persian Gulf and of the Red Sea. He found the shores and the islands of the Indian Sea extremely rich in raw materials. He tells us of the topaz, the amethyst, and the emerald, of the sapphire of Ceylon, the diamonds of Golconda, and the rubies from the mountains of Thibet. He says, describing the Indo-Persian trade : "In this country of Persia there is a great supply of fine horses ; and people take them to India for sale, for they are horses of great price, a single one being worth as much of their money as is equal to two hundred livres Tournois ; some will be more, some less, according to the quality.

Dealers carry their horses to Kisi and Cuomdsa, two cities on the shores of the Sea of India, and there they meet with merchants who take the horses on to India for sale.[1]

He also mentions the great demand for turquoises in India which were exported from Kerman in Persia and which fetched a high price. Even to-day turquoises from Nishapur in Persia are considered to be the best in the world.

He describes the export from Persia of dry fruits, specially dates and Pistachioes. Describing the trade in Hormos, he says, "Merchants come thither (Hormos) from India, with ships loaded with spicery and precious stones, pearls, cloths of silk and gold, elephants' teeth, and many other wares....."[2]

Of Cambaet (Cambay) Marco Polo says, "It produces indigo in plenty, and much fine buckram ; cotton is exported hence ; there is a great trade in hides, which are very well dressed."[3]

"According to Marco Polo, the ships that are employed in navigation are built of fir-timber ; they are double-planked, that is, they have a course of sheathing boards laid over the planking in every part. These are caulked with oakum both within and without, and are fastened with iron nails. The bottoms are smeared over with a preparation of quick-lime and hemp, pounded together and mixed with oil procured from a certain tree, which makes a kind of unguent that retains its viscous properties more firmly and is a better material than pitch." "He saw ships of so large a size as to require a crew of three hundred

1) "Travels of Marco Polo" Edited by Cordier (Vol. I)., pp. 83-84.

2) "Travels of Marco Polo" Edited by Cordier (Vol. I), p. 107.

3) "A History of Indian Shipping and Maritime Activity from the Earliest Times" by Radhakumud Mukherjee, p. 191.

men, and other ships that were manned by crews of two hundred and one hundred and fifty men. These ships could carry from five to six thousand baskets (or mat bags) of pepper. These ships were moved with oars or sweeps, and each oar required four men to work it. They were usually accompanied by two or three large barks with a capacity to contain one thousand baskets of pepper, and requiring of sixty, eighty, or one hundred sailors."[1] The glimpse that we get of India prior to Ala-ud-din's reign is very pleasing. Both on land and water her trade activities were expanding and, in spite of the instability of the Political Government which was then vested in the last of the Slave Kings, we find that Indians then fully realised the utility of linking India with other countries outside India.

Ala-ud-din had, therefore, everything in his favour. He could have built up a lasting empire. Opportunities were very much in his favour, more in his favour than they were for Akbar the Great. He threw away all his opportunities on account of his being a fanatical Musulman. His empire, he thought, depended on the entire extinction of the Hindu stock. This stupid doctrine of Ala-ud-din threw open the door of Hindustan later on for Babur. Acting on this very principle, Aurangzeb—the inheritor of the vast expanding Mogul Empire—destroyed the magnificent empire and threw wide open the gates of Hindustan for the British. Ala-ud-din was the first Musulman King who conquered the Deccan. The geographical factors in favour of the Deccan deterred Musulman Kings from leading their army there and the credit of first penetrating and conquering the Deccan goes to Ala-ud-din. Gujarat enjoys an inaccessible position lying as it does beyond the great desert and the hills connecting the Vindhyas with the Aravalli range. Only by sea is it easily approached, and to the sea it owes its peculiar advantages, its excellent climate and fertile soil. A strong stream of wealth from the commercial emporia of Cambay, Din, and Surat continually poured into Gujarat. The greater part of the Indian trade with Persia, Arabia, and the Red Sea passed through its harbours. Besides all these advantages, it enjoyed a very busy and heavy coastal trade. Its great drawback was the Asiatic pirates (mostly the *Malabareas*), and later on it became a cock-pit of the Indo-European fights for trade supremacy. When Ala-ud-din conquered the Deccan (1298 A.D.), he caused

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1) "A History of Indian Shipping and Maritime activity from the Earliest Times" by Radhakumud Mukerjee, pp. 191-92.

his title to be proclaimed in the Friday prayers. He had engraved on coins an inscription after his name—'the Second Alexander.' He organised a universal system of espionage. "... .....the transactions in the bazars, the buying and selling, and the bargains made, were all reported to the Sultan and were kept under control."[1]

His mad policy against the Hindus which sounded the death-knell of his empire, and later on of that of the Moguls is correctly portrayed by the two quotations given below. "The Hindu was to be so reduced as to be left unable to keep a horse to ride on, to carry arms, to wear fine clothes, or to enjoy any of the luxuries of life. He was taxed to the extent of half the produce of his land, and had to pay duties on all his buffaloes, goats, and other milch-cattle."[2]

In his discussion with the Kazi, he (Ala-ud-din) said, "Be assured then that the Hindus will never become submissive and obedient till they are reduced to poverty. I have therefore given orders that just sufficient shall be left to them from year to year of corn, milk, and curds, but that they shall not be allowed to accumulate hoards of property."[3]

Such were the inhuman conception of expanding and consolidating the Indian Empire in the time of Ala-ud-din! Hindus were in a ratio of six to one. Six men must be squeezed so that one man may have an easy life!

Unfortunately for Ala-ud-din, he did not stop at these repressive measures, but plunged madly into the realm of trade. He wanted to suspend the laws of supply and demand. "He resolved to keep down the cost of necessaries, and enacted that thenceforth there should be a fixed price for food. The principal items were thus fixed in the new tariff; wheat, $7\frac{1}{2}$ jitals (nearly 3d.) per *man* (about a quarter, 28 lbs.,); barley, $1\frac{1}{2}$d. rice, 2d., pulse, 2d., lentil, 1d.'[4] He gave orders that the Khalisa (crown villages of the Doab) should pay their taxes in kind. A list of the carriers of the Kingdom was drawn up and

1) "Mediaeval India under Mohammedan Rule" by Stanley Lane-Poole, p. 104.

2) "Mediaeval India under Mohammedan Rule" by Stanley Lane-Poole, p. 106.

3) "Mediaeval India under Mohammedan Rule" by Stanley Lane-Poole, p. 102.

4) "Mediaeval India under Mohammedan Rule" by Stanley Lane-Poole, pp. 110-111.

they were registered. Orders were passed against the cornering of stock. Anybody attempting to corner after the promulgation of this order was heavily punished.

Ala-ud-din's device to check cheating by short weights was worthy of a morbid mind like his. "Inspectors watched the markets, and if prices rose by so much as a farthing the overseer received twenty stripes....."Short weight was checked by the effectual method of carving from the hams of the unjust dealer a piece of flesh equivalent to the deficit in the weight of what he had sold. Everything was set down in the tariff : Vegetables, fruits, sugar, oil, horses, slaves, caps, shoes, combs, and needles ; and we learn that a serving girl cost five to twelve tankas, a concubine twenty to forty, slave labourers ten to fifteen, handsome pages twenty to thirty, and so forth."

This was Ala-ud-din's enlightened regime and this was his conception of sovereignty. After his death, there was no man who could evolve order out of the chaos left as a heritage by Ala-ud-din except a brave officer called Mohammad Tughluq who founded the dynasty which lasted from 1321-1388 A. D. He ruled for a short time and his son by his idiotic caprices brought his dynasty to an end.

Mohammad Tughluq, the founder of the Tughluq dynasty, realised very well the urgency of some palliative measures for his people. But he could not clear his mind of anti-Hindu feelings so that what he did merely helped the microscopical minority of his co-religionists and even that little was secured at the cost of the Hindus. "Orders were given to reduce the taxation on agricultural lands to a tenth or eleventh of the produce, and to encourage the tillers to a greater production. The Hindus were more heavily taxed, yet not to the verge of poverty."[1]

After a short reign of four years, he was succeeded by his son Prince Jauna who, when he ascended the throne, took the name of Sultan-al-Mujahid Mohammad-ibn-Tughluq. [2] He was a man of culture and destructive ideas. He wanted to introduce reforms wholesale at a rapid pace, and anybody who would not agree with him was beheaded or trampled under the feet of elephants. He was hasty, eccentric and diabolically cruel. He was extravagant to the limit of madness. He introduced a very

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1) "Mediaeval India under Mohammedan Rule" by Stanley Lane-Poole, pp. 111-112.

2) "Mediaeval India under Mohammedan Rule" by Stanley Lane-Poole, p. 121.

oppressive fiscal system. He tried to get five or ten per cent. more tribute from lands in the Doab, which lands were being rack-rented to an extent unknown even in the history of India. He introduced oppressive cesses. He hunted the Hindus like wild beasts. Sultan-al-Mujahid Mohammad-ibn-Tughluq's two experiments (one in the sphere of Finance, and the other in the art of founding a new capital) are enough to secure for him a high position in the hierarchy of Bedlamites.

He was the first to see the advantages of a token currency and, without considering the steps he should take in introducing it, he promulgated an order by which copper token currency was introduced. The most lucrative business then was to forge these copper coins, and every house became a mint turning out a vast number of these coins every day. Gold coins rose to a high premium and even at a great discount these worthless copper coins, which were exact imitations of the State-issued copper coins, were accepted by the people. Sultan-al-Mujahid Mohammad-ibn-Tughluq immediately passed orders to punish those people who refused to accept the copper coins. People were brutally handled and were forced to accept these copper coins. It then came to the knowledge of the Sultan that everybody had heaps of these copper coins and that a regular steadily growing supply was pouring in from the interior. It was not a question of accepting these coins. Everybody was anxious to part with them. He immediately decreed that the State will accept token copper coins and give in exchange full value gold coins. The treasury was opened and the rush for exchange was so great that many lives were lost and the treasury was ultimately so depleted of its gold that it had to be closed. Copper coins, mountains high, were seen piled up in the City which nobody cared to touch. They were "mere clods of earth," as a writer says. Another inglorious attempt of his was to transfer the capital from Delhi to Devagiri, a place near Poona which he named Daulatabad. The distance was seven hundred miles and the means of transportation were extremely bad and insufficient. The Delhi of those days was a much larger place than the Delhi of to-day and yet the Sultan wanted the people of Delhi to move *en masse to* Daulatabad, an attempt nothing short of madness! Many died on the way and the few who reached Daulatabad died later on. Truly, "the new capital became the nucleus of the cemeteries of the exiles."[1]

1) "Mediæval India under Mohammedan Rule" by Stanley Lane-Poole, p. 132.

When the Sultan realised the gravity of the situation, namely, the willingness of the people to turn Daulatabad into a cemetery, he ordered the people to turn back. To go back seven hundred miles when they had neither the strength nor the means to cover seven miles! They were, however, obliged to, and nearly all perished on their return way. Delhi was depopulated in order to found a cemetery in Daulatabad!!!

To the credit of his successor Firoz is the construction of a double system of canals, from the Jumna and the Sutlej. 'The old Jumna canal' to this day supplies the district with irrigation along two hundred miles of its ancient course and now brings water to Delhi. But he was tarred with the same brush as the mad Tughluq. He was anti-Hindu. He taxed the Brahmins heavily and rigorously realised the poll-tax (*Jizya*). After his death came the era of Provincial Dynasties: Saiyyads and Lodis, on the one hand, and Hindu rajas, on the other, effete inefficient men who were more anxious to give free play to the animal instincts that dominated them and governed all their actions than to found an empire. Buhlol Lodi in 1451 founded the Lodi Dynasty after ending the effeminate government of the Saiyyads. The credit of restoring vigour to the collapsing empire goes to Ibrahim who met his fate like a true King at Panipat on April 21, 1526. His star was outshone by the brilliant star of Babur.

But before we come to Babur we should like to give a glimpse of India as others saw her. We will hurriedly go through the reports of the various travellers who came to India prior to the coming of Babur.

Trade Features of India prior to Moguls as described by various foreign travellers of fame.

Marco Polo, who visited India in the latter part of the 13th century, describes the Pearl Fishery in the Gulf of Mannar (in the Coromandel coast) and the excellent way in which it was then being carried on. "The people of Maabar," says Marco Polo, "were born traders. Parents, when their boys were thirteen years of age, sent them out to earn their living as traders, giving them a small sum—twenty or thirty groats—to start with. The juvenile capitalists went about all day buying and selling, bringing home the food they earned for their mothers to cook, but not eating a scrap at their father's expense. At the time of the pearl fishery they ran to the beach, while the big merchants sheltered themselves in their houses from the hot sun, and bought from the fishermen a few pearls—five or six, accord-

ing to their means. Then they brought the pearls to the merchants and sold them again at a profit—after the usual haggling. So they were trained 'to be very dexterous and keen traders.' Evidently the Vaisyas of Southern India had a very practical system of commercial education, and, as they had a great reputation for honesty and truthfulness, it cannot be said that either East or West has advanced much in that direction since that time.

Marco Polo gives further particulars of the trading community of Southern India, and shows that in the thirteenth century the country still maintained its ancient reputation as one of the chief marts of Asia. In the Telugu country were made the finest muslins and other costly fabrics. "In sooth they look like tissue of spider's web! There is no King or Queen in the world but might be glad to wear them. The people have also the largest sheep in the world, and great abundance of all the necessaries of life."

"On the Malabar coast there was, as there had been from time immemorial, a great trade in pepper, ginger, and other spices, as well as dye-stuffs, such as indigo and Brazil wood; merchants came from Southern China, Arabia, and the Levant to obtain cargoes of these commodities."[1]

It is very extraordinary that the description of the Pearl Fishery and of the juvenile capitalists given by Marco Polo about the end of the thirteenth century reads like a narration of the happenings in India to-day—the year of Grace 1927. Pearl Fishing is being carried on round Colombo exactly on the same lines. The centre of the Pearl Fishery has changed from Maabar to Colombo as the Maabar Fishery is exhausted. The system of juvenile capitalists is being followed to the letter by the *Marwarees* (Vaishyas) in India. They do not believe in education and so they start their boys at an early age in their commercial career. A few rupees and a real communal backing —that is all that the *Marwaree* boy gets. Slowly but steadily he pushes his way up and dies a millionaire. To-day, the *Marwaree* class has monopolised the liquid cash of the country and the Bombay and the Calcutta markets go up and down at the smile and frown of these illiterate *Marwarees*. Only their "great reputation for honesty and truthfulness" has vanished! It may be due to their contact with the advanced nations of the West.

1) "The History of Aryan Rule in India" by E. B. Havell, p. 361.

They have assimilated the westerners' weaknesses without making an effort to imbibe their virtues.

"Marco Polo had much to say of Indian merchants in Guzerat—those of the Vaisya caste who wore the sacred thread. He praised them as being the best and most truthful in the world. A foreign merchant could safely entrust his goods to them for sale, and they would 'sell them in the most loyal manner, seeking zealously the profit of the foreigner and asking no commission except what he pleases to bestow.' (Yule's Marco Polo. Vol. II. p. 363). But they were as superstitious as the rest of the people and regulated all their actions by the observation of signs and omens. No business could be done except on the day and hour they found propitious for it. They had a short and easy way of collecting debts which were overdue. The creditor when he met his debtor had only to draw a circle round him unawares, and the latter would not dare to pass outside of it without the creditor's leave for fear of the penalty of the law. Marco Polo witnessed an incident in which a Raja who owed a foreign merchant a certain sum of money was thus compelled to satisfy the claim."[1] The next traveller of repute who came to India in 1324 A. D., was Mohammad Ibn 'Abdullah *alias* Ibn Batuta. His description of India tallies with that of Marco Polo, so there is no need for repeating what he thought of India, specially as useful information from Marco Polo has already been quoted at length. Ibn Batuta clearly described the postal system as it prevailed then. "There are in Hindustan two kinds of couriers ; horse and foot : these they generally term *El Wolak*. The horse courier, which is part of the Sultan's cavalry, is stationed at the distance of every four miles. As to the foot couriers, there will be one at the distance of every mile, occupying three (consecutive) stations, which they term *El Davak,* and making (in the whole) three miles ; so that there is, at the distance of every three miles, an inhabited village : and without this, three sentry-boxes, in which the couriers sit, prepared for motion, with their loins girded. In the hand of each is a whip about two cubits long, and upon the head of this are small bells. Whenever, therefore, one of the couriers leaves any city, he takes his despatches in the one hand, and the whip which he constantly keeps shaking in the other. In this manner he proceeds to the nearest foot-courier ; and, as he approaches, he shakes his whip.

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1) "The History of Aryan Rule in India" by E. B. Havell, p. 362.

Upon this outcomes another, who takes the despatches, and so proceeds to the next."[1]

Even to-day a similar system is in vogue in some parts of India. Despatches from Kathgodam, a railway terminus sixty miles off Bareilly in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, are sent to Almora or further interior by these *El Wolaks* who carry despatches in one hand and a stick—this stick has pointed iron at one end and upon its head are small bells—in the other which they keep constantly shaking. At every ten miles or so, there are foot-couriers to whom they announce their approach by violently shaking their stick. "Upon this out comes another, who takes the despatches, and so proceeds to the next." What a close similarity between the India of 1324 A.D. and the India of 1927 A.D.! With this difference, that it was universal then, and is rare now. Ibn Batuta classified the ships of India as *Junks* (Greatest ship), *Zaws* (Middling size), and *Kakan* (least size) and described the sails as being made of cane reeds woven together like a mat.

Nicolo de Conti, a Venetian who resided in Damascus, has left a valuable record of India, for, he came to this country and travelled a good deal (1420-1444). He left Damascus, came to Baghdad and from there to Basra and thence to Ormuz and thence to Cambay. He mentions the sardonyxes that were found in Cambay and the pepper, lac, ginger, cinnamon, myrobalans, and zedoary of Calicut. He went further east to the Phillipines group and speaks of Batech (Batta i.e., Sumatra) as a country where human heads were used as currency. Probably a unique currency even for the savage tribe of Sumatra! He divides India into three divisions: First, extending from Persia to the Indus; second, from the Indus to the Ganges; and third, all that is beyond, i.e., the Deccan. He speaks of the great Prohibitionist country of India: "……for throughout all India there are no vines, neither is there any wine,"[2] and flatly contradicts himself a few pages after by saying "…… but they make a drink similar to wine of pounded rice mixed with water, the juice of certain trees, of a red colour, being added to it."[3]

It cannot be explained how Nicolo de Conti came to make the statement about there being no wine in the country. Prob-

1) "Travels of Ibn Batuta" by the Rev. S. Lee, pp. 101-102.

2) "India in the Fifteenth Century" by R. H. Major, p. 15.

3) "India in the Fifteenth Century" by R. H. Major, p. 22.

ably he gave a specific meaning to wine, that is to say, wine made of grapes. The fact is that Indians, Hindus (mostly of the low caste) and Musalmans were addicted to the use of wine in spite of the rigid requirement of their religion that they should not touch it. Poor class people used to drink toddy, the juice of a kind of palm tree, and rich men used to enjoy the delicious blend of Shiraz, a place in Persia. This Shirazi wine was a favourite drink of the Moguls.

Nicolo de Conti makes one statement which is of very great socialogical importance. He says, ".....but unnatural crimes are unknown among them (the Indians)"[1] My own impression is that this vice was imported into India from Persia. When the Moguls came into India, they brought with them a large number of Persians and they introduced this crime into India, for, prior to the advent of the Moguls, this crime was not known in India.

Another traveller who was sent to India in 1442 A.D. by Shah Rukh of Persia followed the following route : Herat—Kohistan—Kirman—Ormus — Muscat—Calicut—Mangalore—Balloor—Vijyanagar. He describes the importance of Ormuz and Calicut and says that at the latter port "When a sale is effected, they lay a duty on the goods of 1/40th part ; if they are not sold, they make no charge on them whatsoever."[2]

The travels of Athanasius Nikitin in 1468 A.D. is important from two standpoints. The first is the route. He took different routes to come to India from Russia and to go back from India to Russia. The second is the typical Russian standpoint from which he views India and Indian problems.

He took the following route to come to India : After being blessed by the Church dignitaries, he started from Twer down the Volga to the Caspian Sea—Bakou—Bokhara and thence crossing the Caspian—Hormuz—Choul (a port at a short distance south of Bombay). Four years after, he returned via D a b u l—Hormuz—Shiraz—Isphan—Kashan—Sultanieh—Tabriz. He embarked at Trebizond and thence went to Kaffa.

Throughout his journey and his stay he complains of the fanaticism of the Mohammedans who tried to convert him to their religion by fair or by foul means, mostly by the latter ; the high price of living in India ; and the immorality of the people. We will pause and examine his complaints.

1) "India in the Fifteenth Century" by R. H. Major, p. 23.

2) "India in the Fifteenth Century" by R. H. Major, p. 14.

The Mohammedans are known for their bigotry. For them, Mohammedanism is a true religion and the rest—Hinduism and Christianity and many more,—are mere perversions. This strange kink in their mentality may have caused immense inconvenience and trouble to Nikitin, we admit, but his charge of the high cost of living is refuted by his own remark unless Russia of those days was a paradise where men could live on nothing. He says, ".....living in India is very expensive. I have spent the whole of my money, and being alone I spend daily for my food one-sixth of an altyn (about two-third of a farthing); nor do I drink or *synda.*"[1] Two-thirds of a farthing was too much for the Russian! Here is another field of research for a Nikitin to undertake! Was living in Russia cheaper than in India? From all accounts we learn that money used to go a long way in India, and I believe that even to-day poverty-stricken India produces necessaries much more cheaply than the advanced countries of the West. Given necessary help, probably on the lines of *List,* India can not only hold her own but can give points to any other country of the world not excluding from the list the great growing country of America which has for the time being eclipsed other countries of the world as far as the cornering of the yellow metal of the world is concerned.

As regards the immorality of the people, he says, "In the land of India, it is the custom for foreign traders to stop at inns; there the food is cooked for the guest by the landlady, who also makes the bed and sleeps with the stranger. Women that know you willingly concede their favours....."[2] The last part of his statement, "Women that know you willingly concede their favours....." gives him away. It proves nothing but the ordinary relationship of man and woman. The fact is that Nikitin was a puritan and in any new experience he saw the lurking snake.

The Genoese merchant Hieronimo Di Santo Stefano, who came to India at the close of the fifteenth century from Cairo—Keneb—Cossier (Port on the Red Sea)—Aden—Calicut, describes at length the lac and indigo industry of Cambay. He speaks of the great store of good merchandise in Ormuz brought from different parts of the world and also the Pearl Fishery of Ormuz. All these reports, excepting Ibn Batuta's, give us a glimpse of India after the irruption of Timur (1398 A.D.), when

1) "India in the Fifteenth Century" by R. H. Major, p. 25.
2) "India in the Fifteenth Century" by R. H. Major, p. 20.

he plundered the country and killed lakhs [1] of Hindus in the name of his God. His irruption was more like an epidemic than a conquest : he came, looted the people, and left the country. But it had one immense significance, namely, it gave a handle to Babur, who was direct in Timur's line, to claim India in the name of his ancestor. It also exposed the rottenness of the then Government in Delhi. While conditions in India were favouring the advent of a new power from North-West on account of the endless quarrels among the *Maluk-uat-tawaifs* (Faction Kings) in India, forces were working to secure supremacy on the water for a foreign power from the West, namely, the Portuguese. After the epoch-making discovery of the Cape of Good Hope route by Vasco-da-Gama in 1498 A.D., the Portuguese started to monopolise the Indian trade. The last Mamluk Sultan of Egypt, Kansuh-el-Churi, realising the danger of the great Indian trade, ordered his Red Sea fleet under Admiral Husain to attack the Portuguese in 1508 A.D. In this battle, the Portuguese suffered a humiliating defeat and were utterly routed. But on 2nd February 1509 A.D., the Portuguese completely shattered the fleet of their enemy and established a factory in 1513 A.D. (the factory, however, started work from 1535 A.D. on account of the fear of other Moslem attacks) in Diu. The Portuguese supremacy on water lasted with varying fortunes while the Mogul dynasty lasted and was ultimately annihilated by the British. The conflict between the East India Company and the Portuguese reads like a chapter from a Book of Romance. Throughout this period and even to-day, Dame Fortune smiled on Britain. Britain had made various efforts to discover a North-West Passage to India. From 1496 A.D., to 1631 A.D., various expeditions under Sir Martin Frobisher, Master John Davis, Captain Fox, Captain Jones and others were organised and financed by Britain. They have left behind them a record of undaunted spirit and a record of failure. These voyages are collected in book form by Thomas Rundell, and are called "Narratives of Voyages Towards The North-West in search of a Passage to Cathay and India (1496 A.D. to 1631 A.D.)" We now turn our attention to Babur, the founder of the Mogul Empire in India.

Zehir-ul-Dien Mahommed Babur had the blood of two tyrants in his veins. From the father's side he came from the stock of Timur and from his mother's side he inherited the wild blood

1) One lakh equals one hundred thousand.

of Chengiz. The following chart shows his position in the family tree : Timur—Jalaluddin Miran Shah—Sultan Muhammad Mirza—Sultan Abusaid Mirza—Omer Sheikh Mirza who married the daughter of Yunus, King of Mogulistan, called Kutlugh Negar Khanam—Babur—Humayun—Akbar—Jehangir (Rajput mother)—Shahjahan (Rajput mother)—Aurangzeb. "The relation between Timur and Babur is this : Sultan Abu Seid, the grandfather of Babur, was the son of Mahommed Mirson of Miran Shaw, and grandson of Timur, Lord of Ages."[1]

Babur got his inspiration to conquer India from Timur who, passing the Hindu Kush mountains in the Spring of 1398 A.D., captured Delhi in December and had himself proclaimed Emperor of India. He butchered innocent prisoners "with the sword of holy war." Babur familiarised himself with Timur's exploits in Baghdad and aimed at performing the same feats in India. Writing of Timur's exploits in Baghdad a writer says, ".....the despairing remnant is divided into tens or twenties, and a Mogul warrior is told off to slaughter them, and to produce at nightfall ten or twenty heads to go towards the building of a horrid monument to commemorate the butchery. After the conquest of Bagdad, one hundred and twenty such pyramids of heads were built. Two thousand prisoners, not all dead, were the materials of one such monument."[2] These 'pyramids of heads' were not seen in India prior to the founding of the Mogul Empire, for the people had not the wish to build them. In all reports of the travellers up to the middle half of the sixteenth century no mention of them is made. But after the sixteenth century, instances of these 'pyramids of heads' are common in the "Storia Do Mogor," "Bernier's Travels" and "Tavernier's Travels." This tradition was well maintained by the descendants of Timur in India!

Now we come to the difference in the motive of Timur and Babur as regards the invasion of India. Timur wanted to plunder India and to kill the infidels and thus obtain the title of Ghazi (destroyer of infidels and polytheists). He had no desire to found an empire, which he could have easily done. Before he had completed his mission of destruction, the call of his home withdrew him. Babur, on the other hand, was solely actuated by the motive of founding an empire. He found Kabul too small

1) "The History of Hindoostan" by Alexander Dow, Esq., (Vol. II), p. 75.

2) "The Mogul Emperors of Hindustan" by E. S. Holden, p. 24.

a place for his restless energy. He wanted to found an empire bigger, if possible, than Timur's. He knew that the coins from the Persian Gulf to the Caspian, and from the Euxine to the Ganges bore Timur's device of overlordship, and he wanted the whole of Hind to acknowledge his suzerainty. Babur, though he founded the Mogul dynasty was, strictly speaking, a Turk, and not a Mogul, except on his mother's side. "The name of Mogul was applied to the Muhammedan Kings of India owing to the fact that the Hindus applied the name of Moghul to all northern Mohammedans, to distinguish them from Afghans and Turks. The name is derived from Mogul, a son of Alanza (or Alinje) Khan, Chief of the Turks, originally one of the tribes on the western boundary of China."[1]

"The race of Tartars proper was descended from Tatar, another son of Alanza Khan, and was originally distinct from the Moguls, who for the first time invaded India, under Jinghiz Khan, in 1217 A.D."[2] Writing on this subject another author of repute says, "Moghul—more accurately Mughal—is the Arabic spelling of Mongol, and is, specially applied to the emperors of India descended from Babar and sometimes called in Europe the Baburides. They were, however, of mixed race; Babur himself was a Turk on his father's side though a Mongol on his mother's and he abhorred the very name of Moghul. His descendants introduced a strong Rajput strain by their marriages with Hindu princesses. The term Moghul is also applied to the followers of the Moghul emperors, and came to mean any fair man from Central Asia or Afghanistan as distinguished from the darker native Indians. The various foreign invaders, or governing Muslim class, Turke, Afghans, Pathans, and Moghuls eventually became so mixed that all were indifferently termed Moghuls."[3]

Alam Khan Ala-ad-din, the uncle of Sultan Ibrahim, quarrelled with his illustrious nephew and sought the help of Babur who was then biding his time in Kabul. Babur gladly agreed to espouse his cause, for the appeal of Alam Khan Ala-ad-din was but the spark that kindled a long prepared train. With a small force and much against the advice of his astrologers and gene-

1) "The Travels of Pietro Della Valle in India", p. 48 (Foot Note 2).

2) "The Travels of Pietro Della Valle in India," pp. 48-49 (Foot Note 3).

3) "Mediaeval India under Mahomedan Rule" by Stanley Lane-Poole, p. 197 (Foot Note 1).

rals, he marched into India and met Sultan Ibrahim Lodi on the historic field of Panipat on 21st April, 1526 A. D. Sultan Ibrahim Lodi was completely routed and the Crown of *Hind* (India) rested on Babur's head. Babur was a man of letters and taste. (The Moghuls of Timur's day used the alphabet introduced by Nestorian missionaries. Emperor Babur invented a special character for the Turki language.) He was very fond of flowers and gardens; in fact, the gay side of life much attracted him. But he was always a brave soldier and a past master in strategy. He took the vicissitudes of life in a philosophic manner. In his autobiography "Babur Nama," so ably translated into English by Mrs. A. S. Beveridge, Babur writes of the advantages of Hindustan and also its defects. He writes, "Hindustan is a country of few charms. Its people have no good looks; of social intercourse, paying and receiving visits there is none; of genius and capacity none; of manners none; in handicraft and work there is no form or symmetry, method or quality; there are no good horses, no good dogs, no grapes, musk-melons or first rate fruits, no ice or cold water, no good bread or cooked food in the bazars, no hot baths, no colleges, no candles, torches or candlesticks."[1] This impression of Hindustan reminds one of the futile protests of a peevish child! And it was the case with Babur. He fretted for the wild life of Kabul unrestricted by this or that regulation of the Court. He thirsted most for the musk-melons of Kabul. Later on he writes, "Pleasant things of Hindustan are that it is a large country and has masses of gold and silver. Its air in the Rains is very fine.....Another good thing in Hindustan is that it has unnumbered and endless workmen of every kind."[2]

It was the practice of Babur to have the roads measured whenever he used to march. This practice was kept up by other Moghul emperors, producing a confused variety of *guz* (yard): Sikandri, Baberi, Akbari (*Ilahi guz*), Jehangiri *guz* etc. "Whenever he (Babur) marched, he always caused the road to be measured after him.....and the statute he made, concerning the measurement of distances, has hitherto remained in force. He fixed one hundred *tunabs* for one *Kroh*, each *tunab* being forty *guz*, each *guz* being nine moosht or hands. Each hand being four inches, make four thousand yards to a *coss*, rather more than two and a quarter English miles. The

1) "Babur Nama in English" by A. S. Beveridge (Vol. II), p. 518.
2) "Babur Nama in English" by A. S. Beveridge (Vol. II), p. 519.

guz Sikandry, or yard of Sikandar, which prevailed when he reached India, was superseded by that of the *Babery guz*, which continued in use till the beginning of the reign of Jehangir Padshah." [1]

This latter part of the statement, namely, 'Which continued in use till the beginning of the reign of Jehangir Padshah' is not correct as we shall see when studying Akbar, who introduced his own yard called the *Ilahi guz*.

Babur reigned only four years, and the form of his death is a remarkable tribute to the man and without any parallel in the history of the world. His son Humayun was seriously ill and the Court physicians could not cure him. Babur was advised to give away something that he prized the most. Probably by that act the evil spirit would be satisfied and Humayun would recover. Babur replied, 'What is more valuable to me than my life? I of my own accord give it in exchange for my son's health.' Humayun recovered and Babur died. How glorious!

Mr. Holden, author of "The Mogul Emperors of Hindustan," compares Babur as a general and as an administrator with Caesar and as a man of letters with Henry IV of France and Navarre. Another author finely sums up Babur's personality in the following words : "Babur is perhaps the most captivating personality in oriental history, and the fact that he is able to impart this charm to his own Memoirs is not the least of his titles to fame. He is the link between Central Asia and India, between predatory hordes and imperial government, between Timur and Akbar. The blood of the two great scourges of Asia, Mongol and Turk, Chingiz and Timur, mixed in his veins, and to the daring and restlessness of the nomad Tartar he joined the culture and urbanity of the Persian. He brought the energy of the Mongol, the courage and capacity of the Turk, to the subjection of the listless Hindu ; and, himself a soldier of fortune and no architect of empire, he yet laid the first stone of the splendid fabric which his grandson Akbar completed."[2] Humayun ascended the throne in 1536 A. D., and at "the battle of the Ganges" opposite Kanauj on 17th May 1540 A. D., he had to leave the throne of India to Sher Shah who was a better orga-

1) "History of the Rise of the Mohamedan Power in India" by John Briggs, pp. 66-67.

2) "Mediaeval India under Mohammedan Rule" by Stanley Lane-Poole, p. 193.

niser and a better fighter than Humayun. Sher Shah introduced many reforms which without any modifications, were, adopted later on by Akbar. Sher Shah divided his territory into hundreds, in each of which were local officers whose task it was to mediate between the people and the officers of the crown. This system is in vogue in India to-day. The protection that it gave to the subjects was great. "Such protection o'ershadowed the word that a cripple was not afraid of a Rustom." Sher Shah's land policy, admirably worked up by Raja Todar Mall, was later on adopted by Akbar and forms the basis of land revenue in India to-day. Sher Shah introduced a reformed currency, made a clean sweep of internal customs and levied duties only on the frontier. Sher Shah was a much better administrator than Humayun. He (Sher Shah) was killed in 1545 A.D. at the siege of Kalinjar. In 1542 A.D. (15th October), when Humayun was in exile in Sind, his famous son Akbar was born. Later on, Humayun sought the help of Shah Tahmasp, which was granted to him on two conditions, namely, the return of Kandahar to Persia and his affirming the creed of Shia. Humayun accepted these humiliating terms and got from the Shah some money and twelve thousand Persian troops. The passing away of Sher Shah and the consequent scramble for the throne of Delhi in India opened the way for Humayun who descended from Kabul in 1555 A.D. and reseated himself on the throne of Delhi.

There is one incident in Humayun's reign prior to the 'battle of the Ganges' in 1540 A.D. to which attention may be drawn. "Emperor Humayun set out an army against Babadur Shah of Guzerat in February 18th, 1535 A.D. He refused to attack him while he was involved in the siege of Chitor, 'as that would have been disturbing a brother muslim when engaged in subduing infidels.'"[1]

If he had then attacked Babadur Shah, victory would have been assuredly his and Sher Shah would not have been able to match himself against Humayun in 1540 A.D. But Humayun's anti-Hindu mind could never have thought of it. Humayun, though a man of letters and great culture, was a weak man who could never make up his mind. He was a man of ideas (See Appendix A). He died on 24th January 1556 A. D. by slipping down the polished steps of his palace. "His end was of a piece with his character. If there was a possibility of falling,

1) "Sher-Shah" by Kali Karanjan Qanungo, p. 130.

Humayun was not the man to miss it. He tumbled through life, and he tumbled out of it."[1]

Summary.

The period of Migration and Settling, the Vedic period, instead of being followed by an era of consolidation was followed by a period of internecine wars which fill the pages of the "Mahabharat" and "Ramayana." The next period which followed was the Puranic period, the period of Darkness. Instead of being intellectual aristocrats, showing light to the millions of the people groping in the dark to find a base to rebuild their Society, practically destroyed by the destructive wars of the Epic period, the Brahmins tried to strengthen their position by monopolising all the power in their community. Truly, the strength of the giant has been used not to protect the poor but to exploit him further. Millions of non-Brahmins were shamelessly exploited by the twice-born class (the Brahmins).

Then arose the mighty wave of Buddhism which attacked the Brahmanic cult. It conquered but was eventually weakened by compromising with the Brahmins instead of carrying on its work without allying itself with them.

India up to this period was not troubled by any foreign invasion and the period between the second century before Christ and the seventh century after Christ was a period of construction when the best Hindu talents revived art and literature. Alexander the Great in 327 B.C. attacked India and conquered a part of it, but his conquest, by bringing India into touch with the West, gave a further impetus to the synthesising of Indo-Hellenic culture. Therefore, 327 B.C. is the first landmark in the Economic History of India.

Later on came various Arab invasions which were more of the nature of epidemics than real conquests. The Arab invasion of 712 A.D. is important because the Arabs settled on the western Coast of India and remained there for some time. Mutual exchange of ideas and commodities took place and some Arab culture was absorbed by the ever-expanding Indian culture. Therefore, the second landmark in the Economic History of India is 712 A.D.

The various Ghazni and Ghori invasions left no impression on India for all that they were primarily concerned with was the

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1) "Mediaeval India under Mohammedan Rule" by Stanley Lane-Poole, p. 237.

transfer from India to their cities of the wealth and art of India which they successfully accomplished and, secondarily, they were concerned with gaining glory in heaven by killing millions of unarmed men, women and children whose only fault was that they were, according to Ghazni and Ghori, infidels. The real life of India flowed on evenly in areas not devastated by them.

After the extinction of their dynasties in India, there grew up the reign of Provincial Kings. Some ruled well, some badly, and some managed to retain the sceptre in their hands. By about the end of the fifteenth century, two forces were clearly visible : one on land (centred in Kabul) and the other on water (centred in the Portuguese activities). The latter culminated in the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope route in 1498 A.D. which, for the first time, freed a western power from the clutches of the Musalmans of Egypt and Arabia. The third landmark, therefore, in the Economic History of India is 1498 A.D. because it threw open the western gates of India to the Portuguese who played an important part in the economic life of India. The first power reached its zenith in 1526 A.D., when the Crown of India was placed on Babur's head. 1526 A. D. is another landmark in the Economic History of India, for the Moguls, who had come to stay, were to play an important part in the Socio-Economic History of India.

On these two streams—the one from the land and the other from the water—running parallel for some time, diverging and converging at one another the bark of India sailed proudly. The Moghuls conquered India, but she conquered the Moghuls by her culture. The Portuguese confined themselves to the coastal areas and did not play much part in the life of the people. So India got breathing space even when she simultaneously came in contact with two different civilisations, the Mogul civilisation on the one hand and the Portuguese on the other.

APPENDIX—A.

Love of show was an innate evil in the Moguls and they were encouraged in this manifestation of pomp by their courtiers who had nothing to lose but everything to gain. Oriental writers always used hyperbolic expressions when speaking of their

Kings. I give below two instances of this :—the full title of Babur and of Humayun. Though Humayun was much inferior to Babur, both in head and heart, yet his list of *Alkabs* (salutation) is much longer and more high sounding than that of Babur.

The mode of addressing Babur (Court form.)

"His Majesty Giti-Sitani Firdous-Mikani Zahiru—D—Din Muhammad Babur Padshah Ghazi : King of the four quarters, and of the seven heavens ; celestial sovereign ; diadem of the sublime throne ; great of genius and greatness-conferring ; fortune-increaser ; of excellent horoscope ; heaven in comprehensiveness ; earth in stability ; lionhearted ; clime-capturer ; lofty in splendour ; of active brain ; searcher after knowledge ; rank-breaking lion rampant ; exalter of dominion ; ocean-hearted ; of illustrious origin ; a saintly sovereign ; enthroned in the Kingdom of reality and spirituality."[1]

The mode of addressing Humayun (Court form).

"His Majesty Jahanbani Jannat-Ashiyani Nasir—D—Din Muhammad Humayun Padshah—I—Ghazi : Theatre of great gifts ; source of lofty inspirations ; exalter of the throne of the *Khilafat* of greatness ; planter of the standard of sublime rule ; Kingdom-bestowing conqueror of countries ; auspicious sitter upon the throne ; founder of the canons of justice and equity ; arranger of the demonstrations of greatness and sovereignty ; spring of the fountains of glory and beneficence ; water-gate for the rivers of learning ; brimming rain-cloud of choiceness and purity ; billowy sea of liberality and loyalty ; choosing the right, recognising the truth ; sole foundation of many laws ; both a King of dervish-race and a dervish with a King's title ; parterre-adorning arranging of realm and religion ; garland-twiner of spiritual and temporal blossoms ; throne of the sphere of eternal mysteries ; *alidad* of the astrolable of theory and practice ; in ansteries of asceticism and spiritual transports, a Grecian Plato ; in executive energy and the paths of energy, a second Alexander ; pearl of the seven oceans and glory of the four elements, ascension-point of suns and dawn of Jupiter ; phoenix (*huma*) towering to the heights of heaven."[2]

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1) "The Akbarnama of Abu-l-Fazl" translated by H. Beveridge, I.C.S., (Vol. I).

2) "The Akbarnama of Abu-l-Fazl" translated by H. Beveridge, I.C.S., (Vol. I), pp. 283-284.

It is said that Humayun possessed eight essentials of Empire : (1) "High fortune" (which he never possessed) ; (2) "Great designs" (which were mostly utopian) ; (3) "Conquering power" (which was not developed in Humayun to the least degree) ; (4) "Administrative capacity" (which consisted in not disturbing Sher Shah's reforms ; (5) "Civilising faculty" (which he possessed on account of his high culture and essentially pacific temperament). (6) "Devotion to the welfare of God's servants" (which included the Musalmans only, as was clearly shown in his not attacking Bahadur Shah when the latter was engaged in subduing the infidels. The right and wrong of Bahadur Shah's invasion was never considered by Humayun) ; (7) "The Cherishing of the Army" (Humayun was very considerate towards his soldiers. Probably he realised that his future was linked with his army) ; and (8) "The restraining it from evil" (this Humayun possessed in full degree).

Humayun was a very superstitious man. Once when engaged in a perilous task and not knowing what to do, he met a man walking on the road. He asked his name. The man replied *"Murad Khwaja"* (Wish fulfiller). Later on he met another man whose name was *"Daulat Khwaja"* (Wealth giver). Then he met the third man whose name was *Saadat Khwaja* (Wisdom giver). Immediately he shouted to his men that success would be his as God Himself had forecasted his destiny for him. He narrated the incident to his men who all "drank courage from His Majesty's lips."

Immediately on his return, he divided his government into three divisions : *Saadat, Daulat,* and *Murad* which were symbolically represented by three gold arrows. These arrows were further sub-divided into twelve arrows to suit the convenience of the then Government.

The 12th arrow he reserved for himself and his son Akbar.

The 11th arrow he reserved for his brothers and kinsmen.

The 10th arrow he reserved for *Sayyids, Sheikhs,* and *Ulemas* (learned men and religious men).

The 9th arrow he reserved for great officers.

The 8th arrow he reserved for intimates who held *mansabs* (office).

The 7th arrow he reserved for *ankacian* (writers).

The 6th arrow he reserved for heads of clans.

The 5th arrow he reserved for distinguished young volunteers.

The 4th arrow he reserved for cashiers.

The 3rd arrow he reserved for soldiers.
The 2nd arrow he reserved for artificers.
And the 1st arrow he reserved for doorkeepers, watchmen, etc.

Another device of Humayun's was to split up the Departments of State into four classes : Fire, Air, Water, and Earth. Fire denoted the War Department ; Air denoted the Kitchen and Transport Department (probably for the simple reason that Aeros were then unknown) ; Water denoted the wine and camels department—(strange grouping indeed) ; and Earth denoted Agriculture and Buildings. There is more sense in this elemental specification than in Humayun's Arrow Classification.

Humayun was probably the first oriental monarch to think of a floating *bazaar* (market). He ordered four large barges to be set in the river Jumna and personally directed the changing of them into a floating city.

His other ideas along with this experiment are given below : "In the year 1532—1533 A.D. when His Majesty went from Firuzabad-i-Dihli (i.e. Delhi) to Agra, the capital, by way of the river, and was accompanied by most of the *Amirs* (Lords) and pillars of the State and all the *ikcian* (writers) and officers, a *bazaar* (market) of this kind was made and carried down the Jumna. Everyone could get what he wanted in that *bazaar*.

"In like manner the royal gardeners made, in accordance with orders, a garden on the river....."Another of his inventions was a movable bridge....."Another of his inventions was a movable palace. This palace was composed of three storeys which were of cut beams. The master carpenters had so joined the pieces together that the whole was of one piece. Whenever they wanted they could take it to pieces and convey it to any country. And the ladders (or steps) to the upper storey were so constructed that they could be opened out or shut up at pleasure.

"One of the wonderful inventions of that holy mind (Humayun) was a cap (*taj*) which was alike magnificent and agreeable to wear. "Another of his inventions was a tent (*Khirga*) which had twelve partitions corresponding to the signs of the Zodiac. ....."One of his pleasure-increasing inventions was 'the carpet of Mirth' (basat-i-nishat).[1] "....the wearing of clothes each day corresponding to the colour of the planet of that day.

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1) On *basat-i-nishat* fourteen hundred persons could sit. Humayun occupied the sun circle.

".....the drum of Justice.[1] If the claim of anyone related to some dispute he beat the drum once. If his grievance consisted in the non-receipt of stipend, or wages, he struck twice. If his goods and chattels (*mal-u-jihat*) had been seized by oppression, or had been stolen, he complained by beating the drum thrice. If he had a claim of blood against any one he beat the drum loudly four times."[2]

It would be interesting to know how many times "the drum of justice" was beaten, but of that we have no record. Probably Akbar inherited his mechanical turn of mind from his father, but his was a constructive genius quite distinct from the childishness of his father. Humayun would have received some recognition from the critical historians of later time, had he not been eclipsed by his illustrious father on the one hand and his still more illustrious son on the other.

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1) Humayun probably borrowed the idea from Sultan Shams-ud-din Altamash who in 1211 A.D. promulgated an order in Delhi to the effect that men who suffered from injustice should wear coloured clothes. He also placed at the door of his palace two marble lions on two pedestals. These lions had iron chains round their necks from which hung great bells. Later on Jehangir improved the system by introducing his "Chain of Justice."

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BOOK II.

AKBAR, THE GREAT

I. Extent of the Empire and the Organisation of the Government.
II. Routes and Transport System.
III. Land Policy.
IV. Labour Availability and its Distribution.
V. Capital Organisation: Currency and its Regulation, Kothees, Hundees.
VI. Taxation.
VII. Manufactures. Raw Materials and their Utilisation.
VIII. Trade: (a) General.
(b) Trade centres.
(c) Inter-Provincial Trade.
(d) Frontier Trade.
(e) Foreign Trade.
and (f) Government Interference in and Monopolies of Trade.
IX. Conclusion.
Appendixes A, B, C, and D.

"Fate is a person which has five fingers,
When she wishes to get her will on any man,
She puts two on his eyes, and two on his ears,
And one in his lips, with the words 'Be Silent' ".
(Akbar's Saying).

CHAPTER I

EXTENT OF THE EMPIRE AND THE ORGANISATION OF THE GOVERNMENT

Akbar ascended the throne in 1556 A.D. at the early age of fourteen. He was then under the tutelage of Bairam Khan and his foster-mother. How he chafed under Bairam's autocratic control and high-handedness, and how ultimately he got rid of him reminds one of the conflict between the Ex-Kaiser and Prince Bismarck in more recent times. Akbar was possessed of an inquisitive mind and was a good physiognomist. Though not literate at the time of ascending the throne, he appreciated learned discussions. If by education we understand the bringing out of all the faculties latent in man and developing them, then Akbar was highly educated. All his faculties were well developed and well coordinated. He possessed, in an unusual degree, common sense, that most uncommon thing in the world. As early as 1566 A.D. when he was twenty-four, he realised the secret of a stable empire. He was the first Mogul King who saw the vision of a United India where the two great religions Hinduism and Mohammedanism would be merged in his Din-i-Elahi (the divine faith). He developed his ideas in this direction till the date of his death. His one obsession was to combine the monotheism of Islam with the symbolic and ritualistic worship of Hinduism. He saw "that if the empire was to last, it must be based on a religious coalition of the Indian races."[1])

He clearly tabulated the causes of differences between the Hindus and the Musalmans and exerted all the authority of the State to remove them. The causes of differences, in his opinion, were :

1. "Diversity of tongues and the misapprehension of mutual purposes ;

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1) "Mediaeval India under Mohammedan Rule" by Stanley Lane-Poole, p. 312.

2. "The distance that separates the learned of Hindustan from scientific men of other nationalities;
3. "The absorption of mankind in the delights of corporeal gratifications (unwillingness to hear praise of another);
4. "Indolence (no intention to understand another);
5. "The blowing of the chill blast of inflexible custom and the low flicker of the lamp of wisdom;
6. "The uprising of the whirlwind of animosity and the storms of persecution (understanding each other an impossibility);

and 7. "The prosperity of wretches without principle who deceitfully win acceptance by affected virtue and rectitude."[1]

Akbar never pinned his faith to any dogmas and ritualism. He gave the first place in religion to Reason. He used to say that every religion was based on Truth though obscured by weeds of dogmas and ritualism. Therefore remove the noxious growths and understanding will follow. He was always very fond of discussing religions with men of letters and fame. In his court one might find men of all religions—Hindus, Mohammedans, Christians, Parsees and others—with ample liberty to stress the truths of their religion and criticise the others. In September 1579 A.D., Akbar wrote to the Viceroy at Goa, "To the Chief Padre, in the name of the Lord. Letter of Jalauddin Muhammad Akbar, King by the hand of God. Head fathers of the College of St. Paul, know that I am very well disposed towards you. I am sending Abdullah, my ambassador, and Dominic Perez (an Armenian Christian, the interpreter), with the request that you will send me two learned Fathers, and the books of the Law, especially the Gospel, that I may know the Law and its excellence. For I desire to know it. I beg therefore earnestly that they may come with these envoys, and bring the books of the Law. And the fathers may be sure that I will receive them most courteously, and entertain them most handsomely. When I have learnt the Law sufficiently to appreciate its excellence, then may they depart at their pleasure, with an escort, and honoured with abundant rewards. Let them come in perfect security. I take their defence on myself."[2]

1) "Ain-i-Akbari" by Abul Fazl-I-Allami translated by Col. H. S. Jarett (Vol. III), pp. 2-4.

2) "The 1st Christian Mission to the Great Mogul" by F. Goldie, p. 54 (foot note 2).

The Reverend Fathers came from Goa to Surat and left Surat on Friday the 15th January 1580 A.D. for Fatehpore Sikri where the Emperor then was. They reached Sikri on 28th March of the same year. They had a splendid reception and received every consideration from Akbar.

Their first description of Akbar is as follows :

"Instead of moslem trousers, he wore the Hindu *Dhoti,* of the finest and most delicate silk, falling to his heels, and these gathered in by bangles covered with pearls."[1]

Another writer says, "Akbar had mechanical genius. He devised a new method of making gun-barrels of spirally rolled iron, which could not burst ; he invented a machine which cleared sixteen barrels at once, and another by which seventeen guns could be fired simultaneously with one match."[2]

Akbar was a fine polo player. He was so devoted to this game that he used even to play it by night, using fireballs. Such was Akbar who ascended the throne of *Hind* (India) in 1556 A.D. at the tender age of fourteen. He played an important part in the social and the economic life of India. He was an administrative genius, an excellent warrior, a social reformer, and an economist of a high order. He evolved order out of chaos and built up an empire which was to last up to 1707 A.D. Akbar as an administrator saw what the Hindus and the Mohammedans of India have not been able to see even to-day, namely that the strength of India does not lie in her rich resources, but in the fusion of her two religions, Hinduism and Mohammedanism. In the field of Social reform, he forbade child-marriage, trial by ordeal and animal sacrifice, discouraged *Suttee* (burning of Hindu widows with their husbands) and legalised widow marriage. Even the Englishmen of to-day have not been able to introduce as many social reforms as Akbar did by his orders ! As a warrior, he added to the empire various countries which were outside his empire at the time of his ascension to the throne, and as an economist he laid down definite rules for industry and commerce. He stabilised currency and based land revenue on a fair and equitable basis.

We now turn our attention to Akbar as an Empire-builder. *Akbar, the Builder.* When Akbar ascended the throne, the only parts of India that he possessed were the Punjab and Delhi

1) "The 1st Christian Mission to the Great Mogul" by F. Goldie, p. 62.

2) "Mediaeval India under Mohammedan Rule" by Stanley Lane-Poole, p. 247.

in the north. In 1559 A.D. he took Ajmere; in 1561 Lucknow and Jaunpore; in 1562 Malwa and Burhanpore; in 1567 Chittor; in 1568 Gwalior; in 1572 he occupied Gujarat which had to be retaken in 1584; in 1576-8 the fertile Bengal; in 1586 Kashmir; in 1590 Orissa; in 1592 Sind; and in 1594 Kandahar which was then in the hands of the Persians. Kabul was a separate kingdom under his brother Hakim. Later on (1585) Kabul formed a part of the Empire. Thus Akbar's Empire "included a portion of what is now Baluchistan (West); (North) Afghanistan and from Kabul southwards (the hill countries on the other side of the Indus were more or less independent); the southern Portion of Kashmir and parts of Southern Kumaun. From Kumaun eastward, the northern limit of the Empire was set by the Himalayan forests as far as the Valley of the Brahmaputra, where the boundary turned southwards, skirting the State of Kuch and the territory occupied by the tribesmen of Hill Tippera. (In the East), Chittagong was outside the Empire and probably Akbar's jurisdiction was limited in practice by the estuary of the Meghne. From the Meghne, the boundary followed the coast to a little south of Puri, whence it struck westwards across the Peninsula to Bombay. The position in the south was uncertain."[1]

Another writer clearly specifies the limits of Akbar's Empire. He says, "On the north in the direction of the Circuro it is bounded by Mount Imans (the Kumaon, then spelt as Cumaunius), by the river Indus, and by the Panoropanisus (the Himalayas). In the south its limits are the gangetic gulf and various inland regions which adjoin the territories of Narsinga off the Pandae (the Pandyas occupied the modern districts of Madura and Tinnevelly). Further west its southern boundary is bound by Ariacum. (Ariake corresponded nearly to Maharastra), which lies next to Goa, and Cuncanum (Kon Kan), which is now called Canara, and the country of the Sedanis, who live close to Xeulum and are called Deccanici. In the west it is bounded by the coast of Gedrosia and the Indian ocean, and in the east by the region of the Emodi (Himalaya) which extends far towards the sunrise, and by the great estuary of the Ganges.....of late he (Equebarus, that is to say, Akbar) has added to the empire, partly by force of arms, and partly by voluntary surrender, most of Gedrosia."[2] "Nearly the whole country from the eastern

1) "India At the Death of Akbar" by Moreland, p. 6.

2) "Commentary of Father Monserrate" by Hoyland and Banerjee, p. 212.

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2) "Commentary of Father Monserrate" by Hoyland and Banerjee, p. 212.

Orissa and Thatha were included in Bengal and Multan. These Provinces do not correspond with anything we know of to-day. For instance, Delhi in Akbar's time extended 165 *Kos* in length from Palwal to Ludhiana, and 140 *Kos* in breadth from the frontier of Rewri to Kumaon, or 130 *Kos* from Hissar to Khizrabad.

A Mogul Province approximately represented half of a modern Province in Northern India to-day.

At the head of a Province (*Suba*) was a Governor called *Subadar* (holder of a *Suba*). He was the supreme civil and military authority. Under him was the *Dewan* (Revenue head) and under the *Dewan* were a few *Waqiah Nawis* or Recorders.

Each *Suba* was divided into a number of *Sarkars* (Districts), each *Sarkar* being in charge of a *Faujdar* (Collector and military Commandant).

Each *Sarkar* was subdivided into *Pargannas* or *Mahals* (modern Tahsils). The head of a *Mahal* was called a *Choudhri* who corresponds to the modern *Lambardars*. The villages were under the rigid control of *Panchayats* (village assemblies). These *Panchayats* were responsible to the *Choudhri* who was responsible to the *Faujdar*. The *Faujdar* was responsible to the *Subadar* who in turn was responsible to the *Badshah Salaamat* (Emperor—May God protect him) who was responsible to nobody. The machinery of the Government of India operates exactly on identical lines. The head of a *Suba* is a Governor and under him are the Deputy-Commissioners in charge of the *Sarkars*. The Tahsildars are in charge of *Mahals* and under them are various *Lambardars* or *Choudhries* who are to a great extent controlled by the village associations. The Governors are responsible to the Governor-General who is responsible to the British Parliament and not to the people of India. *So, as far as the people of India are concerned they are in the same position to-day as they were under Akbar.* Their voice then, as it is to-day, was a mere cry in the wilderness. In the Moguls' time, towns were placed under *Kotwals* (a Police officer of high rank) who wielded great authority. A *Kotwal* was responsible for theft; out of his own pockets he had to make good the loss that the people suffered while staying in the city under his jurisdiction, and he was ordered to keep an eye on the guilds of artisans and on market fluctuations. Even to-day the title continues. The *Shahar Kotwal* (Kotwal of the city) exists to-day, but he is much shorn of his powers and consequently his responsibilities are few.

The Judicial Organisation was as follows :

The *Qazi* will investigate the case and send it before the *Mir Adl* who will pronounce judgment and from there appeal will be to the *Subadar* and from there to the Imperial *Qazi*. Against the Imperial *Qazi's* decision, appeal will finally be to the Emperor whose decision is irrefutable. This is like the Privy Council's decision to-day. There is no denying the fact that judicial work under the Moguls was extremely corrupt. From the *Qazi* to the Emperor, everybody was greedy and grabbing. It is no exaggeration to say that justice then was a marketable commodity. But as the Moguls never allowed professional lawyers to argue out the case—in fact no such class then existed—and as the postponement of cases was not viewed with favour, judgment was always short and swift though not always honest.

To-day, Judicial organisation in India is free from corruption. But the stamp fees, the lawyers' fees, and other incidental charges on the one hand and the long period after which judgments are given, on the other, rob justice of much of its value. The two proverbs that are current in India to-day about the judicial organisation admirably sum up its *modus operandi*. First, "the man who goes in for litigation goes in for ruin" ; and second, "the man that has a long purse will win."

Now, we turn our attention to the Imperial Government. At the apex was the Emperor. Below him were the *Vakil* (Prime-Minister), *Dewan* (Chancellor of the Exchequer), *Bakshi* (Secretary of State for War who was also the Paymaster-General), *Chief Qazi* (Lord Chief Justice), *Sadr-us-Sadr* (Minister for Religion), and *Mir Arz* (Petitions Department). These were the high officers of the realm and each of them had a Secretariat of his own. All applications would go through *Mir Arz* to the *Vakil* who was also called *Wazeer-a-azam* (Minister-in-Chief). The Prime-Minister would, if he thought proper, present them to the Emperor. No man could submit any application without *Nazrana* (presents for the Emperor) and *Shukrana* (gifts to the officers—bribes and nothing else). *Nazrana* would be noted in the application and *Shukrana* being of a personal nature would not appear in the application.

There were also minor officers who were not included in the first group. Their list is as follows :

Mir Mal (Lord Privy Seal)
Qurbegi (Lord Standard-bearer)
Mir Bahri (Lord of the Admiralty)

Mir Barr (the Superintendent of Forests)
Mir Manzil (the Quarter-master-General)
Munshi (the Private Secretary)
Mir Tozak (the Master of Ceremonies)
Akhtab Begi (the Superintendent of the Stud)
Khansamah (the Mayor of the Palace).

The British rule in India has completely destroyed the prestige of "the Mayor of the Palace." He has now been reduced to the position of a mere cook who gets about two pounds (sterling) a month. Such was the classification of the Government under Akbar. The same system continued right up to the end of the Mogul Empire in India. We shall deal in detail with some of the important departments and also with the duties of some of the important officials.

First in order of importance came the Governor. "The Governor must constantly keep in view the happiness of the people; he shall not take away life until after the most mature deliberation; those who apply for justice, let them not be afflicted with delay; let him accept the excuse of the penitent; let the roads be made safe; let him consider it his duty to befriend the industrious husbandman."[1]

This power of inflicting capital punishment was taken away later on, as is clear from the following:

At the beginning of the twenty-seventh Divine Year, Akbar said "On this day every one will do some special thing, and make the adornment of felicity" and, continued he, "Lordship (*Khudawindi*) in truth is only applicable to the Incomparable Deity, and Service (*bandagi*) is appropriate to the man-born. What strength has this handful of weakness to take upon itself the name of Mastery (*Sahibi*) and to make slaves of the sons of men?" At the same time he set free many thousands of slaves and said, "How can it be right to call those seized by force by this name, and to order them to serve."[2] And he directed that this happy band should be distinguished by the name of *Chelas* (disciples).

"The Khan A'Zim M. Koka represented that the governors of the imperial provinces should not have the boldness to cut the thread of life, and that until they had laid the matter

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1) "The Mogul Emperors of Hindustan" by E. S. Holden, p. 152.
2) "The Akbarnama of Abu-l-Fazl" translated by H. Beveridge, I.C.S., (Vol. III), p. 558.

before His Majesty they should not stain their hands by destroying what God had built."[1]

His Majesty approved of this measure and immediately all the governors were informed. But the truth is that the governors, even long after the passing of this measure, enjoyed the power of capital punishment without reference to His Majesty. In reading the various acts of Akbar, one point must not be lost sight of. Akbar personally was a strange mixture of a saint and a king. He was actuated in all his great and small actions by humanitarian feelings and he sought every opportunity to perform humanitarian acts. In areas near about Delhi, they were very effective. But in distant areas, governors enjoyed larger latitude. In spite of the espionage system that every Mogul emperor introduced, records of a good many happenings could not reach the emperor's ears. He laid down that the *Qazi* (judge) should not take a personal view of a case. He should divest himself of partiality and avarice and then try to distinguish the oppressor from the oppressed, and act accordingly. Unfortunately, the judges were human beings and could not resist the temptation of accepting bribes.

As to the *Kotwal* (a kind of provost-marshal) His Majesty lays down strict rules : "His own conduct must be upright and strictly honest ; the idle he shall oblige to learn some trade ; upon coins short of weight he shall take exactly the deficiency (and no more) ; he shall prohibit the drinking of spirituous liquors, but need not take pains to discover what men do in secret ; he shall not allow a widow to be burned contrary to her inclinations."[2] Another writer stresses the *Kotwal's* duties in the field of trade and commerce. Says he, "The *Kotwal* must appoint one or more brokers, to transact the various kinds of commercial business ; and, after taking security from them, must station such in the market place that they may afford information regarding such things as are bought or sold. He must also make it a rule that every person buying or selling, without the advice of the above-mentioned brokers, will be deemed in fault ; that both the name of the buyer and seller must be written in the register of daily transactions. Everything, therefore, must be bought and sold in connexion with the superintendent of that particular division and the government police-men.

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1) "The Akbarnama of Abu-l-Fazl" translated by H. Beveridge, I.C.S., (Vol. III), p. 560.

2) "The Mogul Emperors of Hindustan" by E. S. Holden, p. 153.

"Let him be very careful that there should be no wine within his limits; and let the judge punish the drinker, the seller, and the maker of such, in such a manner as to be an example to other men.

"Let him endeavour to keep down the market-prices, and not permit that the wealthy, while possessing large heaps of things for sale, should sell them in small proportions."[1]

Here we have a workable scheme of sales and purchases in a market and, given honest officers, the scheme is not an utopian one but practical.

Akbar's Reforms

Akbar's excise policy is not clear. He used to take wine himself though he was not addicted to it. He allowed the *Ferangis* (Westerners) to make wine. He ordered the *Kotwals* "to prohibit the drinking of spirituous liquors, but they need not take pains to discover what men do in secret."

"Another was that wine might be drunk, if for the healing of the body by the advice of the physicians. But, lest confusion and wickedness should become more common on this account, he laid down severe punishments for excessive drinking, carousals, and disorderly conduct. And, in order to keep the matter within due bounds, he set up a wine shop near the palace, under the charge of the Porter's wife who belonged by birth to the class of wine-sellers, and appointed a fixed tariff. Persons who wished to purchase wine, as a remedy for sickness, could do so by having their name, and that of their father and grandfather, written down by the clerk."[2] It appears that he was not a total Prohibitionist, but favoured moderate drinking.

Akbar imposed stringent restrictions on prostitution and inflicted severe punishment on seducers. "His Majesty himself summoned some of the principal prostitutes and asked them who had deprived them of their virginity. On receiving each information, he punished, censured or put in long confinement in fortresses, the men concerned some of whom were men of renown and grandees (*Ain-i-Akbari*)." "A separate quarter was assigned to prostitutes outside the town, and the place was called *Shaitan-pura* (Devil's Villa). A *Daroga* (headman) and a clerk were appointed to register the names of those who resort-

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1) "The Political and Statistical History of Gujrat" by Ali Mohammad Khan, pp. 402-403.

2) "Mantakhabu-Tawarikh" by Al-Badayuni. (Vol. II), p. 311.

ed to them. No one could take a dancing girl to his house without permission (Tarikhi-Badaoni)."[1]

Akbar's judgment was a judgment with a vengeance. To have given his ruling retrospective force was equivalent to vesting extraordinary powers in the prostitutes and yet His Majesty did not scruple about making money out of the income of the prostitutes! The fact is that Akbar legalised almost all things except excess. He used to say,

"Three things are fatal to men,
And bring the healthy to sickness:
Continual indulgence in wine and women,
And the cramming of food upon food."

Akbar was not conservative in his ideas.. He realised the essentially dynamic nature of Society and used to say that all good things when first introduced must have been new. Accordingly, he smoked tobacco[2] which was first introduced in his reign. But he never admired Lady Nicotine and never wooed her after his first introduction.

The other reforms of Akbar will be taken in order in the chapters that follow.

The organisation of two departments—the Admirality and the Army which is described here will give us a complete idea of the Government of Akbar. Successive rulers did not materially change the plan. Only a few departments were added or amalgamated.

Akbar's Admiralty.

Akbar's Admiralty had four functions to perform: (1) It was in charge of the supply of ships and boats; (2) It was in charge of the supply of efficient mariners. Therefore, it had to train up men; (3) It had to watch the rivers: to settle everything relative to ferries, regulate the tonnage, provide travellers with boats at the shortest notice, and keep *Omrah Nowwara* (the Imperial fleet) always in readiness; and (4) It was concerned with the imposition, realisation, and remission of duties.

So we see that the Admiralty of Akbar was merely a forerunner of the Port Trusts of these days. It was worthless as a fighting force. The sway of the Portuguese on the waters was supreme. The emperor as well as his subjects had to apply

1) "History of the Panjab" by Syed Mahomed Latif, p. 144.

2) Spaniards learnt it from the Cuban Indians in 1492 and introduced it into Turkey, Egypt, and India about the end of the Sixteenth Century. Christian and Mohammedan Governments opposed it.

for a Portuguese passport whenever a need to go beyond Surat was felt. Of course, the emperor would never dream of going beyond his land frontiers. His life was too precious to be placed at the mercy of the treacherous waves, but his relatives might like to go to Mecca or some other place. Without a Portuguese passport, the voyage was not safe. It was to diminish or annihilate the Portuguese monopoly that the Mogul emperors encouraged foreigners of other countries to come and settle in India. Every ship required officers and men of the following titles and descriptions :

"The *Nakhoda* or Commander of the Vessel ; the *Maullim* (the mate) ; the Tundeil (chief of the *Khelasses*) ; the *Nakhoda-Kheshab* (to provide fuel for the people and assist in lading and unlading the ship) ; the *Sirheng* (to superintend the docking and launching of the ship) ; the *Bhandaree* (cook) ; the *Kerancee* (ship's clerk) ; the *Sukangeer* (helmsman) ; the *Punjeree* (look outs) ; the *Coomtee* (*Khelasees* who boiled water out of the ship) ; the gunners ; and the common seamen (*Khorwah*)."[1]

Bengal and Sindh were two great centres of Indian shipping during the Moguls' regime in India.

Akbar's Army and its Organisation.

The army was formed of *Mansabdars*—one holding office was called a *Mansabdar*. *Mansabdars* were of different ranks and used to get different allowances. Their allowances used to depend on the number of foot-soldiers and cavalry that they were entitled to keep. *Zat* (body) and *Suwar* (horsemen) used to be fixed by the Emperor for every *Mansabdar*, who used to receive pay accordingly. They were appointed for twelve months and used to be paid for four to twelve months. Very few were the fortunate *Mansabdars* who got twelve months' pay for twelve months' service. Out of the pay they received there were petty deductions. A list of important deductions is given below :

(1) *Kasur-i-de-dami* which was a discount of five per cent. on the allowance. Literally the phrase means two *dams* (forty *dams* used to be equal to a rupee) in every forty, that is to say, 5 per cent. This deduction was made on account of miscellaneous expenses ;

(2) *Kharch-i-Sikkah* (Brassage—the rate differed in different times). Something was deducted for the mint charge ;

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1) "A History of Indian Shipping and Maritime Activity from the Earliest Times" by Radhakumud Mukerjee, p. 207.

(3) *Ayyam-i-hilali* (days of the moon's rise). Deduction of one day's pay in every month except Ramazan (Mohammedan's Lent).

(4) *Hissah-i-ijinas* (share in kind); *Jinas* (Goods) and *Hissah* (share). Charge for supplying in kind. The amount deducted was one-twenty-fourth if the man were mounted, and one-twelfth if he were not;

and (5) *Khurak-i-dawabh* (feed of four-footed animals). Akbar ordered that a certain deduction from every *Mansabdar's* pay should be made in order to meet the expenses of horses and elephants belonging to him.

A *Mansabdar's* rank depended on the number of men and horses he was entitled to keep. From 20 to 400 a *Mansabdar* was simply called an officer with rank; from 500 to 2,500 he was called an *Omrah* (noble); and from 3,000 to 7,000 (this maximum limit was, later on, raised in the times of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb) he was called *Amir-i-Azam* (Great noble).

All *Mansabdars* were kept on either *Hazir-i-rikab* (presence at Court) or *Tainat* (on duty elsewhere).

There were certain other factors which affected the pay of the *Mansabdars*: *Ghair-hazri* (clear rules were laid down for leave with or without permission and deductions were accordingly made); *Bimari* (illness. Leave with pay for some days used to be given and then leave without pay); *Rukshat* (leave and furlough deductions); and *Bartarafi* (discharge or resignation). In the case of a *Farari* (deserter), his security will pay the amount to the Court. There was no recognised pension list. No retiring allowances could be claimed as of right. A man might be lucky enough to get a small sum, but that even only by way of favour. The ordinary method of providing for an old servant was to leave him till his death in undisturbed possession of his rank and *Jagir* (grant).

In the case of death (*Faut*), distinction was made between natural death and death on active service. In the one case, half pay and in the other full-pay was disbursed to the heirs on the production of a certificate of heirship attested by the *Qazi* (Judge). The *Warisnama* (certificate of heirship) must bear a judge's signature. The pay of the *Mansabdars* was always in arrears. It was the effect of "more men being entertained than could be easily paid. Indian Mahommedans are very bad financiers; the habit of the East is to stave off payment by any expedient. To owe money to somebody seems in that country the normal condition of mankind. Another reason for keeping the men in

arrears may have been the feeling that they were thereby prevented from transferring their services to some other Chief quite as readily as they might have done if there were nothing owing."[1] The second reason was the most important reason, and I suppose, it also proved effective. The first reason has been evolved by the too active working of Mr. William Irvine's imagination. Wealth exceeding the dreams of avarice was left by each Mogul emperor from Akbar down to Aurangazeb and the army could easily have been paid. But, surrounded as they were by chieftains who were not to be trusted, they naturally adopted the second course. The all too sudden jump of Mr. Irvine from the particular to the general, from the individual to the society at large shows a kink in his mentality which no intellectual man will allow.

Pay was given partly in cash (*Naqd*) and partly by the assignment of a revenue (*Jagir*).

The State was a very centralised organisation. It was strong at the centre, but weak at the extremities. So, *Mansabdars* were allotted these distant lands in order to maintain order and collect their allowance out of them. This was merely an extension of Taimur's practice. The *Mansabdars* were sore pressed to make both ends meet and they used to cheat the Imperial Government by not maintaining their allotted quota. On paper they used to show the correct figure, but in reality they maintained a very small number. When caught, they were fined as follows :—(a) *Tafawat-i-Asp* (difference of and deficiency in horses) ; (b) *Tafawat-i-silah* (difference of and deficiency in armour) ; and (c) *Tafawat-i-tabinan* (difference of and deficiency in troops.)

Now, let us sum up the position of a *Mansabdar*. He was an officer who had to maintain a certain strength. He would get pay for four months in a year and his *jagir* was a precarious holding. Out of his imaginary twelve months' pay, certain deductions were made. If he did not maintain his quota, he had to pay fines. The only alternative that was left to him was to plunge headlong into the ocean of corruption. He invariably did that and thus weakened the central Government. (See Appendix A.)

In the army there were also *Chelas* (disciples) who were personal dependants or slaves. They were recruited chiefly from

1) "The Army of the Indian Moghuls" by William Irvine, Akbar's Army Organisation has been mostly taken from this book, p. 13.

children taken in war or bought from their parents during times of famine.

There were various rewards and distinctions by which Akbar reconciled these *mansabdars* to their fate.

Rewards and Distinctions.

(1) *Titles* : Khan or Lord. Some name appropriate to his qualities was added to *Khan* as *Ikhlas Khan* or Lord of Sincerity.

(2) *Robes of Honour* (*Khilaat*). They were of five degrees : three-piece *Khilaat;* five-piece, six-piece, and seven-piece *Khilaat;* and *Malbus-i-Khas* (clothes worn by the Emperor—a very rare distinction).

A three-piece robe was given from the general wardrobe (*Khilaat-Khanah*) and consisted of a turban (*dastar*), a long coat with very full skirts (*Jamah*), and a scarf for the waist (*Kamr-band*).

A five-piece robe was given from *Toshah-Khana* (storehouse for presents). The extra pieces were a turban ornament called *sarpech* and a band for tying across the turban (balaband).

A six-piece robe consisted of an additional tight-fitting jacket with short sleeves, called a half-sleeve (*Nimah-astin*).

A seven-piece robe consisted of a cap, a long gown (*Kabah*), a close-fitting coat (*Arkalon*) or a tight coat (*Alkhaliq*), two pairs of trousers, two shirts, two girdles, and a scarf for the head or neck. These *Khilaats* were given so often to so many men that the manufacturing department was a monopoly of the Emperor. The best workers would be segregated and they were not permitted to work for anybody else but the king. A regular department of *Khilaat*-making grew up under the direct patronage of the King.

(3) *Gifts other than money*. Jewelled ornaments, *Palkees* (Palanquins) with pearl curtains and gold fringes, horses with gold mounted and jewelled trappings, elephants, etc. were given by the King to his favourites.

(4) *Kettledrums*. The right of having them beaten in his own name. Very rarely was this distinction conferred. Not given to *mansabdars* below the rank of 2,000.

(5) *Flags and Ensigns*. There were eight ensigns of royalty. The first four were reserved for the sovereign : *Aurang* (throne) ; *Chatr* (the State Umbrella) ; *Saiban or Aftabgir*[1] (a sunshade) ;

1) Also called *Suraj-mukhi* because it was shaped like an open palm leaf fan. It was granted only to Royal Princes.

Kaukabah (*qumqumah* : a polished steel ball suspended from a long pole and carried as an ensign before the King).

The following four were granted to the *mansabdars* :

Alam or flag (supposed to be the flag of Husain which Taimur obtained at *Karbalah*) ; *chatr-tok* or yak tails ; *Tuman-tok*[1] (another shape of yak-tail) ; and *Mahi-o-maratib* or 'the fish and dignities.' This was a high distinction and was not conferred on men below the rank of 6000 *Zat* (infantry) and 6000 *Suwar* (Cavalry). *Mahi-o-maratib* signified offering from the islands of the ocean.

The Moguls in India carried a new ensign in place of *Alam* and *Tuman-tok* called *Azdahna-Paikar* (Dragon-face). It is said that this was presented to Taimur after he made his irruption into India, but where and when it was presented is not made clear. It consisted of two pieces, one carried in front and the other behind the Emperor.

Such were the attractions which bound the soldiery of Mogul to the Emperor ! But it cannot be said that the system of attracting men to do their duty by distributing ribbons, medals, etc. was a unique feature of the Moguls alone. Every government in its time has adopted that procedure. Though the system is universally condemned, yet it goes on expanding for it offers a powerful bait to some.

During the Great War (1914 onward) so many permutations and combinations of the alphabets were made, and so generously distributed were they that throughout the civilised world arose a wave of appreciation for 'those in power' who were engaged in manufacturing the new combinations of the aphabets—behind the fighting line !

We have studied the organisation of the Government, and we learn from this study that the system did not work well. Bribery and corruption were the order of the day and, there being very little written law, the Emperor's will was supreme. The processes of the execution of a decree were very drastic. Not only debtor's goods and house property could be sold but he could be imprisoned as well. His family and servants could be sold into slavery or handed over to the creditor in satisfaction of the decree. The *Kotwal* was supreme in the city. He could make or mar the life of a citizen. The stability of society depended on

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1) *Tuman-tok* consisted generally of three yak's tails attached to a cross-bar, which was fixed at the end of a long pole or staff.

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CHAPTER II.

ROUTES AND TRANSPORT SYSTEM.

The Moguls were never renowned in history for road-building as the Romans were. In fact, they did not know the art of constructing metalled roads. They could have easily turned their thoughts in that direction, but they had no inclination. They were essentially Palace and Mausoleum builders, and the fame they achieved in this has not been equalled so far by any nation in the world. The name of Shah-Jahan easily stands first in this respect. His immortal building the "Taj" is a joy for ever.

Akbar built many buildings : e.g., his palace in the Allahabad Fort (1560-68 A.D.) ; Humayun's Mausoleum in Delhi (1556-69 A.D). This was really built by the wife of Humayun—Haji Begum). He re-built the Agra Fort (1570-80 A.D.) ; and Attock Fort (1585 A.D.). He planned and constructed a city Fatehpur-Sikri (near Agra in 1750-80 A.D.) the like of which one cannot find in India even to-day. Rich in architectural designs, magnificent in its vastness, Fatehpur-Sikri stands to-day as a monument to Akbar's greatness in city construction.

Routes in Akbar's Time.

The most important land route was from Surat to Agra (via Burhanpur) which terminated on the one hand in China and on the other in Persia. Its route was as follows : Surat—Burhanpur—Gwalior—Dholpur—Agra—Delhi—Lahore—K a b u l—China—(Lahore—Multan—Kandhar—Persia).

There was another route which started from Surat for Agra via Ahmadabad : Surat—Broach—Baroda—Ahmadabad—Roha—Bagra—Merta—Ajmer—Bandar Sindri—Bayana—Fatehpur-Sikri—Agra. These routes were very important as they connected Surat, the busiest port in Mogul India, with Agra the capital of Mogul India. Agra was connected to Bengal via Benares and Patna. The route was as follows :

Agra—Etawah—Allahabad—Benares—Mughal Serai—Patna—Bengal.

There was a route from Bengal to Surat linking the eastern extremity of Akbar's Empire with his western port Surat meet-

ing the route from Surat to Agra via Burhanpur at Burhanpur. So, starting from Bengal one could go as far as Burhanpur and then follow the old route to Agra.

Ralph Fitch took this route and returned from Agra to a place Tanda near his starting place. The whole journey took him five months. His route was : "Masulipatan—Bengala—Bellapore—Barrampore (Burhanpore)—Mandoa—Ujjain—Gwalior—Agra—Prague (Allahabad)—Bannaras—Patenaw (Patna)—Tanda."[1]

There was another route from Agra to Oudh (Ajodya, Fyzabad, etc.) which would lead back to Agra by a different route : Agra—Kanauj—Lucknow—Ajodhya—Fyzabad—Jaunpore—Allahabad (here it would meet the Agra-Bengal route)—Etawah—Agra. So we see that Agra in the days of the Moguls was well-served with routes. It was the converging centre for all routes from the important centres of the Mogul Empire, and routes from Agra used to go to Kabul, Kandahar, Persia and other important places via Lahore or Multan.

The route from Bengal to Lahore and even beyond Lahore to Peshawar was constructed by Sher Shah. He built caravanserais and planted trees on the sides of the road which is called by the name of the Grand Trunk Road to-day.

There is a detailed description of Akbar's journey from Agra to Ajmere which route, if followed, leads to Surat :

1. Mandhaker (Sikandra) ; 2. Fatehpur ; 3. Passed Khanwa and halted near Juna ; 4. Karsha ; 5. Basawar ; 6. Toda ; 7. Kalawali ; 8. Kharandi ; 9. Disa ; 10. Hansamahal ; 11. Sauganir ; 12. Neota ; 13. Jhak near Inmzzabad ; 14. Sakhnu (Sukoon) in the maps) ; 15. Kajbil ; and 16. the holy dwelling of the *Khwaja* (saint) in Ajmer. Akbar's practice was to have the roads measured when he was travelling and wherever he used to halt, he would have a well dug and an inn constructed. He used to issue orders for the planting of trees on both sides of the road. Before Akbar's reign measurements were made by a hempen rope which was much affected by humidity. Akbar replaced the hempen rope in 1575 by a *jarib* of bamboo joined by iron rings. (A *jarib* is equivalent to sixty *guz*).

On 24th May, 1565 A.D. Akbar crossed the Jumna, and reached Kanauj. He crossed the Ganges and reached Lucknow, to chastise Iskandar Khan who had raised the standard of revolt against Akbar. Akbar's expedition to Kashmir is important as showing the route he took :

1) "Purchas His Pilgrims" Vol. X., pp. 172-181.

Lahore—Shahdra—Aminabad—Talwandi—Gunakor—Dikri —Jaipur Kheri (near the pass of Bhimbhar) via the defile of Ghatibadu—Rajauri—Pir Panjal[1] route Rajauri—Laha—Thana at the foot of the defile of Ratan Panjal. He crossed the Ratan Panjal pass and arrived at Behramgalla). From Behramgalla to Pushiana and across the valley of Dund near the pass of Natti Berari which was crossed and His Majesty halted in Hirapur. From Hirapur to Kusu—Khanpur—Srinagar (Capital of Kashmir). In this expedition, there were three thousand stone-cutters, mountain-miners, and splitters of rocks ; and two thousand *beldars* (diggers) employed to level the ups and downs of the road.

Akbar went to Afghanistan by crossing the bridge below Attock and halted near the *Sarai* of Khairabad. From there he went to Gorkhatra, then to Khwaja Yakut-Serai, then to Safed Sang and then to Kabul. Besides this Khaibar Pass route from Kabul to Peshawar, there were two more routes known as the Bolon Pass route and the Gomal Pass route. The Bolon Pass route collected the trade both of Kandahar and Khelat and sent it to Shikarpur in Sind, and the Gomal Pass route led from Ghazni to Dera Ismail Khan.

"The Punjab also conducts a considerable business via Kashmir with Ladakh, Yarkand, and Kashgar. Amritsar and Jalundhar are important centres from which the route runs northwards past Kangra and Palanpur to Leh."[2]

There was a route from Patna through Champaran District to Khatmandu (capital of Nepal), and there was also a route to Khatmandu from Benares of which no mention has been made by contemporary writers. The present route to Khatmandu from Raxaul near Gorakhpore did not exist on account of the dense *Terai* (submontane) forests which could not be cleared in those days. So we see that the routes in Northern India were adequate for those times. East, West, and North were well linked. There were also routes in Southern India which were connected with these routes : Agra—Golconda via Burhanpur and Daulatabad ; Golconda to Surat via Goa and Bijapur ; and the route connecting Golconda to Masulipatam which we shall study under Jehangir.

These routes on the other side of the Vindhyas were not important under Akbar's rule, for the Deccan did not form part

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1) Pir Panjal is 11,400 ft. high and its proper spelling is Pir Pantsal.
2) "The Indian Empire" by Sir W. W. Hunter, p. 556.

of Akbar's Empire. He was directing his attention to the Deccan when 'the dark angel' removed him from this planet.

We will now turn our attention to routes outside India which connected India with the outside world mentioning also the routes taken by famous travellers in India during Akbar's time.

The journey of the Blessed Rudolph from Surat to Fatehpur-Sikri as described in "The First Christian Mission to the Great Mogul" by F. Goldie began in November 1579 A.D. when they left Goa for Fatehpur-Sikri. The route that they (the members of the party) took was as follows :

On Friday the 15th January 1580 A.D. they left Surat by Kukarmunda—Sindwa—Surna—Mandogarl—Ujjain (5th of Feb.)—Sironj (15th Feb.)—Narwar—Fatehpur-Sikri which they reached on 28th of February 1580, that is to say, the journey took forty-five days from Surat to Fatehpur-Sikri. The route was via Burhanpur, only new names being stressed.

Ralph Fitch (1582-91 A.D.) describes a route from Tripolis in Syria to Aleppo, down the Euphrates and the Tigris to Ormuz, and from Ormuz to Chaul (a port near Bombay). His other routes in India have been already described.

John Milden Hall's (1599-1606 A.D.) route was from London to Kandahar. The description of this overland route is important as it has been described in detail by him.

"London—Zante—Cio (Scio)—Smyrna—Constantinople—Scanderone (Alexandretta) in Asia—Aleppo (overland)—Bir—Urfa—Caraemit (Diarbekr)—Bitelio—Yan—Nacshin—Chiulfal (Julfa)—Sultania—Casbin (Kazvin) in Persia—Com (Kum)—Cashan—Yesd—Curman—Sigistan (the old name of Seistan in Eastern Persia)—Candhar—Multan—Agra."[1] The common route from the West to the East was from Venice to Aleppo, then to Ormuz, and then to Surat. This was the route taken by Master Caesar Frederiki in 1563 A.D. who went from Ormuz to Goa.

Inland navigation was confined to the Ganges and the Indus. Boats from Bengal used to come to Benares and Allahabad, and traffic in the various tributaries of the Ganges was very great. The Brahmaputra and the Irrawadi were outside the Empire of the Moguls and therefore were not utilised by them. The Jumna river was also navigable. The Indus was not a reliable river

1) "Early Travels in India" (1583-1619 A.D.) by Foster, p. 53.

for it was (and is) subject to floods and yet traffic in it was also great. South Indian streams on account of their mighty torrents during the rainy season were not suited to transportation. Moreover, Akbar had not much to gain by developing them as they were not essential for his Empire. Bengal rivers required no attention as the three Nadiya rivers (the Bhagirathi, the Jalangi, and the Matabhangi) were offshoots of the Ganges which make up the headwaters of the Hugli. Inland navigation was much developed by the Moguls and was entirely in the hands of Indians—Hindus and Mohammedans. To-day it is of no importance in the economic life of the country, for, it has been killed by a deliberate policy of promoting the growth of subsidised railways at the cost of inland navigation! India being an essentially agricultural country needs cheap freight for the transport of its low-value high-volume agricultural products. Therefore, the development of inland navigation is a prime necessity. But the vested interests of the Railway magnates on the one hand and the military utility of the railways for the Government of India on the other have sounded the death-knell of inland navigation in India!!!

Transport System.

We have already laid stress on there being no metalled roads. Transport was either by boats or bullock-carts or men or horses, camels, elephants, and mules. The rivers in Northern India, as we have seen, were well suited to boat transport, and men and commodities were transported from one place to the other in this way.

Bullock-carts were also used for transporting heavy baggage. A special make of carts, called *Raths*, to which were attached a pair of oxen of special breed, was used for passenger traffic. They used to travel faster than an ordinary horse and were far more comfortable.

Generally, men used to go on horses and their luggage was carried by men (coolies) or by pack-horses. Camels were a necessity in crossing sandy areas like Sind or the frontier. These 'Ships of the desert' were also used in the fertile level plains of Oudh. Ladies and grandees used to travel in palanquins, but it was very costly in money and in time. Elephants were reserved for the King, his relations and his friends. Nobody could either afford to ride on elephants nor would risk public opprobrium by doing so even if he could afford it.

"Akbar established posts throughout his dominions, having two horses and a set of footmen stationed at every five *coss*[1] (the *Dak Chowky*). They are employed to convey letters on ordinary business, or expresses to and from Court. The footmen will travel fifty *coss* within the twenty-four hours; so that a letter comes from Agra to Ahmedabad in five days. The distance cannot be less than five hundred miles, and the rate exceeds that of our best regulated posts in India. Four thousand runners were in permanent pay, some of whom, on extraordinary occasions (where there were no posts), have performed a journey of seven hundred *coss* in ten days. Fourteen hundred miles, in ten days, with post horses."[2]

The routes and the transports were adequate for the needs of the people and the Government in those days. But travelling was not safe. This was not of much importance to the King, because whenever he travelled he would have all the Court paraphernalia with him. Thousands and thousands of people would be in his entourage. A writer says, "Akbar's Court, even when quartered in a city, was a camp, and his camp was a travelling city."[3] But not so was it with the people. They waited till they could form a caravan and then they would move out, else there was danger not only to property, but to life as well. This delay and irregularity in forming a caravan much hampered the free movement of goods and persons. There are innumerable instances of these caravans being looted and destroyed. Large numbers of people and animals moving in one direction suffered considerably from scarcity of food and fodder on the way. Life was not safe on the roads, so people would not move singly. The Mogul officials, instead of helping these people, would molest them a good deal till they were given *haq* (illegal dues).

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1) "Akbar fixed the *coss* at.....400 poles, each pole of 12½ *gaz* or 5000 *gaz* to the coss....."Whenever His Majesty travels, the distances are recorded in pole measurements by careful surveyors, and their calculations are audited by the Superintendent and inspector." "Ain-i-Akbari" translated by Jarret Vol. II pp. 414-415.

2) "History of the Rise of the Mohammedan Power in India" by John Briggs, (Vol. II).

3) "Akbar the Great Mogul" by V. A. Smith, p. 357.

CHAPTER III.

LAND POLICY.

Every inch of land in the Empire belonged to the King. Any grant of land that he made would be a life grant. And even within that period he could take away land whenever he wanted. At the death of the landholder, the land would, *ipso facto,* revert to the Crown. His children might or might not get the land, as the King wielded absolute authority. Therefore, there was no permanent *zemindari* (hereditary Landlordism) under the Moguls. The system of tenure was the *Ryotwari* of to-day, that is to say, peasants were the tenants of the Crown. They were tenants-at-will.

To sum up : All the land was vested in the King. He could give and take back land whenever he liked. Vested interest in land, therefore, could not arise.

Under the Moslem law, one-fifth of the gross produce was the King's share, but the Moguls took one-third. They put their own interpretation on the law, just as Akbar put his own interpretation on the Quranic law regarding marriage which limits the number of legal wives to four. The law runs as follows : "Marry whatever women you like, two and two, and three and three, and four and four" (Quran IV. 3). Akbar said that that fixed the limit at nine. The *Qazi* did not accept his interpretation. Then Akbar called him and shouted at the top of his voice in the full *Durbar* (court), "Do you then declare that my wives are *harams* (illegal)?" He naively replied, "The rule in dispute does not apply to the King." Akbar was very well pleased with the *Qazi* and handsomely rewarded him.

This illustrates a very important point, namely, that the will of the King was the only will. *Vox populi* had no significance then. The 'Divine Right' theory was in absolute authority. In assessing the cultivators, the principle that was kept in view was : Exact from the peasant the last *dam* that he can pay : Leave for him just enough to exist and not to live.

There was no idea of rent in those days and even if there were, the idea would not have been put into practice. The Crown demand on land was, therefore, a tax levied on the theory of 'what the peasant can bear.'

Akbar, endowed with more humanitarian feelings than his successors, tried to improve the lot of the starving peasants and, thanks to Sher Shah, he had enough knowledge to introduce a more scientific land policy. Not only did Akbar possess the material, but he also had in his service that able financier Raja Todar Mall who had formulated many new benevolent policies under Sher Shah. The loyalty and disinterestedness with which Raja Todar Mall worked the financial departments of Akbar was unique. His farsightedness not only brought relief to the toiling millions but secured for Akbar the title of the Great. Unfortunately, Akbar's successors, imbued with lust and sectarian feelings, deviated from the true path marked out by Raja Todar Mall, and the House of the Mogul collapsed in 1707 A.D. What greater tribute can be paid to Raja Todar Mall than the adoption of his Land Policy in 1926 A.D. by the British Government in India?

Land Policy.

The revenue payments in the Empire were set by the *Zabt* (the regulation system of assessment of Raja Todar Mall) which fixed cash rates and took one-third gross produce as the share of the Crown. The charge was on cultivation and not on occupation. Akbar laid stress on the officials being paid in cash and dealing directly with the individual peasant cultivators. He was against 'go-betweens' and insisted on the offering of more stable terms to the peasants as regards their holdings.

He issued orders to the Collectors of Revenues as follows: "He must consider himself the immediate friend of the husbandman; he must not require any intermediary; he must assist the needy husbandman with loans of money, and receive payment at distant and convenient periods; he must reward skilful management; let him see that his demands do not exceed his agreements; let him collect the revenue with kindness; vexatious taxes must not be exacted."[1]

These collectors of revenues were called *Amils* or *Kroris,* for each of them was in charge of collecting a *Kror* of *dams* (ten million *dams* equal £25,000, and he used to get for this work of collection eight per cent. i.e. £2,000 in Akbar's time.

Akbar abolished the *Hijra* era as it was unfair to the peasantry, because thirty-one lunar years were equal to thirty solar years, and the revenue was taken on the lunar years, whereas the harvest depended on the solar. Therefore, he based the

1) "The Mogul Emperors of Hindustan" by E. S. Holden, p. 153.

payment of revenue on solar years called the *Ilahi* era. Akbar was also engaged in "the composing of the distractions connected with the *Sayurghals* (rent-free lands). The just lord of the earth ordered that the *Aima* lands should not be mixed up with the exchequer and jagir lands. He also abolished plurality of posts and assigned to each in a particular place his *tankhwah* (pension). Able men were appointed to every province and *Sarkar* and made justice resplendent." [1]

Akbar was a great worshipper of the Sun—'adoring Him the Timeless in the flame that measures Time'—and that may have been one of the cogent reasons for fixing the *Ilahi* era.

Settlement operations on Land.

The settlement was based on measurement, classification, and fixation of rates. The measurement was a *Tanab, Jarib,* or chain which was equal to sixty *gaz* (yard) and the unit to which land was referred was a *Bigha* which was equal to three thousand six hundred square yards.

As to classification, land was divided into four classes :

(1) *Polaj*—Land continually cultivated ; (2) *Paraunti*—Land left fallow for a year or two to recover its strength ; (3) *Chachar*—Land that has lain fallow for three or four years ; and (4) *Banjar* —Land uncultivated for five years or more (Barren land).

Fixation of Rates.

Each of the classes (1) to (3) was sub-divided into three grades and the average determined. Only one-third of the gross produce was taken in cash by the King. *Chachar* and *Banjar* lands were progressively taxed so that in the fifth year they used to pay their full quota.

To amplify what has been said above, a summary of Raja Todar Mall's regulations (*Jasle*) from "Akbar Nama of Abu-l-Fazl" translated by H. Beveridge, I.C.S., (Vol. III, pages 561-566) is given below : 1. The collectors (*amalguzeran*) of the crown-lands (*Khalsa*) and the *Jagirdars* (those to whom land has been granted) should collect the rents and taxes in accordance with the code (*dastur-al-amal*). They should keep in view the reimbursement of suppliants and the punishment of extortioners. 2. The collectors of the crown-lands had two clerks (*bitikci*)—a *karkun* and *khasnavis*. Both were in league with the village

1) "The Akbar Nama of Abu-l-Fazl" translated by H. Beveridge, I.C.S. (Vol. III), p. 343.

headman (*Katantaran*). Only one responsible man in place of these two should be appointed. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8. Cultivable land should be measured once for all. Land lain fallow for four years should be charged one-half of the stipulated rent for the first year, three-fourths in the second, and full in the third year. Land lain fallow for two years should be given an allowance of one-fourth rent for the first year. As regards uncultivated lands a small amount of grain should be retained.

For advances made, security must be taken. Reports about the collections should be submitted annually to His Majesty. Let measuring-parties measure crops when standing. When fields suffer from either scarcity or abundance of water, then two and half *biswas* should be left out of account, and in jungle and sandy tracts as much as three *biswas*. Abstracts of accounts (*siaha-i-Zabta*) should be sent in weekly, and the daily journal of collections month by month to the Head office. A list of damaged lands should be sent to Court so that orders may be passed concerning them. Dwellers in ravines should be brought to their senses. The *Patwari* should see that the rents reach the treasury in due time. 9. The treasurer should receive *Muhrs* (gold coins), *rupis*, and *dams* bearing the name of Akbar at the following rates: *L'al Jalali* of full weight and fineness equals to 400 *dams*; the square *rupi* equals to 40 *dams*. Deficient coins had different fixed rates. On this system the new territory of Kashmir was also assessed. In India, as we have seen, the land unit was a *bigha*. In Kashmir, land unit was a *patta* ($2\frac{1}{2}$ *pattas* equals one *bigha*). One-third of the gross-produce was taken by the government in cash.

This system of *Zabti* was not uniformly applied. In some parts 'summary assessments' based on summary estimates prevailed and in others distribution of the gross produce in kind was the rule. But attempts which were very successful in Akbar's reign were made to introduce the *Zabti* system in all the Crown lands.

To sum up: "A fixed standard of mensuration having been adopted, the land was surveyed. It was then classified, according as it was waste, fallow, or under crop. The last class was taken as the basis of assessment, that which produced cereals, vetches, or oil-seeds being assessed to pay one-third of the average gross produce to the State, the other two-thirds being left to the cultivators. It is very noticeable that Akbar added to his policy of union the equally important policy of continuity of system. The needy husbandman was furnished with advances, re-

payable on easy terms. The assessments when once made were assessed for nineteen years ; and after the twenty-fourth year of the reign, the aggregate collections of the past ten years having been added together and divided by ten, the future collections were made on the basis of this decennial average.

"Care was taken to provide an easy means of complaint when undue collections were exacted and to punish severely the guilty exactors. The cultivators were to be made responsible, jointly as well as severally ; the cultivators of fallow land were to be favoured for two years ; advances of seed and money were to be made when necessary, arrears being remitted in the case of small holdings. Collectors were to make yearly reports on the conduct of their subordinates. Monthly returns were to be transmitted to the imperial exchequer. Special reports were to be sent up of any special calamities, hail, flood, or drought. The collectors were to see that the farmers got receipts for their payments, which were to be remitted four times in the year ; at the end of that period no balance should be outstanding. Payments were, if possible, to be voluntary, but the standing crops were theoretically hypothecated, and, where needful, were to be attached. Above all, there was to be an accurate and minute record of each man's holding and liabilities." [1]

The land policy of Akbar was essentially a sound economic policy borrowed from Sher Shah and applied in his Empire by Raja Todar Mall irrespective of caste, colour, or creed.

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1) "Mediaeval India under Mohammedan Rule" by Stanley Lane-Poole, pp. 263-4.

CHAPTER IV.

LABOUR AVAILABILITY AND ITS DISTRIBUTION.

Under the Moguls (Akbar was no exception) a labourer had no free will of his own. There was no difference between him and the commodities he produced. When ordered to move, he must move ; and when ordered to stay, he must stay. As to the work he might be called upon to do, whatsoever the nature of the work might be, he had to do it. Remuneration was on the good old principle of *'giving as much to the labourer as would enable him to do the work and to keep him alive.'* It may be thought the conditions of labour were no better than slavery. Far from it. There was a distinct and separate class of slaves of which we get frequent mentions in the *Ain-i-Akbari, Bernier's Travels,* etc. The difference between the two was this : Labourers could not be sold while slaves could be mortgaged and sold as if they were a part of the movable property. Otherwise, the conditions of work and existence were the same. If there was any highly skilled worker of repute, a master craftsman, he would immediately be monopolised by the King. He would be moved to the Government workshop as the State was the biggest *entrepreneur* in those days. Factories and capitalists, as we understand the terms to-day, are of recent growth for they were then merged in the State. A few capitalists here and there used to carry on the banking business which consisted of lending and transmitting of money only, but they were closely watched and supervised by the State.

There was, therefore, no problem of capital *versus* labour ; but one of the highly centralised autocratic state, on the one hand, and the extremely large and ungrouped labourers, on the other, who had nothing to fall back on but the crumbs that would be thrown to them from the *dastar-khan* (the cloth on which the higher class of people ate their food) of 'those in power.'

Division of People under Akbar.

The whole of society was split up into three classes.

The first class was composed of the *Mansabdars* (officials), the courtiers and favourites, with the king at the apex. This class lived in magnificent splendour by spending the hard-gotten money of the other two classes. Their motto was 'Live beyond your income.' They were veritable parasites devouring what the others produced—vampires sucking the life-blood of the nation.

The second class was a small class of men who were engaged in trade and manufactures. Their sole anxiety was to be in the good books of the officials. They had always to pose as poor, else they would be devoured by "the sharks" at the imperial court.

The third class formed the bulk of the population. They were numerically far greater than the first and second classes combined, but they had no power and no position. They existed in order to be exploited by the men in the first group. The function of the second group was to act as a transmitting agency—receiving from the third group and passing it on, with some of their money added to it, to the first group.

The splendour of the Mogul Court was based on the ruin of the Nation. Labour availability was, therefore, very great. A large starving population is the best recruiting ground for labour, and all that was needed for a man in need of labour was to have power, not money. This was one of the reasons why people scrambled for appointments round the throne, which were not difficult to secure if only one knew where to pull strings and when.

"In fact, there were for all grades, except the very lowest, only two modes of obtaining support from State funds : a man must either enter its active service, as the holder of a *mansab,* or he must petition for a *madad-i-muash* (literally, "help to live"), on the ground of being a student of the holy books, an attendant on a mosque (*mutawalli* or *khadim*), a man of learning and religious life (*darvesh*), a local judge (*Qazi*), or an expounder of the Mahommedan law (*mufti*)"[1]

There was, in fact, no other way of getting a job but by getting hold of a man who would introduce you to the proper people and would stand as your security. There were no other departments to absorb even well-trained men.

There were no lawyers, and no professional teachers, as education in those days meant the cramming and the parrot-like repetition of the *Quran,* no journalists or politicians and no engi-

1) "The Army of the Indian Moguls" by William Irvine, p. 3.

neers. There was not any money available for productive enterprise because of two facts : one, the dominant care of the upper class was the consumption and hoarding of gold, silver, pearls, diamonds, etc., and, two, the uncertainty of reaping where one has sowed. The labour market was composed of labourers (as discussed above) and of slaves. Slavery was the order of the day. Akbar's promulgation of order on this subject we have already studied, but what he really succeeded in achieving was only a change in name, for slavery during Akbar's reign flourished to a great extent. His freeing the slaves by not calling them *Gulam* (slaves) but calling them *Chelas* (disciples) did not in the least improve the lot of *Chelas*. In the decree of Akbar of 1594 A.D. it was laid down that, "A father or a mother might, if forced by hunger and extreme misery, sell their child, and afterwards when they had the means to pay, might buy it back again from servitude."[1]

Akbar realised the extremes to which a man may be forced and instead of trying to remove the causes (which affected his Empire and incidentally his claim to greatness) responsible for several famines during his reign when cannibalism was practised near his capital, he naively suggests hypothecation of children ! ! ! It is wrong to say that famines in India are the result of 'the Drain Policy' of the British. Prior to their coming, India was subject to famines and the rulers introduced famine measures like *Langar Khana* (free supply of food), indiscriminate charities, etc. But these were not effective as they were not based on any economic principle. There is, however, a difference between the famines of those days and the famines of these. The famines of those days were localised in nature—confined to one particular area on account of the defective transportation and communication machinery of the Government. Only the area where famine prevailed suffered. The rest of the empire was unaffected. Even if a man were rich, he would have to struggle on with the others on account of the shortage of food-stuffs. He might die if there were no food available though he might be worth millions. Regarding a severe famine in the beginning of Akbar's reign it is said, ".....and there was a terrible famine in many parts, and especially in the province of Delhi. Though they were finding signs of gold, they could see no trace of grain. Men took to eating one another, some would join together and carry off a solitary man, and make him their food."[2]

1) "Muntakhabu-Tawarikh" by Al-Badayuni (Vol. II), p. 404.

2) "Akbarnama" by H. Beveridge, I.C.S., (Vol. II), p. 57.

The famines of to-day are world-wide in their effect. A famine in India hits not only the whole country but the whole world. And it is impossible for a rich man to die because food is not available locally. He can get wheat from Australia or Canada in an aeroplane by sending a cable to traders there. Famines in the past were food-famines. The famines of to-day are money-famines, scarcity of purchasing power. But, whatever defence we may make of famines to-day, one thing is certain, that they are a blot on the administration of India. Thousands dying on account of food-shortage or money-shortage in an extremely fertile country like India does not reflect any credit on the Government which manages the affairs in India. Famines can be ended by mending the conditions which are responsible for them, but never by "passing the buck to and fro", as Mr. Ford would say. Just as we have studied famines from a comparative standpoint, so it would be worth while to study slavery as well. Mr. Moreland makes a sweeping assertion when he says, "The disappearance of slavery may fairly be described as recent; until the passing of Act V. of 1843 the British Courts in India were occupied in deciding this question. Even at that time slavery prevailed more or less throughout the presidencies of Bengal, Bombay, and Madras."[1]

The Courts in India are occupied to-day in deciding the question of the sales of minor boys and girls. From the interior of Kumaon Division, these minor boys and girls are collected in a bunch and sold, mostly in the Punjab market. There is a traffic in human beings in the Simla Hill States and also among the Tharus (wild tribe) in the Eastern parts of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. Forced labour or *Begar* prevails in many parts of British-administered districts in India. Almora, a highly advanced city in learning and culture, only ended this evil system of *Begar* in 1920 A.D. The condition of the workers in the tea estates and coffee plantations of Assam and Nilgiri is on a par with those of slaves. The indentured labour system which sent ship-loads of men to Java, Fiji, Africa, etc. was nothing less than slavery. Fortunately, it has been ended now, but only a few years ago this traffic in human flesh was a lucrative trade for a good many. Much has been done, but much more remains to be accomplished. A Lincoln can only save the present world by teaching the relation that should exist between man and man. *A half-slave and half free humanity is doomed to destruction.*

1) "India at the Death of Akbar" by Moreland, p. 90.

Payment to Labour in Akbar's Time.

All wages were fixed at a minimum schedule rate. The normal rate for an unskilled labourer was two *dams* (40 *dams* equal to one rupee and ten such rupees equal to a pound sterling in Akbar's time. So the unskilled labourers used to get 2/400 or 1/200 of a pound sterling per day); while a first class carpenter got seven *dams* per day. The money wages appear to amount to nothing, but money in those days had far greater purchasing power than the money of to-day. Even two *dams* were of greater value in those days than the six annas (1/40 of a pound sterling, approximately) which an unskilled labourer earns to-day in Northern India. A comparative study is attempted below in order to emphasize clearly the great differences between money-wages and real wages in Akbar's time and money-wages and real-wages to-day.

ARTICLE	Price per maund of 55½ lb. avoir. in *dams*. (40 *dams*—one rupee).		Obtainable by unskilled labourer @ 2 *dams*	
			lb.	oz.
Wheat	12	(= 194¼ lbs. per rupee of 40 dams)	9	4
Barley	8	(= 277½ ,, ,, ,,	13	14
Rice, best	110	(= 20¾ ,, ,, ,,	1	0
,, worst	20	(= 111 ,, ,, ,,	5	9
Mung pulse	18	(= 37 ,, ,, ,,	6	3
Mash ,,	16	(= 138¾ ,, ,, ,,	6	15
Moth ,,	12	(= 194¼ ,, ,, ,,	9	4
Gram or Chick pea	16½	(= 134¼ ,, ,, ,,	6	2
Juwar Millet	10	(= 222 ,, ,, ,,	11	2 (nearly)
White Sugar	128	(= 17⅜ ,, ,, ,,	0	14 (,,)
Brown ,,	56	(= 39½ ,, ,, ,,	2	0 (,,)
Ghi or Clarified butter	105	(= 21¼ ,, ,, ,,	1	1
Sesamum oil	80	(= 27¾ ,, ,, ,,	1	6
Salt	16	(= 138¾ ,, ,, ,,	6	15 *

N. B. Above quotation is at average prices in normal years.

* "Akbar the Great Mogul" by V. A. Smith, p. 390.

Approximate prices in 1926 of some of the commodities used by the labourers in India to-day are given below :

ARTICLE	Price per rupee in lbs. avoir.	Obtainable by unskilled labourer @ 6 annas (=15 dams)	
		lbs.	oz. (approx.)
Wheat	10	4	
Barley	20	8	
Rice, best	4	1	10
,, worst	8	3	
Mash pulse	6	2	8
Gram	18	7	8
Juwar Millet	22	9	
White sugar	6	2	10
Brown ,,	10	4	
Ghi	1	0	6
Sesamum oil	4	1	8
Salt	16	6	

Assuming that a labourer had to support himself, his wife and four children—a family of six, he could do much better on two *dams* a day in Mogul times than on six annas a day to-day. A family of six requires four pounds of Millet, a pound of *mash* (pulse), one quarter of a pound of oil, and a little salt. In India, labourers in Akbar's time thanked their stars if they could get one meal a day. Even to-day the same is the case. We represent below their consumption in tabular form :

ARTICLES	Quantity (lb.)	Price (Akbar's time)	Price (to-day)
Millet	4	$\frac{3}{4}$ *dam*	0-3-0 approx.
Mash	1	$\frac{1}{3}$,, approx.	0-2-0 ,,
Oil	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{2}$,, ,,	0-1-0 ,,

The labourer in Akbar's time had a surplus of half *dam* to be spent on salt, fuel and other things, while the labourer of to-day has no margin even for necessaries like salt, fuel, etc. There is one factor more that must be taken into consideration, namely, that the labourer in Akbar's time could neither smoke on account of tobacco having been newly introduced and, therefore confined to the upper classes as a novelty, nor could he drink on account of State prohibition and social pressure which exercised strong control over people in those days. The labourer of to-day must smoke and in good many cases must drink and gamble because he has a vision of high living! Labour, having no free will in

Akbar's time, could be dominated by high class people and forced to do work. As for payment, it was merely a question of convenience. If he (the employer) liked to pay, he would pay, otherwise he would have them beaten and turned out. But generally the workman got paid if he did not go out of his way to irritate his employer, who was the sole master against whom there was no appeal.

Labour Distribution.

There were no Trades Unions to study the demand for labour and move labour from one district to the other. There was very little safety to life on the King's highways and so there was little movement. Moreover, there was no concentration of demand for labour at one particular place as there is to-day in Bombay, Calcutta, Cawnpore, etc. The manufacturers were all on the artisan level, and for them family life sufficed. The biggest demand always came from the State, and the King by his *firman* (order) could collect any number of men he liked. There was no limit to his massing of labourers, save the number of people in his Empire.

There was always a movement of labour towards the capital because the demand for labour in the capital was insatiable. Not that labour was required for any productive purpose; it was simply needed to enhance the reputation of the employer. The greater the number of servants one kept in India, the greater the prestige. Probably on this ground, the Britishers who go to India engage from twelve to twenty servants in order to enable them to pass the days of exile—voluntarily entered into. Truly does Moreland depict the conditions of weavers and peasants under the Moguls in the following words: "Weavers, naked themselves, toiled to clothe others. Peasants, themselves hungry, toiled to feed the towns and cities."[1] But, unfortunately, it is a picture of to-day as well. The number of towns and cities was small under the Moguls as compared to the number of to-day. The increasing number of cities spells disaster to the villages. Weavers without clothes, peasants without food—can any man paint a picture of desolation more tragic than this?

Groping in the dark, crawling when they ought to have been running, lisping when they ought to have been speaking—is it any wonder that these manufacturers of necessaries should starve so that cities might wallow in luxury?

1) "From Akbar to Aurangzeb" by Moreland, pp. 304-5.

APPENDIX—B.

(Akbar's idea about population)

".....a musician named Godai was brought before His Majesty and it appeared that he has twenty-five children from one wife. Apropos of this His Majesty said, "A Biluci had twenty children from one wife and he came to the Court and petitioned saying, and people say this chaste matron has become forbidden to me (*haram* : illegal) on account of the numerous births. 'What remedy have I, and what cure is there for my wretchedness?' We bade him be comforted and observed that such a saying had not the appearance of truth. Wicked story-tellers must have invented it. If any matrimony produced such a good result (as so large a progeny) it was an honour to the parties, and not a case for abstension (*hurmat*). Let him then go on to display his own virility, and the fertility of his spouse."[1]

1) "The Akbar Nama of Abu-l-Fazl" translated by H. Beveridge, I.C.S. (Vol. III), p. 378.

CHAPTER V.

CAPITAL ORGANISATION: CURRENCY AND ITS REGULATION,

KOTHEES, HUNDEES.

Capital organisation, as we understand the term to-day, did not exist then. There were no Joint-Stock Companies for there was no need of them. Manufactures were on the artisan or agricultural level and people had no need for the mammoth pooling of their financial resources.

Moreover, people did not know the art of making money "breed", and they either spent it or hoarded it unproductively. Those who traded in money generally practised usury. The King was the sole banker. He advanced big loans and financed industries. As he would not deal in small sums and as he would give money only to those whom he liked, so a need for other institutions which would take up small businesses, issue *hundees* (bills), and exchange old coins for new coins at a fixed discount was keenly felt. The latter part of the business, namely, the exchange of old coins for new was also done by the King. The King's business was confined to the Capital. In other places, he would deal only through his governors.

A few banking houses came into existence in order to take up those businesses which the King would not do. They were immediately pounced upon by the officials who put an end to their business. They pleased these officials and approached the Emperor who, after consulting his officers, allowed them to carry on their business within certain limits. The limits imposed were three :

(1) They should not compete with the State.
(2) They should always consult the King's officials if they intended introducing any new business ; and
(3) The rates fixed by the King would be observed by them, that is to say, rates determined by the laws of supply and demand would be ignored and only the King's rates would determine the market tone.

The kinds of business that fell to their lot were :

(a) That kind of money-lending which King would not do.

(b) Exchanging old coins for new coins at a certain discount fixed by the King;

and (c) Issuing and discounting of *Hundees* at rates sanctioned by the King.

For depositing money, a certain rate of interest was charged from the depositor.

These banking houses were called *Kothees* and the men engaged there were called *Sharrafs* (Shroffs) who had to work under the orders of *Muneemjee* (agent of the financier). These *Kothees* opened branches in different parts of the Empire. Mostly, the branches were opened in those parts where they had other businesses as well. For example, a man dealing in indigo would have a branch in Sarkhej (Gujarat) which would tap the business in the West, another at Lahore if he were engaged in the overland trade of indigo, and his headquarters would be at Agra in order to give him all the facilities that the capital in those days gave and also to enable him to tap the Biana (near Agra) indigo. If he were interested in the Bengal trade, he would have a branch in Patna or in Satgeon (near Dacca).

The expanding indigo trade used to bring in a large profit and that was why the indigo men added another lucrative business of Banking to their already flourishing business. Later on, the banking houses and the indigo houses were called by the name *Neel* (indigo) *Kothees* (houses).

Very rarely does one find any particular house doing only the banking business and no other. Some of the *Kothees* failed. Putting up a red flag outside a *Kothee* was a sign of failure, some of the *Kothees* were worsted in competition and were swallowed up by bigger *Kothees;* so at the end there were one or two powerful *Kothees* which carried on a flourishing business by 'greasing the palms' (bribing) of the officials and by squeezing their clients.

Such, in short, is the history of banking under Akbar.

Currency and its Regulation. Before Akbar, Sher Shah was the man who saw the advantages of a stable currency and he, with the help of his far-sighted financier Raja Todar Mall, stabilised the currency of his time. Akbar merely followed in his footsteps and was fortunate in securing that able man Raja Todar Mall who reformed his currency and stabilised it.

"Akbar brought his coins to a fixed standard of purity and improved their shape. They were weighed against standard agate weights. One of them bore for a legend : The best coin

is that which is employed in supplying men with the necessaries of life, and which benefits the companions in the road of God."[1]

Currency.

"The coins in regular use were silver and copper. Gold coins were also struck but were rarely found in circulation. The chief silver coin was the rupee of 172.5 grains; the chief copper coin was the *dam,* and in each case there were subsidiary coins, the smallest silver piece being one-twentieth of a rupee, and the smallest copper being one-eighth of a *dam.* The copper coins were not as now tokens (40 *dams* equal to one rupee). "Even the smallest copper coin (the *damri* or one-eighth *dam* or one-three hundred-and-twentieth of a rupee) did not suffice for the detailed items of the Imperial accounts or for the small transactions of every day life. For the former purpose, the *dam* was subdivided on paper into twenty-five *jitals* so that the accounts could be kept to the one-thousandth part of a rupee : for the latter cowries were used."[2]

Another writer, speaking of the *dam,* says, "The *dam* or *paisa* was a massive copper coin weighing normally 323.5 grains. The normal relative value of copper to silver was 72.4 to 1 and, for purposes of accounts, forty of the copper *dams* equalled one silver rupee of 172.5 grains of pure silver. *Dams* were further subdivided into *jitels* which were not in circulation. Cowries formed the last coin."[3]

Cowries were in circulation in all the parts of India prior to the Great War (1914 A.D.). Seventy-two cowries were equal to one pice. But now they have gone out of circulation as the price equilibrium is at a higher level in these days.

Another coin which used to circulate was *Mahmudi* which was a silver coin equivalent to eleven pence. Akbar's rupee was equal to two shillings and three pence, and his gold mohur was equal to his ten rupees.

The *Ain-i-Akbari* (Pages 27 to 38) translated by H. Blochman gives a long schedule of gold, silver, and copper coins which

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1) "The Mogul Emperors of Hindustan" by E. S. Holden.

2) "India at the Death of Akbar" by Moreland, p. 56.

3) "Akbar, the Great Mogul" by V. A. Smith, p. 388.

circulated in Akbar's time. Most of them are of theoretical importance. Only a short summary is attempted below :

GOLD COINS

NAME	DESCRIPTION	VALUE
S'hansah	round coin	100 la'li Jalali *mohurs*
Rahas	square and round	
A'tmah	square and round	
Binsat	square and round	20 ,, ,,
Chugul	square form	2 ,, ,,
La'li Jalali	round	2 *Mohurs*
Aftabi	round	12 rupees
Ilahi	round	10 ,,
Adlgutkah	round	9 ,,
Mihrabi	round	9 ,,
etc.	etc.	etc.

The custom followed in the Imperial Mint was to coin *La'li Jalais* (equals 2 mohurs), *Dhans* (equals 1 mohur), and *Mans* (equals $\frac{1}{4}$ of the *Ilahi* or 2-8-0), each coin for the space of a month. The other gold coins were never stamped without special orders. It appears that Akbar was a great believer in the rotation of currency. What was the idea underlying his rotation of currency it is difficult to guess to-day.

As to silver coins, the rupee was round and weighed 11½ *mashes* and was equivalent to forty *dams*. The *Darb* was equivalent to half-rupee ; the *Charn* was equivalent to one-fourth of a rupee ; the *Pandau*, one-fifth ; the *Asht*, one-eighth ; the *Dasa*, one-tenth ; the *Kala*, one-sixteenth and the *Suki*, one-twentieth. Most of these coins were never coined, but were used only in calculation. Copper coins were important because they circulated a good deal. With the exception of the last (*Jital*), all copper coins were in circulation :

Dam	=	$\frac{1}{40}$ of a rupee
Adhelah	=	$\frac{1}{2}$ a *dam*
Paulah	=	$\frac{1}{4}$ of a *dam*
Damri	=	$\frac{1}{8}$ of a *dam*
(Jital)	=	$\frac{1}{25}$ of a *dam*

It appears very strange that the classification of copper coins has been borrowed *in toto* by the British from Akbar and applied in the country (India) to-day.

COPPER COINS IN INDIA TO-DAY

(Paisa)	*Pice*	= $\frac{1}{64}$ of a rupee
	Adhela	= $\frac{1}{2}$ a pice
	Paulahor	= $\frac{1}{4}$ of a pice
	Chadam	
	Damri	= $\frac{1}{8}$ of a pice

Chadam and *Damri* are expressed in cowries, but there is a copper coin called *Pie* which is equal to 1/3 of a pice, that is to say, the lowest copper coin in India which bears the King's stamp is worth 1/192 of a rupee or 1/2880 of a pound sterling!

'Akbar's Mint Reform.

"The *Dirhams* and *Dinars* which had been coined with the stamps of former Emperors were to be melted down and sold for their value in gold and silver, and no trace of them was to be left in the world. And all sorts of *Ashrafis* and Rupees, on which there was his own royal stamps whether old or new, should be set in circulation, and no difference of years was to be regarded. And Qulij Khan, being very diligent, every day sought at the bankers, and took bonds from them and inflicted fines on them, and many were put to death with various tortures. But for all that they would not desist from uttering counterfeit coins."[1]

In 1594 A.D. new decrees were promulgated. One of the decrees was: "The price of gold, silver and precious stuffs was to remain fixed, and they were to be bought at the imperial tariff. A fixed profit was to accrue to the imperial treasury."[2] This order was very effective because the King used to have the largest amount of precious metals and precious stones. Other people who had some of this precious stuff were afraid to bring it out lest it might find its way into the Imperial Treasury by devices well-known to the people in those days. So the King could control the money market by a mere *firman* (order).

The amount of wealth that Akbar left sounds fabulous. With that amount of wealth, he could easily force his will on the people without having recourse to other measures. "Akbar had never more than six thousand elephants at one time, nor had he ever less than five thousand during his whole reign. His other property has been thus estimated:

1) "Muntakhabu-Tawarikh" by Al-Badayuni (Vol. II). p. 393.
2) "Muntakhabu-Tawarikh" by Al-Badayuni (Vol. II), p. 404.

"Of *Allayees* (a golden coin), a sum equal to ten crore of rupees, besides one crore's worth of *allayees*, which he set aside for his private treasury.

"Ten maunds, full weight, (800 lbs.) of uncoined gold. Seventy maunds (5600 lbs.) of uncoined silver. Sixty maunds (4,800 lbs.) of uncoined copper ; besides one crore coined into *tankas*.

"Twelve thousand stable horses. One thousand camels and nearly one thousand *Yooz* (hunting leopards)."[1]

Another writer said that "Akbar left approximately forty million pounds sterling in coined money which would be equal to-day to two hundred million pounds sterling if we take the purchasing power as basis."[2]

There is nothing to wonder at in this. After meeting his great expenditure, Akbar was able to leave the huge fortune behind because of his many sources of income.

Akbar's Sources of Income.

"1. The King exacts enormous sums in tribute from the provinces of his empire ;

"2. He also derives much revenue from the hoarded fortunes of the great nobles, which by law and custom all come to the King on their owner's death. In addition, there are the spoils of conquered Kings and Chieftains, whose treasure is seized, and the great levies exacted, and gifts received, from the inhabitants of newly-subdued districts in every part of his dominions ;

"3. He also engages in trading on his own account, and thus increases his wealth to no small degree ; for he eagerly exploits every possible source of profit ;

"4. He allows no bankers or money-changers in his Empire except the superintendents and tellers of the royal treasuries. This enormous banking business brings the King great profit ; for at these royal treasures alone may gold coin be changed for silver or copper, and *vice versa*. The Government officers are paid in gold, silver, or copper according to their rank. Thus it comes about that those who are paid in one type of coin need to change some of it into another type ;

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1) "History of the Rise of Mahommedan Power in India" by John Briggs (Vol. II), pp. 281-82.

2) "Akbar the Great Mogul" by V. A. Smith.

and "5. There is law also that no horse may be sold without the King's knowledge or that of his agents. He allows auctions to be freely held, but buys up all the best horses for himself, without however interfering with the bidding, or taking offence if any one tries to outbid him." [1]

As regards the 2nd, namely 'the spoils of conquered Kings and chieftains," another writer says that by the sack of Hindu towns and places of worship, as well as the plunder obtained from the citadels of the infidels some of the Mohamedan Chiefs had made great fortunes. They were loth to part with it, and they grew so arrogant that Akbar, in order to cripple their power took away their ill-gotten wealth. A part of it he spent in restoring Hindu towns and places of worship.

As regards the 4th, namely that Akbar did not allow banking of any kind, the statements are too general. As we have seen, he allowed banking 'within limits,' subject to the close control of his officials. Free banking was unknown. As regards the 5th, namely free bidding in an auction when Akbar himself was bidding, it was unthinkable. No man would be anxious to part with his life by bidding for an object which the King wanted to have for himself. But the latter part of the paragraph makes "free bidding" clear : ".....buys up all the best horses for himself." It appears that free bidding was only permitted when he was not a bidder himself. We have studied currency, its reforms, and banking in Akbar's time and now a few lines must be devoted to *Hundees* (bills) which were and are indigenous to India. *Hundees* circulate freely in India even to-day and a good deal of inland trade is settled by *Hundees*. The *Marwarees*, a trading community in India, have mostly monopolised this business. *Hundees* may or may not come under the Negotiable Instruments Act. If so drafted as to meet with all the requirements of the Act, they are governed by the Act ; otherwise not.

Hundees are of four kinds :

(1) *Darshani*—payable at sight,

(2) *Miti*—payable after date,

(3) *Shah-jog*—payable to a respectable man,

and (4) *Johkhami*—carrying risk. Insurance type.

Darshani and *Miti Hundees* if properly drafted and stamped will come under the Act, not so *Shah-Jog* and *Jokhami* Hundees. In *Shah-jog* the person is not specified, and in *Jokhami* risk is

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1) "Commentary of Father Monserrate" by Hoyland and Banerjee, p. 207.

covered. *Jokhami* combines insurance with bill of exchange. The Hundees that circulated in Akbar's time were *Darshani, Miti,* and *Shah-jog*. In rare cases and for short distances *Jokhami Hundees* were also in circulation, but their circulation was always limited. *Shah-jog* was much in vogue as it does away with the difficulty of identification, but the risk was also great; any man presenting it would get money irrespective of his being the right man or not. The owner should be respectable. Beyond that it specifies no man. Thus *Shah-jog Hundee* resembles the currency notes of these days. (For a fuller treatment of *Hundees* see Appendix C.)

APPENDIX—C.

HUNDEES.

Hundees are of four kinds : (a) *Shah-jog,* wherein it is specified to pay to any respectable man ; and (b) *Jokhami Hundee,* which is more or less of an insurance nature, e.g., John sends wheat to Smith in Burma worth five hundred rupees. John draws on Smith and takes it to a *Jokhami Hundeewala,* who agrees to give cash down four hundred and twenty rupees. Eighty rupees he charges to cover his discount and insurance premium. The *Jokhami Hundeewala* sends that draft to a *Kothee* in Burma and gets that signed by Smith. When Smith receives wheat, the *Jokhami Hundeewala* gets his money and gains eighty rupees. If on the other hand the cargo is destroyed, the *Jokhami Hundeewala* suffers a total loss. It is a mistake to think that *Hundees* are governed by the Negotiable Instruments Act. The may be governed if properly drafted, but certainly a *Jokhami Hundee* comprising a large part of the insurance element cannot be governed by the said Act. (c) *Darshani Hundee,* which is a demand bill of exchange, and (d) *Miti Hundee,* which is payable some specified days after date, generally do come under the Negotiable Instruments Act. In this connection the following from Dr. Radhakamal's Principles of Comparative Economics under Communal Trade and Credit is instructive reading :

"They (the trading classes in India) have a regular system of exchange by means of bills, called *Hundis,* very similar to the Western system of bills of exchange. Their bills are generally

made payable after a certain odd number of days (*miti*), five and twenty-one for Bhiwani, eleven for Delhi, and sixty-one for Calcutta, Bombay or Cawnpore. The rates of premium or discount (*hundawan*) vary with the state of trade and the risk (*Jhoukam*) of bankruptcy (*diwala*) of the merchant. Like the bill of exchange the *Hundee* changes hands. The general rate of discount for the *Hundee* is annas 12 per Rs. 100. per mensem. Before the war it was annas 8 per Rs. 100. The *Banyas* who command credit would sell *Hundees* at par value (barti) at annas 12 per Rs. 100 per mensem. But when there is some risk of bankruptcy of the merchant concerned, they sell below par (*Kamti*), e.g., at annas 6 per Rs. 100. There is a *panchayat* of the bankers, which decides not merely social quarrels, but also financial claims. The claims are settled in a way somewhat like the following : A is the creditor. B. borrows from A and writes (*shikar*) a *hundee*. A finds that B is unreliable and sells the *hundee* to C at below par. C accepts it because A's connection has added credit (*biswas*) to B. If C cannot recover the amount from B, the amount will be divided between A, B, and C in proportions fixed by the *Punchayat*. They never seek the protection of the Courts. If any merchant refuses to obey the decision of the *Punchayat*, the money market is closed for him (*bazaar bunda*), he is an outcaste."[1]

1) "Business Organisation" by D. Pant, pp. 63-64.

CHAPTER VI.

TAXATION.

Taxation was recognised as a definite source of income to the King. It was levied everywhere in a haphazard manner. In theory it was one of the royal prerogatives to lay taxes, but in practice anybody who was somebody levied taxes and realised them in his area. So we find a multiplicity of taxes which harassed the traders a good deal.

None of the Moguls ever thought of taxation as a powerful weapon to be used for transferring the money from the pockets of the foreigners into their own. Nor had they any idea of so taxing imports as to give encouragement to the growth of industries within their Empire. Taxation was viewed purely from the revenue standpoint. Foreigners were taxed less than the subjects of the Empire and were further given concessions which hit indigenous industries hard. This was done not with a view to enable the foreigners to destroy the Indian manufactures but to keep the foreigners fighting among themselves. Certainly this was the chief reason for the English getting better terms than the Portuguese. Agra was anxious to cripple the growing power of the Portuguese and it wanted the English to fight with them. To make one class fight with the other so as to maintain the balance of power seems to be the destiny of India. This central arch of class-war in the magnificent edifice of Administration is a prime necessity in India as all her rulers have realised. The Moguls could not fight with the Portuguese as their admiralty was only a Port Trust and nothing more, so the English and the Dutch got concessions in order to keep the Portuguese within bounds. The interests of the subjects of the Empire were sacrificed so that the English might keep the Portuguese in check. The political machinery, of which taxation forms an important part, was set in motion to help the English against the Portuguese. But the steam-roller of taxation ground down the Indians as well and helped the foreigners. And, gradually, the seat of power shifted from Agra to Surat and then to Calcutta. On no set principles were these taxes levied. Aurangzeb aimed at the destruction of the Hindus and *Shias* (Mohammedans of

a different sect whom Aurangzeb hated), so he applied ruinous taxation to them.

When Akbar was building Agra Fort, he levied a special tax for that. He built Fatehpur-Sikri by a special tax. When Khandesh was annexed, Prince Daniyal raised the assessment fifty per cent. by a stroke of the pen. In fact, the Moguls (Akbar was no exception) had no clear idea of the principles of taxation. In one of his joyous moods, he would remit many taxes, and when there was scarcity of money he would levy as many taxes as he liked. He would never trouble to study the incidence of taxation. There is one point in studying taxation which should not be lost sight of. When, by a *firman,* taxes were remitted, they were actually remitted near the Capital. In distant places, they were still realised by the Mogul officials. The net effect of the decree was in the direction of the flow of money. Instead of the money going to the coffers of the King, it would pass into the pockets of the officials. When new taxes were imposed, they would also be realised; but this money went to the King. The taxation history of the Moguls is a record of confusion worse confounded. The evil of farming taxes aggravated the situation. When we take into consideration the high customs charges of to-day—generally $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. *ad valorem* and in some cases one hundred per cent. and even more—we sigh for the good old days of Akbar. But in actual practice, the $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. *ad valorem* tax on goods levied by Akbar was a more crushing tariff than any tariff that is levied to-day in any civilised country. Uncertainty of taxes; the wide range of taxes; the insatiable greed of officials; the frequency of taxes levied by powerful individuals on their own account; the multiplicity of taxes; and the weak protection of life and property on the King's highways and in the King's Courts; all these were bound to kill all enterprise and initiative in trade.

"The attitude of the central administration towards foreign commerce was usually favourable, and the prescribed scales of customs duties were distinctly moderate. Abul Fazl states that, under Akbar, duties did not exceed $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. But their fixation and realisation depended on the personality of local officers as the customs were let on contract (*pukhta*).

"The inland transit duties were many and vexatious (in Thevenot's time—on the road from Aurangabad to Golconda he counted sixteen taxing posts in twenty-three leagues)."[1] The

1) "India at the Death of Akbar" by Moreland, pp. 49-50.

transit duties continued to be charged by local customs officers and collectors on the spot.

Another writer, speaking of duties at ports, says :—"Duties at ports were generally *ad valorem* on the prime cost of goods, as given in the original invoices, or on the value realised on sale of those goods at the places of importation, that is, market price at ports. Actually it depended very much on the discretion of the customs officers."[1]

The same writer, speaking of transit duties, says : "The native system of transit duties was more of the nature of a toll levied in every subdivision of a district on each load of goods or produce passing through it or imported for consumption therein or exported therefrom to other subdivisions. Each subdivision was taken as a unit. The goods moving within it were free from duties until they reached the frontier."[2]

Therefore, *the burden of transit duties depended not on the quality of goods but on the quantity of goods and on the distance they had to be carried.* This principle is so important that we may illustrate it by an example. One bullock-load of velvet passing through one sub-division has to pay, say, ten rupees. The same load of the same quality of velvet having to pass through ten sub-divisions, the amount of tax that it would have to pay would be one hundred rupees, as toll duty was charged on ox-load, or bullock-load, or cart-load, or camel-load etc. per subdivision, with reference to the kinds and not the value of the loaded goods. It was of the nature of specific duty. The system in India then offered a comparison with the German system prior to the formation of the Zollverein. If we only study the list of duties said to have been remitted by Akbar, we can form an idea of the immensity and diversity of taxation. One writer says that, "His Majesty Akbar, from the excess of his beneficence, had remitted duties in this department (Sea Custom) that equalled the revenues of a Kingdom. Nothing is now exacted upon exports and imports except a trifle taken at the ports which never exceeded two and a half per cent. and this demand is so inconsiderable that the merchants account this reduction a perfect remission."[3]

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1) "History of Indian Tariffs" by N. J. Shah, p. 12.

2) "History of Indian Tariffs" by N. J. Shah, p. 13.

3) "Ain-i-Akbari" translated by Gladwin (Vol. I Edn. 1800), p. 233.

List of Taxes remitted or reduced by 'Akbar.

"1. *Jiziah* (Poll-tax), (Class A at 40 ; B at 20 ; C at 10.)

"2. *Mirbahri,* Port-dues and Ferry-fees (Sea customs reduced to 2½ per cent., Tonnage dues on River Navigation fixed at 'one rupee per *Kos* per one thousand *Mans* (Maunds)', or roughly speaking, 2 shillings per two and half miles for every 24.5 tons. Tax on ferries graduated at from ten *dams* for an elephant to one-sixteenth of a *dam* for the lowest beast of burden).

"3. *Kar,* Tax upon pilgrims and religious assemblages (An avowedly expansive demand at the option of the ruling power).

"4. *Gau Shumari* (Tax on cow), Tax on Cattle.

"5. *Sar Darakhti,* Tax on trees.

"6. *Peshkash,* Thank-offering on appointments.

"7. *Faruk wa Aksam-i-peshah,* Trade licenses.

"8. *Daroghaganah,* Fees to Daroghas.

"9. *Tausildari,* Fees to Tausidars.

"10. *Fotah Dari,* Fees to Treasurers.

"11. *Salami,* Fees to Landlords. Like many other local terms, liable to cover several irregular exactions.

"12. *Wajh Kirayah,* Fees on hiring or letting.

"13. *Kharitah,* Fees for bags on cash payments.

"14. *Sarrafi,* Fees on verification of coins.

Hasil-i-bazar, Market dues on the sale of—

"15. *Nakhkhas,* Cattle.

"16. *San,* Hemp.

"17. *Kambal,* Blankets.

"18. *Roghan, Ghi.* (Clarified butter.)

"19. *Adhuri,* Hides.

"20. *Kaiyali,* Rough estimate measurements or appraisements, in opposition to

"21. *Wazani,* Absolute weighments.

"22. *Kassabi,* Slaughtering (animals).

"23. *Dabbaghi,* Tanning.

"24. *Kamar bazi,* Gambling.

"25. (Sawing planks, Timber-yards).

"26. *Rahdari,* Transit duties.

"27. *Pag,* A turban. (Fees on investiture, installation etc.)

N.B.—One of the *Chaubachha* or four bachhs (assessments) of the Delhi territory : 1. *Pag,* 2. *Tag* ('the cloth worn round a child's waist'), 3. *Kudi* or *Kari,* a hearth, and 4. *Punchhi,* a tail, hence cattle.

"28. *Dudi* (Smoke), hearth tax.
"29. *Rasm Khanah,* Sale of housies (Tax payable both by buyer and seller).
"30. *Nimaki,* Manufacture of salt.
"31. *Balkati,* Tax exacted on the comencement of the harvest.
"32. *Pali namad,* Coarse felts (Numdas).
"33. *Chunah Kari,* Manufacture of lime.
"34. *Khammari,* Sale of intoxicating liquors.
"35. *Dalali,* Brokerage.
"36. *Mahi Giri,* Fishing.
"37. *Hasildrakht-i-al,* Dye (Morinda citrifolia).
"38. And various other charges and demands known under the general denomination of Sayr Jihat."[1]

Imports on manufactures of respectable kinds were called *Jihat,* and on the remainder *Sayr Jihat.*

In A.D. 1590-1 an Imperial order was issued abolishing transit duties in the Empire. But it was not a success. Very soon after the promulgation of this Decree, transit duties were reimposed.

Copy of the Order issued for Abolishing Transit Duty.

"Be it known to all government writers, both now and hereafter, and to all executive officers, in every part of Hindustan, that, in this auspicious period, being the seventh year of the second cycle from the commencement of the Imperial reign, an order has been issued to this effect! As the divine government of the glorious and blessed God has, in conformity with its greatness and purity, and with a knowledge exalted as eternity, deemed it necessary that the dominion of countries, and the government of cities, (which must provide for friend and stranger, and must arrange the affairs of the merchant and trader) should be accomplished by means of just kings, a tax was therefore established on all articles brought into the market; that from this source of revenue, troops might be kept up and proper guardians appointed to protect the property of the State and of individuals. But, as such tax, when not justly collected, must be a source of confusion, and detrimental to business, (though, praised be God! since the Emperor's just reign commenced, the attention and consideration of his heart have ever been exerted for the necessary comfort of the common people, and the encouragement of his subjects) an order is hereby issued exempting from taxation

1) "Ain-i-Akbari" (Gladwin's Translation i)., p. 359.

and registry the following articles : All kinds of grain, or seeds ; herbs, whether edible or medicinal ; oils, sugar, essences ; cotton and woollen cloths ; things made of leather ; copper articles ; madder, wood, reeds and grass ; with such like things and effects as are in common use among the people : excepting, however, horses, elephants, camels, sheep, goats, military arms, and silken stuffs, the taxes on which, besides one per cent., are claimed, as vested rights, toll, or for benevolent purposes. (The three sources of taxation are respectively called by the Mahommedans *Tumaghe, Baj, and Zakat*). The government writers, and other executive officers, are hereby commanded to give effect to this order, so that the powerful may not oppress the weak, nor the tyrannical commit aggressions on those who are at their mercy ; and, now that respect for the imperial greatness and magnificence exists in every breast, and that the light of justice and clemency has appeared ; let us give thanks for all these presents to Him who is the beneficent author of truth.

"It is therefore necessary that all executive officers and commanders, all provincial writers and governors of cities, with all *jagirdars,* administrators of government lands, Custom-house officers, keepers of the highways or passes, landholders, and all other government authorities, should attend to this order, and use their utmost efforts to obey it ; without attempting in anyway to evade the same."[1]

Akbar introduced a few cesses like the *Dahseri* (a charge of about twenty-five pounds per acre of cultivation) and *Zabitana* and *Jaribana* (fees payable to officials engaged in assessment (*Zabt*) and measurement (*Jarib*).

There were also certain illegal cesses or Abwabs which fall into six broad classes :

"(a) Duties on the local sale of produce, like the Municipal *octroi* duty of certain towns in modern India, but taken by the State.

"(b) Fees on the sale of immovable property.

"(c) Perquisites exacted by the officials for their own benefit, and fees or commissions levied, on behalf of the State, on almost every conceivable occasion.

"(d) Licence tax for plying certain trades.

"(e) Forced subscriptions.

and "(f) Special imposts on the Hindus, e.g., bathing in the

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1) "The Political and Statistical History of Gujerat" by Ali Md. Khan, pp. 405-408.

Ganges, carrying bones to the Ganges, etc."[1] This tax alone was effectively put an end to by Akbar, but revived after his time.

Tax on Ships and River Tolls.

"For every boat was charged Rupee one per *Kos* at the rate of one thousand *mans*,[2] provided the boat and the men belong to one and the same owner. But if the boat belongs to another man and everything in the boat to the man who has hired it, the tax is Rupee one for every two and half *Kos*. At ferry places an elephant has to pay ten pence for crossing; a laden cart four pence; an empty cart, two pence; a laden camel, one penny; empty camels, horses, cattle with their things, half penny; ditto empty, one-fourth penny. Other beasts of burden pay one-sixteenth of a penny which included the toll due by the driver. Twenty people pay one penny for crossing, but they are often taken gratis."[3] *Mheer Baree* was a tax on the building of boats varying from eight annas to one rupee four annas according to the size of the vessels. It was also levied upon all boats arriving at or leaving the dockyard whose crews were foreigners, that is to say, not residents of the district.

"A boat proceeding to Moorshidabad was charged at the rate of eight annas per oar; to Calcutta ten annas; and to Benares Rupee one and Annas eight while boats arriving from these places were taxed at the rate of one, two, and four rupees per boat. The *Mehal* was originally confined to the city, but it afterwards extended to the country, where it was exacted by the Zemindars and farmers from every boat that passed their estates. It was considered useful in leading to the detection of dacoits, as a registry of the boats, *manjees* (rowers), and boatmen belonging to each district was kept by the Zemindars (Taylor's Topography of Dacca, pp. 198-199)."[4]

Mahal was exactly of the same nature as *Rahdari*: one was a forcible exaction from a boat passing through a river in a Zemindar's territory while the other was an illegal exaction from

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1) "The Mughal Administration" by Jadunath Sarkar, p. 60.

2) One *man* or maund equal to 55½ lb. avoirdupois.

3) "A History of Indian Shipping and Maritime Activity from the Earliest Times" by Radhakumud Mukerjee, pp. 208-9.

4) "A History of Indian Shipping and Maritime Activity from the Earliest Times" by Radhakumud Mukerjee, p. 211.

a traveller walking on a road which passed through the Zemindar's estate.

At this stage a comparison between a Mogul's conception of the King's taxes (which we have already studied) and Manu's conception of the King's taxes would be very instructive. Most of the Hindu Law in India to-day is based on Manu's rules.

The Laws of Manu specify the King's taxes in the subjoined terms :

"129. As the leech, the suckling calf, and the bee, take their natural food by little and little, thus must a King draw from his dominions an annual revenue.

"130. Of cattle, of gems, of gold and silver added each year to the capital stock, a fiftieth part may be taken by the King ; of grain, an eighth part, a sixth, or a twelfth, according to the difference of the soil and the labour necessary to cultivate it.

"131. He may also take a sixth part of the clear annual increase of trees, flesh-meal ; honey, clarified butter, medical substances, perfumes, liquids, flowers, roots and fruits.

"132. (And) Of gathered leaves, pot-herbs, grass utensils made with leather or cane, earthen pots, and all things made of stone. In addition to these demands, the King was entitled to graduated taxes on merchandize to be reduced to 'a mere trifle' on 'petty traffic.' And in the case of those 'who support themselves by labour,' payment of State dues was made in kind, in the form of 'a day's' work in each month.

A source of income seemingly much relied upon was the unclaimed property, more especially that to which there was no heir, which reverted in its entirety to the State ; and, lastly, must be reckoned the royalty of half upon 'old hoards' treasure trove, and 'the precious minerals of the earth.' The ferry fees, which are specified in full in other sections of the Law, must also have formed an important item of the royal incomes—(The Institutes of Manu, C. G. Haughton, London, 1825)."[1]

Manu only recommended the lapsing of property to the Crown in two cases ; First, property which is not claimed ; and second, property to which there is no inheritor. The Moguls' on the other hand, did not recognise permanent vested interest in any

1) "Revenue Resources of the Mughal Empire" by Edward Thomas, F.R.S., p. 15.

immovable property, so at the death of the possessor the property passed to the Crown. This rule was strictly observed in the case of land and some margin was allowed in the case of private houses, etc.

Summation.

Akbar abolished a good many taxes and also reduced the incidence of taxation to a great extent. But he did not receive honest co-operation from his officers who went on cheating the Imperial treasury by realising the taxes wherever they could. Moreover, the contract system of collection of taxes was a powerful bar to any sweeping reforms in taxation. It is admitted on all hands that the customs charges were ridiculously low, and it is also admitted that the customs officers were 'corrupt and used various ways of extorting money from the traders.' The one neutralised the other. The vexatious multiplicity of transit and inland duties operated against the healthy growth of trade. Among Asiatics, the Mohammedan merchants enjoyed preference. The Customs charges and transit duties were for revenue purposes. Foreign merchants enjoyed exemption, while native merchants had to pay both (the Customs charges and transit duties). But foreign merchants had to give costly presents to the King which more than made up for the advantages they enjoyed from exemption. At ports, duties were *ad valorem* and transit duties were on the load without reference to the value of the goods. Transit duties were charged in each subdivision the load passed through.

"In spite of repeated prohibition by the rulers, transit duties were levied by local officers and Zemindars in distant provinces. The system of farming out various sources of revenue greatly aggravated the evil."[1]

1) "History of Indian Tariffs" by N. J. Shah, p. 15.

CHAPTER VII.

MANUFACTURES—RAW MATERIALS AND THEIR UTILISATION.

As has already been pointed out, manufactures were at the Artisan stage. The State was the biggest *entrepreneur,* and the State in those days meant the King. Louis XIV's dictum, "I am the State," was the motto of the Moguls.

Art was highly patronised by the Moguls, and the best skilled workers were monopolised by the Kings. The demand for silk and fine cotton goods grew, and was successfully met by production of *de luxe* articles.

Akbar was exceedingly fond of perfumes and the presence-chamber was constantly scented with flowers. Perfumes were always burned in all his rooms in gold and silver vessels. The mastery that the Indians acquired in the manufacture of perfumes was, therefore, very great. The credit of manufacturing a very superior quality of perfume called *Attar* of roses goes to Nurjehan's mother, the mother-in-law of Jehangir.

Akbar had a mechanical turn of mind, and workshops on a large scale were maintained within the palace enclosure.

The demand for colour gave an impetus to the development of indigo culture which was produced in large quantities at Sarkhez in Ahmadabad and at Biana near Agra.

"The manufactures of India were essentially domestic industries, conducted by special castes, each member of which wove at his own hereditary loom, and in his own village or homestead." [1]

The moment a manufacturer acquired a fame for skill, he would be transferred to the government workshops.

We see therefore, that the Empire was in a self-supporting stage. It produced all its necessaries and it also manufactured all its luxuries. Foreigners were attracted towards India by the textile fabrics, indigo and opium which the Mogul Empire produced. They also wanted pepper and spices which were produced in the Malabar and the Coromandel coasts outside the

1) "The Indian Empire" by W. W. Hunter, p. 556.

Empire, but pepper and spices were always available in Agra as the Moguls used to get from South India and Sumatra very large quantities of these condiments. They themselves consumed a good deal of these articles.

We shall now study the raw materials and the finished products of the Empire.

The *Suba of Allahabad* was renowned for cloths, especially *Jhona* and *Mihrkul* which were beautifully woven at Benares. Woollen carpets were manufactured at Jaunpore. To-day Jaunpore has lost its ancient glory, but Benares is famous for its beautiful *Sarees* (Indian silk lengths worn by ladies).

The *Suba of Agra* was rich in mineral wealth : Copper mines were at Perath, Singhana, Kotputli ; silver mines at Perath ; Turquoise mines at Todah Bhim ; Iron mine in Gwalior, and a red-stone quarry near Fatehpur. All these mines except the last have ceased to work to-day, probably because they are exhausted.

Biana was famous for indigo and "sugar of extreme whiteness." The place is of no importance to-day.

Agra itself was famous for gold and silver embroidery work and also for its carpet and glass work. With the decay of the Moguls, the gold and silver embroidery work has also decayed. Its carpet manufacture was personally supervised and patronised by Akbar and even to-day Agra is important for its carpet industry. An energetic young man, Mr. A. K. Wattal, M.Sc. has given a great impetus to the declining Agra Carpet industry by starting the Agra Carpet Factory and running it on modern lines. He has succeeded in reviving this historical industry of Agra.

Firozabad near Agra is to-day an important centre for the making of glass articles.

The *Suba of Oudh* was not at all important. There was a village Dokon near Babraich which was an important copper producing centre. In Ajodya, gold was obtained by sifting dust.

The *Suba of Ajmer* was famous for its salt yield—the famous Sambhar lake which even to-day is an important source of salt production in India. There were a few copper, zinc, lead and iron mines which have ceased to exist to-day.

The *Suba of Gujarat* was the premier industrial province of the Empire. It had the best ports in the Mogul Empire : Cambay, Surat, Broach, etc. It bred fine oxen, camels, goats, and horses. Its artisans carried on "painting, seal-engraving, and

inlaying of mother-of-pearl on boxes and ink-stands. Stuffs of gold embroidery, such as *Chirah* (coloured turban), *fetah,* (loin-cloth), *Jamahwar* (flowered woollen stuff), *Khara* (undulated silk cloth), velvets and brocades were skilfully woven."

Alchab (a kind of cloth) was manufactured at Broach. Swords, daggers (especially the *Jamdhar* and *Khapwah*), bows and arrows were well made. Good swords were manufactured at Somnath. The famous *Hindwani* blades (steel tempered by a process not known to-day) were manufactured in Gujarat.

This *Suba* was also reputed for its rare perfumes. Navsari was known far and wide for its being "a manufactory of perfumed oil, found nowhere else."

Surat was an important mart for jewellery and silver imported from Turkey and Persia. Salt was extracted from the Rann and the duty was levied in Jhalwarh. Its most important agricultural produce was the indigo of Sarkhez in Ahmadabad. Boat building was another important industry.

The *Suba of Behar* was noted for the production of good paper

The *Suba of Bengal* included Orissa in Akbar's time. Chittagong was outside Akbar's Empire. The Portuguese were giving good deal of trouble to Akbar and carried on trade from Hughli and Satgaon.

Its rich mineral wealth was not tapped in those days. To-day Bengal is the most important coal and iron producing province in India.

Silk and *"Sack-cloth"* (jute), *Ganga-jal* cloth, and muslin manufactures of Bengal were important. Its mattresses were so richly made as to "resemble woven silk" and there was a great trade in them. Probably the mattresses were the *Sital-patis* for which Bengal is famous even to-day.

Boat-building was another important industry of Bengal. The *Suba* was very rich in rice and sugar production. Salt and precious stones were the chief imports.

The *Suba of Delhi* was not important in Akbar's time as the capital was Agra and not Delhi. It gained in importance in Shah Jahan's time. It was, however, reputed for the manufacture of fancy articles. It carried on an *entrepot* trade with Kumaon.

The *Suba of Kabul* was important for wool, raw-silk, fruits, wines, and *charas* (smoking hemp).

The *Suba of Lahore* was known for the manufacture of different kinds of cloth, particularly the gold-embroidered *fotah*. Paper and weapons (daggers, lances, etc.) were other articles of this

Suba. The famous rock-salt mines of Kheora yielded a large income to the King. Good horses were bred here.

The *Suba of Multan* included Thattha. It was known for flowered carpets, *Satranjis,* and *Chhints.* Thattha carried on a good business in the export of fish and fish-oil. Boat-building was an important industry in Thattha.

The *Suba of Malwa* was important for poppy cultivation. A good quality of cloth was also woven here.

The *Suba of Berar* had a few iron and diamond mines. It manufactured weapons and figured cloth.

The *Suba of Khandesh* was not at all important. Cloth-weaving was the principal industry.

The *Suba of Ahmadnagar* used to manufacture cloths which were dyed and then sent out. Its coloured checks were well-known.

The *Suba of Kashmir* was renowned for its shawl industry. It used to send out fruits, silk, wool, and *charas.* Akbar personally encouraged the manufacture of shawls. Even to-day Kashmir has a world-wide reputation for this product.

We shall now study the manufactures of some of the important commodities like cotton goods, silk goods, and shawls ; Indigo ; saffron ; opium ; sugar ; and salt.

Textile fabrics (cotton, silk, and wool).

Cotton goods. India being a tropical country, there was a great and growing demand for cotton goods. Indian looms monopolised the home market for cloth and whatever India could spare was sent to Burma, Malacca, Arabia, and the east coast of Africa.

Calico was the most important of the cotton goods manufactured in India. It was produced everywhere in India, that of Calicut being the most famous. Calicoes are plain cotton cloth (bleached, unbleached, or dyed in various colours—the most important being indigo) made in pieces of twelve to fifteen yards long by less than three-fourths of a yard broad and in Gujarat were called *Dutties* (*Dhoties* or loin-cloth) or baftas (calico of finer texture than *Dutties*). *Baftas* were worn by women, while men put on *Dutties.* Sales were by the piece or by the "corge" of twenty pieces. It was exported to various ports of Asia. The Portuguese extended the trade to West Africa and to Brazil. Longcloth was the name given to Calico made on the Coast. The Longcloth of the Coromandel coast was famous, though long pieces called *Guzzes* (from *Gaz* meaning a yard) were also manufactured in Northern India. Different kinds of calico were made

in India and the uncoloured pieces were sent either to Ahmadabad or Agra (indigo centres) to be dyed. *Semianoes* was the name given to calico manufactured in Semiana in Northern India. The Portuguese gave the name of *Pintados* to calico which had patterns in colour. Striped calico was called *Necanies,* while pieces of plain calico were called *Percalles*. Muslins were thinner in texture and lighter in weight than calico. They were exported chiefly to Persia, Arabia, and Egypt. The Portuguese extended the trade to North-West Africa where the muslins were used for girdles (*Kamarbands*) and turbans (*Puggrees*). Sonargaon was most important on account of the special quality possessed by its tank water which could turn the cloth "extremely white." Later on, Dacca came into prominence on account of its nearness to Sonargaon and also on account of its being selected as the capital.

Dress and fancy goods, including *pintados,* chintzes, handkerchiefs, short dyed pieces of calico, goods woven with patterns, and cloths with an intermixture of silk were demanded in the Eastern markets. Up to 1660, there was a very weak demand for muslins or printed goods in Western Europe. Calico was, however, much in demand. Ralph Fitch speaking of Sinnergan (Sonargaon, the capital of Eastern Bengal, 1351-1608, situated fifteen miles east of Dacca) says, "Sinnergan is a town six leagues from Serrepore, where there is the best and finest cloth made of cotton that is in all India."[1]

Chintzes or painted cotton cloths were made in Golconda, particularly in the neighbourhood of Masulipatam. Sironj and Burhanpur were also famous for this manufacture.

Bazwara, a district of Hoshiarpur in the Punjab, manufactured different kinds of cotton goods : *Sirisaf, Adhars, Doriah, panchtoliah, jhonah, white cherah, fotah* of gold embroidery and other kinds of cloth.

Bharouch (Broach) was famous for *alchab* cloth.

Silk goods. "Silk goods according to Barbosa went from Gujarat to East Africa and to Pegu.

"Varthema speaks of the export from Gujarat to 'all Persia, Tartary, Turkey, Syria, Barbary, Arabia, Ethiopia' of 'silk and cotton stuffs.'

"Silk goods were imported into India from the Far East (China) Central Asia, from Persia, and from the countries along the Eastern Mediterranean."[2]

1) "Early Travels in India (1583-1619)" by Foster, p. 25.

2) "India At the Death of Akbar" by Moreland, pp. (171-178).

Bengal including Patna and Ahmadabad were two important centres of the silk industry in India. Kashmir was also important. It used to export large quantities of raw silk to Patna and to Ahmadabad.

The Bengal production of raw-silk was about two and half million pounds a year, of which one million pounds were worked up locally, three-quarters of a million pounds of raw silk were exported by the Dutch, and the remainder was sent to Ahmadabad.

Ahmadabad and Surat used to get Kasimbazar (in Bengal) silk which was woven into fabrics. Some carpets were of silk and gold; others of silk, gold, and silver; others altogether of silk were made in Ahmadabad and Surat.

Taffetas (Satins with *bands* of gold and silver) were also made in Gujarat.

Woollen Goods. Woollen carpets were made in Fatehpur, Agra, and Amritsar. In Agra, carpets and fine stuffs were woven under Akbar's patronage. Kashmir *Pattu* (woollen tweed) and shawls were important, and the latter soon acquired a world fame due to the active support given to the shawl industry of Kashmir by Akbar.

Here is a fine description of the shawl industry in Kashmir by George Forster. He describes the Industry about 1783 A.D. but the conditions in Akbar's time were much the same:

"The wool of the shawl is not produced in the country, but brought from districts of Thibet, lying at the distance of a month's journey to the north-east. It is originally of a dark grey colour, and is bleached in Kashmir by the help of a certain preparation of rice flour."[1]

"The shawls, when exported from Kashmir, are packed in an oblong bale, containing a certain weight or quantity, which in the language of the country is termed a *biddery,* the outward covering of which is a buffalo or ox's hide, strongly sewed with leather thongs. As these packages are supposed to amount, with little variation, to a value long since ascertained, they are seldom opened until conveyed to destined market."[2]

Says another writer, "The emperor (Akbar) encouraged the production of Kashmir shawls. He started their manufacture at Lahore. Carpets and other fine textiles were woven at Agra

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1) "A Journey from Bengal to England" by George Forster, (Vol. II), p. 18.

2) "A Journey from Bengal to England" by George Forster (Vol. I), p. 247.

and Fatehpur-Sikri. Good cotton cloths were made at Patan in Gujarat and at Burhanpore. Sonargaon in the Dacca district of Eastern Bengal was famous for its delicate fabrics. Cotton goods were also made at Benares."[1]

Indigo. Indigo was used in the Mediterranean area and to a small extent in Western Europe. Its foreign trade developed after Akbar's time. It was grown extensively in the Gangetic plain, the Indus plain and Gujarat. The manufacturing centres were Biana near Agra and Sarkhej in Gujarat. The Biana indigo was in the form of "round" balls and the Sarkhej was in the form of "flat" cakes. "Flats" were a good deal adulterated, a large percentage of sand being mixed in them. "Rounds" were pure. So two "rounds" were equivalent to three "flats." Sarkhej indigo was discarded by the rich class of people and exporters.

Indigo was sent by land from Agra to the Cambay ports or across the frontier to Persia. William Finch (1608-1611) describes the manufacture of indigo as follows :

"The herbe *Nill* groweth in forme not much unlike cives (the chive or Allium) or cich-pease (chick-pea), having a small leaf like that of Sena, but shorter and broader and set on a very short foot stalke, the branches hard and of a woodie substance like unto broome. It usually groweth not above a yard high and with a stalke at the biggest (which is at the third yeare) not much exceeding a man's thumbe. The seede is included in a small round codde about an inch long, resembling Foenigraecum, save that it is more blunt at both ends, as if it had been cut off with a knife. It carryeth a small flower like that of Heart's-ease ; the seede is ripe in November, and then gathered. The herbe once sowne dureth three yeeres, being cut every yeere in August and September after the raines. That of one yeere is tender and thereof is mad *Notee* (*nandha* or young plant), which is a weighty reddish nill ; sinking in water, not come to his perfection, that of the second yeere is rich and called *Cyeree* (*ari* or sprouting from the root), very light and of a perfect violet colour, swimming on the water ; in the third yeere the herbe is declining, and this *nill is* called *Catteld* (*Khutizal* or *Khunti,*) being a weighty blackish nill, the worst of the three. This herbe, being cut the moneth aforesaid, is cast into a long cisterne, where it is pressed downe with many stones, and then filled with water till it be covered ; which so remaineth for certaine dayes, till the substance of

1) "Akbar the Great Mogul" by V. A. Smith, p. 395.

the herbe be gone into the water. Then they let the water forth into another round cisterne, in the middest of which is another small cisterne or center; this water being thus drawne forth, they labour with great staves, like batter of white starch, and then let it settle, scumming of the cleare water on the toppe; then labouring it afresh, and let it settle againe, drawing forth the cleare water; doing this oft, till nothing but a thicke substance remaine, which they take forth and spread on cloth to dry in the sunne; and being a little hardened, they take it in their hands and, making small balls, lay them on the sand to dry (for any other thing would drinke up the colour); this is the cause of the sandy foot. So if raine fall, it looseth his colour and glosse and is called *Aliad* (*ala* or moist). Some deceitfully will take of the herbe of all three crops and steepe them all together, hard to be discerned, very knavishly. Foure things are required in *nill*: a pure graine, a violet colour, his glosse in the sunne, and that it be dry and light, so that swimming in the water or burning in the fire is cast forth a pure light violet vapour, leaving a few ashes.[1]

Saffron.

Saffron was produced only in Kashmir. The *Kistwar* variety was considered the best. It was an article of luxury largely demanded by the rich class of people for flavouring their dishes and colouring their dress. The Rajputs had a custom of putting on *Kesaria* dress (dress dyed with saffron) on certain ceremonial occasions. The demand for saffron was so great that it was not available for export. Even to-day Kashmir has the monopoly of saffron production in India. Its cultivation is described as follows: "In the village of Pampur, there are twelve thousand *bighas* of Saffron-land. The time for its cultivation is the end of March and the whole of April. The soil is ploughed and softened; and then with shovels they make small parterres fit for cultivation. The bulbs of saffron are next placed in the soil. In one month they turn green (i.e. send forth sprouts) and at the end of the *Ilahi* month of September are fully grown. They do not grow taller than a span. The stalk is of a white colour. When it grows equal to a finger, it begins to flower; the flowers cluster one to another up to eight flowers. And (it puts forth) six lily-like petals. In most of them six filaments, three yellow and three red, are found. The term saffron denotes the three latter. When the flowering is over, the stem turns green. One

1) "Early Travels in India 1583-1619" by Foster, pp. 152-154.

planting yields flowers for six years. In the first year they are few; in the second ten to thirty times the first year's crop is produced; in the third year the crop reaches its maximum, and so on for six years. Then the bulbs are dug out. If, however, they are kept in the same place, they deteriorate. Hence they are taken out and planted elsewhere."[1]

Opium.

The cultivation of opium was encouraged, as *posta* (a spiced infusion of opium) was freely drunk. Moreover, the Rajputs were fond of eating it. Opium was also used for medicinal purposes and it was exported out of the country. Malwa and Benares were important centres of poppy cultivation. Later on, it was cultivated in Bihar and Bengal as well.

Sugar.

Bengal was easily the first in sugar production. It used to send sugar to Northern India by water. Ahmadabad was another centre of sugar manufacture. The Punjab produced a sugar called Candy, Lahore being the centre of this trade. Three kinds of sugar were produced in India: black, brown, and white. The last variety was also exported.

Salt.

There are three sources of obtaining salt: one by the evaporation of sea-water (Rann in the West was the centre of this industry), another was the Sambhar salt, and the third was the rock-salt of the Punjab. All these sources were tapped by Akbar. Bengal was a great importer of salt. The methods of getting salt from the Sambhar lake and from the mines in the Punjab are described below:

"In Sambhar, excellent salt is manufactured. Near the city there is a large lake four *Kos* in length and one *Kos* in breadth. Its water is extremely briny. Within the lake there are many tracts of land like paddy fields. After loosening the soil with the spade, they fill it to the brim with the water of this lake. In fifteen or sixteen days, during which the land absorbs the water, all these tracts of land become full of salt. Having dug it with the spade and thrown it up on the banks, they sprinkle water; the earth becomes separated from it, and pure salt comes out. It becomes blue, red, or white; several *lacs* of Rupees

1) "Khulasat" translated by Jadunath Sarkar, pp. 113-14.

worth are annually sold. The Imperial Government levies a tax on it."[1]

"In the doab of Sindh Sagar (between the Jhelum and the Indus), rock-salt is obtained near Shamsabad at the foot of the mountain. The saline ness and delicate taste of this salt are renowned as surpassing those of the salts of (other places on) the surface of the earth. It is called the Sindh salt, i.e. the salt produced in the doab of the Sindh river. By the power of God, the creator of rare things, the whole mountain has been formed of salt, though its length exceeds a hundred *Kos*. In short, men called *Alasha-Kash* are engaged in extracting the salt. Digging a mine of more than two hundred or three hundred yards, deep in the hill side, each man, naked from head to foot, with torch in hand and pick-axe on shoulder goes into the dark mine, digs out lumps of salt three maunds in weight, and comes out carrying them on the back. They get wages from the Superintendents of this work. By the grace of God, inside the mines it is not hot in summer nor cold in winter, but temperate like spring in all seasons. Although rock-salt is got from many places, yet Khuhra and Keohra are two large mines near Shamsabad, from which several *lacs* (one lac equals one hundred thousand) of maunds of salt come out every year. The Imperial Government gets from them a royalty amounting to the (total) revenue of other places. Many skilled artisans make trays, dishes, dish-covers, and lamps of salt."[2]

Even to-day these mines are very important and yield to the Government of India a large and growing revenue. In the Kheora mines near Rawalpindi may be found "skilled artisans making trays, dishes, dish-covers and lamps of salt."

The price of salt in Akbar's time was about one-eighteenth the price of salt to-day!!!

"Merchants purchased rock-salt from the mines at 2 2/5 to 9 3/5 pies a maund (three pies equal to one pice and sixty-four pice equal to one rupee), the landlord charged a royalty of four annas on each porter of salt (i.e. on one and half maunds), and the State levied a duty of 11 1/3 pies (approximately equal to one anna, sixteen annas equal to a rupee) on every maund. Thus 'a little less than 4½ annas per maund on an average was the cost price of rock-salt in Akbar's time.'"[3]

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1) "Khulasatu-T-Tawarikh" translated by Jadunath Sarkar, p. 59.

2) "Khulasatu-T-Tawarikh" by Jadunath Sarkar, pp. 100-101.

3) LXXVII of "India of Aurangzeb" by Jadunath Sarkar.

CHAPTER VIII.

TRADE.

(a) *General.*

"A large external trade was an impossibility under the Mughal Emperors. Their capitals of Northern India, Agra and Delhi, lay more than a thousand miles from the river's mouth. But even the capitals of the sea-board Provinces were chosen for military purposes, and with small regard to the commercial capabilities of their situation."[1]

The above is the verdict of an impartial writer on Mogul India. All the factors were in favour of India being a great trading country : Her natural wealth, her extensive sea-board, her teeming population endowed with artistic skill, and her earlier start in civilisation.

All these were sacrificed by Akbar and his worthless successors on account of "fear of water." One is tempted to say that the Moguls suffered from hydrophobia.

During Akbar's reign the Portuguese controlled the water routes. The Dutch were gathering strength and England was only dimly visible on the horizon.

The Portuguese relied a good deal on the sanction of the Pope who permitted them to expand and monopolise the water-routes and they were helped by the lack of interest of Indians in sea-power. Akbar first encouraged the expansion of Portuguese activities because he was anxious to stimulate export trade and to get in return precious metals and stones, horses, and other articles of luxury. When he realised the effect of the nefarious activities of the Portuguese, namely the declaration of certain trade routes as the monopoly of the King of Portugal, the stoppage of Indian ships from going to East Africa, to China, or to the Spice Islands without their Permit (*Cartaz*), and the prohibition applied to all foreign vessels of carrying of munitions and pepper, he attempted to cripple the Portuguese power by encouraging the Dutch. His son played the same game by encouraging the British.

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1) "The Indian Empire" by W. W. Hunter, p. 556.

England made many attempts to establish trade with India prior to Sir Thomas Roe's embassy to Jehangir, but she did not succeed on account of the Portuguese influence at Agra. Before the East India Company came into existence, the Levant Company lived and flourished on account of Sir Edward Osborne's and Master Richard Staper's activities. The beginning of trade with the East Indies dates from James Lancaster's first voyage who sailed from Plymouth in 1591 though the title of the "Pioneer Englishman" belongs to Ralph Fitch who sailed in the "Tyger" in 1583.

In this period, the letter of Elizabeth to Akbar is important as giving a clue to the then mentality of England.

"Elizabeth by the grace of God, etc. To the most invincible, and most mightie prince, Lord Zelabdim Echebar King of Cambaya. Invincible Emperor, etc. The great affection which our subjects have to visit the most distant places of the world, not without good will and intention to introduce the trade of merchandise of all nations whatsoever they can, by which means the mutual and friendly trafique of merchandize on both sides may come, is the cause that the bearer of this letter Iohn Newbery, ioyntly with those that be in his company, with a courteous and honest boldnesse, doe prepaire to the borders and countreys of your Empire, we doubt not but that your imperial Maiestie through your royal grace, will favourably and friendly accept him. And that you would doe it the rather for our sake, to make Us greatly beholding to your Maiestie ; wee should more earnestly, and with more wordes require it, if wee did think it needful. But by the singular report that is of your imperial Maiesties humanitie in these uttermost parts of the world, wee are greatly eased of that burden, and therefore wee use the fewer and lesse words : Onely wee request that because they are our subiects, they may be honestly intreated and received. And that in respect of the hard iourney which they have undertaken to places so far distant, it would please your Maiesty with some libertie and securitie of voiage to gratifie it, with such priuelege as to you shall seeme good : Which curtesie if your Imperiall maiestie shal to our subjects at our requests performe, wee, according to our royall honour, will recompence the same with as many deserts as we can. And herewith we bid your Imperial Maiestie to farewell."

The Great Mogul (Akbar) was not familiar with the institution of mercantile extra-territoriality, so the English did not gain much. It was only in the reign of Jehangir that they got a firm footing in Surat.

Now we turn our attention to conditions inside the Empire. There were three most prominent communities engaged in commerce in India. They were (1) the moslems of the coastal areas, (2) the *banias* (trader class) of Gujarat, and (3) the *chettis* of the Coromandel Coast.

Indian goods were not in great demand in Western Europe, with the exception of Malabar pepper, the trade in cotton goods being only a retail trade. But the other parts of Asia demanded a very large quantity of Indian cotton goods. Therefore, the building up of Indian trade was a prime necessity for trade in Eastern waters. But there was a difficulty in building up this Indo-European trade. India was not in need of European goods. She wanted only precious metals of which she could absorb any amount. Beyond this she was indifferent to European goods.

(b) *Trade Centres.*

The following were the sea-reports in 1600 :
Lahari Bandar near (Karachi).
Diu
Broach
Surat — Cambay Group
Daman
Bassein near (Bombay)
Chaul near (Bombay)
Dabul
Goa
Baitkul
Bhatkal
Mangalore
Calicut
Cochin
Quilon.....Extreme Southern Port.
Negapatam
St. Thome
Pulicat
Masulipatam
Hoogly
Satgaon
Chittagong.

For Akbar the most important ports were Lahari Bandar, Broach, Surat and Satgaon.

Niccolao Manucci writes about Lahari-bandar in Sindh as follows : "Arabian and Persian vessels which import great quantities of dates, horses, seed-pearls (*Aljaubar*), pearls, incense, gummastic, senna-leaves, and jew's stones.....In return they load up with white and black sugar, butter, olive oil, and cocoo.....They also export many kinds of white linen and printed goods....."[1]

About Surat Manucci writes, "Surat is the largest port in India and the best river. Thus, it is resorted to by a great number of ships from different parts of Europe, Persia, Arabia, Mecca, Bassora, the Coasts of Malabar and Choramandal, Massula-patao, Bengal, Siam, Acheen, Queddah, the Maldives, Malacca, Batavia, Manilla, China, and many other parts of the world.

"Whenever a loaded vessel arrives, the Hindu traders go aboard, and ask if the Captain wishes to sell the whole cargo of the ship. If so, they pay for it in money, or furnish goods for the return cargo, whichever is preferred. This is all done without delays, and merchants can thus acquire whatever merchandise they are in search of, and for which they have left home."[2]

Master Caesar Frederike describes trade in Cambietta in 1563 as follows : "These barkes be laden with all sorts of spices, with silke of China, with sandals, with elephants teeth, velvets of Vercivi, great quantities of Pauvina, which cometh from Mecca, Chickinos which be pieces of gold worth seven shillings a piece sterling, with money, and with divers sorts of other merchandise. Also these barkes lade out, as it were, an infinite quantitie of cloth made of Bumbast of all sortes, as white stamped and painted, with great quantitie of Indico, dried ginger and conserved, Myrabolans drie and condite, Booaso in paste, great store of sugar, great quantitie of cotton, abundance of opium, Assa Fetida, Puclino, with many other sorts of drugges, Turbants made in Diu great stones like to Corneolais, Granats, Agats, Diaspry, Calcidonii, Haematists and some kinds of naturall diamonds."[3]

He continues, "During the time I dwelt in Cambaietta, I saw very marvellous things : there were an infinite number of Artificiers that made Bracelets called *Mawu,* or bracelets of Elephants teeth, of divers colours, for the women of the Gentiles, which have their armes full decked with them."[4]

1) "Storia Do Mogar" by Niccolao Manucci (Vol. I), p. 59.

2) "Storia Do Mogor" by Niccolao Manucci (Vol. I), pp. 61-62.

3) "Purchas His Pilgrimes" Vol. X, p. 90.

4) "Purchas His Pilgrimes" Vol. X, p. 93.

Writing of the Port of Satagan in 1567, Frederike says, "In the Port of Satagan every yeere they lade thirtie or five and thirtie ships great and small, with Rice, cloth of Bombast of divers sorts, Laces, great abundance of sugar, Mirabolans dried and preserved, long Pepper, Oyle of Zerzelene, and many other sorts of merchandize."[1]

The important cities and towns were Agra, Lahore, Ahmadabad, Burhanpore, Sonargaon with the addition of those which have been described.

Fitch in 1585 writes about Agra and Fatehpur as follows: "Agra and Fatehpur are two very great cities, either of them much greater than London and very populous. Between Agra and Fatehpore are twelve miles and all the way is a market of victuals and other things, as full as though a man were still in a towne, and so many people as if a man were in a market."

Terry describes Lahore as "the chief city thereof (the Panjeb), built very large and abounds both in people and riches, one of the most principal cities for trade in all India."

Abul Fazl writes about Ahmadabad as "A noble city in a high state of prosperity (which) for the pleasantness of its climate and its display of the choicest productions of the whole globe is almost unrivalled."

Monserrate, writing about Burhanpur, says, "Burhanpur in Khandesh is very great, rich, and full of people."

Ralph Fitch in 1586 writes about Sonargaon in the following strain: "Here (Sonargaon) is best and finest cloth made of cotton that is in all India.....Great store of cotton cloth goeth from here, and much rice, wherewith they serve all India, Ceylon, Pegu, Malacca, Summatra, and many other places."

In describing Satgaon, Fitch describes the *Chandeun* (market) which appears to be of the nature of *Painths* in some of the places in Northern India. In small places, there are no permanent markets. One day in a week or a fortnight the traders come and the market is formed. He says, "Satgaon is a fair city for a city of the Moors and very plentiful of all things. Here in Bengal they have every day, in one place or other, a great market which they call *'Chandeun,'* and they have many great boats which they call *'pencose'*, wherewithal they go from place to place and buy rice and many other things; their boats have twenty-four or twenty-six oars to row them, they be of great burthen."

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1) "Purchas His Pilgrimes" Vol. X, p. 114.

(c) *Inter-Provincial Trade.*

Gujarat, Bengal, Lahore, and Multan were important *Subas.* Gujarat used to supply (mostly to Agra) the articles imported into India from countries outside India. These articles were mostly precious metals and stones, velvets, china goods, wines, and African slaves. It also supplied articles manufactured in the *Suba* like cotton goods, inlaid works and silk and cotton manufactures of Ahmadabad, and the excellent daggers and weapons made in Somnath.

Bengal supplied rice, sugar, cotton and silk goods, and slaves. Sugar from Bengal was sent to Malabar round the coast and to Agra by way of the Ganges.

Lahore and Multan were important for the manufacture of sugar, cotton goods, paper, and steel weapons. Agra was famous for its excellent Biana indigo. Nurpur near Pathankote supplied most of the Indian drugs, growing on the mountains : Spikenard, Turbith (Indian Jalap), *Miras Kebals* (Chebulic myrobalans), Gunlack (gumlac), turpentine, costus (the root of Saussuree lappa), etc. Kashmir supplied fruits, wines, shawls, *charas* (smoking hemp), raw silk, borax, etc., and imported cotton goods, indigo, and salt.

Afghanistan supplied fruits, wines, raw silk and wool, *charas, mangit* or *madder* and other dyes and drugs and imported cotton goods, indigo, and salt.

(d) *Frontier Trade.*

The frontier trade was with Nepal, Kumaon, Bhutan, and Burma. The *Nepal* trade was transacted in Patna. Its exports were cattle and horns, musk, borax, *cheerata* (a medicinal herb), madder (dye), Cardamoms, *Chauris* (yak-tails), furs, hawks, *balchar* (a scented grass for colouring hair-oils), etc. and it used to import textile goods, salt, metals, sugar, and spices.

Kumaon was known for its mineral wealth. It contained mines of gold, silver, iron, copper, lead, arsenic and borax. In the northern parts where it touched Tibet, musk-deer, yaks, hawks, falcons, pony, and wild honey were plentiful. The other articles it sent out were the acid *chuk* (made of the juice of sour pomegranates), zedoary (Kachur), wax, wool, etc. It imported sugar and textile goods.

Bhutan sent out musk and yak tails. The commodities from the hilly areas were transported on the backs of men, goats, and hill ponies. Kumaon trade was settled on the frontier of the *Suba* of Delhi.

Pegu trade (the name given to the trade with Burma) consisted of the export of gold, silver, and precious stones. The imports to Burma were piece-goods, yarn, and opium, but this trade was not viewed with favour on account of the nefarious Portuguese activities (piracy). As Chittagong was not in the Empire, the traders could do nothing against the pirates.

Referring to the trade with Pegu in 1567 A.D., we find the following note : "The merchandize that goe out of Pegu, are gold, silver, rubies, saphires, spinelles, great store of Benjamin, Long Pepper, lead, lacca, rice, wine, some sugar....."[1]

(e) *Foreign Trade.*

The foreign trade of India with the West, China and Japan was a monopoly of the Portuguese. The Indians, however, used to carry on trade with Arabia, Africa, and Persia and sometimes even for these countries they were forced to secure the permission of the Portuguese.

Imports from Persia were coined silver (larins), pearls, wines (the famous Shirazi wine drunk by the Emperors used to come from Shiraz, a place in Persia), perfumes (specially the Attar of roses), silks and carpets, and fruits (specially dried fruits). Exports to Persia were cotton goods, Gujarat iron and inlaid works, and spices. Ormuz was the centre of trade between India and Persia.

The imports from Arabia were horses, coffee, *madder* and certain drugs and perfumes and the export from India was mostly cotton cloth. The centre of this trade was Mocha. Ormuz was also an important centre for Indo-Arabian trade.

Africa exported to India ivory, ebony, amber, slaves, and gold and imported from India textile goods, spices and provisions for the Portuguese colonists, and beads from Gujarat for the natives. The centres of Indo-African trade were Mozambique, Mombasa, etc.

The chief outlets for the produce of the country were : (1) the Cambay ports, (2) Bengal, (3) the Coromandel Coast, and (4) the Indus.

The articles that were imported into India from places outside the Empire were Gold, Silver, Horses, raw Silk, Copper, Tin, Zinc, Lead, Mercury, Ivory, Coral, Amber, Precious stones, Silks, Velvets, Brocades, Spices, Perfumes, China

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1) "Purchas His Pilgrimes" (Vol. X), p. 133.

goods[1] (porcelain lacquered ware, camphor, and various drugs and perfumes), Wines, and African slaves. The exports from India were Textile fabrics, Pepper (got from Sumatra and Java), Spices (cloves from Moluccas, mace and nutmegs from the island of Banda, ginger from Calicut, Cinnamon from Ceylon, turmeric from Madras, etc.), Dyes (indigo from Sarkhej and Biana), and Opium (Malwa and Benares). If we compare the above list of imports and exports with the list of to-day, we note the complete absence in imports of piece-goods and machinery and in exports of food-grains, oilseeds, and fibres which swell the figures in the trade between India and the West.

Mercury was supplied by Lisbon and China, lead by Europe which also supplied coral, superior woollen cloth, silks, velvets, and other fabrics, wines and spirits, glass and mirrors, and delicacies for the Portuguese residents in the East.

There was a "Reserved" trade between Lisbon and Goa on Government account. A fleet composed of four or five Carracks (1500 to 2000 tuns[2]) and some smaller vessels sailed annually from Lisbon for India. It was not allowed to call anywhere. It arrived at Goa or Cochin laden with coined silver, metals, and luxuries. The Portuguese were engaged in a profitable '*quadrangular trade*' which was not thrown open to others, but closely guarded and monopolised by the Portuguese. Ships from Goa sold their cargo at Macao (the port for Canton) and re-loaded with China goods for Japan. These goods were sold in Japan against silver (there was no embargo on silver in Japan while China declared the export of silver out of China as illegal). This silver was invested at Macao in China goods which were sold at Molucca where spices were purchased for India. The voyage took three years. Trade with Europe had its foundation in pepper which, along with other spices, was used for 'powdering' meat. A cargo on the Malabar coast made up of pepper and spices and drugs would be transhipped at Aden or Mocha, then unloaded in the Gulf of Suez, and carried by land and water to the Mediterranean coast (the payment for transit across Egypt was exorbitant). When the cargo reached the Mediterranean coast, it would pass to the Italian traders who would send it on to Venice or Genoa. From there the cargo would be sent farther West by sea or by land over the Alps and then down the Rhine to Antwerp which was the distributing centre for West-

1) Akbar left Chinese porcelain in Agra alone valued at two and a half millions of rupees.

2) Tuns—a unit of ship-measurement in Akbar's time.

ern Europe in those days. Up to the end of the sixteenth century, pepper was the royal monopoly of Portugual. One of the terms of the contract with the fleet was the annual importation of 1750 tons of pepper into Portugal. As Indians were weak buyers of European goods and, moreover, were loth to part with their silver, so Europeans had to bring a large supply of silver and silver coins in order to purchase Indian goods, mostly pepper and spices. As there was a great demand for Indian goods outside India, so they (the European traders) had to yield to the whims of Indian traders. The selling price of Indian goods in Europe used to be five times the purchase price in India.

William Hawkins wrote that "India is rich in silver, for all nations bring coin and carry away commodities for the same ; and this coin is buried in India, and goeth not forth." Terry said that "Many silver streams run thither, as all rivers to the sea, and there stay."

(f) *Government Interference in and Monopolies of Trade.*

Trade was not free under the Moguls. Religious fanaticism, Zenana intervention, official obstructions, fiats of the Kings monopolising this or that trade and the fixation of prices at this or that level irrespective of the economic forces working in the market, and, finally, the inclination of the King to earn commercial profits for himself were some of the factors which impeded the free and even flow of trade.

It is true that under Akbar religious fanaticism played no part for, he always successfully kept in the background religious elevictions and never allowed them to interfere with his administrative or commercial policies. He ordered, "that the religious element was not to enter into the question before the judge or magistrate."[1] Not so was the case with his successors. Akbar was also not much influenced by the harem. His nature was so generous (and he was so eager to oblige those whom he knew) that he must have played into the hands of those who could wisely pull the strings. There are a few instances where he gave concessions to his relatives but they are rather instances of a good man being exploited by evil men than of anything else. Official obstructions were many, but Akbar was never a party to such nefarious activities. Akbar punished them whenever he caught them red-handed, but the powerful officials in Surat, Bengal, and other distant parts of the far-flung Empire played havoc with the trade of the realm. The distance was so great that they could not be made to render account to the King.

1) "Akbar" by Col. G. B. Malleson, p. 83.

The King had the first right of purchase and the Governors were authorised to purchase in the name of the King any novelty or any fine stuff that came into the country or was put on the market. This gave the officials an opportunity to fleece whomsoever they wanted to fleece.

"S. Faizi begged that some experienced and sympathetic persons might be appointed in the cities and bazaars who should fix the price of articles."[1] Akbar agreed and accordingly issued orders for the same.

Akbar monopolised the Banking business and he used to make a large sum of money out of it, by giving permission to others to carry on the banking business within specified limits and subject to his control. He was not averse to earning commercial profits and he made a good sum of money by reserving to himself some of the fine industries of Gujarat and Agra and Kashmir. Two quotations from two different authors support the above charge on Akbar : "He (Akbar) also engages in trading on his own account, and thus increases his wealth to no small degree ; for he eagerly exploits every possible source of profit. He allows no bankers or money-changers in his Empire.....This enormous banking-business brings the King great profit..... There is a law also that no horse may be sold without the King's knowledge or that of his agents."[2]

"Akbar himself was a trader, and did not disdain to earn commercial profits."[3]

Akbar, as has been already said, did not attach any importance to the principle of mercantile extra-territoriality. If he was pleased with the party, he would grant concessions by issuing *firmans*[4] ; otherwise he would prohibit them from starting their business. ".....ports and cities were not open to settlements of foreign merchants as a matter of course ; such settlements were based on special conventions or agreements, and the position of the merchants with regard to the authorities was determined by these conventions rather than the ordinary law."[5]

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1) "The Akbar Nama of Abu-l-Fazl" translated by H. Beveridge, I.C.S., (Vol. III), p. 560.

2) "Commentary of Father Monserrate" by Hoyland and Banerjee, p. 207.

3) "Akbar the Great Mogul" by V. A. Smith, p. 411.

4) A *firman* was royal order covered with red silk and made up in cloth of gold.

5) "From Akbar to Aurangzeb" by Moreland, p. 221.

CHAPTER IX.

CONCLUSION.

Akbar was a versatile genius and his farsightedness was unique. He built up an empire which survived Jehangir's lust for pleasures, Shah Jahan's infatuation for palaces and Mausoleums, and Aurangzeb's fanaticism. The successive rulers after Akbar so weakened the Empire that it ceased to exist after Aurangzeb 'launched his vessel on the waves of Eternity.'

Aurangzeb successfully destroyed all that Akbar built. The secret of Akbar's success was his complete adaptability to the environment of the then India. "On all questions which have affected mankind in all ages, and which affect them still, the questions of religion, of civil polity, of the administration of justice, he had an open mind, absolutely free from prejudice, eager to receive impressions."[1]

He trusted the Hindus and they completely identified themselves with him. He abolished the Pilgrim Tax which used to yield millions of rupees yearly. ".....it would be wrong to throw the smallest stumbling-block in the way of this manifestation of their submission to that which they regarded as a divine ordinance."[2]

He abolished *Jizya* or the capitation tax, thus turning orthodox Mohammedans against him. This was a great achievement on the part of Akbar for, Mohammedans always utilised this opportunity of collecting *Jizya* in a manner which offended the self-respect of the Hindu community. Here is a specimen of the stupid rule in the time of Firoz. "When the collector of the *Diwan* (Revenue)" writes the author of the Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahhi, "asks the Hindus to pay the tax, they should pay it with all humility and submission. And if the collector wishes to spit into their mouths, they should open their mouths without the slightest fear of contamination, so that the collector may do so. The object of such humiliation and spitting into their mouths is to prove the obedience of infidel subjects under protection, and to

1) "Akbar" by Col. G. B. Malleson, p. 83.

2) "Akbar" by Col. G. B. Malleson, p. 174.

promote the glory of the Islam, the true religion, and to show contempt for false religions."[1]

He forbade marriages before the age of puberty, encouraged widow marriages, and discouraged *Sutee* (burning of the Hindu widows with their dead husbands). He prohibited the slaughter of animals for sacrifice, and prohibited trials by ordeal. In order to further please the Hindus "he discouraged the slaughter of kine. On the other hand, he pronounced the killing and partaking of the flesh of swine to be lawful. He declared dogs to be clean. He allowed the moderate use of wine. In 1592, he introduced the practice of shaving the beard."[2] It is worth-while remembering that the eating of swine's flesh, the keeping of dogs, drinking of wine, and shaving of the beard are explicitly disallowed in the *Koran*. But Akbar was no blind follower of dogmas and ritualism which destroy the essence of religion. He always gave first place to reason and opposed bigotry.

Akbar believed in a larger humanity and was always eager to champion the cause of the weak. After his conquest of Bengal and Bihar, it came to his knowledge that these countries were highly malarial and that the soldiers suffered a good deal from this fell disease. "He ordered for the encouragement of the army that the pay of the soldiers should be increased by a hundred per cent. in Bengal and fifty per cent. in Bihar."[3]

He appointed right-minded and energetic men to act as inspectors in various places and to represent to him impartially the condition of oppressed people and seekers after justice and to report unavoidable calamities.

He gladly gave assent to Abu-l-Fazl's request "that the *Darghas* of every city and town should record the householders thereof, name by name, and trade by trade, and should always keep a close eye on their income and expenditure, and should expel the do-nothings, the mischievous, and the bad."[4]

Akbar was a generous foe, defying the regent Bairam who asked him to kill the defeated and wounded Hemu. In the seventh year of his reign, "he abolished the practice, heretofore

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1) "Akbar" by Col. G. B. Malleson, pp. 174-175.

2) "Akbar" by Col. G. B. Malleson, p. 177.

3) "Akbar Nama of Abu-l-Fazl" translated by H. Beveridge, I.C.S., (Vol. III), p. 431.

4) "Akbar Nama of Abu-l-Fazl" translated by H. Beveridge, I.C.S., (Vol. III), p. 560.

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4) "Akbar Nama of Abu-l-Fazl" translated by H. Beveridge, I.C.S., (Vol. III), p. 560.

loyal corps, directly attached to the throne, Akbar established a sort of feudal, but not hereditary aristocracy called *Mansabdars,* who were in receipt of salaries or held lands direct from the crown, during the pleasure of the sovereign, on condition of military service. The dangers of a possible territorial aristocracy, into which this body of life-peers might have developed, were minimised by a regular system of inspection and a careful supervision of the rent-collection. The system worked admirably as long as it was strictly carried out. For nearly a century, Hindu and Persian nobles loyally served their common sovereign in war and civil government of the country. It broke down only when religious intolerance sapped its strength."

Says another writer, "When we reflect what he did, the age in which he did it, the method he introduced to accomplish it, we are bound to recognise in Akbar one of those illustrious men whom Providence sends, in the hour of a nation's trouble, to reconduct it into those paths of peace and toleration which alone can assure the happiness of millions."[1]

APPENDIX—D.

Advice given to Prince Sultan Murad at the time of his departure (1591 A.D.) to take Charge of the Province of Malwa as recorded in "Akbarnama" of Abu-l-Fazl translated by H. Beveridge, I.C.S., (pp. 911-14 of vol. III).

"The first step is to enquire into what is God's will, in order that right actions may be performed. After that, outward purification is to be pursued. Food and clothing are not to be made ends. Profundity of view is to be exercised. Tyrannous actions are to be abstained from. The rules of moderation and of fitting season are not to be departed from. Every member (of the body) is to be kept to its proper office. Much speaking and laughing are to be avoided. Sleep is not to exceed one-third part of the day and night (nychthemeron). There must be an endeavour to improve the army, and the country, to provide for the safety of the roads, and the obedience of the refractory; and thieves and robbers must be put down. Then attention is to be paid to internal improvement. Lust and wrath must be

1) "Akbar" by Col. G. B. Malleson, p. 200.

subjected to the commands of wisdom, for the Creator has placed two sentinels—the two recording angels who attend every man, one records his good actions, and the other his evil deeds—in the palace of the body. The one sees that proper things are done; the other that evil things are abstained from. The children of men out of somnolent intellect have given these two a loose rein, and have made what should be the adornment of life the supporter of death. Do not neglect the knowledge of what is right, and support the power of the ruler (Reason). Preserve the equality of the four humours, and keep far from excess and defect which constitute evil. Use justice and discretion in this daily market of hypocrisy and double-facedness. The worship of the choosers of by-paths who have severed the links of association is one thing, and that of those who are bound in the improvement of the world is another. Though the idea of both is development, yet the former never departs from awakedness, while insouciance is suitable to the latter. Study the actions of every one, and be not disturbed by seeing improprieties. Let not love or hate, or threats or encouragements transgress bounds. A frown will effect with many, what in other men requires a sword and dagger. Let not difference of religion interfere with policy, and be not violent in inflicting retribution. Adorn the confidential council with men who know their work. If apologies be made, accept them. Be not stiff in your own opinions. Do not consider any one suitable for this employment (the giving of advice) except a far-seeing, right-thinking and disinterested person. Do not make ease your rule, and do not reject help in the day of (your) distress. Do not be dismayed by much ill-success. Choose the observance of your promises above all advantage to yourself, and live so that the crowds of foreigners be not distressed. Especially see to it that merchants have a good opinion of you for their report carries far. Expect from every one service in proportion to his ability. Be not deceived in your inquiries by glozing words. Love is produced by one of four things. First, the idea of worldly advantage. This is slow to come and soon goes. Second, spiritual advantage. This is the opposite of the first. Third, goodness of disposition. This lasts throughout life. Its permanency or its non-existence depends upon wisdom. Fourth, loyalty (*Ikhlas*). One must by the route of this four-fold stream look narrowly into the condition of followers, and regulate his actions according to such knowledge. You must study instructive books (*Mahabharat* was sent to him) and apply your knowledge to practice. Secure the affec-

tions of contented hermits and of the matted-haired and barefooted. Be not uplifted by beholding those who have been robbed of splendour. Apply yourself to sympathising with the soldier, and give him his pay in due season. Demand from every one suitable horses, arms and tents from him. Reward good service. Do not lose sight of an old servant. Fail not to encourage the husbandman. For every employment secure truthful and active-minded men, so that they may do good work without desire of money, or of greatness or praise. Do not withhold your own supervision from them. Exalt the right-thinking, and admonish and punish the foolish. Be not satisfied in the administration of justice with oaths and witnesses. Make various inquiries and study the book of the forehead (the physiognomy). Do not introduce new customs which yield little advantage and much evil. Make over the Passes to brave and experienced men and neglect not the security of the roads. In prosperity remember adversity, and prepare remedies for everything. Choose a good companion, and be not offended at his truthful speech. Obey wisdom and refrain from ebullitions of temper."

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BOOK III.

JEHANGIR, THE PLEASURE-SEEKER.

I. The Organisation of the Empire:
   (a) General;
   (b) Extent of the Empire and its Administration;
   (c) Routes and Transport System;
   (d) Land Policy;
and (e) Labour Availability and its Distribution.
II. Capital Organisation: Currency and its Regulation, Hundees and Taxation.
III. Manufactures.—Raw Materials and their Utilisation.
IV. Trade: (a) General;
   (b) Trade Centres;
   (c) Inter-Provincial Trade;
   (d) Frontier Trade;
   (e) Foreign Trade;
and (f) Government Interference in and Monopolies of Trade.
V. Conclusion.

Appendix A.

"For a cup of wine, a plate of meat, and a loaf of bread I have sold the Empire to Nur Jehan who may do what she likes with it."

... (*Jehangir's saying*).

CHAPTER I.

THE ORGANISATION OF THE EMPIRE.

(a) *General.* Salbancke was a factor of the East India Company. He lived in India during Jehangir's reign and gives a different interpretation to the word Mughal. He says that the term included Persians, Turks, and Tartars. 'Yea, very often they called Christians Mughals also.' He, as well as Sir Thomas Roe, says that the term meant 'circumcised,' that is, that it was applicable to all Mohammedans.

"Bernier remarks that it was enough to have a white complexion and to profess Islam to be called a Mughal. Boullaye le Gouz and John Fryer simply give 'white' as the significance of the term.[1]

Jehangir was half a Mogul and half a Rajput. He ascended the throne in 1605 and though he ruled till 1627, his reign after 1611 was the reign of the puppet King, for, after 1611 the real ruler of Hindustan was his wife Nur Jehan.

After 1611 he passed his time in sports and in sensual indulgence. His nature was very cruel. He loved to torture men and animals. He never observed any method in his administration. His father laid down that a man should be raised step by step. Jehangir would give immediate promotion to his favourites from the lowest grade to a very high grade.

He was very fond of wine, women, opium, and hunting, and after 1611 he delegated all his powers to his wife Nur Jehan. He was very fond of flowers and perfumes. He laid out many gardens in India which even to-day show his aesthetic ability. In 1612, he laid out the Shahdera gardens at Lahore ; his father's Mausoleum in Sikandra (near Agra) was completed in 1613 ; the famous gardens in Kashmir (Shalimar Bagh, 1613-15 and Nishat Bagh, (1615-20) pay tribute to his memory to-day ; and Khusru Bagh and Mausoleum at Allahabad were built in memory of his wife (Khusru's mother) in the years 1615-1625.

"This garden (Shalimar bagh), situated on the edge of the Dhal lake, near Srinagar, is said by some to have been made by Jehangir, but natives have told me that it was made by Akbar,

1) "History of Jehangir" by Beni Prasad, pp. 83-84.

and if the Nishat Bagh was made by Jehangir, which is probably correct, it seems unlikely that he—Jehangir—would have made two gardens so close together."[1]

This view of Mr. Gorham is not correct. It was Jehangir who started the practice of going to Kashmir and, moreover, he maintained two courts : one at Agra and the other at Lahore. Akbar had neither time nor skill for the laying out of gardens. Both the gardens were laid out by Jehangir.

Nur Jehan built a big Mosque called *Pathar Masjid* (Stone Mosque) in Srinagar, Kashmir. "This Masjid is the only well-built Masjid, or indeed Mahomedan building, I have come across in Kashmir, and in spite of its being situated in Srinagar, which has a large Mahomedan population, is deserted and used as a store-house. It was built in the time of Jehangir, by the Queen Nur Mahal, and it is said that Mahomedans despise the building because it was made by a woman—that is to say under the orders of a queen."[2] A mosque built by a woman would be a house of abomination to the true worshippers of Islam. It would be a monument of a woman's folly and as such would be condemned by men. No wonder that the Pathar Masjid is a store-house to-day !

Jehangir encouraged learning, was fond of architecture and art and devoted to the beauties of natural scenery and flowers. He had trees planted on the roads, dug wells, and constructed *Serais* (inns). In this alone he followed Akbar's policy. He knew the art of squeezing presents from his *Omrahs* and *Mansabdars*. On various occasions he would convey hints to them and the presents would be given to him on a lavish scale. He writes about Sultan Parveiz's return from Allahabad to Agra in this strain : "I intimated that every individual person of my court, of whatever degree, desirous of evincing his attachment to me, each according to his ability, should make a present of some value to the Shahzadah ; and by an account subsequently laid before me, it appears that he received on this occasion, in consequence of such intimation, in gold and jewels, horses and elephants, what amounted in the whole to the value of two hundred lakh (20 million) of rupees."[3]

Sultan Parveiz presented to the Emperor, his father, "Eighty

1) "Indian Masons' Marks of the Moghul Dynasty" by Gorham, p. 17.
2) "Indian Masons' Marks of the Moghul Dynasty" by Gorham, p. 19.
3) "Autobiographical Memoirs of the Reign of Emperor Jahangier" by Major David Price, p. 122.

trained elephants of the highest value ; two hundred horses of the best breed of Irak, with their caparisons wrought in gold ; one thousand camels of the dromedary sort chosen for their speed ; a number of the large white oxen of Gujerat ; four hundred trays of gold brocade, velvet, satin, and other pieces of manufacture of the rarest fabric ; and twelve trays of jewels, consisting of diamonds, rubies, pearls, and turquoises ; altogether, according to the schedule, being equivalent to the magnificent sum of four hundred *laks* (forty million) of rupees. On my part, throwing round his neck a chaplet of pearl of the value of ten *lakhs* (one million) of rupees, I raised him at once from the order of ten thousand to that of thirty thousand horse."[1] Parveiz received presents worth twenty million rupees and gave presents worth forty million rupees and got a lift from ten thousand *mansab* to thirty thousand *mansab* !

Jehangir's reign is important for the East India Company, because it then secured permission to build a factory at Surat. Their coming into the field synchronised with the decay of the Portuguese power and their ultimate removal from the Eastern Seas. From 1498, the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope route, to 1580, the annexation of Portugal by Spain—the voice of Portugal was supreme in the waters of the East. "From the Cape of Good Hope to China the extended coast-line was armed with a chain of Portuguese fortresses, and no ship could sail without a Portuguese pass-port."[2]

From 1597 onwards the Dutch appeared in the field and they founded "plantations by the sword." The Portuguese were no match for them for the Dutch attacked their weakest links in the chain of fortresses. The Portuguese got no help from the Indians because they had forfeited all confidence and love by their mad policy of ferocity and dishonesty. G. De Magalhaes Teixeiro Pinto, Chief Judge of Goa, ascribes the failure of the Portuguese to the following five factors :

(1) the great extent of the line of forts which annually drained a large amount of money and three thousand men from Portugal ;

(2) the destruction of native commerce by Portuguese monopoly ;

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1) "Autobiographical Memoirs of the Reign of Emperor Jahangier" by Major David Price, p. 123.

2) "Mediaeval India under Mohammedan Rule" by Stanley Lane-Poole, p. 293.

(3) religious fanaticism ;
(4) bad policy of Albuquerque in selecting Goa as the capital and in extending towards Malacca ; and
(5) the bad and corrupt and licentious officials who encouraged slavery and immoral trade.

Spanish domination which began in 1580 and lasted till 1640 was, in his opinion, only "the finishing stroke."

(b) *Extent of the Empire and its Administration.*

Extent of the Empire.

Towards the close of Akbar's reign the Mogul Empire extended to the upper courses of the then Bhima, but Jehangir's feeble reign gave a set back to this expansion. "The length is North-West to South-East ; from Chandahar (Kandhar) to Lahore 350 courses, about 800 miles ; from Lahore to Agra, 320 courses, about 752 miles ; from Agra to Hhagipurpatna (Patna) 300 courses, about 680 miles ; from Hhagipurpatna to Kirasunder (Kiyara Sundar in the Sarkar of Souargaon), 300 courses, about 670 miles. In all, courses 1270, miles about 2872.

"The breadth in all is North-East to South-West, from Hardwar to Duarsa (Dwarka), 630 courses, about 1500 miles."[1]

Hawkins simply describes the Empire as being composed of five great kingdoms : the Punjab, Bengal, Malwa, Deccan and Gujarat.

"The length of it from Surat northwards to Kashmir is 1100 *kos,* or 800 (Holland) miles, taking 1½ *kos* to the mile. The stages are : Surat to Burhanpur, 150 *kos* ; thence to Agra, 350 *K.* ; Agra to Lahore, 300 *K.* ; and from Lahore to Kashmir 300 *K.* The route by Ahmadabad is 50 *Kos* nearer. Towards the North-West, the distance from Lahore, by Multan, to Khandar is 600 *K.* On the East, it is 1000 *K.* from Agra to the sea coast through Purop, Bengal, and Orissa. In the west, Kabul is 300 *K.* from Lahore ; and in the South-West, the Kingdom extends to Tatta, Sind and Bakkar. If all these countries were justly or rationally governed, they would not only yield an incalculable

1) "The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to the Court of the Great Mogul (1615-19)" by William Forster (Part II). Mileage is not correct. From Kandhar to Lahore is 700 miles; Lahore to Agra is 440 miles by way of Muttra; Agra to Patna is 530 miles; Patna to Kiyara Sundar is over 400 miles; and so the total number of miles is about 2100 and not 2872, pp. 540-541.

income, but would enable him (Jehangir) to conquer all the neighbouring kingdoms."[1]

The extent of the Empire in 1623 is briefly summed up as comprising "The whole of the northern part of India, including the present North-West Provinces, Oudh and the Punjab, together with the provinces of Bengal and Orissa. To these provinces may be added the smaller territories of Malwa, Scinde, Guzerat, Marwar, Khanderh, and Berar."[2]

Administration of the Empire.

The plan of administration was the same as laid down by Akbar but Jehangir had not the governing genius of his father. His weak nature and desire for sensual enjoyment, on the one hand, and the trinity behind the throne formed of Nur Jehan, her father Itimad-uddaulah, and her brother Asaf Khan, on the other, completely demoralised the government. He would pass orders which were not obeyed, he would mark out a line of action for himself which he did not follow, he would give promises and issue *firmans* but they were annulled next day. Sir Thomas Roe in utter disgust wrote to the East India Company on 14th February 1616, "……I could procure you camels loades of *firmaens* to no purpose," and in another letter to the Lord Bishop of Canterbury dated Adsmere, 29th Jan. 1616 he wrote, "His Governors of Provinces rule by his *Firmaens,* which is a brief letter authorising them. They take life and goodes at pleasure." His Dasturu-l-amal (Laws of Governance) gives us a clear idea of what he wanted to do and what he really did. The difference between theory and practice is, as usual, very great. The twelve rules of *Dasturu-l-amal* are as follows :

(1) He prohibited *Tamgha* and *Mirbahri* (river tolls) ; (2) He encouraged the building of Serais and digging of wells at the sides of roads ; (3) The bales of merchants should not be opened on the roads without informing them and obtaining their leave ; (4) The property of the deceased should be left to heirs. If there are no heirs, then the property should be spent for some public good ; (5) They should not make wine (*dilbahara*=exhilarating drink) or any kind of intoxicating drink or sell it ; (6) They should not take possession of any person's house ; (7)

1) "The Remonstrantie of Francisco Palsaert" translated by Moreland and Geyl, p. 58.

2) "The Travels of Pietro Della Valle in India" by Edward Gray (Vol. I), p. XXXVI.

He stopped the cutting of the nose or ears of any person, and himself made a vow by the throne of God that he would not blemish any one by this punishment; (8) He gave an order that the officials of the Crown lands and the *Jagirdars* should not forcibly take the ryots' lands and cultivate them on their own account; (9) A Government Collector or a Jagirdar should not without permission intermarry with the people of the *pargans* in which he might be; (10) They should found hospitals in great cities; (11) Slaughter of animals was stopped for a certain number of days in the year. In every week, Thursdays and Sundays were prohibited days for the slaughter of animals; and (12). He gave a general order that the offices and *jagirs* of his father's servants should remain as they were.[1]

Now let us see how his Dasturu-l-amal worked in practice. The realisation of *Tamgha* and *Mirbahri* was continued by Jagirdars and officials. The building of *Serais* was encouraged. Nur Jehan took an active part in the building of *Serais*: "Meanwhile she erects very expensive buildings in all directions—*sarais*, or halting-places for travellers and merchants, and pleasure-gardens and palaces such as no one has ever made before—intending thereby to establish an enduring reputation."[2] The bales of merchants were always opened and a good deal of trouble was given to them. The only way to avoid this humiliating treatment was to bribe the officials. Those who stood on their dignity and rights suffered. Sir Thomas Roe's report and letters are full of the high-handed acts of these officials.

The property of the deceased always lapsed to the Crown. "He is every man's heire when he dyeth, which maketh him rich, and the country so evill builded.....But as they die, and must needs gather, so it returneth to the King like rivers to the sea, both of those he gave to, and of those that have gained by their owne industry."[3] (Sir Thomas Roe.) "The custome of this Mogoll Emperour (Jehangir) is to take possession of his noblemen's treasure when they die, and to bestow on his (their) children what he pleaseth....." [4] (William Haw-

1) A summary of pages 7 to 10 of "Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri" (Vol. I Rogers and Beveridge).

2) "The Remonstrantie of Francisco Pelsaert" translated by Moreland and Geyl, p. 50.

3) "The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to the Court of the Great Mogul (1615-1619)" by William Foster (Vol. I), p. 110.

4) "Early Travels in India 1583-1619" by Foster, p. 104.

kins.) "Immediately on the death of a lord who has enjoyed the King's *Jagir,* be he great or small, without any exception—even before the breath is out of his body—the King's officers are ready on the spot, and make an inventory of the entire estate, recording everything down to the value of a single pice, even to the dresses and jewels of the ladies, provided they have not concealed them. The King takes back the whole estate absolutely for himself, except in a case where the deceased has done good service in his lifetime, when the women and children are given enough to live on, but no more."[1]

Roe, Hawkins, and Pelsaert agree that Jehangir violated the rules that he framed for others. There are innumerable instances of the seizure of property of others and its lapsing to the Crown. As regards the rule about wine, it was more honoured in the breach than the observance. The whole court used to drink its *piyalas* (cups) of wine every evening.

The vow that Jehangir took about not cutting off the nose or ears of any person was the vow of a drunkard, broken as soon as the troth was plighted. Jehangir was not the man to keep this vow, for temperamentally he was very fond of subjecting others to torture. Akbar had to rebuke him several times. Here is an instance of his cruel temperament. "This day a gentellwoeman of Normalls was taken in the Kings house in some action with an Eunuch. Another capon that loved her kyled him. The Poore woeman was set up to the Arme pitts in the Earth hard ramed, her feete tyde to a stake, to abyde 3 dayes and 2 nights, without any sustenance, her head and armes bare, exposed to the sunns violence: if shee died not in that tyme she should be pardoned."[2]

The other rules are of minor importance and even they were not obeyed.

Jehangir was very fond of show. There was no reality or originality about him. Speaking of his chain of justice he says,

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1) "The Remonstrantie of Francisco Pelsaert" translated by Moreland and Geyl, pp. 54-55.

2) "Terry says that the fault she had committed was kissing the Eunuch: that the latter was cut to pieces in her sight: and that she lived a day and a half, crying out most lamentably, while she was able to speak, in her language, as the Shunamites childe did in his, Ah, my head! my head!; which horrid execution or rather murder, was enacted near our house." Foot note in p. 215 of the embassy of Sir Thomas Roe.

"I ordered them to make a chain of pure gold, 30 *gaz* in length and containing 60 bells. Its weight was 4 Indian maunds equal to 42 Iraqi maunds. One end of it they made fast to the battlements of the Shah Burj of the fort at Agra and the other to a stone post fixed on the bank of the river."[1]

He describes his chain of pure gold minutely, but does not mention how many times it was pulled. What justice people got by that colossal waste of money he leaves out the account.

No grant was made except under Nur Jehan's seal. She was granted the rights of sovereignty. Coin was struck in her name with this superscription : 'By order of King Jehangir, gold has a hundred splendours added to it by receiving the impression of the name of Nur-Jehan the queen.' She signed all *firmans* jointly with the King.

"Laws these people have none written. The King's judgment binds ; who sits and gives judgment with much patience, both in civil and criminal causes, where sometimes he sees execution done by his elephants, with too much delight in blood. His governors of province rule by his commissions authorising them, and take life and goods at pleasure.

"All the land is his, no man has a foot."[2]

Hawkins arrived at Surat on 24th August, 1608. He found the authorities in Gujarat oppressive and venal. The governor pillaged the goods, only paying "such a price as his owne barbarous conscience afforded.....He came to my house three times, sweeping me cleane of all things that were good." We will close this part of the chapter by giving Pelsaert's views on 'The Administration of the Country.' "The chief reason is that Jehangir, disregarding his own person and position, has surrendered himself to a crafty wife of humble lineage, as the result either of her arts or of her persuasive tongue."[3]

"It is the practice of the King, or rather of his wife, to give rapid advancement and promotion to any soldier, however low his rank, who has carried out orders with credit, or has displayed courage in the field. On the other hand, a very small fault, or a trifling mistake, may bring a man to the depths of misery or to the scaffold, and consequently everything in the

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1) "Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri" by Rogers and Beveridge (Vol. I), p. 7.

2) "The Mogul Emperors of Hindustan" by E. S. Holden, p. 222.

3) "The Remonstrantie of Francisco Pelsaert" by Moreland and Geyl, p. 50.

kingdom is uncertain. Wealth, position, love, friendship, confidence, everything hangs by a thread."[1]

"As regards the laws, they are scarcely observed at all, for the administration is absolutely autocratic, but there are books of law, which are in charge of their lawyers, the Kazis (a)"[2] "The facts are very different, although in every city there is a *Kachhari*, or royal court of justice, where the Governor, the *Diwan*, the *Bakshi*, the *Kotwal*, the *Kazi*, and other officers sit together daily, or four days in the week. Here all disputes are disposed of, but not until avarice has had its share. All capital cases, such as thefts, murders, or crimes are finally disposed of by the Governor, if the criminals are poor and unable to pay, and the sweepers drag them out to execution with very little ceremony. In the case of other offences the criminals are seldom or never executed; their property is merely confiscated for the Governor and *Kotwal*. Ordinary questions of divorce, quarrels, fights, threats, and the like, are in the hands of the *Kotwal* and the *Kazi*. One must indeed be sorry for the man who has to come to judgment before these godless 'un-judges'; their eyes are bleared with greed, their mouths gape like wolves for covetousness, and their bellies hunger for the bread of the poor; every one stands with hands open to receive, for no mercy or compassion can be had except on payment of cash. This fault should not be attributed to judges or officers alone, for the evil is a universal plague; from the least to the greatest, right up to the King himself, every one is infected with insatiable greed....."The King's letters or *farmans* to the chief lords or princes are transmitted with incredible speed, because royal runners are posted in the villages 4 or 5 *Kos* apart, taking their turns of duty throughout the day and the night, and they take over a letter immediately on its arrival, run with it to the next village in a breath, and hand it over to another messenger. So the letter goes steadily on, and will travel 80 *kos* between night and day. Further the King has pigeons kept everywhere, to carry letters in time of need or great urgency. But it is important to recognise also that he (Jehangir) is to be regarded as King of the plains or the open roads only; for

1) "The Remonstrantie of Francisco Pelsaert" by Moreland and Geyl, p. 50.

2) "The Remonstrantie of Francisco Pelsaert" by Moreland and Geyl, p. 57.

(a) *Kazis* were not lawyers. They were judges.

in many places you can travel only with a strong body of men, or on payment of heavy tolls to rebels.....
.....The governors are usually bribed by the thieves to remain inactive for avarice dominates manly honour, and, instead of maintaining troops, they fill and adorn their *mahals* with beautiful women, and seem to have the pleasure-house of the whole world within their walls."[1]

(c) *Routes and Transport System.*

In Jehangir's reign Lahore rose into importance and the routes converging at and radiating from Lahore, consequently received more attention. The importance of routes from Surat via Ahmadabad to Agra and from Agra to Patna was in no way diminished. Bengal was coming more into prominence. Ordinarily, little traffic existed on two of the land routes, those of Kabul and Kandahar, but when hostilities between the Portuguese and the Moguls interrupted the sea-traffic in 1615, then these routes became very important. By these routes indigo from Agra was sent to the Levant in those days and was sold in the Mediterranean markets.

Some of the routes traversed by famous travellers in Jehangir's reign are given below :

William Finch (1608-11) : Agra—Rankata—Badeg Sare—(Jamalpur)—Akbarpur—H o d a l—Palwal—Faridabad—Delhi—Panipat—K a r n a l—Thanesar (Sal-armoniake pits abound)—Shahabad—Amballa—Sirhind—Phillaur—Ki-Sarai—Sultanpur—Lahore—Aminabad—Gujarat—Khawaspore—Rohtas—Rawalpindi—Hassanabdall—Attock—Peshawar—Ali Masjid—Daka—Ali Boghan—Jalalabad—Budda Charbag—Nimla—Surkhab—Doaba-Camree (Bikrami)—Cabul—Talikhan (a city in Badakshan). "From Cabull to Cascar (Kashgar) with the caravan is some two or three monthes journey. It is a great kingdome and under the Tartar. A chief citie of trade in his territorie is Yar Chaun (Yar Kand), whence comes much silke, purslane (porcelain), muske, and rheubarb, with other merchandize ; all which come from China, the gate or entrance whereof is some two or three monthes journey from hence. When they come to this entrance, they are forced to remaine under their tents, and by license send some ten or fifteen merchants at once to do their business, which being returned they may send as many more ; but by no means can the whole caravan enter at once."[2]

1) "The Remonstrantie of Francisco Pelsaert" by Moreland and Geyl, pp. 57 to 59.

2) "Early Travels in India 1583-1619" by Foster, pp. 168-169.

He describes another route from Lahore to Kashmir. Lahore —Gujarat—Bhimbar—Peckly—Conowa—Cassimer (Kashmir). He says, "Cassimer abounds with fruits, graine, saffron, faire and white women and is also reputed for rich pomlieries (shawls —*pamri*). Though near to Cascar, there is no passage for caravans."[1]

Thomas Coryat (1612-1617), the famous "Odcombian leg-stretcher," travelled from London to Constantinople and then to Aleppo. From Aleppo to Agra he took the following route, which in money cost him fifty shillings and in time ten months : Aleppo—Diarbekr—Tabriz—Kazvin—Ispahan—Kandhar—Multan—Lahore—Delhi—Agra. Peter Mundy (1608-1667) gives the measurement of routes from Surat to Agra via Burhanpur and from Agra to Surat via Ahmadabad.

From Surat to Brampore (Burhanpur) is accompted small course 170

From Brampore to Agra is accompted great course 226

170 small course at $1\frac{1}{4}$ mile per course is miles ... $212\frac{1}{2}$

226 great course at $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile per course is miles ... 339

in all ... ... $551\frac{1}{2}$

396 course of India make English miles $551\frac{1}{2}$"[2]

"Agra to Seedpur (Sidhpur) 284 great course, at $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile English per course amounting to miles ... 426

Seedpur to Suratt 130 small course, at $1\frac{1}{4}$ mile English per course amounting to miles ... ... $172\frac{1}{2}$

Course 414 makes miles ... ...$598\frac{1}{2}$"[3]

And from Agra to Patna he computes at 253 great course, equal to $379\frac{1}{2}$ miles. Tavernier in his "Travels in India" says that Surat to Agra via Ahmadabad takes thirty-five to forty days. He describes the routes from Kandahar to Agra via Kabul and via Multan. Though the latter route (via Multan) is shorter than the former by ten days journey, yet the caravans do not take it on account of the desert between Kandahar and Multan. He mentions the Ispahan (in Persia) to Agra route and says the journey falls into one hundred and fifty stages : Ispahan—Farah—Kandahar—Kabul—Lahore—Delhi—Agra.

Nearly all the road from Lahore to Delhi and from Delhi to

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1) "Early Travels in India 1583-1619" by Forster, p. 169.

2) "The Travels of Peter Mundy (1608-1667)" Vol. II Hakluyt Society, p. 66.

3) "The Travels of Peter Mundy (1608-1667)" Vol. II Hakluyt Society, p. 272.

Agra is a continuous avenue planted throughout with beautiful trees on both sides.

Tom Coryat admired this 'Long Walk' of four hundred miles in length 'shaded by trees on both sides.'

Speaking of Masulipatam he says, "vessels from Pegu, Siam, Arakan, Bengal, Cochin China, Mecca, and Hormuz and Madagascar, Sumatra, and the Manillas come there."

We close the subject of routes after tracing Sir Thomas Roe's journey from Surat to Ajmere and back to Surat via Baroda: Surat (20th of September 1615)—Biarat (Viara in the Nadsari Division)—Baglan (in Nasik District)—Narampore (Navapur in the Khandesh District)—Nandurbar—Tolnere (Thalmer in Shirpur subdivision)—Chapre (Chopra)—Brampore (Burhanpore 24th November 1615)—Burgome (Borgaon in the Nimar District)—Mandoa (Mandu)—Cytor (Chitor)—Adjmere (Ajmere—23rd December 1615)—Ramsar—Toda—Ranthambhor—Sultanpur—Ujjain—Hasilpur—Dhar—Dohad—Balasinor—Ahmadabad—Nariad—Baroda—Broach—Surat.

Transport System.

The methods of transporting men and material were the same as in Akbar's time.

There is detailed information as regards transport charges in Jehangir's time in Hughe's letter of 6th October, 1620 (Factory Records volume I): Carts carry half a ton and land transport from Patna to Agra takes thirty to thirty-five days. The carriage of eighty-one maunds, in carts from Patna to Agra would cost one hundred and fifty-three rupees cash down and eight rupees more if carts arrive in time. Loss by robbery and damage by rain were only too common. "Thus in 1619 the rate for conveyance from Agra to Surat by way of Burhanpur was Rs. $14\frac{3}{4}$ for a camel-load of approximately 500 lbs; in 1638 a cartage contract on this route was settled at Rs. $2\frac{3}{4}$ per 74 lb.; in 1651, Rs. 15 3/16 was the charge per camel from Agra to Ahmedabad by the Rajputana route; while in 1639 goods could be carried from Agra to Lahore for Rs. 2 per maund of 74 lb. Reducing these and other rates to a common standard, we find that the cost of carrying 100 lb. a distance of 100 miles in Northern and Western India ranged between half and three-quarters of a rupee, exclusive of anything required for payment of armed guards and inland custom duties. These latter charges varied greatly according to local conditions; that they might add materially to the cost is shown by Peter Mundy's reference to a

contract by which the carriers from Agra to Ahmedabad undertook to discharge all customs demands in return for payment of Rs. 45 per cart and Rs. 9½ per camel load....."[1]

As to the carriage of correspondence, there was no state arrangement. Correspondence was all sent by private messengers who were obtainable in the chief marts and were known as bazar *Kasids*. The time required for the journey from Agra to Patna was considered to be eleven to thirteen days.

(d) *Land Policy.*

Jehangir did not greatly disturb Akbar's land policy. He removed the insecurity of tenure, which was great, by passing the following order: "that the officials of the crown lands and the *Jagirdars* (grantees) should not forcibly take the ryots' lands and cultivate them on their own account."[2] But he multiplied assignments, extended the farming system and allowed summary settlements. "Those lands which are let pay to the King two-thirds of the profit; and of those which he giveth in fee, one-third remaineth to the King. In all the world is not more fertile land than in some great parts of his dominions."[3] (William Hawkins, 1608-1613.)

The greed of the King and the avarice of the officials destroyed the productivity of the land and killed enterprise in the peasants. Says Pelsaert, "The land would give a plentiful, or even an extraordinary yield, if the peasants were not so cruelly and pitilessly oppressed; for villages which, owing to some small shortage of produce, are unable to pay the full amount of the revenue-farm, are made prize, so to speak, by their masters or governors, and wives and children sold, on the pretext of a charge of rebellion. Some peasants abscond to escape their tyranny, and take refuge with rajas who are in rebellion, and consequently the fields lie empty and unsown, and grow into wilderness. Such oppression is exceedingly prevalent in this country."[4]

And (e) *Labour Availability and its Distribution.*

The position of labour did not improve at all. The supply was more than the demand and the demand was restricted mainly to the capital. Labourers could be taken by force and paid

1) "From Akbar to Aurangzeb" by Moreland, pp. 150-151.

2) "India at the Death of Akbar" by Moreland, p. 129.

3) "Early Travels in India (1583-1619)" by Foster, p. 112.

4) "The Remonstrantie of Francisco Pelsaert" by Moreland and Geyl, p. 47.

whatever the master liked to pay. In case the labourer objected—which he would not do—there was the *Corula* (a whip of twisted cord about a fathom long with a handle of about a cubit) to bring him to his senses.

The mobility of labour was very little. There was danger to life on the roads aggravated further by low payment, and hard, uncertain conditions of work.

The efficiency of labour in India compared unfavourably with the efficiency of labour outside India. Referring to the celebrated tomb of Akbar at Secundra (Agra), says Hawkins, "..... It hath been there fourteen years abuilding, and it is thought it will not be finished there seven years more, in ending gates and walls and other needful things, for the beautifying and setting it forth. The least that work there daily, are three thousand people, but this much I will say, that one of our workmen will despatch more than three of them....."[1]

Besides the fact that the large and growing supply of cheap labour in India always undercut wages and was willing to put up with the tyrannies of rich men and officials, there was the importation of slaves and eunuchs from Africa and from the east of India. Within the Empire slaves and eunuchs were also available everywhere. Bengal and Assam were in this respect important provinces. In spite of the repeated edicts of Akbar and Jehangir, this trade in 'human flesh' flourished under the very nose of the King for he was the largest slave-owner (if eunuchs are included) in the Empire. Harems or Seraglios required the services of a large number of eunuchs to guard the 'purity' of "the gilded hens," innumerable in number, so that "the golden cock" might crow over all.

"In Hindustan, especially in the province of Sylhat, which is a dependency of Bengal, it was the custom for the people of those parts to make eunuchs of some of their sons and give them to the governor in place of revenue (*mal-wajibi*) : This custom by degrees has been adopted in other provinces, and every year some children are thus ruined and cut off from procreation. This practice has become common. At this time I (Jehangir) issued an order that hereafter no one should follow this abominable custom, and that the traffic in young eunuchs should be completely done away with."[2] Nothing was farther from Jehangir's intention at the time of issuing this order than to stop the traffic.

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1) "Early Travels in India (1583-1619)" by Foster, p. 120.

2) "Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri" by Rogers and Beveridge (Vol. I), pp. 150-151.

William Finch (1608-1611) says, "A wood is incircled and whatsoever is taken in this enclosure is called the King's *Sikar* (sport).....".

"The beasts taken, if man's meat, are sold and the money given to the poore; if men, they remaine the King's slaves, which he yearly sends to Cabull to barter for horse and dogs; these being poore, miserable, theevish people that live in woods and desarts, little differing from beasts."[1]

There is not the slightest doubt that slavery was encouraged by the King and his *Omrahs* for two reasons: First, slaves—including eunuchs, slave girls, and concubines—met a real demand which then existed, and, second, the King enjoyed the monopoly of slaves. He made some money by traffic in slaves and was himself royally served.

Very ably Pelsaert sums up labour in "Jehangir's India." He says, ".....a workman's children can follow no occupation other than that of their father, nor can they inter-marry with any other caste.....". There are three classes of the people who are indeed nominally free, but whose status differs very little from voluntary slavery—workmen, peons or servants, and shopkeepers. For the workman there are two scourges, the first of which is low wages (5 or 6 *dams*)..... The second is (the oppression of) the Governor, the nobles, the *Diwan,* the *Kotwal,* the *Bakshi,* and other royal officers. If any of these wants a workman, the man is not asked if he is willing to come, but is seized in the house or in the street, well beaten if he should dare to raise any objection, and in the evening paid half his wages, or nothing at all..... "Peons or servants are exceedingly numerous in this country, for everyone—be he mounted soldier, merchant, or King's official—keeps as many as his position and circumstances permit..... "For this slack and lazy service the wages are paid by the Moguls only after large deductions, for most of the great lords reckon 40 days to the month, and pay from 3 to 4 rupees for that period; while wages are often left several months in arrears and then paid in worn-out clothes or other things. If, however, the master holds office or power, the servants are arrogant, oppressing the innocent, and sinning on the strength of their master's greatness. Very few of them serve their master honestly; they steal whatever they can; if they buy only a pice-worth of food, they will take their share or *dasturi* (commission).....

"Whatever he may deal in....., the shop-keeper is held

1) "Early Travels in India 1583-1619" by Foster, p. 154.

in greater respect than the workman, and some of them are even well-to-do, but they must not let the fact be seen, or they will be the victims of a trumped-up charge, and whatever they have, will be confiscated in legal form.....Further, they are subject to a rule that if the King's nobles, or governors, should require any of their goods, they must sell for very little—less than half price; for to begin with, they must give great weight for small coins (Jehangiri weight for Akbari money), the difference being 20 per cent.; then 9 per cent. is deducted for *dasturi;* then clerks, overseers, cashiers, and others all know very well how to get their share; so that in such circumstances the unfortunate shop-keeper may be robbed in a single hour of the profits of a whole month....."This is a short sketch of the life of these poor wretches, who, in their submissive bondage, may be compared to poor, contemptible earthworms, or to little fishes, which, however closely they may conceal themselves, are swallowed up by the great monsters of a wild sea."[1]

Verily might Sir Thomas Roe say "(Indians) live as fishes do in the sea—the great ones eat up the little. For first the farmer robs the peasant, the gentleman robs the farmer, the greater robs the lesser, and the King robs all."

1) "The Remonstrantie of Francisco Pelsaert" by Moreland and Geyl, pp. 61 to 64.

CHAPTER II.

CAPITAL ORGANISATION: CURRENCY AND ITS REGULATIONS, HUNDEES, AND TAXATION.

Jehangir, on ascending the throne, raised weights, measures, and coins by twenty per cent. This caused great confusion. Both Akbari and Jehangiri systems prevailed. Later on he reverted to the Akbari coins, but in weights and measures he allowed both systems to prevail. He gave preference to his coins and so Akbari coins circulated at a discount. Under Jehangir, banking ceased to be the monopoly of the King though the King remained the banker of the banks, and the greatest banker in his realm. Private people carried on banking freely. "In Agra the men who are richest live mainly by money-lending, a practice which is not discreditable to Hindus, but only to Moslems (though indeed they do it commonly enough); and that certain profit comes before the gain of the enterprising merchant."[1]

Jehangir introduced two innovations in his currency: One striking coin in the name of Nur Jehan already described and the other equally striking in the sixth year of his reign—his famous gold *mohur*—of a new type: "On one face is a portrait of the emperor in the act of raising a wine-cup to his lips; on the other is the sun in the constellation of Leo."[2]

"The coins used are rupees, but there are different kinds, viz. *Khazana* (treasury) or Akbar's old coins, and *Chalani* (current) which are the rupees struck during Jehangir's reign in Agra, Lahore, Patna, Kandhar, or Gujrat; the Shroffs (Money-dealer) value the *chalani* rupee at from 1 to 2 per cent. above the *Khazana,* though the coins are identical in weight. Then there are the *Siwai,* which are equivalent to 1¼ rupees; and the

1) "The Remonstrantie of Francisco Pelsaert" by Moreland and Geyl, pp. 28-29.

2) "The Mogul Emperors of Hindustan" by E. S. Holden, p. 232.

Jahangiri, which weigh 20 per cent. more than the *Khazana.* All bargains are done in terms of the same series of units, either *Akbari* or *Jahangiri*....."There are gold coins, but only of one series, named *mohur.* The double coin weighs a *tola,* or 12 *mashas,* and is equivalent to 14 rupees, the half-coin in proportion. The inscriptions are similar to those of the rupees, except those which have been coined by the Queen (Nur Jehan); her coins, both rupees and mohurs, bear the twelve signs of the Zodiac, one sign on each coin. Very little trade, however, is done with these gold coins, seeing that most of them must come from the King's treasures, and further the great men hoard them, and search for them for their *Khazana* (treasuries). Copper coins also are in use. They are called pice, and at present 58 or more go to the rupee:[1] For still smaller sums for the use of the poor there are *cowries,* or white sea-shells, which pass at 80 to the pice."[2]

"Formerly *mahmudis,* and not rupees, were current here (Gujarat); the *mahmudi* is smaller, and worth only 10 stivers by our reckoning. Rupees have come into circulation during the last five or six years; the *mahmudi* is still the nominal unit for sales and purchases but the actual payment is generally made in rupees, which we take as 24 stivers. The King has now a mint in Surat, as in Ahmadabad and all other capital cities."[3]

Edward Terry (1616-1619) writes about coinage in Jehangir's time as follows: "All the coin or bullion that comes to this country is presently melted down and refined, and coined with the stamp of the Mogul, being his name and titles in Persian characters. This coin is purer silver than any other that I know, being of virgin silver without alloy, so that in the Spanish dollar, the purest money in Europe, there is some loss. Their money is called rupees.....This is their general money of account.....That which passes current for small change is

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1) "Pelsaert, like other writers of the period, uses the word pice to denote both the *dam* and the half-*dam* (or *adhela*). In Akbar's time about 40 dam, or 80 *adhela*, went to the rupee, but the price of copper rose sharply early in the 17th century, and at this time a rupee exchanged for 30 *dam* or less; in this passage the reference must be to the *adhela,*" footnote (2) page 29.

2) "The Remonstrantie of Francisco Pelsaert" translated by Moreland and Geyl, p. 29.

3) "The Remonstrantie of Francisco Pelsaert" translated by Moreland and Geyl, p. 42.

brass money, which they call pices, of which three, or thereabout, are worth an English penny. These are made so massy, that the brass in them, when put to other uses, is well worth the quantity of silver at which they are rated. Their silver money is made both square and round, but so thick that it never breaks or wears out."[1] (Edward Terry in Kerr, ix. p. 392.)

Importation of silver and gold at two per cent. custom duty was freely permitted, "but (it was) a crime not lesse than capitall to carry any great summe thence."[2] (Edward Terry)— Here is a list of coins of other countries outside the Empire which circulated freely in Jehangir's India :

Name	*Metal*	*Where used*	*Value in terms of rupee*
Guilder or florin	Money of account	Dutch records	Fixed at 5/6 rupee.
Rial of eight	Silver	Spanish: thro' out East	2 rupees.
Pagoda, new	Gold	South India & East Coast	3 to 3½ rupees.
Pagoda, old	Gold	do.	4 to 5 rupees.
Fanam	Gold	do.	variable.
Pound Sterling	Gold	throughout India	10 rupees.

To sum up the currency in Jehangir's time in his own words, we have to take the material from "Tuzuk-i-Jehangiri." He says, "To each (gold) coin I gave a separate name, viz. to the *muhr* of 100 *tola,* that of *nur-Shahi;* to that of 50 *tola,* that of *nur-sultani*; to that of 20 *tola, nur-daulat;* to that of 10 *tola, nur-Karam;* to that of 5 *tola, nur-mihr;* and to that of 1 *tola, nur-Jahani.* The half of this I called *nurani,* and the quarter, *rawagi.* With regard to the silver coins (*Sikkas*), I gave to the coin of 100 *tola* the name of *Kaukab-i-tali* (star of horoscope); to that of 50 *tola,* the name of *Kaukab-i-iqbal* (star of fortune); to that of 20 *tola,* the name of *Kaukab-i-murad* (star of desire); to that of 10 *tola,* the name of *Kaukab-i-bakht* (star of good luck); to that of 5 *tola,* the name of *Kaukab-a-sa'd* (star of auspiciousness); to that of 1 *tola,* the name of *Jehangiri.* The half *Jehangiri,* I called *Sultani;* the quarter, *nisari* (showering money); the dime, *Khair-i-qabul* (the acceptable). Copper, also, I coined in the same proportions, and gave each division a particular name. I ordered that on the gold *muhr* of 100, 50, 20 and 10 *tola* the following verse by Asaf Khan should be impressed namely, on the obverse was this couplet :

'Fate's pen wrote on the coin in letters of light,
The Shah Nuru-d-din Jahangir,'

1) "Revenue Resources of the Mogul Empire" by Edward Thomas, p. 26.

2) "Early Travels in India 1583-1619" by Foster, p. 302.

and between the lines of the verse the Creed (*Kalima*) was impressed. On the reverse was this couplet, in which the date of coinage was signified :

"Through this coin in the world brightened as by the Sun,
And the date thereof is 'Sun of Dominion' (*Aftab-i-Mamlakat*)"[1]

N. B.—*Aftab-i-Mamlakat* expressed in figures would represent 1014 A.H. or 1605 A.D.

Hundees and *Kothees*. *Kothees* increased in number as restrictions on banking were removed and *Hundees* also circulated to a greater extent. The practice of insurance became very common and war risks were frequently dealt in. Some enterprising *Banias* also initiated the policy of covering losses due to "overdue market." Marine insurance was well established. We learn from Nathaniel Halstead's letter from Cambay to the Surat Factory dated 24th July 1622 that "To assure our goods hence to Swalley (as the tymes is, 2 or 2½ per cent.) in our owne names I find itt bee difficult....."[2]

The rates of insurance were very high because there were many risks to be covered and, moreover, on the sea the Moguls had no authority.

The development of banking in Jehangir's time was due to Virjee Vora of Surat who died probably in 1677, Malaya of the Coromandel Coast who died in 1634, and Chetty of Malabar. These three bankers controlled an extensive and highly lucrative banking trade and other kinds of businesses as well. They were not only the biggest financiers of their time, but they were also very successful merchants.

About Virjee Vora there is a footnote which says that "he was a wealthy merchant at Surat, with whom the English had dealings as early as 1619. He is alluded to (1625) as a 'prime merchant of this town,' (1628) 'the greatest banian merchant', (1630) 'our old and accustomed merchant' ,(1634) 'the greatest and richest general merchant that inhabiteth this Vast Kingdome.' He was the Company's largest creditor in Surat and employed agents or Vakils in Agra, Burhanpur, Ahmedabad, etc. In 1643 the Court of Committees sent an 'iron chest from Nuremburg' as a present to Virjee Vora. Thevenot mentions Virjee Vora as late as 1666—'There are people vastly rich in

1) "Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri" by Rogers and Beveridge (Vol. I), pp. 10-11.
2) "The English Factories in India (1622-1633)" by William Foster, p. 101.

Surat, and a Banian a Friend of mine, called Vargivara, is reckoned to be worth at least eight millions'." [1]

Taxation. Taxation was very vexatious and uncertain. The practice of farming taxes or compounding with the officials for taxes inflicted great hardship on the traders, and the shifting of the burden of taxation from one commodity to the other or from one community to the other by mere *firmans* was a favourite practice of Jehangir and his successors. Says Terry, "The Mogul sometimes by his *Firmans* or letters patent will grant some particular thing unto single or divers persons and presently after will contradict those grants by other letters, excusing himself thus : that he is a great and an absolute king, and therefore must not be tied unto anything ; which if he were, he said that he was a slave and not a free man. Yet what he promised was usually enjoyed, although he would not be tied to a certain performance of his promise. Therefore, there can be no dealing with this king upon very sure terms, who will say and unsay, promise and deny."[2] This idea of "a great and an absolute king, (who) therefore must not be tied unto anything" coupled with the inherent right of "a great and an absolute king" to "say and unsay, promise and deny" was the root cause of Jehangir's not listening to any treaty with the King of England. Sir Thomas Roe always pressed the King for a treaty and Jehangir always refused his request. He gave him *Firmans* instead. In sheer disgust Sir Thomas Roe wrote in his journal, "Neyther will this overgrowne Eliphant descend to Article or bynde himselfe reciprocally to any Prince upon terms of Equality, but only by way of favour admitt our stay.....you can never expect to trade here upon Capitulation that shall be permanent. We must serve the tyme."

As regards the evil of farming taxes and the high-handed atrocities of the Mogul officials, Roe mentions the conversation that he had with the viceroy of Patan. "This being translated means that the Governor of Patan (Patna)was an officer or *mansabdar* of the rank of 5,000 horsemen, nominal, but was only expected to maintain a force of 1,500, which cost him three hundred thousand rupees a year. But he drew from the imperial treasury at the rate of 5,000 horse, or 1,000,000 rupees,

1) "The Travels of Peter Mundy (1608-1667)" Vol. II, Hakluyat Society, footnote 1 p. 139.

2) "The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to the Court of the Great Mogul (1615-1619) by William Foster, Vol. I, footnote 1 p. xxviii.

thus gaining 700,000 profit, besides whatever he could sweat out of the taxes of the province which was farmed out to him, beyond the 1,100,000 rupees he had to pay as rent to the treasury. In other words, this official drew a fixed salary of nearly £80,000 a year, besides what he could make out of the taxes."[1] "Yet," says Roe, "he assured me there were divers had double his entertainment, and about twenty equall."

Jehangir remitted a few taxes like *Zekhat* and *Tumgha* and he did not impose any fresh taxes, but his habit of frequently changing the schedule of tariff and of farming the taxes spelled disaster for the people.

Finch writes about the Surat custom-house as follows : "Neare to the Castle is the *alphandica* (custom-house), where is a paire of staires for lading and unlading of goods ; within are roomes for keeping goods till they be cleared, the custome being two and halfe for goods, three for victualls, and two for money.

"But none may passe without the Portugalls passe, for what, how much, and whither they please to give licence, erecting a custome on the sea, with confiscation of shippe and goods not showing it in the full quantitie to the taker and examiner."[2] Finch also mentions a new tax called *Gras* which "was a kind of blackmail levied by *Rajputs* and *Kolis,* and *grassia* was the term given to the person who received this toll. It thus came to mean a robber."[3]

Pelsaert differs from Finch as regards the customs duties. He says "Customs duties are here (Surat) $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on all imports and exports of goods, and 2 per cent. on money, either gold or silver. At present these duties are collected for the King by the Governor, Mir Jahan Kuli Beg, but formerly they were assigned to various lords as salary ; the arrangement has been altered as often as twice or thrice in the year."[4] These duties the English also had to pay.

As to tolls, Pelsaert says, speaking of Broach, that "Tolls are levied here on goods, whether brought here for consumption, or merely in transit ; the rate is $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., but it is calculated

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1) "Mediaeval India under Mohammedan Rule" by Stanley Lane-Poole, p. 315.

2) "Early Travels in India 1583-1619" by Foster, pp. 134-135.

3) "Early Travels in India 1583-1619" by Foster, p. 143 (footnote).

4) "The Remonstrantie of Francisco Pelsaert" translated by Moreland and Geyl, p. 42.

for all kinds of goods on a valuation made by the *Kazi,* or lawyer, of the town, and is in fact merely a knavish method of draining poor merchants dry. If, for instance, cloves are brought there on the way to Ahmadabad or Agra, the toll will be charged on the retail price which a local shop-keeper would charge for a pice-weight or ounce, without allowing for the heavy expense required to bring the goods into the shop, or for the seller's profit. It is the same for all kinds of goods in proportion, and, if this toll did not exist to stop us, we could bring all our goods from and to Agra much more conveniently than by way of Burhanpur, and at half the cost. It would therefore be an excellent thing if we could contract for this toll, or obtain an exemption from the king; the advantage and profit of this course can be readily inferred from what has been said above."[1]

Sir Thomas Roe tried his best to contract for the customs duties but he did not succeed.

Jehangir had a very vague notion of the principles of taxation. He used to issue *firmans* affecting the revenue of the empire without mature consideration. He gave rights to his favourites of collecting taxes and paying to the imperial treasury a certain stipulated sum. The methods employed to collect taxes and the multiplication and uncertainty of taxes hampered trade to a great extent.

1) "The Remonstrantie of Francisco Pelsaert" translated by Moreland and Geyl, p. 43.

CHAPTER III.

MANUFACTURES—RAW MATERIALS AND THEIR UTILISATION.

New raw materials like saltpetre, sal-ammoniac, sandalwood, tobacco and others came into prominence. Old *articles de commerce* of Akbar's time like indigo, sugar, cotton goods, etc. were manufactured on a larger scale as trade in Jehangir's time developed greatly. In Akbar's time, there was only one foreign group which was supreme in the markets of India, namely the Portuguese; but in Jehangir's time the Dutch, the Portuguese and the English were competing for Indian stuff in Indian markets. These traders also opened up trade with Japan and China and so the *entrepot* trade was increased.

The net result of the activities of the foreigners was to widen the markets of India and to raise the prices of Indian commodities by increasing the aggregate demand.

The manufacture of perfumes of different kinds received a new stimulus not from the foreigners but from the pleasure-seeking effeminate Jehangir and his *durbaries* (courtiers).

Indigo.—In Sir Thomas Roe's phrase, indigo was the "prime commodity." It was grown in the Gangetic plain, in Sind, in Gujarat, in the Deccan, and along the East Coast. Near Agra alone there were the following indigo centres; Hindowne (Hindaun), Byana (Bayana), Panchoona, Bashavor (Bisaur), Connoway (Khanwa), etc.

The Deccan and East Coast indigo was not developed in Akbar's time and the little that was produced was meant for home consumption. But in Jehangir's time the indigo of Bengala was coming into prominence and in Shah Jahan's time Patna became an important centre. The usual net weight of a bale of indigo was about 220 lbs. for Biana and 150 lbs. for Sarkhej. The three qualities of indigo *Nauti, Ziarie,* and Katel already described under Akbar referred to first year's cutting, second year's cutting, and final cutting. Pelsaert gives a very humorous description of these: "The best comparison I can give to illustrate these three kinds of indigo is that the *nauti* is like a

growing lad who has still to come to his prime and vigour ; the *ziarie* is like a man in his vigorous prime ; the *katel* is like an old, decrepit man, who in the course of his journey has had to cross many valleys of sadness and many mountains of misery, not only changed and wrinkled in the face, but falling gradually into helpless senility. I will add that the *nauti* far surpasses the *Katel* in substance and quality, for while only a rupee a maund separates the *ziaree* from the *nauti,* they are worth fully double the *katel.*"[1]

Pelsaert attributes the superiority of the true Bayana indigo (indigo made near the town of Bayana which does not amount to more than 300 bales) to the "brackish water" in the wells near the town, "for the use of sweet water makes the indigo hard and coarse." Aligarh in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh came into prominence as an indigo producing area during Jehangir's reign. The king and his relations used to deal in this commodity.

Sugar.—In Europe beet-sugar was not produced and, therefore, Europe depended for its supply on China and India in the East, and Brazil and Antilles in the West. England, not being on good terms with Portugal, had to fall back on the Eastern supply. The Eastern markets of sugar were to a great extent controlled by the Dutch, who mostly worked up the Bengal sugar. Indian sugar was of three types : Candy, Powdered sugar, and Jaggery or *Gur.* The first two kinds of sugar were in demand and factors at Surat used to export them. Ahmadabad and Agra were two important manufacturing centres of high class sugar.

Cotton goods.—"William Finch in his Report sent home from Surat in 1609 refers first to the different qualities of *Baftas* (ordinary Gujarat Calico, the fine makes of Broach, and the coarser goods of other centres ; then to *Semianoes* (calico made at Semiana in Patiala in Northern India), 'broader than the calico, and as I suppose more fitter for England than the *baftas*' .....,then comes *Dutties* (the loin-cloths in common wear), and then *Bairamis* the latter 'resembling Holland Cloths'—these four types representing calico in the general sense of the word. "Next he mentions a slighter stuff, or muslin, called *Serribaff* (muslins made in Deccan), as probably suited to the North African trade, and a calico of extra width, made somewhere in Cape

1) "The Remonstrantie of Francisco Pelasert" translated by Moreland and Geyl, pp. 12-13.

Comorin, which would sell well in England for sheeting' ; and he adds that higher qualities than 'these country linens' could be got if required. He then suggests some other goods for the African trade, and *Pintados* (the Portuguese word commonly used to describe goods with patterns in colours), as being likely to sell profitably for quilts and for fine hangings ; also quilts ready-made of white calico and of calico dyed red or blue."[1])

Under fancy goods, specially designed for Africa, *Reeses* (Dimity) ; *Necanies* (striped calico) ; and *Eramies* (cloth worn by pilgrims to Mecca) were well-known. The chief kind of Coast Calicoes were : *Percalles* (plain Calico of the highest grade in pieces of 8 yards by 1), best Moorees (calico occasionally dyed blue but usually shipped brown or bleached in pieces of 9 yards by $1\frac{1}{4}$), Fine *Salempores* (ordinary Moorees in pieces of 16 yards by 1) and ordinary Salempores (longcloth in pieces of 30 to 40 yards in length and a yard in width).

Other calicoes were : *Derriabands* (Dariyabad lies midway between Lucknow and Fyzabad), *Kerriabands* (manufactured probably in Khairabad, a short distance from Lucknow), *Echbaryes* (named after the Emperor Akbar and made in Oudh), *Mercoolis* (manufactured in Western Oudh), *Ambertees* (Patna calico), and *Dungaree* (cloth of a very low grade).

The demand for Calico for export purposes rose between 1619 and 1625 by 186,000 pieces, one piece being 12 to 15 yards in length. The shipment of calico in 1619 was 14,000 pieces and in 1625 was 200,000 and so new markets were developed and wider areas were tapped.

Tobacco.—Tobacco developed after Akbar's time but it never received fair play for its growth from the Moguls for they were always opposed to this commodity. The Portuguese and Dutch grew it in their colonies. Jehangir prohibited smoking in 1617. In the latter part of his reign, however, and in Shah-Jahan's time no restriction was imposed and the tobacco trade developed greatly. Manucci says that in the early years of Aurangzeb's reign the farmer of taxes paid five thousand rupees a day for the tobacco duty at Delhi alone ! The figure of five thousand rupees a day does not sound possible, but it shows the magnitude of the tobacco trade. Aurangzeb by a mere stroke of the pen completely annihilated the tobacco trade in his Empire. No man was allowed to smoke.

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1) "From Akbar to Aurangzeb" by Moreland, pp. 124-125.

Burhanpur and Bengal produced large quantities of tobacco. Says Terry, "They sowe tobacco in abundance, but know not how to cure and make it strong, as those in the Western India (i.e. the West Indies)."[1]

Sal Ammoniac was found at Thanesar or Sirhind. It is a sort of scum which was dug out and purified by evaporation. The price ranged between 7 and 7½ rupees and the demand for the commodity was weak.

Saltpetre. In 1605 the King of Spain ordered the Viceroy of Goa to send home ten or twelve casks of saltpetre yearly until further orders.

The Dutch Report in 1617 makes a mention of the substance and in the invoice of the "Naerden" from Masulipatam October 1621 there are two items relating to Saltpetre : Saltpetre, 47,000 lb. avoir, 2,964 Guilders. Saltpetre (refined), 8,700 lb. avoir, 1,170 guilders. Saltpetre, which is nothing but the washings of the contaminated soil, was obtained from the Coromandel coast, Gujarat and Agra, Konkan ports and Bihar. (Patna, therefore, became an important centre for saltpetre later on.)

Pelsaert describes this industry in detail. He says, "Saltpetre is found in many places near Agra, at distances of from 10 to 40 *kos ;* it occurs usually in villages which have formerly been inhabited, and have been for some years abandoned. It is prepared from three kinds of earth, black, yellow, and white, but the black earth gives the best quality, being free from salt or brackishness. The method of manufacture is as follows : Two shallow reservoirs like salt-pans are made on the ground one much larger than the other. The larger is filled with the salt earth and flooded with water from a channel in the ground ; the earth is then thoroughly trodden out by numbers of labourers till it is pulverised and forms a thin paste ; then it is allowed to stand for two days, so that the water may absorb all the substance. The water is then run off by a large outlet into the other reservoir, where a deposit settles, which is evaporated in iron pans once or twice, according to the degree of whiteness and purity desired, being skimmed continually until scarcely any impurities rise. It is then placed in large earthern jars, holding 25 to 30 lb., and if any impurities are still left, they sink to the bottom ; the pots are then broken, and the saltpetre dried in the sun. From 5,000 to 6,000 maunds should be obtainable yearly in Agra alone, without reckoning the produce of places

1) "Early Travels in India 1583-1619" by Foster, p. 299.

at a distance. The peasants, however, have now recognised that the produce, which was formerly cheap and in small demand, is wanted by us as well as by the English, who are also beginning to buy, and, like monkeys, are eager to imitate whatever they see done by others. The result is that, instead of the old price of 1½ rupees for a maund of 64 lb., it is now up to 2 or 2½ rupees, and likely to rise steadily."[1]

Perfumes. Jehangir was very fond of perfumes. Sandal, musk, amber, ambergris, *attar* (specially *itri-Jahangiri* which was *attar* of roses made for him by the mother of Nur Jehan). and *Chua*[2] were much in demand.

Sandalwood was supplied to Agra by the Portuguese who used to obtain it in Timor, and transport it to Malacca and thence to Goa and Cambay.

Musk was sent to Patna by Bhutan and Tibet, and Kumaon used to send it to Delhi.

Amber is a congelation of a species of gum which forms in the sea and Ambergris consists of the faeces of the sperm whale. Both yield good scent and were supplied by the foreigners.

Attar of different kinds was manufactured in India. Naosari in Gujarat and Agra were famous for the scent.

"China" is a rich perfume, made liquid, of colour black, which commonly they put under their Armepitts and thereabouts and many tymes over bosome and backe."[3]

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1) "The Remonstrantie of Francisco Pelsaert" by Moreland and Geyl, p. 46.

2) A marginal note on p. 162 of "The Travels of Peter Mundy 1608-1667" Vol. II. *"Chua* worth 18 and 20 rupees an ounce ordinarily *chwwa, Chanwa, Chowa* and *Choa* are common commercial names for a fragrant ointment or paste, made up of four ingredients, usually sandalwood, wood of aloes, saffron, and musk, or of ambergris, saffron, musk and the juice of flowers of the arbor tristis."

3) "The Travels of Peter Mundy 1608-1667" Vol. II (Hakluyet Society), p. 162.

CHAPTER IV.

TRADE.

(a) *General.* Trade in Jehangir's time was brisk and the markets had a firmer tone. Distant markets were tapped and new markets were opened because of the increased demand of the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the English. The Dutch were ousting the Portuguese from the markets of India because they had greater communal efficiency and greater resources at their command than the Portuguese. They did not come into conflict with the English because of their different spheres of operation. The Dutch worked on the East Coast, their factories being at Pulicat, Masilipatam and other places. The English tapped the Western Coast, having their headquarters at Surat. The feeling between the Dutch and the English was not friendly, the one wanting to drive out the other. Sir Thomas Roe tried to get rid of the Dutch "Who would both out-present, out-bribe, and out-buy us in all things."

These foreigners were also opening up trade with China and Japan and so arose a greater demand for Indian goods to be sent to those countries.

The great defect of Indian markets then and even now is the curse of higgling. Finch notes that the original demand on a particular pilgrim ship was 100,000 *mahmudis* (about 40,000 rupees), but the freight actually settled after considerable higgling was 2,000 rupees with certain presents in addition!

Markets were not open throughout the day or throughout the week. "Every great towne or citie of India hath markets twice a day: in the coole season presently after the sunne has risen, and a little before his setting. They sell almost everything by weight",[1] says Terry.

During the summer season shops would be busy up to one or two hours after sunrise and for three or four hours after sunset. At noon they would be closed because the heat was so great.

Victuals were very cheap. Terry tells us, "I have seen a good mutton sold for the value of one shilling. Four couple of hennes at the same price, one hare at the value of a penny, three

1) "Early Travels in India 1583-1619" by Foster, p. 313.

partridges for as little, and so in proportion all the rest."[1] The state of the Indian shipping industry was not happy under Jehangir. The coastal trade to Goa decreased on account of the decay of the Portuguese influence. The shipping to Achin decreased because the English and the Dutch fleets sailed there. The English also retaliated on Indian ships for the bad treatment they had received from Prince Khurram. The sailings to Persia also fell on account of the Portuguese collecting tolls from Indian vessels at Muscat after the fall of Ormuz. The Red Sea trade was reserved for Indians by Prince Khurram, but his order was not effective. Prince Khurram was powerless on the water.

The Moguls could not directly help the Indian Shipping industry on account of their having no naval strength. Indirectly they did their best by issuing *firmans,* and imposing restrictions on the foreigner.

It is not so easy to account for India occupying the same position in the Shipping Industry to-day as it did under Jehangir. The naval strength of England is superior to the Port Trust Organisation of the Moguls called by courtesy the Admiralty, and yet Indian Shipping Industry has not advanced!!!

The merchants of India have been given bad names by the foreigners and it is a relief to find a famous traveller (Pyrard de Laval) giving an impartial verdict on Indian merchants. A few views of travellers are given below :

Tavernier speaking of the Indian merchants of this period says, "The Jews engaged in money matters in the Turkish Empire are usually considered to be exceptionally able, but they are scarcely fit to be apprenticed to the money-changers of India."

William Finch speaking of them (the Indian merchants) says, "They are as subtle as the devil, whose limbs I certainly persuade myself they are."

"Banians," says Dr. Fryer "are the fittest tools for any deceitful undertaking."

Pyrard de Laval has some interesting things to say about the Indian merchants : "For they are all cunning folk, and owe nothing to the people of the West, themselves endued with a keener intelligence than is usual with us, and hands as subtle as ours : to see or hear a thing but once, is with them to know it. A cunning and crafty race : not, however, fraudulent, nor easy to

1) "India in the XVII Century" by J. N. Das-Gupta, p. 170.

defraud. And what is to be observed of all their manufacture is this, that they are both of good workmanship and cheap. I have never seen men of wit so fine and polished as are these Indians; they have nothing barbarous or savage about them, as we are apt to suppose.....In fact the Portuguese take and learn more from them than they from the Portuguese; and they that come fresh to Goa are very simpletons till they have acquired the airs and graces of the Indies."[1]

(b) *Trade Centres.* Agra, Lahore, Multan in the North; Satgaon, Bengal, Patna in the East; Ahmadabad, Cambay, Surat, Lahri Bundar in the West; and Burhanpur in the South were important trading centres. During Jehangir's time, Agra lost importance a great deal on account of his (Jehangir's) residence out of Agra for many months in a year. Lahore grew in importance. Patna and Bengal were gaining ground at the cost of Surat. Lahri Bundar lost importance on account of the utter defeat of the Portuguese at Ormuz. The centre of trade was shifting from the West to the East. The rise of the Eastern coast synchronises with the growth of the English. Now, we will study the trade centres in some detail.

Agra. The importance of Agra was due to the following: Its being (1) the Capital of the Empire;
(2) the indigo centre;
(3) the greatest spice-market; and because of
(4) the situation of the city at the junction of all the roads from distant countries.

"All goods must pass this way, as from Gujrat, Tatta (or Sind); from Kabul, Kandhar, or Multan, to the Deccan; from the Deccan or Burhanpur to those places, or to Lahore; and from Bengal and the whole East Country; there are no practicable alternative routes, and the roads carry indescribable quantities of merchandise, especially cotton goods."[2]

The only industry of importance in Agra was carpet-manufacturing though the city was full of "all sorts of artisans in great numbers, who can imitate neatly whatever they see, but design nothing by themselves."[3]

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1) "The Voyage of Pyrard De Laval (1608-1611)" by Albert Gray (Part I Vol. II), pp. 248-249.

2) "The Remonstrantie of Francisco Pelsaert" by Moreland and Geyl, p. 6.

3) "The Remonstrantie of Francisco Pelsaert" by Moreland and Geyl, p. 9.

Lahore was important for the overland trade with Kabul, Kandahar, Persia, and other countries. The Armenian and Aleppo merchants did a large and profitable business in Lahore. The Ravi flows past the city of Tatta, carrying a large trade in shallow-draught vessels. Lahore was famous for its carpet manufactures.

Multan commanded the route to Persia which went by way of Kandahar. Its most important products were sugar, opium, cotton goods, and sulphur. The best camels in India were available in Multan.

Satgaon was an important port in the East. The various agricultural products of Bengal and its textile products were sent out from Satgaon.

Bengal. "The country is healthy and temperate, and so wondrous fertile that one lives there for almost nothing; and there is such a quantity of rice, that, besides supplying the whole country, it is exported to all parts of India, as well to Goa and Malabar, as to Sumatra, the Moluccas, and all the islands of Sunda, to all of which lands Bengal is a very nursing mother, who supplies them with their entire subsistence and food..... The country is well supplied with animals, such as oxen, cows, and sheep; flesh is accordingly very cheap, let alone milk-foods and butter, whereof they have such an abundance that they supply the rest of India; and pile carpets of various kinds, which they weave with great skill. There are many good fruits..... The country abounds with sugar-cane.....Cotton is so plentiful, that, after providing for the uses and clothing of the natives, and besides exporting the raw material, they make such a quantity of cotton cloths, and so excellently woven, that these articles are exported, and thence only, to all India, but chiefly to the parts about Sunda. Likewise is there plenty of silk, as well that of the silkworm as of the (silk) herb,[1] which is of the bright-

1) Foot-note 2, in p. 328 (re (silk) herb) of "The Voyage of Pyrard De Laval" by Albert Gray:
"This grass-silk is referred to by Linschoten as a kind of linen. 'It is yellowish, and is called the herbe of Bengalen, wherewith they do most cunningly stitch their coverlits, pavilions, pillowes, carpets and mantles—likewise they make whole peeces or webbes of this herbe sometimes mixed and woven with silke, although those of the hearbe itselfe are dearer and more esteemed, and is much fairer than the silke. These webbes are named *Sarrijin,* and it is much used and worn in India' " (Hak. Sec., I, 96).

est yellow colour, and brighter than silk itself: of this they make many stuffs of divers colours, and export them to all parts. Some of these cottons and silks are so fine that it is difficult to say whether a person so attired be clothed or nude. Many other kinds of work, such as furniture and vessels, are constructed with extraordinary delicacy which, if brought here, would be said to come from China."[1]

Sir Thomas Roe in 1616 wrote to the factors at Surat about Bengal as follows: "That Bengala should bee poore I see no reason; it feeds this Countrie with wheate and rice; it sends sugar to all India; it hath the finest cloth and *Pintadoes,* Musk, Ciutt and Amber (besides) almost all raretyes from thence by trade from Pegu....."

The agricultural wealth of Bengal was and is very great. The Moguls had no idea of the great mineral wealth of Bengal or they would have earned fabulous royalties out of it. They were fully familiar with the royalty system for no permission for mining was given unless a stipulated sum was paid to the King.

Patna yielded annually about 1,000 to 2,000 maunds of silk which was sent to Gujarat and to Agra. It produced muslin (cassa) and opium. The shields manufactured in Patna had more than a local fame. Patna carried on a lucrative trade with Bhutan, Thibet, and Nepal.

Ahmadabad was the most important city of the Moguls. Its *articles de luxe* were reputed far and wide. "Painters, inlayers, and other skilful workmen arrange oyster shells in such a way as to form beautiful lines. Pen-holders, small boxes, and other things are made. Cloth of gold tissue, *chirah* (coloured turban) *jetah* (loin-band), *Jamahwar* (flowered woollen stuff), velvet, brocade, silk-cloth, and *khara* (undulated silk-cloth), are well-woven here. They imitate various fabrics of Turkey, Europe, and Persia; the *dhoti* especially, is excellently woven, and it is carried to distant lands by way of present. Swords, *Jamdhars, Khapwah* (daggers), and bows are well-made. Lustrous jewels are bought and sold. The silver and gold of Turkey and Iraq are imported."[2]

Cambay's trade declined considerably. Formerly three *Kafilas* (many coasting fleets of small craft) used to come every year. But the decline of the Portuguese trading affected Cambay a

1) "The Voyage of Pyrard De Laval" by Albert Gray (Vol. I), pp. 327-329.

2) "Khulasatu-T-Tawariku" translated by Jadunath Sarkar, pp. 61-62.

great deal. "Cambay is celebrated for the manufacture of agates cornelian, and other stones. The Cornelians come from mines in the vicinity of Rataupur, in the native state of Rajgupta, Rewa Kantha."[1]

Surat is the chief sea-port, though the city is 7 *Kos*, up the river. All goods, both imports and exports, must be shipped and landed by boat. After the settling of the English there, Indians suffered heavily in trade. The carrying trade from Surat to Mocha, Ispahan, or Suez fell to the English at the cost of the Indians. Surat, being a poor manufacturing city, was losing rapidly in importance.

Lahri Bundar was an important port where all large vessels could anchor. It declined considerably after the fall of Ormuz. Tatta, the capital of Sind, was a good hinterland. Cotton-goods, *taffetas* of yarn and silk; ornamental desks, writing cases and similar goods prettily inlaid with ivory and ebony were the important manufactures of the place.

Burhanpur was on the way from Surat to Agra and was an important gateway for Deccan. The English used to have a factory there. They found Burhanpur a good market for the sale of heavy woollen cloth, lead, tin, quicksilver, vermilion, satins, and velvets, for the army. They also purchased from there cotton goods and opium. As it was an important military outpost, it was well governed and provisioned. Jourdain writes about Burhanpur as follows: "I never sawe better government than there was in the Campe, and plentie of all things. This cittie doth abound in makeinge of fine *baftaies, bairames, serebafts,* rich turbants and girdles of silke and gould. To this towne there is trade from all places of the Indies....."[2]

(c) *Inter-Provincial Trade and* (d) *Frontier Trade.*

Kashmir sent to Agra saffron, fruits, wines, and *pamris* (shawls) and imported from there cotton-cloth, yarn, pepper, indigo, and opium. Tatta carried on trade with the merchants from Ispahan who brought silk for sale clandestinely because its export from Persia was prohibited, *fouwne* (Indian madder) used for dyeing red like chay-root on the Coromandel Coast, dried and fresh fruits, wines, carpets, and gold ducats. In re-

1) "The Travels of Pietro Della Valla in India" by Edward Gray (Vol. I), foot-note 2, p. 61.

2) "The Journal of John Jourdain (1608-1617)" by Hak. Society, pp. 145-146.

turn the Ispahani merchants took cotton goods, indigo, and sugars.

Afghanistan received from Peshawar sugars, cotton cloths and indigo and sent to it iron, leather, tobacco, fruits, wines and woollen goods.

Bengal (Patna) sent out to Agra raw silk, Saltpetre, *lac* (sealing-wax and varnishes were made of *lac* in those days) and it was also exporting to other places indigo, cotton goods chiefly *Ambati* (coarse cloth). Trade developed in all provinces though it was considerably handicapped by the corruption of the officials, by danger to life and property on the road, and by the uncertainty of the *firmans* of the King.

(e) *Foreign Trade.* The Indians and Portuguese were losing ground, while the Dutch and the English were steadily advancing. The Dutch tapped the East Coast while the English tapped the West Coast and the Indians acted as mere middlemen. Their foreign trade was bound to go down on account of the following reasons :

(a) Nearly all the carrying trade in the waters was either in the hands of the English or in the hands of the Dutch, for Indians had neither an efficient mercantile marine nor a navy ;

(b) At that time Indians were terrorised by the Portuguese and even on their own coasts—the Eastern Coast being robbed by Arrakanese, Mughs, and the Western Coast by the Malabaris—Indian shipping was not safe ;

(c) The Red Sea trade ceased to be a Reserved trade for Indians ; and

(d) The dread of water, a disease from which the Indians suffered then also.

Even to-day the foreign trade of India is in the hands of foreigners ! Indians have no share in it because of (a) their having no mercantile marine on account of Indians having no monopoly of the Coastal trade and no navy and (b) the utter indifference of the Government of India to develop the latent sea-faring instinct of the Indians on the Malabar and the Coromandel Coasts.

Conspectus of the Indian Export trade at the Opening of the XVII Century :[1]

Coastal Regions and Chief Ports.	Principal Exports	Destination
Sind—Lahari Bandar	Calico	Persian Gulf; Coastwise to Goa.
Gujerat— Cambay, Gogha, Diu, Surat.	Cotton goods, yarn, indigo. Also Pilgrim Traffic	Red Sea, Persian Gulf Achin; Coastwise to Goa.
Konkan— Chaul, Dabhol, Rajapur	Chiefly Calico and fancy goods; some pepper. Also Pilgrim Traffic.	Red Sea, Persian Gulf Coastwise to Goa.
Goa—Goa (Bhatkal decayed).	Transhipment; few local exports.	Persian Gulf, East Africa, Lisbon Malacca and beyond; Ceylon.
Malabar— Calicut, Cochin; several minor ports.	Pepper	Cochin to Lisbon and to Ceylon and Malacca. Calicut and Minor ports to Red Sea.
South Coast— Quilon, Tuticorin, Negapatam.	Calico, Pepper.	Mainly Coastwise; Negapatam to Malacca and beyond.
Coromandel Coast— South—S. Thome, Pulicat.	Fancy Goods, Calico, and Muslin, Yarn.	Malacca and beyond; Achin; Pegu and Tenasserim; coastwise to Goa and Malabar.
North—Masulipatam.	Calico and Muslin, Fancy Goods and Yarn.	Malacca and beyond; Achin; Pegu and Tenasserim; Persian Gulf; Coastwise, North and South.
Gingelly Coast— Vizagapatam, Bimlipatam.	Provisions (rice and oil seeds).	Chiefly Coastwise.
Bengal— Hoogly, Pipli, Balasore, Chittagong.	Provisions (rice and Sugar), Muslin.	Pegu and Tenasserim; Malacca and beyond; Achin; extensive coastwise trade.

We will now study under Foreign Trade the Portuguese Trade, the Dutch Trade, and the English Trade. While studying the latter we shall note the effect of Sir Thomas Roe's activities on the Moguls.

The Portuguese Trade. The flourishing trade of the Portuguese under Akbar declined during Jehangir's reign and ceased

1) "From Akbar to Aurangzeb" by Moreland, p. 57.

to count as of any importance in the reign of Shah Jahan. They lost their monopoly of the Cape of Good Hope route by the aggressive activities of the Dutch and the English. They lost their importance in the Red Sea and in the Persian Gulf by the fall of Ormuz. In India itself, the Western Coast was feeling the strong pressure of the English and the Eastern Coast was being exploited by the Dutch. Indians themselves rejoiced at the fall of the Portuguese for their religious fanaticism, low moral tone, and high-handed acts of cruelty alienated Indian sympathies from them.

Thus, unlamented, passed away a power which could have built a lasting empire like the English. Certain it is that the Portuguese had greater advantages on their side than the English, but they lived for the moment while thinking of Eternity and thus destroyed their Empire!

During Jehangir's reign, *Kafilas* of 300 to 400 vessels laden with merchandise used to sail two or three times a year from Cambay to Goa. They carried indigo, precious stones, rock crystal, iron, copper, rock-alum, wheat, vegetables, medicinal drugs, butter, oils, white and black soap, sugars and conserves, paper, wax, honey, opium, silk and cotton stuffs, couches and bed-steads (lacquered), carpets, cabinets (inlaid with mother-of-pearl, ivory, gold, silver, and precious stones), and boxes of tortoise-shell.

Goa used to send out to Cambay what it received from Portugal: silver, woollen cloth, swords, arms and ammunition of war, mirrors, iron, lead, wines, fruits, cheese, printed books, etc. Generally the profits of the Portuguese engaged in trade were four to one on general merchandise and six to one on provisions. On the eastern coast also the Portuguese had a brisk trade. Their trading vessels used to come annually from Malacca and Macas laden with spices, lead, tin, quicksilver, and vermilion, and for the return voyage used to take cotton goods, butter, rice, gingelly seed, etc.

Goa used to send out to Lisbon pepper, ginger (Chinese ginger was preferred), cardamoms, indigo, carnelians (laqueca), ebony, calicoes, and precious stones (diamonds and pearls).

The Dutch Trade. The Dutch had not a large supply of silver at their disposal like the Portuguese, but they had the monopoly of cloves, mace and nutmegs. As there was a great demand for spices in Northern India, so, by selling them, the Dutch were able to purchase Indian goods. We get a first glimpse of their trading in 1607 from Admiral Matedieff's Re-

port in which he makes an attempt to study Asiatic trade from the following standpoints: (1) Pepper, (2) Other Spices, (3) Gujarat, (4) Coromandel, and (5) China and Japan. He was against developing the Gujarat trade and wanted to develop and participate in the Coromandel trade for the commodities of this Coast were much in demand in the Far East whence gold and silver could be obtained in a Triangular Trade. That is how the Dutch and the English obtained gold and silver later on. In Japan there was no great demand for European or Indian goods, but there was a great demand for silk (raw), hides and skins (as Japan was and is even to-day extremely poor in cattle). These goods could be had in Siam where Indian cotton-goods were much in demand. As Japan was the only country in the East which freely allowed the export of silver, so this Indo-Japanese trade via Siam and Indo-China was an absolute necessity for the Dutch and the English who were restricted in their business deals in India by the shortage of silver. So, Indian cotton goods were sent to Siam and Indo-China. Hides obtained from Siam and raw silk from Indo-China were sent to Japan where they were exchanged for silver. This silver was invested in Indian goods which were sent out to Europe.

The following Dutch invoice of the "Naerden" from Masulipatam October 1621 gives us an idea of the commodities the Dutch in India were then interested in:

"Goods	Quantities	Value in Guilders
Pepper	About 156,000 lb. (avoir).	36,457
Saltpetre	,, 47,500 ,, ,,	2,964
Saltpetre (refined)	,, 8,700 ,, ,,	1,170
Diamonds		1,326
Borax	650 lb. (avoir)	175
Yarn	5,400 ,, ,,	2,390
Guinee Cloth	65,000 yards	11,918
Moorcas (superior calico)	900 pieces	3,154
Betilles (Muslins from the Deccan)	100 ,, (1200 yds.)	1,200
		60,754
Miscellaneous Charges, and some small errors		2,000
Value of Cargo		62,754"[1]

1) "From Akbar to Aurangzeb" by Moreland, p. 319.

Holland used to send to Masulipatam woollen cloth, vermilion, quicksilver, ivory, tin, swords and knives.

The English Trade. "In six years the English have not bought more than 600 bales, because, owing to bad luck, adversity, and mismanagement, their commercial position has greatly deteriorated....."[1] So wrote Pelsaert of the "bad luck, adversity, and mismanagement" of the English in the early part of Jehangir's reign, little dreaming of the smiles of Dame Fortune reserved for that nation. Less than three hundred years after Pelsaert's writing the above, a representative of England, Lord Curzon of Kedleston, Viceroy-designate of India in his speech delivered in the Royal Society's Club on November 7, 1898 said that, "The casual stone which was thrown into the sea of chance by a handful of merchant adventurers two hundred years ago had produced an ever-extending circle of ripples, until at the present moment they embraced the limits and affected the destinies of the entire Asiatic Continent."

The position of the English in India in Jehangir's time was far from enviable. Had it not been for Sir Thomas Roe who came to India in 1615, the East India Company would have been wound up and the English would have left the shores of India. The fight of Sir Thomas Roe for the prestige of his nation and as well as for the commercial preference to his nation reads like a chapter from a Book of Romance. Throughout his stay in India (1615-1619), he severely condemned the corrupt officials, even including Prince Khurram, who later on ascended the throne under the title of Shah Jahan, the childish mentality of Jehangir, and the utter unreliability of those with whom he had to transact business. It reflects much credit on that "true and undoubted Attorney, Procurator, Legate, and Ambassador to that high and mighty Monarch, the Great Mogoar, King of the Orientall Judges, of Condaby, of Chismer, and of Corason" to have secured certain favourable terms for his nation in spite of the determined opposition of Nur Jehan and Prince Khurram.

Jehangir never liked Roe but, prior to the coming of Roe, Hawkins and Best had seen the Great Mogul. Strange to say, Jehangir became very friendly with the blunt sailor William Hawkins. When the Emperor read the letter of King James to himself, he said to Hawkins, "By God, that all what the King

1) "The Remonstrantie of Francisco Pelsaert" by Moreland and Geyl, p. 18.

had there written he would grant and allow with his heart, and more."[1] .....swearing by his Father's soule, that if I (Hawkins) would remeyne with him, he would grant me articles for our Factorie to my heart's desire, and would never go from his word."[2]

Captain Thomas Best in 1611 brought letters and presents from King James for Jehangir and in exchange received a *Firman* dated at Agra the 25th January, 1613 "Whereby among other things it was stipulated that there should be a perpetual peace and free commerce between the Mogul's subjects and the English in all parts of his dominions; that all English goods should pay custom at the rate of 3½ per cent. upon the value or price they were worth when put into the Custom House, and that it should be lawful for the King of England to keep and continue an ambassador at the Court of the Great Mogul during the time of the said peace and commerce, there to compound and end all such great and weighty questions as might anyway lead to a breach of the said peace."[3]

This paved the way for the appointment of an ambassador. Now we turn our attention to the trade conditions prior to the appointment of Sir Thomas Roe.

Under commission issued to Sir Henry Middleton and others for the sixth voyage to the East Indies in 1610, it was laid down that "The most desirable commodities for sending home are indigo, both round and flat, of the best quality; calicoes, white, of good quality; calicoes, light-coloured, only the best qualities; strasses of all sorts; cinnamon, twenty tons of the best Ceylon, well packed; cotton yarn, twenty tons of the finest, also five tons of a coarser quality; green ginger, four tons; red sandal wood, three tons; 'Turbithe' two tons; opium,.....pounds weight; Benjamin, ten tons, if it can be had at a reasonable rate; 'Sall armoniack', two tons; olibanum, ten tons; lignum aloes, as much as possible; worm seeds; gumlac, both best and second qualities; and silk of Persia, a good quantity."[4] "..... convenyently come by anie rare thinges, as live birdes, or beastes

1) "Mediaeval India under Mohammedan Rule" by Stanley Lane-Poole, p. 300.

2) "Mediaeval India under Mohammedan Rule" by Stanley Lane-Poole, p. 302.

3) "From India in the XVII Century" by J. N. Das-Gupta, p. 134.

4) "The Voyages of Sir James Lancaster, Kt. to the East Indies." Edited by Clements R. Markham, p. 140.

or any other thinge fit for us to present to Matie or any of the noble Lordes, who are our honorable frendes,"[1] he (Sir Henry Middleton) is to send them home to the Committee in charge of careful persons.

Sir Henry Middleton writing to the Governor of Surat, Maecrab Chan, says, "All his hooking was both by himself and by divers instruments to find out and buy all such fantasticall toyes. ....., but for anything else, unless it might serve his own purpose, he cared not."[2]

Maccrab Chan purchased all the Chests of sword-blades, "Whereof he seemed so greedye, as he would not trust us to send them after him, but would see them all sent ashore before his departure."[3] In a few days after having made his choice he returned those which he did not like "Carelesslye and illconditioned, as there accustomed manner is to doe all things whatsoever they have bought, when by all the view they can have they dislike the same."[4]

Sir Henry Middleton writes about the mean and stingy treatment accorded to him and to his crew by Maccrab Chan under the pressure of the Jesuits of whom the Moguls were much afraid. "During the time, 138 days, that the vessels lay off Swally, much injury was suffered from delays; breach of faith; the prohibition of the country people from trading; the little trade done, and that, too, at unprofitable rates; the refusal of permission to found a factory; the non-payment of debts formerly due; and the expulsion of the merchants from the town, and of the ships from the port. This expulsion was due to a letter, written at the instigation of the Jesuits, from Dangee, by a *banian* at Cambrai, to Muccrab Chan, advising him to give no place to the English, for if he did so, the Portugals would come with force to burn all the sea towns and to seize all the ships found at sea."[5]

We have seen the list of Indian goods required in Europe which Middleton was asked to purchase. The goods that were

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1) "The Voyages of Sir James Lancaster, Kt. to the East Indies" edited by Clements R. Markham, p. 144.

2) "The Voyages of Sir James Lancaster, Kt. to the East Indies" edited by Clements R. Markham, p. 193.

3) Do. do. do. do.

4) Do. do. do. do.

5) "The Voyages of Sir James Lancaster, Kt. to the East Indies" edited by Clements R. Markham, p. 196.

required in India from England were cloth of light and pleasant colours, quicksilver, lead, tin, vermilion, Elephant's teeth and Red Coral (from Africa), Balasses (ruby), new drinking glasses, wines specially red wines, looking glasses etc. About looking glasses we find the following note : "……and I verily suppose that some fair large looking glass would be highly accepted of this King, for he affects not the value of anything but rarity in everything, insomuch that some pretty new fangled toys would give him high content, though their value were small... ……"[1] The Dutch factor, Van Ravesteyn suggested that all manner of curiosities should be sent "particularly for the Great Mogul," pictures of landscapes and great personages, "mirrors as tall as a man with frames wrought with festoons," "fine greyhounds and some strong dogs which will tackle tigers," etc.

Both Jehangir and Prince Kurram were 'novelty mad.' In his letter from Adsmere, dated 25th January, 1615 (16) to the East India Company Sir Thomas Roe writes, "But raretyes please as well,……There is nothing more welcome here, nor ever saw I man soe enamord of drincke as both the King and Prince are of redd wyne, whereof the Governor of Suratt sent up some pottle. Ever since, the Kyng hath solicited for more. I thinck 4 or 5 handsome cases of that wyne wil be more welcome than the richest Iewell in Cheapesyde. Pictures, Lardge, on Cloth, the frames in pieces ; but they must be good, and for varyetye some story, with many faces, for single to the life hath beene more usuall. If the Queene must be presented (which I will not advise too……) fine needle worke toyes, fayre bone lace, cuttworke, and some handsome wrought wastcote, sweetbagges or cabinetts, wil be most convenient…… I would add any faire China Bedsteeds, or Cabinetes or truncks of Japan are here rich presents."[2]

About Prince Khurram's desire for novelties Pelsaert writes, "He was a patron of all craftsmen, to whome he paid such high wages that he attracted all the splendour of his father's Court, for he was as greedy for novelties, costly jewels, and other rarities as Jehangir himself, and he paid more liberally,

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1) "Letters Received by the East India Company From Its Servants in the East." Vol. I (1602-1613), p. 33.

2) "The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to the Court of the Great Mogul (1615-1619)" by William Foster (Vol. I.)

being sensible, and refusing to be guided, like his father, by his avaricious subordinates."[1]

Jehangir so far forgot his position that he wrote for novelties to King James of England from Ajmere in March 1615: "And as now and formerly I have received from you divers tokens of your love, so I desire your mindfulness of me by some novelties from your country as an argument of friendship between us, for such is the custom of Princes here."[2]

In the list that was given to Nich. Downton at Surat by Maccrab Chan, novelties and toys are greatly stressed:

No. 183.

"Particulars desired by Maccrab Chan to be provided in England and sent by the next ships for Surat, for the Great Magore, 1614.

a. Two complete armours wrought, but light, and easy to wear.
b. Crooked swords, broad; hard to be gotten, for they try them with their knee and, if they stand, in no request.
c. Knives of the best, large, long and thin to bow almost round and come straight again of themselves.
d. Satin of red, yellow, green, tawny.
e. Velvet of the best, of red, yellow, black, green.
f. All manner of toys that may content the king.
g. Broadcloth of the finest that will not stain, of yellow, red and green.
h. All manner of toys for women.
i. Pictures in cloth, not in wood.
k. Perfumed leather.
l. Cloth of Arras, wrought with pictures.
m. The greatest looking-glasses that may be got.
n. o. Any figures of beasts, birds or other similies made of of hard plaster, of silver,, brass, wood, iron, stone or ivory.
p. Perfumed sweet-bags, embroidered with gold.
q. Rich cabinets with a glass, embroidered.
r. Rich shag of red colour.
s. Mastiffs, greyhounds, spaniels, and little dogs, three of each.

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1) "The Remonstrantie of Francisco Pelsaert" by Moreland and Geyl, pp. 37-38.

2) "Letters Received by the East India Company From Its Servants in the East." (Vol. III, 1615). p. 285.

t. Large Muscovia hides.
v. Vellum and parchment good store.

(Notes)

d. Satin some small quantity, for I think they will give little more than it cost in England; of the least gummed.
e. Velvet brought by Sir Henry Middleton made but little profit and is no man's money but the King's; therefore the less.
f. Things will ask some labour to find.
g. Broadcloths. His meaning is very fine clothes and perfect colours; and the red he meaneth scarlet.
i. Pictures on cloth as you had made at London, not as the French, which warp, rend and break.
l. Cloth of Arra is very costly; therefore I think best to make show of difficulty in the getting thereof, unless a little, but tapestry instead thereof.
n. Figures of divers beasts and dogs in stone or plaster I have seen come from Frainckford (Frankfart). I think at Amsterdam may enough be had.
s. Dogs hard to be carried.
t. They thought much to give the price they cost in England.
v. Parchment you may fit them with store, for I think it be but to write books on.

Nich. Downton." [1]

The transport and other charges between India and England were very high ".....that ten shillings imployed in Pepper in the East-Indies, will require thirty and five shillings for all charges whatsoever to deliver it in London." [2]

In India, the English were looked upon with great disfavour as their presents were poor and few compared with the Portuguese and Persian presents. Roe wrote to Keeling on January 13th, 1616 "For presents, I have none, or so meane that they are worse than none; so that I have resolved to give none, for the last years liberalitye and provision of the Company was such .....as I can no way equall. Therefore I answer to all the Great ones: I come from Kyng to Kyng, not to present every man, but to demand Justice for the injuries and insolency

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1) "Letters Received by the East India Company from Its Servants in the East Vol. II 1613-1615", pp. 173-174.
2) "A discourse of Trade" by Mun, p. 13.

offered his Maiesties subiects."[1] In an earlier letter (January 1st 1616), Roe told Keeling that he had sent Asaf Khan "a ringe.....to make aquayntance (not as a present, but in love)", but it had been returned "as too poore of valew ; yett did the Kings stone cutter rate it at 400 rupyes."[2]

Asaf Khan the brother of Nur Jehan would not have demeaned himself by accepting a "poore valew" ring! Roe himself writes to the Company on 25th January, 1616 as follows : "Asafchan did expect some great present for himselfe and the Queene, as I understood ; and as he is the cheefest man with the Kyng, soe is he in faction with Sultan Coronne (who hath married his daughter), and Normall the beloved wife of the Kyng is sister to Asaf Chan. So they are lincked togeather, governe the Kyng, and carry business that no complaynt should be made whereby the Kyng might be angry with Sultan Coronne."[3]

This giving of poor presents was lowering the prestige of the Company which was being further exploited by its own servants who started trading privately at the cost of the Company. The Company wrote strongly on the 15th March, 1610 to the factors at Surat : "And forasmuch as we have heretofore found that the private trade of our ffacto^{rs} hath beene carefully carryed for their owne Lucar and gaine wth the greate neglect of o^{rs} convertinge all the ritche and pretious thinge to their owne use and nothinge for the Company but papp and grosse commodities, and seeing theis three shipps in this sixt voyadge, are the begynninge of a new accoumpte, we have ordered that nowe and hencforth neither o^{r} Generalls Merchante ffacto^{rs} nor any other that we ymploye shall be pmitted any pryvate dealinge or trade for themselves....."[4]

Sir Thomas Roe obtained a *firman* from Sultan Parwez authorising the English to establish a factory at Burhanpur and he repeatedly requested Jehangir to sign a treaty providing (a) for the free access of the English to all ports belonging to the Great Mogul and the free passage of their goods without payment of any duty beyond the usual customs ; for permission to buy and

1) "The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to the Court of the Great Mogul (1615-1619)" by William Foster (Vol. I), p. xvii.

2) Do. do. do. do.

3) "The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to the Court of the Great Mogul (1615-1619)" by William Foster (Vol. I), p. xvii (footnote 1).

4) "The First Letter Book of the East India Company (1600-16-14)" by Birdwood and Foster, p. 317.

sell freely, to rent factories, to hire boats and carts; and (b) to exempt them from search by custom officials. The English shall give the following undertakings: (a) "behave themselves peaceably and civally," and (b) procure rarities for the Great Mogul, and furnish to him upon payment with goods or "furniture of warr" and shall assist him against "any Enemy to the Common Peace."

The wily Mogul was not to be trapped. He refused to sign the treaty for he said it was *infra dig.* for a great King like him to do that. He, however, issued a *firman.* In September 1618, the English got better terms. They were allowed to trade freely. Jewels were to be admitted free of duty. No tolls were to be levied on goods passing to the port. The factors were to be permitted to hire any house for a factory. Permission was given to them to govern according to their religion and laws. The permission to buy or build a permanent building was, however, curtly refused.

Sir Thomas Roe during his stay in the Mogul Court gathered experience and he summed it up in two rules for the benefit of the factors at Surat in his letter to them from Mandoa, 29th September, 1617. He writes, ".....two general rules I gather to observe at Court and in all factories: to make such bargains as may be recovered by the ordinary course in such cases, and to deal with merchants or men of honour..... Next, that such goods as are fit for Court, to deliver a bill of at the ship's arrival, to know his pleasure, and such only to send to him, and freely to bring them before him."[1]

Up to 1620 the English export trade from Surat was chiefly made up of indigo and miscellaneous goods. Between 1620 and 1630 Calico developed. The following invoice of the "Royal Anne" which left Surat in February with a cargo valued at 720,000 *Mahmudis* (equal to 2,88,000 rupees at 2/5 a rupee) illustrates the export of the season 1618-1619:

"Indigo	*Sarkhej*	*Mahmudis*	351,600	
	Biana		278,700	630,300
Calico				77,000
Fancy Cotton goods and samples				7,600
Gumlac				8,000
Sealing Wax				200
Turmeric				150
Precious Stones and Miscellaneous				1,750
				720,000

1) "Letters Received by the East India Company From Its Servants in the East Vol. VI (1617)", p. 305.

together with some indigo-dust, not valued, and some foreign goods captured from the Portuguese."[1]

Till the end of Jehangir's reign the English trade was confined to the West Coast. The annual export in English vessels from India to Europe was (about 1620) from the West Coast 2½ *lakhs* of rupees, from the East Coast and Bengal nil, (about 1628) from the West Coast 6 *lakhs* of rupees and from the East Coast and Bengal nil. The East coast was tapped by the English in the reign of Shah Jahan.

and (f) *Government Interference in and Monopolies of Trade.*

Examples of government interference by way of issuing *firmans* and allowing considerable latitude to the officials to tyrannize and appropriate the commodities of others without rhyme or reason have already been given. Sir Thomas Roe, writing to the Governor of Surat on 12th October 1615, says, "First, contrary to the articles confirmed by the Great Mogul the English goods are taken by violence, the merchants reviled, their servants beaten, their money taken away by peons and some of their cloths stolen in the Custom house, and nothing suffered to be landed but such things as may please the humour of the Governor."[2]

The situation was further aggravated by the Emperor himself, his mother, his favourite wife Nur Jehan, and his son Prince Khurram and others trading on their own account.

Instances of the Emperor's Trading.

William Hawkins writes, "Likewise he (Jehangir) cannot abide that any man should have any precious stone of value, for it is death if he knew it not at that present time, and that he hath the refusall thereof.....By this means the King hath ingrossed all faire stones, that no man can buy from five carats upwards without his leave; for he hath the refusall of all, and giveth not by a third part so much as their value."[3]

Sir Thomas Roe writing to Sir Thomas Smythe on 16th January 1616 (17) says ".....the King suffers the money-changers to let fall his coin one-fourth and others raise their goods up to it....."[4]

1) "The English Factories in India (1618-1621)" by William Foster, p. 61.

2) "Letters Received by the East India Company From Its Servants in the East (1615)" Vol. III, p. 182.

3) "Early Travels in India (1583-1619)" by Foster, pp. 111-112.

4) "Letters Received by the East India Company From Its Servants in the East 1617" (Vol. V), p. 333.

(He thus takes from the money-changers what he pleases.)

Instances of the Emperor's Mother's Trading.

William Finch says, "The Emperor's mother, or others acting under her protection, carried on extensive trading operations, and at this time a vessel belonging to her was being laden (with indigo) for a voyage to Mokha."[1]

John Jourdain (1608-1617) writes in the Journal that Khwaja Abul-l-Hasan ".....alledginge unto him (Captain Hawkins) that hee had sent to Biana to buye the indico out of the Queenes Mothers hand, her factor havinge made price for itt... ....."[2] Extensive trading operations were carried on by "Queenes Mothers."

Instances of Nur Jehan's Trading.

Nur Jehan dabbled in indigo and embroidered cloth trade. She sometimes quarrelled with the English and sometimes was friendly with them. Her chief agent was her brother Asaf-khan. "The one and twentieth at this instant, came unto me from Asaph Chan, a servant, in the name of Normahal, that shee had moued the Prince for another *firman,* and that shee had obtained it, and was readie to send down her servant with that, to see and take order for our good establishment, that shee would see that wee should not bee wronged."[3]

This favour she did to the English because her goods could not go out of India on account of the great tension between the Portuguese and the Moguls. She was anxious to send her goods out on English ships.

Instances of Prince Khurram's trading are very many. The reservation of the Red Sea trade for Indians was primarily meant to develop his private trading with Mocha and Persia. His anti-English attitude was mostly the result of the English destroying his monopoly...."".....the English had in 1618 swept the markets bare (of calicoes) with the result that the officials responsible for lading the Prince's junk for the Red Sea had been forced to fill her with tobacco....."[4]

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1) "Early Travels in India (1583-1619)" by Foster, p. 123.

2) "The Journal of John Jourdain" by Hakluyat Society, pp. 155-156.

3) "Travels in India in the XVII Century" by Sir Thomas Roe and Dr. John Foyer, p. 144.

4) "The English Factories in India (1618-1621)" by William Foster, p. xv.

We close this subject by giving an instance of the perverse mentality of a Judge Abdel Hassan, who, while deciding Bowcan's case in 1610 laid down "that it was not justice to pay debts to Christians."[1]

APPENDIX—A.

Weights and measures in Akbar's and Jehangir's time.

Pre-Akbar maund was equivalent to 28 lb. (avoir).

Akbar's maund was equivalent to 55½ lb. (avoir).

Forty of his maunds would therefore be equal to a ton, as against 27 maunds of to-day. Akbar's seer was of the weight of 30 dams.

Generally, near the Mogul capital the maund was equivalent to 56 lb. and elsewhere 30 lb. Akbar's maund of 40 seers weighed 388, 275 grains.

As Jehangir raised weights, measures, and coins 20 per cent. above his father's standards, his seer was equivalent to 36 dams. In South India the weight was a *Candy* equivalent to 500 lb. (avoir). The *Behar* was the Arab unit and was equivalent to 130 lb. (avoir). The *gaz* (Indian yard) in Akbar's time was of two kinds: one *Ilahi gaz* equals 30¾ inches and the other *Akbari gaz* equals 34 inches approximately. 100 *Akbari gaz* were equal to 120 of ells (Holland measure). The *Jehangiri gaz* was 20 per cent. higher. It was of 40 inches (in Patna it was of 41 inches).

Weights and measures on the Western Coast were smaller than in Hindustan. "The Gujarat *gaz*[2] is eight per cent. shorter than a Holland *ell,* and a *ser* weighs only 18 pice or ¾ lb. (Holland),[3] 24 pice weighing 1 pound....."[4]

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1) "Early Travels in India (1583-1619)" by Foster, p. 147.

2) "The Remonstrantie of Francisco Pelsaert" translated by Moreland and Geyl, p. 42.
"The Gujarat measure for cotton cloth is usually called 'covad..... .....; it was rather less than ¾ yd. The figure given, 8 per cent., seems somewhat too high.....The difference between an ell and a covad was, I think, nearer one inch than two."

3) In order to convert Holland pounds into avoirdupois raise them by 9 per cent.

4) "The Remonstrantie of Francisco Pelsaert" translated by Moreland and Geyl., p. 42.

Covad was a fluctuating measure. For cotton goods it was equal to 26 inches and for woollens 35 inches and so on.

Akbar's *Coss* (Mile) was equal to 5000 *gaz*.

The *Tun* was the ship measurement in Akbar's time. The tun of wine (two butts) was equal to 40.3 cubic feet, adding the size of the casks and the loss due to irregular shape, it equalled 60 cubic feet.

CHAPTER V.

CONCLUSION.

Jehangir was a gay monarch who in the pursuit of sensual pleasure out-Babured Babur, his great grand-father. Here the comparison between Babur and Jehangir ends.

Babur by his strong arm and dare-devil temperament carved a big slice out of India for himself and his descendants. Jehangir enjoyed it because of the rich legacy left by his father Akbar which was preserved in tact by the wise tactics of Nur Jehan and the strong policy of Prince Khurram.

Jehangir's acquisition, however, lay in another direction. The most memorable incident in the reign of Jehangir was the conquest of Nur Jehan, who, in her defeat, triumphed over her conqueror.

Jehangir was a problem to Akbar. He could never control his licentious habits and he felt aggrieved by *Baba's* (Jehangir's) delight in torturing others. Later on, Jehangir was obsessed with the idea of hoarding and collecting novelties. He piled up big treasures, and Hawkins gives an account of them which is quoted in Purchas, I, p. 217 :

GOLD

		Rupees
a)	In primis *Seraffines Ecberi* 60 lakh at 10/- each =	6,00,00,000
b)	Of another sorte of Coyne of 1000 Rs. each 20,000 pieces,=	2,00,00,000
c)	Of another sorte of Coyne of 500 Rs. each 10,000 pieces,=	50,00,000
d)	Of another sorte of gold of 20 *tolahs* 30,000 pieces,=	60,00,000
e)	Of another sorte of gold of 10 *tolahs* 25,000 pieces,=	25,00,000
f)	Of another sorte of gold of 5 *tolahs* 50,000 pieces,=	25,00,000

SILVER

		Rupees
a)	Akbari rupees 13 *Kror* =	13,00,00,000
b)	"Coyne of Selim Shah, this king" of 100 *tolahs*, 50,000 pieces,=	50,00,000
c)	"Coyne of Selim Shah, this king" of 50 *tolahs*, 1,00,000 pieces,=	50,00,000
d)	"Coyne of Selim Shah, this king" of 30 *tolahs*, 40,000 pieces,=	12,00,000
e)	"Coyne of Selim Shah, this king" of 20 *tolahs*, 30,000 pieces,=	6,00,000
f)	"Coyne of Selim Shah, this king" of 10 *tolahs*, 20,000 pieces,=	2,00,000
g)	"Coyne of Selim Shah, this king" of 5 *tolahs*, 25,000 pieces,=	1,25,000
h)	Of a certain money that is called Savoy (Sauoy) which is a *tola* ¼ (1⌋): of these there are 2,00,000 pieces,=	2,50,000
i)	Of *Ingories*, whereof 5 make 6 tolas, there is 1,00,000	
	More should have been coyned of this stampe, but the contrary was compounded=	1,20,000
	Whole Total=	23,84,95,0001)
		£ 23,849,500

This is only a list of the money in cash Jehangir left behind. Add to it the priceless jewels and stones, the costly novelties, rich trappings and ornaments, horses, elephants, "chinas," and costly articles too innumerable to enumerate, and we reach a figure which staggers the brain. All of this was wrung from the starving peasants who toiled and sweated so that the Great Mogul might increase his pile!

Jehangir loved to see his property growing. He adopted various unkingly tactics to wring money from others, and the pleasure that he derived from his wealth was akin to the pleasure of a miser who simply loves to hear the chink of money. Says Hawkins, "Also his (Jehangir's) custome is that of all sorts of treasure excepting coine, to say, of all sorts of beasts, and all other things of value, a small quantitie is daily brought before him. All things are severally divided into three hundred and

1) "Revenue Resources of the Mughal Empire" by Edward Thomas, p. 24.

sixtie parts; so that hee daily seeth a certaine number, to say, of elephants, horses, camels, dromedaries, moyles, oxen and all other; as also a certaine quantitie of jewels, and so it continueth all the yeare long; for what is brought him to-day is not seene againe till that day twelve month."[1]

Jehangir was a vain man. He had neither the grace nor the grave bearing of his father. After his conquest of Kangra Fort he rewarded handsomely one of his courtiers (and not any of his military officers or soldiers) for composing a poem in honour of the event:

"World-gripper, world-giver, world-holder, world-king,
With the sword of Ghazi[2]-ship he conquered this fort.
Wisdom spoke the date 'The Jehangir Fortune opened this fort.'"[3]

Jehangir was very susceptible to flattery, which is why he did not like Sir Thomas Roe's unbending attitude. Sir Thomas Roe himself contrasts his behaviour with that of the Persian ambassador who, after giving costly presents to the King, rubbed his forehead on the floor. He humorously writes about the Persian ambassador as follows: "When all was delivered for that day hee prostrated himselfe on the ground, and knocked with his head as if he would enter in."[4]

Jehangir, however, got on very well with his boon-companion Hawkins who probably could out-drink him. He gives this pen-portrait of Jehangir: "Now here I meane to speake a little of his manners, and customes in the Court. First, in the morning about the breake of day, he is at his Beades, with his face turned to the westward (towards Kaaba. Mahomedans sacred place of worship in Arabia). The manner of his praying when he is in Agra, is in a private faire roome, upon a goodly Jet stone, having onely a Persian lamb-skinne under him: having also some eight chaines of beades, every one of them containing foure hundred. The Beades are of rich Pearle, ballace Rubyes, Diamonds, Rubyes, Emeralds, Lignum Aloes, Eshem, and Corall. At the upper-end of this Jet stone, the Pictures of Our Lady and Christ are placed, graven in stone: So he tur-

1) "Early Travels in India (1583-1619)" by Foster, p. 105.

2) *Ghasi* means the Defender of Faith. Later on it came to mean 'the destroyer of infidels.'

3) "Tuzuk-i-Jahangir" by Rogers and Beveridge (Vol. II), p. 227.

4) "The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to the Court of the Great Mogul (1615-1619)" by William Foster (Part II), p. 300.

neth over his Beades, and saith three thousand two hundred words, according to the number of his Beades, and then his Prayer is ended. After he hath done, he sheweth himselfe to the people, receiving their *Salams,* or good morrowes, unto whom multitudes resort every morning for this purpose. This done, hee sleepeth two hours more, and then dineth, and passeth his time with his women, and at noone he sheweth himselfe to the people againe, sitting till three of the clocke, viewing and seeing his Pastimes and sports made by men and fighting of many sorts of beasts, every day sundry kinds of Pastimes. Then at three of the clocke, all the Nobles in generall (that be in Agra and are well) resort unto the Court, the King coming forth in audience, sitting in his Seat-Royall, and every man standing in his degree before him, his chiefest sort of Nobles standing within a red Rayle, and the rest without. They are all placed by his Lieutenant Generall. This red Rayle, is three steppes higher than the place where the rest stand : and within this red Rayle I was placed, amongst the chiefest of all. The rest are placed by officers, and they likewise be within another very spacious place rayled : and without that Rayle, stand all sorts of horsemen and souldiers, that belong unto his Captaines, and all other commers. At these Rayles, there are many doores kept by many Porters, who have white rods to keep men in order. In the middest of the place, right before the King, standeth one of his Sheriffes, together with his Master Hangman, who is accompanied with forty hangmen, wearing on their heads a certain quilted cap, different from all others, with an Hatchet on their shoulders ; and others with all sorts of Whips, being there, readie to doe what the King commandeth. The King heareth all causes in this place, and stayeth some two houres every day (these Kings of India sit daily in Justice every day, and on the Tuesdayes doe their executions). Then he departeth towards his private place of Prayer : his Prayer being ended, foure or five sorts of very well dressed and roasted meats are brought him, of which as hee pleaseth, he eateth a bit to 'stay his stomacke,' drinking one of his strong drinke. Then he cometh forth into a private roome, where none can come, but such as himselfe nominateth (for two yeares together I was one of his attendants here). In this place he drinketh five other cupfuls, which is the portion that the Physicians alot him. This done, he eateth opium, and then he ariseth, and being in the height of his drinke, he layeth downe to sleepe, every man departing to his owne home. And after

he hath slept two houres, they awake him, and bring his supper to him, at which time he is not able to feed himselfe; but it is thrust into his mouth by others, and this is about one of the clocke: and then he sleepeth the rest of the night."[1]

Pelsaert says, "Everyone leaves when the last cup has been drunk, and the King goes to bed. As soon as all the men have left, the Queen comes with the female slaves, and they undress him, chafing and fondling him as if he were a little child; for his three cups (or five cups?) have made him so 'happy' that he is more disposed to rest than to keep awake. This is the time when his wife, who knows so well how to manage him that she obtains whatever she asks for or desires, gets always 'yes', and hardly ever 'no' in reply."[2]

Such was Jehangir in whose hands was placed the destiny of millions of men in his Empire! Was it any wonder, then, that the people of his Empire were groaning under the weight of hardships due to the trade of the Empire passing into the hands of the foreigners on account of the utter irresponsibility and great corruption of 'those in power'?

The Crown of the Empire was verily a plaything for Nur Jehan!!!

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BOOK IV.

SHAH JAHAN, THE BUILDER OF THE TAJ.

I. THE ORGANISATION OF THE EMPIRE.
   (a) GENERAL;
   (b) EXTENT OF THE EMPIRE AND ITS ADMINISTRATION;
   (c) ROUTES AND TRANSPORT SYSTEM;
   (d) Land Policy; and
   (e) LABOUR AVAILABILITY AND ITS DISTRIBUTION.

II. CAPITAL ORGANISATION: CURRENCY AND ITS REGULATION, HUNDEES AND TAXATION.

III. MANUFACTURES.—RAW MATERIALS AND THEIR UTILISATION.

IV. TRADE: (a) GENERAL;
   (b) TRADE CENTRES;
   (c) INTER-PROVINCIAL TRADE;
   (d) FRONTIER TRADE;
   (e) FOREIGN TRADE; and
   (f) GOVERNMENT INTERFERENCE IN AND MONOPOLIES OF TRADE.

V. CONCLUSION.

APPENDIX A.

"If there be a Heaven upon earth, it is here, it is here"—
Shah Jahan had the above inscribed on the gateway of the Hall of Audience in Shahjahanabad (New Delhi).

CHAPTER I.

THE ORGANISATION OF THE EMPIRE.

SHAH JAHAN (1628-1658 A.D.).

(a) *General.*

Sir Thomas Roe in the time of Jehangir wrote about Shah Jahan as being "flattered by some, envied by others, loved by none." This description of Shah Jahan was not true after he ascended the throne. He proved to be a strong ruler. Not only did he maintain peace throughout his Empire but he extended the boundaries of the Empire as well. Tavernier writes of the rule of Shah Jahan as "that of a father over his children." He testifies to the firm administration of justice and the universal sense of security.

But it cannot be denied that Shah Jahan discriminated between his children of different religions. He was pro-moslem and was much biassed against Hindus and Christians. He was very intolerant though he professed orthodox Sunnism. His wife Arjumand Banu (Mumtaz-i-Mahall, "the lady of the Taj") urged upon him a large scale persecution of the Hindus. But Shah Jahan knew the danger of feminine intervention in Politics. He was aware of the tutelage of his father under Nur Jahan and though he loved Mumtaz much, yet he would not allow her to ride rough-shod over state affairs.

In 1632 A.D. the report concerning the destruction of temples of Hindus in Benares gave great pleasure to Shah Jahan. In Peter Mundy's Travels we find the incident described as follows : "It had been brought to the notice of His Majesty (Shahjehan) that during the late reign many idol temples had been begun, but remained unfinished, at Benares, the great stronghold of infidelity. The infidels were now desirous of completing them. His Majesty, the Defender of Faith, gave orders that at Benares, and throughout all his dominions in every place, all temples that had had been begun should be cast down. It was now (1042 A.H., 1632 A.D.) reported from the province of Allahabad that seventy-six temples had been destroyed in the district of Bena-

res."[1](Badshahnama). The destruction of the Portuguese of Hugli in 1631 was, however, not due to any anti-Christian feeling. It was a political necessity. They harassed the Indians and exacted from them what they liked. In the *Muntakhabu-l-lubat* of Khafi Khan, we find a mention of the atrocities of the Portuguese which excited the wrath of Shah Jahan. "They (the Portuguese of Hugli) vexed the Musulmans of the neighbourhood, and they harassed travellers, and they exerted themselves continually to strengthen their settlement..... In the ports which they occupied on the sea-coast, they offered no injury either to the property or person of either Muhammadans or Hindus who dwelt under their rule ; but if one of these inhabitants died, leaving children of tender age, they took both the children and the property under their charge, and, whether these young children were *saiyads,* or whether they were *brahmans* they made them Christians and slaves (mamluks)."[2]

There are many instances of Shah Jahan's anti-Christian feelings, but like a wise ruler he did not give them a free play. "Howe great an enemy hee (Shahjehan) is to Christianity,"[3] wrote the factors to the Company. The Viceroy of Goa wrote of Shah Jahan as "the declared enemy of the Christian name."[4]

Aurangzeb imbibed the religious bigotry from his mother (Mumtaz) and saw in it a means of strengthening his religion and also of enriching himself by expropriating the Hindus. Like a fanatic he did not know when to call a halt to his mad gallop and, as we shall see, he risked the Empire to satisfy the cravings of his soul.

Shah Jahan imparted solidarity to the Empire which was getting loosely detached as the result of Jehangir's weak reign. Kandahar had been lost by Jehangir. Shah Jahan retook it and then lost it again. He made various attempts to take it once more but did not succeed. The loss of Kandahar was a great blow to him. On account of the Hirmand, Kandahar is a long expanse of gardens, cornfields and nurseries. It is an important

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1) "The Travels of Peter Mundy (1608-1667)" Vol. II H. S. p. 178 (foot-note 2).

2) "The History of India as Told by its own Historians" by Elliott and Dawson (Vol. VII), p. 211.

3) "The English Factories in India (1634-1636)" by William Foster.

4) "The English Factories in India (1634-1636)" by William Foster, p. 241 (F. No. 1), p. 241.

centre for trans-Indian routes to Persia or Central Asia. Moreover, its inclusion in the Empire was necessary for the safety of Kabul. It was an important gateway of Commerce in the XVIIth Century. In 1615, Richard Steel stressed the importance of Kandahar. He wrote that fourteen thousand laden camels annually passed this route for Persia.

Bengal was incorporated in the Empire by Akbar, but in the reign of Jehangir *Maghs,* the pirates of Chatgaon, depended solely on looting Bengal. The *Maghs* paid half of their loot to the King of Arracan who lent them his support. They used to run up to Dacca either by the *nullah* which leaves the Brahmaputra, passes by Khizirpur, and joins the *nullah* of Dacca or via Jattrapur and Bikrampur. Shah Jahan took immediate steps to bring their power to an end. He restored peace and order in Bengal.

His daily routine gives an insight into his policy of administration :

A.M.

"4 0 Wakes ..... Prayer ..... Reading.
6 45 Appears at *Darshan* window—elephant combats—review of cavalry.
7 40 Public *Durbar* (*Diwan-i-Am*).
9 40 Private Audience (*Diwan-i-Khas*).
11 40 Secret Consultation in the Shah Burj.
12 0 In harem (meal, siesta, charity to women).

P.M.

4 0 Public audience. Evening Prayer.
6 30 Evening Assembly in the *Diwan-i-khas.*
8 0 Secret Council in the Shah Burj.
8 30 In the harem—Music.
10 0 Hears books read.
10-30 to 4 A.M. Sleeps."[1]

Later on, Shah Jahan took to a life of ease and then (probably) the above routine was changed. In a letter written on 29th December, 1640 to the Company by the factors we find a mention of the drinking habits of the King. "Besides, this King begins to turne good fellow, for about three or four months since he wryt unto this Governor (yet privately) to provide him of grape wine (for so their language renders it), eyther from us or the Portugalls, so that we then sent him two large cases filled with Canary wine and Allegant, which (with twenty horsemen

1) "Studies in Mughal India" by Jadunath Sarkar, p. 3.

to attend them) were on men's shoulders sent towards him to Kishmire. We shortly expect to heare how he likes them, and accordingly to be troubled with his further commands."[1] The index "to turne good fellow" was the capacity for "grape wine" ! ! !

During Shah Jahan's reign there was a series of famines which took a heavy toll of life and property in spite of the Famine measures taken by him. The system of receiving presents on the vernal equinox, royal birthday, royal accession, and on other occasions manipulated by the late King was continued in full swing. Money so received was lavishly spent on building forts, palaces, mosques, the throne, and the Taj. Shah Jahan's legacy to India is a rich legacy when measured from the architectural standpoint. He built Jehangir's Mausoleum in Lahore (1630-1640); the Taj Mahal, Agra (1632-1654); Shahjehanabad (New Delhi—1633-1645); the *Jama Masjid,* Delhi (1650); and a host of other places too numerous to mention. The celebrated Peacock Throne was constructed by the order of Shah Jahan under the supervision of Be-badal Khan who was the superintendent of the Royal Gold Department. We find a description of it in the *Badshahnama* of Abdu-l-Hamid Lahori and also in the *Shahjehanama* of Inayat Khan. From the latter the following description is taken : "The *Nau-roz* (a festivity among the Mohammedans) of the year 1044 fell on the *'Id-i-fitr,'* when His Majesty was to take his seat on the jewelled throne. This gorgeous structure, with a canopy supported on twelve pillars, measured three yards and a half in length, two yards and a half in breadth, and five yards in height from the flight of steps to the overhanging dome. On His Majesty's accession to the throne (1628 A.D.), he had commanded the eighty-six *lacs* worth of gems and precious stones, and a diamond worth fourteen *lacs* which together made a *crore* of rupees as money is reckoned in Hindustan, should be used in its decoration. It was completed in seven years, and among the precious stones was a ruby worth a *lac* of rupees that Shah Abbas Safari had sent to the late Emperor, on which were inscribed the names of the great Timur Sahib-Kiran, etc."[2] This Peacock Throne consumed one *lac tolas* of gold which was in value equivalent

1) "The English Factories in India (1637-1641)" by William Foster, p. 289.

2) "The History of India as told by Its own Historians" by Elliott and Dawson (Vol. VII), p. 46 (foot note 1).

to fourteen *lacs* of rupees. Tavernier who carefully examined the throne fixed the total cost at sixty million dollars!

The Taj, aptly called "a dream in marble, designed by Titans, and finished by jewellers," took twenty-two years for its completion. Tavernier says that twenty thousand men constantly worked on it.

The foundation of Delhi Fort was laid on Friday the 9th 1639 A.D. To complete the Fort nine years, three months and some days were required and it cost Shah Jahan sixty *lacs* of rupees over and above the forced labour that he employed. "Throughout the Imperial dominions, wherever artificers could be found, whether plain stone-cutters, ornamental sculptors, masons, or carpenters, by the mandate worthy of implicit obedience they were all collected together, and multitudes of common labourers were employed in the work."[1] (*Shahjehan Nama* of Inayat Khan). Not only were the artificers collected at Delhi, but the transport was monopolised as well. ".....but such hath bin our misfortune that carts could not upon any tearmes bee acquired, by reason the King, in building of a new pallace at Dilly (1639-1647), 70 course from Agra, gave constant employment unto all that could possibly, either by violence or otherwise, bee procured; for which wee need noe farther confirmation then our owne experiment, who, having a parcell of browne cloth in May last sent from Agra to bee whited at Brodra and Broach, after they had proceeded fifteen or twenty miles on the way, the goods by the King's officers were cast downe in the fields and the carts taken for his use; soe that necessity enforced those that had charge of them to howse them in the next village, where they continued dureing the raines, and by that meanes came not unto us untill November was far spent."[2]

While Shah Jahan was draining the Empire in order to build magnificent palaces and mosques, the foreigners (the Dutch and the English) were fixing their tentacles deep into the heart of the Empire. Mendelslo describing their factories at Surat says, "They have there their Lodges, their store-houses, their Presidents, their Merchants, and their Secretaries, and

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1) "The History of India as told by Its own Historians" by Elliott and Dawson (Vol.VII), p. 86.

2) "The English Factories in India (1646-1650)" by William Foster, p. 253.

indeed have made it one of the most eminent Cities for Traffick of all the East."

Later on, these factories proved more formidable than the Houses of Pleasure called Forts which Shah Jahan was building. A few words about Shah Jahan's famous tent *Dil-Badil* (Generous heart) will not be out of place here. It cost him fifty thousand rupees. When Bahadurshah ordered the fixing of this tent at Lahore in 1711 A.D., "Five hundred tent-pitchers and carpenters were employed for one month in putting it up, and in so doing several persons were killed."[1]

This tent occupied $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles in circuit. The tents of the Emperor, his sons, and grandsons were of a red cloth, called *kharwah,* a stout canvas-like cotton cloth, dyed red with the root of the *al* plant. The *Wakil-i-Mutlaq* (Vicegerent) and *Jamdat-ul-mulk* (Chief Minister) were allowed *Patapati* or striped tents, one red stripe and one white stripe alternately.

(b) *Extent of the Empire and its Administration.*

In 1635 the King of Bijapur agreed to pay £200,000 tribute annually to Shah Jahan, and the Nazam Shah's dominions were absorbed into the Moghul Empire.

Little Tibet, of which Ali Rai, father of Abdal, was the *Marzban,* was incorporated into the Empire in 1636 A.D. Jehangir had wanted to take it but he could not. Shah Jahan ordered the Governor of Kashmir, Zafar Khan, to march against Ali Rai who refused to surrender his country to Shah Jahan. Zafar Khan marched by the route of Karcha-bark and in one month reached the district of Shkardu, the first place of importance in Tibet. The road was "like the neck of a reed, and the curve of a talon."

Balkh and Badakshan were taken in 1645 A.D. On the 14th July 1636, Shah Jahan appointed Aurangzeb as the Viceroy of the Mugal Deccan which then consisted of

a. Khandesh or the Tapti Valley (the Satpura range in the North and the Sahyadri Mountains in the South);

b. Berar (the Mahadeo hills in the North and the Ajanta range in the South);

c. Telingana (South of Berar and to the North of Golconda and d. Doulatabad including Ahmadnagar and other dependencies.

Aurangzeb followed a vigorous "forward" policy in the Deccan. But the loss of Kandahar in 1648 was a great loss of

1) "The Army of the Indian Moguls" by William Irvine, p. 198.

prestige to Shah Jahan. In spite of his repeated efforts to retake it, he could not.

The extent and boundaries of the Empire are given below :

"In length, from Lahri Bander to Silhet, close upon two thousand *Kos Padshahi,* each *kos* consisting of five thousand cubits, and each cubit of forty-two fingers ; and in breadth, from the fort of Bust to the fort of Ausah (Orissa), about fifteen hundred *Kos,* comprising within its limits twenty-two *Subahs* and four thousand, three hundred and fifty subdivisional *Parganas* .....The whole yielding a revenue of 880 *Krors* of *dams* (£22,000,000)"[1] Roughly speaking, one might say that the Southern limits of the Empire were fixed by Bijapur and Golconda, the North-west by Balkh and Badakshan, the East by Bengal ; and the West by Surat.

Administration. As regards political affairs, the strong hand of Shah Jahan was visible everywhere. "Having pollitickly wrought his owne securitie by cutting off all the bloud royall, without leaving any butt his owne sonnes that canne lay claime to his Crowne ; and then impovrishing his *amrawes* or nobles by taking from them all their treasure and livings, allowing noe more than will maintaine them barely in an ordinary state." [2]

Shah Jahan gave tone to the Government. When his father-in-law Asaf Khan died, it is reported that he left seventeen *krores* of rupees (?) in addition to his jewels, houses, horses, etc. (*Badshahnama* gives only two and half *krores* in place of seventeen *krores*) Shah Jahan immediately seized it. "..... and forced Santidas, from whom most of them (jewels) had been bought, to take back the stones and refund the money he had received for them."[3]

Of Santidas we are told that "he was a wealthy Jaina merchant of Ahmedabad, and about 1638 built in the city a temple called Chintaman's Temple (now known as *Jantar Mantar*), which Mandelslo describes as one of the noblest structures that can be seen. It is now in ruins and utterly forsaken. Santidas ('the great Bania') was in great favour at court ; and the title of

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1) "Revenue Resources of the Mogul Empire" by Edward Thomas, p. 27.

2) "The English Factories in India (1630-1633)" by William Foster, p. 33.

3) "The English Factories in India (1637-1641)" by William Foster, p. xxvii.

Nagar Seth, conferred on him by the Emperor, is still borne by his descendants."[1]

After Asaf Khan's death, Sa'dullah Khan the highly respected Wazir steered the bark of Government most successfully. Sa'dullah Khan was a capable and upright man and Shah Jahan's reign was rendered memorable by his honest and loyal cooperation. Shah Jahan appointed Dara Governor of Kabul and Multan, but Dara governed these countries by deputies, for, he himself always worked as Secretary to his father. Shuja was appointed Governor of Bengal, Aurangzeb of the Deccan, and Murad of Gujarat. The magnificent splendour of Shah Jahan's Court, the liberality of his generous heart, the personal popularity that he enjoyed, the display of his sons and the huge and beautiful buildings that he was constructing as if to defy time—all these dazzled an onlooker and hid from his gaze the crumbling interior.

The vast empire from Kabul to Bengal and from Kashmir to Bijapur was being weakened by the love of display of Shah Jahan and his sons (excluding Aurangzeb). The Mogul officials started extorting money in their domains and highwaymen defied the laws of Shah Jahan.

In Rajputana and Gujarat large bands of robbers lurked in the hills and attacked caravans. "Seventy *corse* of Ahmedabad at a place called Burrkee Gate (Bhakri) (the Caravan) was assaulted by one Inggadas, a notorious theefe, with sixty horsemen in armor and two thousand foote....."[2]

In Lower Sind the hill tribes gave much trouble. In Gujarat the Kolis came plundering almost to the gates of Ahmedabad. Shah Jahan's Governor personally investigated the Kolis' case, and how beautifully he did it! "Oppressing the innocent and deluding the poore of their hire, and his (the Governor's) unheerd of tiranie in depopulating whole townes of miserably pore people, under pretence of their harbouring thieves and rogues (whilst those that are such may walke untoucht at noone day) are grievous testimonies of his rigged desposition, though the factors themselves are only spectators and not sufferers."[3] (1647 A.D.).

1) "The English Factories in India (1634-1636)" by William Foster, p. 196, (F. N. 1).

2) "The English Factories in India (1646-1650" by William Foster, p. 193.

3) "The English Factories in India (1646-1650)" by William Foster, p. 127.

The fact is that a show of justice was maintained. While the oppression of the local authorities was breaking the backs of millions of poor people and while the venal and arbitrary Court Officials were draining the wealth of the country in order to meet the unproductive expenditure on their sensual enjoyments, we are told that "Notwithstanding the great area of this Country, plaints were so few that only one day in the week, viz., Wednesday, was fixed upon for the administration of justice; and it was rarely even then that twenty plaintiffs could be found to prefer suits, the number being generally much less."[1]

It was not that plaints were so few but that the terror of the officials was so great that plaints were not submitted even when the party was grossly wronged. Such a simple fact was not intelligible to Shah Jahan! And even to-day this simple fact is not obvious to those who govern India in the name of Law and Order! A high officer on tour receives very few plaints. He personally enquires from the people about his subordinates. A string of praises. He goes back to the headquarters highly satisfied with "the high standard of public service" maintained by his subordinates. He forgets that all what the people said to him was merely "His Master's Voice." They dare not submit plaints unless they have received the officials' assent. Such a simple explanation of the fewness of plaints was lost on Shah Jahan in 1650 and is lost on the men of light and learning who hold the destiny of millions of men in the hollow of their hands in the year of grace 1926!

(c) *Routes and Transport System.*

In Shah Jahan's time the overland routes from Multan and Kashmir lost their importance on account of the disturbed state of affairs on the Frontier. The Indo-Persian wars regarding Kandahar disturbed those trade routes and diverted traffic to Surat. The sea-trade between Surat and Gombroon benefited a great deal thereby and the English earned a large amount of money by carrying men and commodities from one part to the other.

The overland routes were as follows: (1) Multan—Chotiali—Pishin—Kandahar—Persia; and (2) Kashmir—Afghanistan—Persia and thence across the Caspian Sea to European Russia. Tavernier also describes two routes of great import-

1) "The History of India as Told by Its Own Historians," by Elliott and Dawson (Vol. VII), p. 172.

ance : One from Surat—Bardoli—Nawapura—Naunpur—Patna —Deogaon—Daulatabad—Aurangabad—Nander—Santapur—Satanagar—Golconda—and the other from Golconda—Tenara —Pungul—Kollur—Bezwada—Nedumulu—Masulipatam. The first route goes from West to South and the other links it with the East which was well connected with the North and West.

These routes between Surat and Golconda and Golconda to Masulipatam became important on account of the activities of the Moguls in the Deccan.

Mandelslo, a native of Mecklenburg and educated at the Court of the Duke of Holstein, describes the route which he took in 1638 to come to India : Ispahan—Persepolis—Shiraz—Gombroon—Surat. He describes travelling in Gujarat as unsafe on account of the depredations of the Rajputs.

The Lall Dong Pass at the head of the mountains in the Punjab was rising into prominence. One could go from Calcutta to Kashmir via this pass using both land and water transport. The route can be traced as follows :—Calcutta—Sooksagar—Berhampur (in Bengal)—Murshidabad—Rajmahal—Monghyr—Patna—Muzufferpore—Chapra—Buxar—Benares —Allahabad—Lucknow—Furruckabad—Rampur—Moradabad —Amroha—Najeebabad—Lall Dong—Bellaspore—Nourpour —Jumbo—Kashmir.

Transport System.

The Transport System was much upset by the increased nefarious activities of the highwaymen which have been already described and also by the high-handedness of the King who wanted the men engaged in transport service to be at his service for building activities in Delhi. "All the waggons which come to Surat from Agra or from other places in the Empire, and which return by Agra and Jahanabad, are compelled to carry lime, which comes from Broach, and which, as soon as it is used, becomes as hard as marble (coral or shell lime). It is a great source of profit to the King, who sends this lime where he pleases ; but, on the other hand, he takes no dues from the waggons."[1]

It became customary to engage men in the transport service through a headman who would be responsible for them. Wherever labour was hired there was their headman to answer for their honesty. Each man when employed gave the headman a rupee.

1) "Travels in India" by Tavernier, edited by Ball (Vol. I), p. 83.

Tavernier mentions a queer instance of the rivalry that existed between caravans engaged in different trades and describes the part played by Shah Jahan in removing their tendency to fight. He says, "When the caravan which carries corn and that which carries rice meet, rather than give way one to the other, they often engage in very sanguinary encounters. The Great Mogul, considering one day that these quarrels were prejudicial to commerce and to the transport of food in his Kingdom, arranged that the Chiefs of the two caravans should come to see him. When they had arrived, the King (Shahjehan) after he had advised them for their mutual benefit to live for the future in harmony with each other, and not to fight any more when they meet, presented each of them with a *lakh* (£10,000), and a chain of pearls."[1]

This was paternal government with a vengeance!

(d) *Land Policy.*—Shah Jahan's reign was disfigured by a number of famines which devastated a large area of the Empire. During 1630 and 1633 famines caused great loss of life and had an adverse affect on cultivation and manufactures. The 1630 famine reduced the land between Gujarat and Golconda to "one vast charnel-house." "Life was offered for a loaf, but none would buy; rank was to be sold for a cake, but none cared for it; the ever-bounteous hand was now stretched out to beg for food, and the feet which had always trodden the way of contentment walked about only in search of sustenance. For a long time dog's flesh was sold for goat's flesh and the pounded bones of the dead were mixed with flour and sold. When this was discovered, the sellers were brought to justice. Destitution at length reached such a pitch that men began to devour each other, and the flesh of a son was preferred to his love. The numbers of the dying caused obstructions in the roads, and every man whose dire sufferings did not terminate in death and who retained the power to move wandered off to the towns and villages of other countries. Those lands which have been famous for their fertility and plenty now retained no trace of productiveness."[2] (*Badshahnama.*)

On the Coromandel Coast the factors wrote that "Sorely oppress with famine, the liveing eating up the dead, and men

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1) "Travels in India" by Tavernier. Edited by Ball (Vol. I), p. 83.

2) "The History of India as Told by Its Own Historians," by Elliott and Dawson, (Vol. VII), p. 24.

durst scarsly travell in the country for feare they should be kild and eaten."[1]

The Emperor immediately opened relief measures which consisted of (a) the free distribution of soup and bread in chief centres; (b) the giving of one *lakh* of rupees to Burhanpur, and fifty thousand rupees to Ahmadabad; and (c) the remitting of revenue to the extent of seventy *lakhs* of rupees.

Shah Jahan followed the same land policy as was laid down by Akbar, with two variations. The one was the extensive system of farming the revenues and assigning the revenues for various purposes. Akbar was opposed to this, but Shah Jahan encouraged it. And the other was in the scale of remuneration and duties of a *Krori* (collector of *Kror dams*).

Krori in Akbar's time was a mere collector of *Kror* (ten million) *dams*, and used to get eight per cent. on his collections. In Shah Jahan's reign, a *krori* was also a *faujdar* and used to receive ten per cent. on his collection. The *faujdar* was not only a collector of revenue, but was also vested with full police powers. This naturally resulted in great oppression of the poor peasants.

To Shah Jahan's credit is the construction of the following canals: (a) the Ravi Canal which was constructed at the place where the Ravi descends from the hills into the plains and so benefited Lahore; (b) *Nahri-i-Bihist* (Canal of Heaven) which was thirty imperial *Kos* in length. It started from Safidun to the regal residence; and (c) He got extensive repairs and cleaning done to the Firoz Shah Canal which was constructed from Khizrabad to Safidun.

and (e) *Labour Availability and its Distribution.*

The quantity of labour—the usual procedure was to think of labour as a commodity—was much decreased on account of the famines which took a heavy toll in human lives. Its distribution was also much affected by the increased insecurity in travelling on the King's roads. Moreover, demand for labour increased on account of the building mania of Shah Jahan. Still, the wages did not increase. The *firmans* of the King and the *nishans* (signed orders) of the Governors were sufficiently powerful to drag the labourer from his hearth and make him work on any wage that the great ones thought fit for him to receive.

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1) "The English Factories in India (1630-1633)" by William Foster, p. 268.

We get some information of the rate of wages from scattered information in the English Factories Records. In 1634 the Company's peons at Surat and Ahmadabad were drawing five to seven *mahumudis* per month (equals 4 shillings and seven pence). In 1636 the scale of remuneration was raised by three *mahmudis*. They were paying their *laskers* (i.e. Lascars) about double a peon's wages. The Lascars received food extra. The factors were not satisfied with their work "for these lascars are very chargeable, in regard wee pay them reddy money monthly three and four rialls at eight per month, besides their dyett, little inferior to our owne people; and they upon the least distast (although twere to save shipp and goods) will run away."[1] (October 25, 1639.)

This is the first time that we learn that the lascars' diet was "little inferiour" to the English. In 1639, the standard of living of the English must have been very low.

This fact is corroborated by the factors at Bantam in their letter to Surat written on the 25th of July, 1642. They write "unto whome (twenty Guzerat lascars), during her 'Expedition' stay here, we have given the same allowance that our own people have, being one rial of eight and sixty pounds of rice each man per month, with which they have seemed very well pleased."[2]

The difference in the cash money paid as wages was probably to the steamer being in port. But the important fact to be noted is the lack of 'differential scale of remuneration'....."we have given the same allowance that our own people have."

1) "The English Factories in India (1642-1645)" by William Foster, p. 186.

2) "The English Factories in India (1637-1641)" by William Foster, p. 37.

CHAPTER II.

CAPITAL ORGANISATION: CURRENCY AND ITS REGULATIONS, HUNDEES AND TAXATION.

Currency and Mint.

In Shah Jahan's time the money market was well organised. *Hundees* and insurance business were highly developed. Shah Jahan did not interfere much with the currency of the Empire, for coins of other countries like Portugal, England, Holland, Spain circulated freely and there was the difficulty of stopping the operation of the 'Gresham law' if he tampered with his coins. The coins of the Empire were full-value coins made of pure metal. The exchange rate of a rupee and a *dam* was constantly fluctuating.

Shah Jahan's reign is memorable for the mint reforms he introduced. He equalised conditions of minting money in Surat and in Ahmadabad. The following coins were in free circulation :

COINED GOLD

Mohur	equivalent to		32	shillings			
Rose Nobles	,,	,,	6	,,	and	8	pence
Old Jacobuses	,,	,,	25	,,	,,	8	,,
Albertuses	,,	,,	4	,,	,,	6	,,

COINED SILVER

Rupee	,,	,,	4	,,	,,	6	,,
($\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{8}$, 1/16 of a rupee also)							
Rix dalers	equivalent to		4	shillings	and	7	pence
Spanish Reels	,,	,,	4	,,	,,	10	,,
Rial of Eight	,,	,,	4	,,	,,	6	,,
Ecu	,,	,,	4	,,	,,	6	,,
Mahmudi	,,	,,	4	,,	,,	11	,,

COINED COPPER

Paisa, $\frac{1}{2}$, 2, and 4 *paisas*. One *paisa* equivalent to 35 to 50 *Badams* (bitter persian almonds) or equivalent to 80 *cowries* (shell) on the sea-side or 50 in Agra.

Other coins like Sol (equals 4½d.) Ducat (equals 9s. 4d.); *Pagoda* (equals 9s. or more. Different kinds), *Fanams* (equals 3d. Different kinds) were also to be seen here and there. The difficulty in the money market arose out of the practice of paying in old coins but receiving in new coins. The difference chargeable was two per cent. The Shroffs, who were originally money changers, acted also as bankers, making remittances of money and issuing letters of Exchange. They had understandings with the Governors of Provinces who always used to issue old coins and demand payment in new coins. The shroffs used to charge two per cent., of which half used to go to the Governor. They also used to create a favourable ratio of exchange for themselves between the rupee and the *paisa*. As the coins were full value coins, there was no danger of counterfeiting. Mints were also free and open mints, but it was not safe to give the metal for coinage direct to the mint as the officers of the mint knew the art of exacting money. So it was always desirable to give the metal for coinage through a *Shroff* who used to charge a small commission.

In suggesting the desirability of shifting the factory from Surat to Ahmadabad, the factors laid stress on the mint advantages and also on the favourable exchange that Ahmadabad then enjoyed. The mint in Ahmadabad indeed used to charge two per cent. more than the mint in Surat. The brassage was higher "yet commonly so much will be saved by the losse of exchange between that (Surat) and this place (Ahmedabad), which is generally 1½, 1¾, and 2 per cent."[1]

The favourable exchange that Ahmadabad enjoyed was due to the precious commodities it used to manufacture, chiefly for Agra and Delhi. The accounts were generally adjusted without any money actually passing from or to Ahmadabad. Not so was it with Surat which had actually to remit money because it was not an important manufacturing country.

The Surat mint was open "diverse months" if there was any competition. If the Portuguese and English wanted the bullion turned into coins, then days would be reserved for each nation. So there was a risk of having to wait for several days or even months. Even if there were no competition, the Mint would not give more than six thousand rupees a day. This was not the case with the Ahmadabad Mint. This difference in the Mint con-

1) "The English Factories in India (1634-1636)" by William Foster, p. 218.

ditions lasted till 1638 when "by speciall command from the King (Shahjehan) the mint of Suratt is made equal to that of Ahmedabad and so the charge is increased seven per mille."[1]

The *batta* (lit. means discount) between the *Mahmudi* and the Rupee was 13 to 14 per cent. in 1630, 6 per cent. in 1633 and dropped to nothing in 1634. The high rate of discount in 1630 was due to the famine. The *Benjaras* (carriers who carry goods on mules or in carts) carried food stuff from Agra to Gujarat and they would only sell it for Rupees and not for *Mahmudis* for, "*Mahmudis* are none of the Kings Coyne, but coyned by the Rajah of Mallore.....and are only current in these adjacent countries, not further than Brodera."[2]

Rials were much preferred as they appreciated a shilling and moreover there was no loss in melting and cutting rials as there was in the case of bullion. The loss in the case of bullion used to come up to $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Of course, gold was much the better of the two, viz., Rials and bullion silver.

The rate of interest in England in about 1655 was four per cent., while in India it was seven and a half to nine per cent., though once (1648) the English had to borrow at eighteen per cent. The English had a good friend in Virjee Vora who would advance them money at a low rate of interest: "Verge Vora hath of his owne accord offered, even in the chiefest brunt of those broyles, two hundred thousand rupees to supply our occasions."[3]

The highest tribute has been paid to Virjee Vora's business capacity by the English in the following lines: "The potency of Virgee Vora (who hath bene the usuall merchant, and is now become the sole monopolist of all European Commodities) is observed to beare such sway amongst the inferiour merchants of this towne that when they would oftentymes buy (and give greater prices) they are still restrayned, not dareing to betray their intents to his knowledge and their owne sufferance, insomuch that the tyme and price is still in his will and at his own disposure."[4]

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1) "The English Factories in India (1637-1641)" by William Foster, p. 84.

2) "The English Factories in India (1634-1636)" by William Foster, p. 225.

3) "The English Factories in India (1634-1636)" by William Foster, p. 216.

4) "The English Factories in India (1634-1636)" by William Foster, p. 24.

Hundees and Insurance Business.

Hundees were generally met at Surat at two months after date by paying a high rate of exchange.

"At Lahore on Surat the Exchange goes up to 6¼ per cent.
At Agra from 4¼ to 5 per cent.
At Ahmedabad from 1 to 1½ per cent.
At Sironj to 3 per cent.
At Burhanpur from 2½ to 3 per cent.
At Dacca to 10 per cent.
At Patna from 7 to 8 per cent.
At Benares to 6 per cent.
At these three last places (i.e. Dacca, Patna, and Benares), they give only letters of Exchange on Agra, and at Agra they give others on Surat, the whole only amounting to the sum I have stated.
At Golconda from 4 to 5 per cent.
And on Goa the same.
At Deccan to 3 per cent.
At Bijapur to 3 per cent.
At Daulatabad from 1 to 1½ per cent."[1]

"Besides, it is not to be wondered at that the exchange is so high, for those who lend the money run, for their part, the risk that if the goods are stolen the money is lost to them."[2]

For Mocha and Basra the exchange ranges from 22 to 24 per cent. and from 16 to 20 per cent. for Hormuz. The *Jokham* (risk), it must be admitted, was very great and the rate consequently had to be forced up. The general tendency, however, was to draw bills at forty and forty-one days sight and the exchange was 1½ per cent. to 2 per cent. in favour of Agra.

We have seen that exchange rates also included insurance rates, that is to say, the bills were not *Darshani* or *Miti* but *Jokhami*. In Masulipatam, however, no man dealt in Exchange and so money must be brought over from Golconda. "The cheapest way is to insure it, by giveinge four, sometymes five per cent."[3]

This is an instance of overland insurance.

There is another instance which is humorously called "Andrew's Cochineal." This Cochineal was sent, at his urgent re-

1) "Travels in India" by Tavernier. Edited by Ball, (Vol. I). p. 36.
2) "Travels in India" by Tavernier. Edited by Ball, (Vol. I). p. 37.
3) "The English Factories in India (1637-1641)" by William Foster, p. p. 84.

quest, from Surat to Agra insured at 2½ per cent. Exchange from Surat to Agra in 1658 went up from 9 to 11 per cent. The Dutch paid from 5¾ to 6¾ per cent. It may have been due to the unsettled condition of the Mogul Kingdom because of the fight for Shah Jahan's throne.

Taxation.

"In 1649 a new charter was given to the East India Company by Shahjehan by which the English goods had to pay 2 per cent. on the prime cost or sale value of the goods at the place of importation."[1] Shah Jahan was in the habit of farming out revenues and those who bid the highest used to get the contract. There is an instance of a Governor of Surat who bid such a high figure for the income of that port that he had to become a defaulter later on. The name of the Governor was Mir Musa who agreed to give senventy-two *lakhs* of *Mahmudis* for Surat. By 1641, he found himself short by thirty-one *lakhs*. Mir Musa was turned out from Surat, but he retained Cambay and Broach which had also been farmed out to him. Jam Quli Beg was appointed in his place. In order to make Jam Quli Beg cut a sorry figure before Shah Jahan, Mir Musa halved the customs dues in Cambay and Broach and further ordered all goods from Cambay to be moved in ships and not by land in order to attract trade at the cost of Surat.

These officers, after having got the power to collect the revenues, used to extort money by unfair means as much as they could. Mandelslo writes on the ordeal of Custom House examination by Mogul officials as follows :

"We came ashore near the Sultan's Palace, and went immediately to the Custom House to have our things searched by the officers there (Surat) : which is done with such exactness in this place, that they think it not enough to open chests and portmentles, but examine people's clothes and pockets. The Sultan or Governor, nay the customers themselves, oblige merchants and passengers to part with, at the price they shall think fit to put upon them, those goods and Commodities which they had brought for their own private use....."[2] (Sultan took from us a bracelet and a diamond. He returned the latter and kept the former). Mandelslo's Travels translated by John Davies. Tavernier says, "As soon as merchandise is landed at Surat it has to be taken to the Custom House, which adjoins the fort.....

1) "History of Indian Tariffs" by N. J. Shah, pp. 2 and 3.

2) "India in the XVII Century" by J. N. Das-Gupta, p. 182.

Private individuals pay as much as four and five per cent. duty on all their goods; but as for the English Company and the Dutch Company they pay less.....Gold and silver pay two per cent."[1]

But the English and the Dutch had to present costly novelties to the King, his sons, and his powerful officials, so they were not in a better position, as the presents used to cost them a good deal.

The pages of "The English Factories in India" are full of the efforts made by the English to get rid of the vexatious customs duties and other taxes. They did succeed in getting *firmans* from the Emperor and *nishans* from his sons, but how far these were effective in practical life it is difficult to say. ".....the King having been pleased to gratify us with his *firman* for reducing in this Custom House the rates of Ahmuda (bad), Agra, and Brodra goods, the first from 25 to 5, the second from 40 to 20, and the last from 12½ per cent. (that they were used to exact more than the cost of the goods where they were brought) to nothing (Relating their goods for export in 1644)."[2]

"He (Dara Shikoh) hath also been pleased to grant us severall *neshans* (orders) or letters in your favour for Thatta, that Custom House and country belonging unto him."[3]

But Thatta was no good. It was near failure on account of the exactions of the Mogul officials. Spiller, the head of the Thatta factory, after investigating the upper districts of Sind in 1644, writes "the people are so exceedingly oppresst and kept so miserably poor that, notwithstanding the soil is fertile and proper and would produce large quantities of good indicoes, they have neither will nor means to manure and sow the ground."[4] Thus we see that the Customs Houses were houses of terror. Though the rates were scheduled, yet the corruption of the officials and the ease with which the *firmans* or the *nishans* could be obtained made Customs Duties unascertainable items. As regards other taxes, the condition was the same.

Shihabuddin Tolish complained in 1666 of the uncertainty of

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1) "Travels in India" by Tavernier. Edited by Ball, (Vol. I). p. 8.

2) "The English Factories in India (1642-1645)" by William Foster, p. 214.

3) "The English Factories in India (1642-1645)" by William Foster, p. 215.

4) "The English Factories in India (1642-1645)" by William Foster, p. XII.

the taxes. "From the first occupation of India and its ports by the Muslims to the end of Shah Jehan's reign, it was a rule and practice to exact *hasil* (1½ per cent. tax) from every trader—from the rose-vendor to the clay-vendor, from the weaver of fine linen to that of coarse cloth."[1]

Road dues (*Zakats*) were also very common and could not be suppressed. Anybody having the power to exact these dues would collect the same for himself and not for the King. The local governors started making exorbitant demands for themselves. They called this exaction *Jagatee* or Customs.

Richard Davidge towards the end of July 1650 obtained from the King *firmans* "granting the English freedom from road-dues, ordering the officials at Surat and in Sind to abstain from certain vexatious practices which were the subject of complaint, and providing for compensation to be given for the robbery of a caravan between Agra and Lucknow some months before."[2]

The copy of the Firman of 1650 is given below.

Copy of a *firman* from the Emperor Shah Jahan, dated 23 *Shaban* in the 24th year. A.H. 1060 (i.e. 11. August, 1650).

Folio 5.

"Order is given to the various officials, including those having charge of the roads between Agra and Bengal and between Agra and Surat, either by way of Burhanpur or via Ahmadabad, that the English, having paid the usual custome at Surat, Broach, or Lahri (bandar), are not to be troubled with any further demands. This injunction is to be considered as perpetual. Should any robbery be committed, the Jagirdar of the place is to use his best endeavours to recover the goods, paying every attention to the English."[3] The Hugli factory was established in 1651 and Prince Shuja, the Governor of Bengal, freed the English from payment of all customs or dues in 1653. A special tax called the *Chahil-Yak* (a levy of 2½ per cent.) for Tattah used to oppress other traders. By the *nishan* of Dara Shikoh, the English got exemption from the same.

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1) "The Moghul Administration" by Jadunath Sarkar, p. 63.

2) "The English Factories in India (1646-1650)" by William Foster, p. XXIII.

3) "The English Factories in India (1655-1660)" by William Foster, pp. 414-415.

CHAPTER III.

MANUFACTURES—RAW MATERIALS AND THEIR UTILISATION.

In Shah Jahan's reign the saltpetre and opium trade developed very greatly. The exportation of cloth was checked and in its place arose a great demand for yarns. The manufacturers in England demanded yarns and not the manufactured cotton goods. Trade in indigo was very slack.

The shawl industry of Kashmir and the Punjab, the carpet industry of Agra and Amritsar, the *Kimkhwab* (cotton and silk cloth interlaced with gold and silver threads) and other embroidery works of Ahmadabad, the cotton goods of Bengal, and the manufacture of porcelains, the carving in ivory and inlaid metal vessels reached their zenith in the reign of Shah Jahan.

Indigo.—The trade in indigo suffered from three causes : (a) accidents of season. The disastrous Gujarat Famine of 1630 ; the excessive Biana rains of 1621 and 1640 which turned indigo fields into floating ponds ; and the complete destruction of the crops in 1625 and 1646 by locusts—all these so killed the industry that it never revived afterwards.

(b) Interference by the Authorities. In 1618 the Governor of Ahmadabad wanted a bribe of one *lakh* of rupees in order to allow free trade in the commodity. In 1633 Shah Jahan made it a royal monopoly just as the Shah of Persia had the royal monopoly of silk in Persia. In the autumn of 1633 "a royal edict confining the sale of indigo throughout the Mogul dominions for three years to a Hindu named Manohar Das, who was to be assisted by a loan from the royal treasury, which was to share in any profit that might result. The Dutch and English protested strongly, but without result, for behind the Hindu merchant stood an influential noble, Mir Jumla."[1]

To break this monopoly a solemn engagement was entered into at Surat on 19th November, 1633 by the Dutch and the English to the effect that no party should purchase indigo for one year save at their prices and that any purchase of indigo should be a

1) "The English Factories in India (1630-1633)" by William Foster, pp. xxxiv-xxxv.

sort of a joint venture. And, further, the Dutch and the English solemnly pledged themselves not to accept indigo as freight.

This combination between the Dutch and the English compelled Shah Jahan to dissolve his partnership with Manchar Das and Mir Jumla on 14th April, 1635.

The English made an attempt to develop the indigo trade in Thatta (Sind) and were successful in securing a *nishan* in 1644 from Dara Shikoh who was then the Governor in charge of Thatta. Spiller, the man in charge of the Thatta Factory, wrote to Surat, "He (Dara Shikoh) hath also been pleased to grant us severall *neshans* (orders) or letters in your favour for Tuttha, that Custom House and country belonging unto him."[1] But this *nishan* was not effective as the Government in Thatta was so oppressive that the cultivators refused to grow the crop because they did not know who would reap the harvest.

And (c) Adulteration was so great that the purchaser did not know the amount of sand he was purchasing. Every kind of mal-practice grew up, and the Governor of Ahmadabad passed emergency measures to check them but without any avail. Capital punishment was inflicted in a few cases where adulteration was proved, but the evil was beyond control.

Nature and the Moguls both conspired to kill the industry which did not thrive again.

Saltpetre.—Saltpetre was in great demand. It was required by the foreigners for the manufacture of gunpowder. Shergarb near Agra, Thatta, Patna, Ahmadabad were important saltpetre producing centres. Up to 1650 the trade was moderate but the establishment of the Dutch and the English Factories at Patna gave this trade a great impetus. Patna became its most important centre.

Here also we see the same rapacity of the Mogul officials, and the same greed of the King to force the trade in saltpetre into channels which would flow towards the Imperial Treasury, as we saw in the case of indigo. "This commoditie (saltpetre) hath this yeare cost us much trouble, being prohibited transportation by order from the King, upon false information from this Governour against ours and the Dutches proceeds in Masulipatam but especially theirs. Both hath suffered equall discontents; though itts lycense (as are all other graunts) first given to us. Some bribes and extraordinary expence itt hath cost to worke

1) "The English Factories in India (1642-1645)" by William Foster, p. 215.

itts release, and more wee doubt itt will require to regaine our former freedome for buying that comodite."[1]

After they got rid of this transportation difficulty by bribing, the trade in saltpetre developed. A few years elapsed and a new difficulty was raised. "……the begetters (the supplier) being extreamly troubled by the King's officers, who forbid boyling (saltpetre) for any but the Kings *cirkar* (those producing for the King); yet, by corrupting with small bribes, we should finde little difficulty in procureing it, were the time of the years fitt for the action."[2]

Then comes the climax. "The King hath made it his owne commodity; who hath lying ready in Ahmada (Vad) 10,000 double maunds, once refined, very full of salt, and (tis report'd) cost him $6\frac{7}{8}$ rupees the maund. Soe long as any of this parcell lies unsold, wee shall not bee suffered to buy in this Kingdome, nor gather in what is due unto you from the peetermen."[3]

The system it appears was that anyone had perfect liberty to develop any new trade, but, when once it started expanding, the Mogul officials would take a big slice out of the profits. Later on, the King would enter the field by swallowing up those who were in the trade and by preventing others who would like to work up the industry.

Yarn.—The factors during Shah Jahan's reign received letters from the Company to decrease investment in cloth and to increase the purchase of yarn. The quality of cloth produced in India had much deteriorated and they (the Company Directors) wanted to encourage weaving in their own country. So the demand for yarn went up. The price of finer qualities of yarn was 12 to 14 pence per lb., one hundred bales being exported by Surat on 29th November 1641.

Opium.—Opium was much in demand both in India and for export purpose. In India, the Rajputs and the Moguls used to eat it, and it was also required for medicinal purposes. Foreigners exported it to their countries, for it was much used in the manufacture of medicines. The following note about opium may be found useful: "Opium, which in Europe is one of our most valu-

1) "The English Factories in India (1630-1633)" by William Foster, p. 21.

2) "The English Factories in India (1646-1660)" by William Foster, pp. 121-122.

3) "The English Factories in India (1655-1660)" by William Foster, p. 15.

able medicines, but which in China feeds a depraved taste, is manufactured from the juice of the white poppy, a small quantity of which is grown in Turkey and Persia, and also in China, but it is cultivated to the greatest extent in India..... The process of cultivation and manufacture may be shortly described. The finest soil is required for the plant. The seed is sown in November. The preparation of the ground, and the subsequent weeding and watering, require much attention. The time for collecting the juice is in February and March. The poppy heads are then cut or scratched with a sharp instrument, and a milky juice exudes, which becomes brown in colour and thick in consistency by exposure to the sun and air, and is carefully collected by the farmer and his family. This is the crude opium..... The principal districts in which the poppy is grown are Patna, Benares, Behar, and Malwa, from which the different kinds of drug derive their names."[1]

The raw and finished materials of Bengala were much in demand in Agra and on the West. Its sugar, rice, cotton goods, silk, and lac were much in demand.

Cotton Goods.—Peter Mundy points out that there were various restrictions imposed on the manufacture and sale of cotton goods. This was not so simple as it would at first sight appear. "Firstly, the bleaching was a serious matter, involving a delay of some three months, and with it were connected various charges. The actual cost of bleaching is stated to have been Rs. $2\frac{1}{2}$ to Rs. $3\frac{1}{2}$ per score of pieces, besides the cost of cleaning materials, which means that it was 2 annas to 3 annas the piece (equals $14\frac{1}{2}$ yards long). There was an allowance of 25 per cent. to the vendor ; that is, the score meant 16 not 20 or, to put it in another way, Rs. 20 counted as Rs. 25. Thirdly, there was the *raza,* or a fragment of 10 per cent. of the total length of a piece cut off by the owner before putting it out to bleach.....Next, there was a fluctuating, unsettled brokerage on the unbleached goods, while on the bleached $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. to 1 per cent. was chargeable as brokerage, together with a duty of $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. to 1 per cent. more, reckoned at 5 pice the piece. Of this duty 2 pice went to the Governor, 2 to the broker, and 1 to the merchant."[2]

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1) "A history of the British Empire in India and the East" by Dr. E. H. Nolan, (Div. III).

2) "The Travels of Peter Mundy (1608-1667)" by H. S. (Vol.II). pp. 369-370.

Another difficulty was the fluctuation of measurements.

Mandelslo mentions a kind of embargo put by Shah Jahan on the use of *Kimkhwabs* manufactured in Ahmadabad. As he himself used to wear it, so his subjects had no right to wear the cloth. He, however, put no check on its export. Writing about 1638, Mandelslo says that "At the time of my being there (Ahmedabad), they had begun to make a new kind of stuff of silk and cotton with flowers of gold, which was very much esteemed and sold at five crownes the *Ell;* but the inhabitants were forbidden the wearing of it, upon this accompt, that the King reserved the wearing of it for his own, yet not so strictly, but that he permitted Forraigners to buy of it, to be transported out of the Kingdom."[1]

Silk.—"The sale of skein silk seems to have been a monopoly of the Governor, and it had to be bought through his agent, the Town Magistrate (*Kotwal*) in Patna."[2] It appears that during Shah Jahan's reign official interference in trade had reached its maximum. The King was busy building his Palaces and Mausoleums, and his officials were busy killing trade by extortion. Kassimbazaar in Bengal was an important mart for the purchase of raw-silk. Patna, on account of its central position, became the most important silk mart in India. The following information about cocoons and the production of silk, being of general importance, is given below :

"From 250 to 400 cocoons go to the pound. To compose an ounce of eggs of the largest breed of silkworms of 4-casts, it would require 37,440 : if each of these eggs produced a worm, and they all lived, from one ounce of eggs 373 lbs. of cocoons would be obtained.

"One ounce of worms consume in the—

	lbs.	
1st age	... 6	of leaves.
2nd ,, ...	... 18	,, ,,
3rd ,, ...	... 60	,, ,,
4th ,, ...	...180	,, ,,
5th ,, ...	1098	,, ,,
Total	1,362	lbs. of leaves from the

hatching to the formation of the cocoon.

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1) "Mendelslo's Travels" by John Davies, p. 31.

2) "The Travels of Peter Mundy (1608-1667)" by H. S. (Vol. II) P. 371.

"During the life of the silk-worm there has been excrement to the amount of 745 lbs. 8 ozs., and uneaten leaves or fragments, 155 lbs. odd. 458 feet 4 inches of spun silk extracted from a common cocoon of 4-casts weighs one grain. A cocoon yields 1760 feet of spun silk: the ounce of this spun silk is 264,000 feet long. We may conclude, on an average, that the silk-worm, in forming its cocoon, draws a thread of half a mile in length. The full-grown worm is three inches long. After four, five, or six days each moth will have laid on an average 510 eggs, and 68 eggs weigh one grain: 180 female moths lay 91,800 eggs, weighing $2\frac{1}{3}$ ozs."[1]

Manufacturers of rich *taffetas* in Gujarat and of the famous Sirohi sword blades were directly encouraged by Shah Jahan. But everywhere one could see "the crumbling interior" in the otherwise magnificent facade of Shah Jahan's Administration.

The corruption of the officials and the greed of the King were paralysing Indian trade. It never recovered its pristine glory after Shah Jahan's reign.

1) "A History of the British Empire in India and the East" by Dr. E. H. Nolan, (Div. III), p. 404.

CHAPTER IV.

TRADE.

(a) *General.*—Shah Jahan's strong rule promoted peace but it did not encourage trade. On account of his being a great trader, people were afraid to risk new ventures for they did not know the *firmans* in store for them.

The disastrous famines and the greed of the officials also crippled trade to a great extent. In the latter part of Shah Jahan's reign, Mir Jumla joined the Mogul Court, and his extensive trading operations were on a larger scale than those of the King. Prior to Mir Jumla's coming in the field, Asaf Khan "Whoe governs and manadges the affaires of the whole Kingdome" was the chief trader. This extensive exploitation of the markets by men who were bound to protect them hit the growing internal trade of India. The Kandahar wars blocked the North-West land routes and forced trade on to the sea-route from Surat to Gombroon. Thus the English made up for their losses on account of the famines and the high-handedness of the officials. The Dutch, however, carried on their trade in the East, in the South, in Persia, in Sumatra, Macao, and Japan. The brightest period of the Dutch prosperity was Shah Jahan's reign. They seemed possessed of a large amount of cash and had greater communal efficiency than the other foreigners. The English factors were perennially short of cash and their business was much hampered by the Company not supplying them with money when they needed it. The Portuguese were faring badly. They were fighting with the English and the Dutch and the latter secured the upper hand over them. A temporary agreement between the English and the Portuguese in 1634 gave the latter some respite, but the Portuguese were marked by Fate for failure and they could not revive their lost glory.

The French appeared in the field in 1633 as pirates. During Shah Jahan's time the French were active on the sea not as traders but as pirates. The formation of a rival Company called the "Courteen's Association" in December 1635 under very powerful patronage gave the East India Company both at home and in India a great deal of trouble. King Charles I purchased

the shares of the Association, authorised it to use the royal flag and wrote letters on behalf of the Association to the Viceroy at Goa and to the Dutch authorities and ordered British subjects to render assistance to the men of the Association.

Pursuant to the Directors' wish that the Company should "procure a national interest in some towne in India to make the scale of trade for these parts," an attempt was made to build a fort at Madraspatam during 1637-1641. The attempt was entirely successful. The headquarters of the Coast Agency were shifted from Masulipatam to it. This resulted in the first territorial acquisition of the East India Company in India. Madras became a Presidency of the Company in 1653.

In 1657, the position of the Company was strengthened by reaffirming the monopoly of the Company to trade with the Indies and by floating a "New General Stock" of £740,000 which was easily subscribed. The Mogul Empire in 1657 was in the melting pot. Dara, Shuja, Aurangzeb, and Murad were contesting for the throne of Hind while their father Shah Jahan was still alive! This great fratricidal war precipitated the ruin of the Mogul Empire. Trade during this period was deteriorating, for, people did not know to whom victory would go in this contest for the throne. Uncertainty and unstability were exacting a heavy toll from the national life of the country.

(b) *Trade Centres.*

Delhi.—Delhi was the chief city of India during Shah Jahan's and Aurangzeb's reigns. Being the Capital of the Mogul Empire during Shah Jahan's reign Delhi grew up out of the ashes of old Delhi into a new and greater Delhi. The revenues of the Empire were sacrificed in order to satisfy the whim of Shah Jahan. The net result was the rise of Delhi at the cost of Agra, for in those days trade followed the King. Bernier writes about Delhi in 1663 (eleven years after the completion of Delhi) as follows:

"The city was built in the form of a crescent on the right bank of the Jumna, which formed its north-eastern boundary, and was crossed by a single bridge of boats. The flat surrounding country was then, as now, richly wooded and cultivated, and the city was famous for its luxuriant gardens. The circuit of the walls was six or seven miles; but outside the gates were extensive suburbs, where the chief nobles and wealthy merchants had their luxurious houses; and there also were the decayed and straggling remains of the older city just without

the walls of its supplanter. Numberless narrow streets intersected this wide area, and displayed every variety of building, from the thatched mud and bamboo huts of the troopers and camp-followers, and the clay or brick houses of the smaller officials and merchants, to the spacious mansions of the chief nobles, with their courtyards and gardens, fountains and cool matted chambers, open to the four winds, where the afternoon siesta might be enjoyed during the heats. Two main streets, perhaps thirty paces wide and very long and straight, lined with covered arcades of shops, led into the 'great royal square' which fronted the fortress or palace of the Emperor. This square was the meeting place of the citizens and the army, and the scene of varied spectacles.....
The palace within was the most magnificent building of its kind in the East, and the private rooms or *mahall* alone cover more than twice the space of any European palace. Streets opened in every direction, and here and there were seen the merchants' caravanserais and the great workshops where the artisans employed by the Emperor and the nobles plied their hereditary crafts of embroidery, silver and gold smithery, gun-making, lacquer-work, painting, turning, and so forth.

"Delhi was famous for its skill in the arts and crafts. It was only under royal or aristocratic patronage that the artist flourished; elsewhere the artisan was at the mercy of his temporary employer, who paid him as he chose. The Mogul Emperors displayed a laudable appreciation of the fine arts, which they employed with lavish hands in the decoration of their palaces. A large number of exquisite miniatures, or paintings on paper designed to illustrate manuscripts or to form royal portrait-albums, have come down to us from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The technique and detail are admirable, and the colouring and lights often astonishingly skilful."[1]

Next to Delhi came Agra in importance. Agra, the City of Akbar, suffered from its rival the Delhi of Shah Jahan. But the love of display which prompted every oriental King to make a new building rather than to add to the glory of the existing one by repairing it or adding to it, left no option for him but to build new magnificent buildings in order to commemorate

1) "Mediaeval India under Mahommedan Rule" by Stanely Lane-Poole, pp. 367-370.

his name. This love of display Shah Jahan sacrificed the interests of the Empire to the lovely Taj and the fascinating Shahjehanabad (Delhi).

Agra.—For the last time we get a glimpse of Agra in the pages of Mandelslo's Travels. He describes " 'Agra in his day as the noblest city of Hindustan, and the one in which the Moghul most delighted'.....it was as much as a horseman could do to ride round the city in a day.

" 'Its streets are fair and spacious, and there are some of them vaulted, which are above a quarter of a league in length, where the Merchants and Tradesmen have their Shops, distinguished by their Trades and the Merchandizes which are there sold; every Trade and every Merchant having a particular Street and Quarter assigned him.' There were eighty caravanserais for foreign merchants, 'most of them three stories high, with very noble Lodgings, Store-houses, Vaults, and Stables belonging to them.' He counted seventy great mosques, and estimates the number of public baths 'or Hot-Houses' at above eight hundred, the tax on which brought in a considerable revenue to the State.....

"The treasure there jealously guarded was estimated on credible authority at above 1500 millions of Crowns, or £300,000,000. 'This wealth', he explains, 'is more and more augmented every day, not so much out of the ordinary Revenue coming in from the great Kingdom he hath (in regard that as his Ordinary Expence abates not anything of his Treasure; so is it seldome seen that he increases it, by ought remaining at the years end of his Revenue) as by the presents which are made him, and the Escheats falling to him at the death of great Lords and Favourites, who make the Mogul Heir to what they had gotten by his favour; insomuch that the children have no hope to enjoy ought of their Fathers' Estates, either Reall or Personall. For the Mogul's Authority is such, and his Power so absolute, that the Estates of all his Subjects, are at his disposal,.....There is no hereditary Dignity in all his country. That of *Rasgi* or *Raja,* which he bestows rather upon the accompt of Merit than Birth, is Personall.....'

"Agra was a very densely inhabited city at this time (1638 A.D.) 'of such extent and so populous, that were there a necessity, there might be raised out of it two hundred thousand men able to bear Armes. There is no Nation in all the East but hath some commerce or other at their place; but most of the inhabitants are Mahumetans, and all the Merchandizes that are

imported into it, or exported out of it, pay ten in the hundred.' ".[1]

We learn from this description of Agra three new facts viz. (a) the distribution of particular streets to particular trades. For instance, Goldsmiths would have one particular street. In that street no other trade would be allowed. This specialisation of the streets according to the trade that one follows still prevails to-day in India. The caste system has been and to-day is a strong supporter of this segregation of Trades; (b) the existence of a tax on "Hot-Houses" "which brought in a considerable revenue to the state;" and (c) the levying of a ten per cent. tax on "all the merchandize that are imported into it (Agra), or exported out of it....."

This tax is not given by other authorities. A special tax for the capital (Agra) was called *Hasil.* It was only one and half per cent. Unless they had a rebate system, of which no clear mention is found, goods from Lahore would avoid passing Agra on the way to Surat or to Patna.

Father Sebastian Manrique in the "Itenerario" published in Rome in 1649 says that the Agra of 1640 stretched for six miles along the Jumna and had a population of six *lacs,* excluding strangers.

Burhanpore.—This city was reputed for the cultivation of opium and the manufacture of transparent muslins which were sent out to Turkey, Muscovie, Poland, Arabia, Grand Cairo, and other places. The most beautiful cloth was that of "Gold, Silver, and of silk with flowers, whereof there is no reverse, one side being as beautiful as the other."[2]

Broach.—Baftas (pieces of long and narrow calico) were very famous. Custom dues were paid at Broach on all goods, whether imported or exported.

Cambay.—Here the industry of cutting agates and turning them into cups, beads, etc. was very important.

Ahmadabad had a considerable trade in silken stuffs, gold and silver tapestries, and *Kimkhwabs.* Saltpetre, sugar, ginger (both candied and plain), tamarind, myrabolans, and indigo were other important commercial products.

Bengal had a considerable trade in cotton goods, raw silk, saltpetre, sugar and rice.

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1) "Mediaeval India under Mohammedan Rule" by Stanely Lane-Poole, pp. 333-335.

2) "Travels in India" by Tavernier. Edited by Ball, p. 51.

(c) *Inter-Provincial Trade and* (d) *Frontier Trade.* On account of the famines, the floods, the trade interference of Shah Jahan and his subordinates, and the Indo-Persian wars, inter-provincial trade did not develop much.

The 1630 famine was so severe that "children were sold at 12 pence or 6 pence or even free at Dhatia." (Peter Mundy). Agra and Delhi alone could pay for their luxuries, while the rest of the Empire was passing through a severe crisis. There was great demand in Agra and Delhi for the "Bidri pots" manufactured in the province of Bidar.

Bidri pots" included the *pandan* (for keeping betel leaves, nuts, etc.) *ab-khora* (cup for drinking water), *rekabi* (saucer), small and large cups, *hukka* (hubble-bubble), candle-stick and other things ; different sorts of flowers are inlaid on them with gold and silver by the artisans of this place (Bidar), so delicately and nicely that even a painter cannot picture them in his imagination."[1] Patna trade was important on account of its *ambatis* (calicoes), silk, cotton goods, and saltpetre. The Indian merchants brought gold and silver into Patna and purchased what they needed from the Patna mart.

Sometimes they used to enter into transactions by *Hundees.* The Portuguese were their great rivals in Patna Trade. The Portuguese traded entirely via Bengal, who imported Chinese silks, spices, tin, and jewellery, and exported *ambati,* fine muslin, silk and Jaunpur carpets.

The Deccan was famous for cloth : gold cloth, bordered cloth, turbans, waist-bands had more than a local market for their products. "In the territory of the Karnatick *chhint* (a kind of cloth) is well manufactured ; and a turban, also called *chhint,* is woven, of which the warp and the woof are made of the hair of the cow. It is very nice, fine yellow, and black. Many men make dresses of it."[2]

The industry of Kashmir was much developed because Shah Jahan needed a large number of shawls and carpets for the new palaces he was constructing. It thus reached its highest pitch in the reign of Shah Jahan.

There is an interesting account of the way in which ice was supplied from Sirmoor—a hill estate—to the King. "From these emporia (ice-houses in Sirmoor) porters used to carry loads of snow and ice on their backs as far as Dhamras, the

1) "Chahar Gulshan" by Jadunath Sarkar, (Book I). pp. 160-161.

2) "Chahar Gulshan" by Jadunath Sarkar, (Book I). p. 161.

name of a place situated on the bank of the river Jumna at a distance of sixteen *kos,* but the road to which is extremely difficult. There it was packed in boxes, and sent down the stream on rafts to Daryapur, one of the dependencies of *pargana* Khizrabad, which is also sixteen *kos* off from Dhamras. From that point it was transported to the metropolis on board of boats in the course of three days and nights."[1]

(e) *Foreign Trade.*—The English attempted the East Coast trade in the reign of Shah Jahan. Just as they were much affected by the antagonistic feelings displayed by the Portuguese when they wanted to tap the West Coast, so in tapping the East Coast they were encroaching on the Dutch sphere of activity. But, fortunately for the English, the Dutch were busy in settling their account with the Portuguese. Moreover, they looked for business more in the South and in Persia.

The English secured a *firman* on 2nd February, 1634 which "gives libertye of trade unto us in his whole country of Bengala, but restrains our shipinge only unto the porte of Piplye."[2]

There was a considerable decline in the Company's trade during 1630 to 1637 on account of the famines in India, but their trade recovered from 1638 to 1653. They were exporting to England calico, indigo, yarn, saltpetre, pepper, sugar, ginger, shallac, etc. and importing from there into India broadcloth, coral, elephants' teeth, mercury, tin, lead, and vermilion. The coral and elephants' teeth they used to get from Africa.

After 1653, the East India Company trade in India received a temporary check due to the trade being thrown open to private vessels. The trade of the Company was established on a firm footing in 1657 and, after that the flag followed the trade in Madras, Bombay, and Bengal.

The importance of the Surat-London trade can be realised from the following table taken from Moreland's "From Akbar to Aurangzeb" (page 101):

	1638-1639 (Royal Mary & Swan)	1639-1640 (Discovery)	1640-41 (Crispian)
Total value of Cargo	1,405,200	816,200	1,189,100
Of which Indian goods	959,500	398,300	419,000
,, ,, re-exports	445,700	417,900	770,100

1) "The History of India as Told by Its Own Historians," by Elliott and Dawson (Vol. VII). p. 106.

2) "The English Factories in India (1634-1636)" by William Foster, p. XXXVI.

Detail of Indian goods :—			
Cotton goods	412,400	198,300	205,200
Cotton Yarn	53,800	20,200	2,100
Indigo	362,300	118,900	206,200
Saltpetre	17,000	5,500	...
Pepper	101,200	...	...
Sugar	8,000	46,700	...
Ginger	3,300	8,700	...
Miscellaneous	1,500	...	5,500
Detail of re-exports :—			
Persian Silk	409,900	417,900	728,200
Bantam Sugar	3,100	...	...
,, Pepper	...	...	39,900
Aloes, Myrrh, etc.	2,700	...	2,000
English goods returned unsold	30,000	...	...

The figures given above are *Mahmudis*, one *Mahmudi* being equivalent to 11 pence.

As regards the importance of the West coast trade in comparison with the East Coast trade we notice the superiority of Surat over Hooghly till the end of Shah Jahan's reign.

In 1640, the annual exports in English vessels from the West coast to Europe was 2½ to 3 *lakhs* of rupees and from the East coast and Bengal was nil ; in 1643-48 the annual exports went up to 3½ *lakhs* of rupees, the East Coast and Bengal not contributing anything to this figure. In 1649-53 we find the West Coast annual exports at 2 *lakhs* and the East Coast and Bengal annual exports in English vessels 1 *lakh ;* and in 1658-60 the figures for the West Coast are 5 *lakhs* and for the East Coast and Bengal 3 *lakhs*. The East Coast and Bengal now shows a high figure. It became important in the reign of Aurangzeb and reached its zenith in 1690 and after.

The price of indigo fluctuated considerably as the following table shows :

Source	*Average price in rupees per cwt. paid on the spot.*		
	1638-39	1639-40	1640-41
Biana	106.3	93.3	76.4
Sarkhej	90.6	58.1	56.6

The decline in the price of Indian indigo was due to adulteration and to the competition of supplies from America (West Indies). The Indian indigo trade came to an end after Aurangzeb's reign. We have already studied the equalising of the

Mint conditions in Surat and in Ahmadabad, and we learn that in 1636 Shah Jahan equalised the weights of the two places. This was of great advantage to the trader as it did away with the evils of two different standards in places so near and so closely knit together by various considerations of trade. "By order from the King, who sent his *firman* to that purpose (February 12, 1636), the seare of this place (Gujarat), which hath in all former times beene but 18 pice weight, was now made 20 pice ; according whereunto all weights were rectified. In Amadavad it hath been soe for more than a yeare ; and now the *maen* of this place is just the halfe of a *maen* of Jehaun, which consisteth of 40 (seares), and every seare 40 pice weight."[1]

In 1628 the demand for calico was going up, for, not only did the English want it, but also the Portuguese and the Dutch. The Agra factory opened a branch in Lucknow in 1640 to tap Dariyabad, Kerriabad, and other places near Lucknow. This was abandoned in 1653 ; for, on account of the change in fashion initiated by Shah Jahan, the demand for red cloth fell. Jehangir was fond of red cloth, but his son preferred green as it is the colour approved by *Mullahs* (religious heads). So the factors wrote to the Company that "redd cloth was not so much esteemed as greenes slighted by the father, King Jangeare, as now greenes are most desired and redds rejected (wee meane for wearing garments) by his sonne Shaw Jehan, the present Emperor."[2]

English trade entered on a new phase about the year 1646 for supplies of cotton goods from Sind, Agra, Gujarat began to be supplemented regularly from the East Coast. The quantities ordered for supply during 1658 show the wide area that was tapped by the Company in India :

From Surat		
Narrow baftas	10,000	pieces[3]
Mercolies	10,000	,,
Broad baftas	5,000	,,
Sind Calico	10,000	,,
Dariyabads	10,000	,,

1) "The English Factories in India (1634-1636)" by William Foster, p. 156.

2) "The English Factories in India (1637-1641)" by William Foster, p. 208.

3) A piece was of 12 to 15 yards in length.

Dungaree	...	...	10,000 pieces
Other Calico	...	...	8,500 ,,
			63,500 ,,

also 1,000 pieces of chintz, and 300 chintz quilts.

From Madras

Longcloth, 20,000 pieces, equal to	50,000	standard	pieces.
Salempores	20,000	,,	,,
Others (including some muslin)	14,000	,,	,,
	34,000	,,	,, [1]

"Calico bought in 'Agra and Sind cost from one to two rupees per piece of the ordinary length, while the price in Gujarat was about half a rupee more. The invoice rates for longcloth work out to somewhere about two rupees for the standard length; Salempores had a wider range of value, but the qualities most largely bought cost approximately two rupees for the piece."[2] The export of calico to Europe suffered from the following difficulties:—(a) Official interference and corruption culminating into the monopolisation of looms for the State; (b) Giving advances to workers who were not reliable, for without advances they would not work; and (c) the utter lack of standardisation.

Raw cotton was demanded for candlewicks and fustians (cloth which have flaxen warps with cotton wefts). India had no pressing machines, so that this demand for raw cotton was supplied by the Levant which has pressing machines. Indian cotton was exported to fill gaps. The demand for Indian yarn, however, was continually going up as no country could then compete with India in *Charkha* (Wheel)—spinning.

(f) *Government Interference in and Monopolies of Trade.*

Shah Jahan was a great trader. Both as Prince and King he made a large amount of money by trading. We have already studied his attempts to monopolise indigo and saltpetre. He failed in both, but the loss was borne by his officials who recouped themselves by extorting money out of the Indians, the Dutch, and the English.

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1) "From Akbar to Aurangzeb" by Moreland, pp. 131-132.

2) "From Akbar to Aurangzeb" by Moreland, p. 133.

Shah Jahan used to trade in cloth, indigo, saltpetre, stones, etc. He used to exchange his goods at Basra for horses.

"They (the English factors) sent to Agra most of their remnants of broadcloth, which were there sold to the King for twelve rupees the 'Covett' ; and their booker advises that 1,000 'covetts' of reds and greanes would sell readily."[1]

The factors complained in 1643 A.D. against the high-handedness of the Governor of Surat who prohibited people giving freight to the English until the King's junk was loaded and dispatched. "Very little freight could be obtained, as the Governor had prohibited merchants, under great penalties, from lading goods on any vessel 'untill the Kings great jounck was full."[2] And 'to convey her free of the Mallavars danger' the Governor prevailed upon the president to order the 'Discovery' to attend on the Junk.

Shah Jahan's Father-in-law Asaf Khan was a notorious trader and so was Mirjumla who was made *Dewan* for making presents of above fifteen *lakhs* of rupees to Shah Jahan.

Princess Jahanara the favourite daughter of Shah Jahan used to trade on her own account.

Sa'dullah Khan was free from this vice, but of what avail was this virtue when the King himself stooped to make low bargains?

APPENDIX—A.

Tavernier was a great jeweller. He mentions diamond mines in Raolconda, Kollur, Soumelpur, Panna, Sambalpur, Golconda, Wairagari, etc. He says, "two per cent. on all purchases (of diamonds) is paid to the King, who receives also a royalty from the merchants for permission to mine."[3]

At Raolconda and Kollur, they weighed diamonds by mangelins (1¾ carats or 7 grains). But at Soumelpur (Ben-

1) "The English Factories in India (1634-1636)" by William Foster, p. 144.

2) "The English Factories in India (1642-1645)" by William Foster, p. 91.

3) "Travels in India" by Tavernier. Edited by Ball, (Vol. II). p. 59.

gal), they weighed by *rattis* (red seed). One *ratti* equalled $\frac{7}{8}$ carat or $3\frac{1}{2}$ grains.

Tavernier describes in page 96 of his "Travels" (Vol. II) the method of calculating the price of diamond. He divides diamonds into four classes: Perfect stone (the first class); Imperfect superior stone (the second class); 'Middling' (the third class); and the Worst Stone (the fourth class).

He says the first thing is to find out the carat (the weight) of the stone and the class to which it belongs. Square the carat and multiply it by 150 for the first class stone, by 100 for the second class stone, by 80 for the 'middling', and by 60 for the worst class stone. You get the price of the stone in livres (one livre equals 1s. 6d.). Multiply the same by 3/40, you get the price in sterling. For example, let us assume that the stone is the first class stone and it weighs 2 carats. Its price would be $2 \times 2 \times 150$ equals 600 livres or £45.

The formula for the above would be $m/2\ (m \times 2)\ a$, where m is the number of carats and a the value depending on the quality of stone (150, 100, 80, or 60).

CHAPTER V.

CONCLUSION.

Shah Jahan was a great ruler who restored order in the whole Empire and thus imparted solidarity to it. As General and Governor he was a marked success, but as a ruler in the latter part of his reign he walked more in the footsteps of his father than in those of his distinguished grandfather who by his ability and courage founded the Mogul Empire.

For the first time we see in Shah Jahan the sprouting of Mahomedan fanaticism which, under the garb of Sunni fanaticism worn by Aurangzeb, destroyed the Mogul Empire. Aurangzeb never knew what Kemal Pasha knows to-day, namely, that the literal interpretation and application of Koranic teachings operate against the formation of a distinct nation. The utopia of world brotherhood under Mohammed is not within the scope of practical politics, but the formation of a separate nation on entirely nationalistic lines focussing attention on its geographic boundaries rather than on the cry of the *Muazzein* (one who calls the faithful to their prayers) is a live possibility pulsating with life as we see all around us.

Another defect in Shah Jahan was the habit of making money by trading in divers commodities. This had a disastrous effect as it killed private enterprise and encouraged corruption among the officials. The third and the last defect of Shah Jahan was to pile up the money of the Empire in marble blocks one above the other. The number of palatial buildings that he constructed was great and the amount of money that he sunk in them was colossal. All this money and labour could have been productively invested in reviving moribund industries and in starting new ones. It is really surprising why Bernier calls Shah Jahan an Economist. Says he, "Chah-Jehan, who was a great economist, and reigned more than forty years (?) without being involved in any great wars, never amassed six *kourours* of roupies (cash)."[1]

With all his defects, the reign of Shah Jahan may be compared with the reign of Akbar and not with that of Jehangir.

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1) "Bernier's Travels" by Constable and Smith, p. 223.

Shah Jahan was a statesman of a high order. He never yielded to the promptings of his favourite wife Mumtaz or to the promptings of his powerful relations and advisers.

The following lines truly sum up the reign of Shah Jahan: "The emperor and the court had reached a pitch of luxury that fostered effeminacy. In his youth and early manhood Prince Khurram had been a brave soldier, a brilliant general, a prudent counsellor, and a stern and resolute governor. As he grew old he abandoned all active pursuits, gave himself up more and more to pleasure, and suffered himself to be managed by his children. .....He was still the benevolent and popular King that he had always been since his accession, but his strength of character was gone; he had become a mere sensual pageant of royalty, given over to ease and the aesthetic delights of the eye and taste.....The sceptre was falling from his hand, and he tried to secure peace by breaking it in pieces. It was a fatal policy. The fragments of the sceptre, like the rods of Pharaoh's sorcerers, turned into so many serpents, which srtangled the remnant of his power, till the rod of Aurangzeb swallowed up the rest, and with them the Peacock Throne itself."[1]

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BOOK V.

AURANGZEB, THE PURITAN

I. The Organisation of the Empire:
   (a) General;
   (b) Extent of the Empire and its Administration;
   (c) Routes and Transport System;
   (d) Land Policy; and
   (e) Labour Availability and its Distribution.
II. Capital Organisation and Taxation.
III. Trade.
   (a) General;
   (b) Manufactures;
   (c) Trade Centres and Inter-Provincial Trade;
   (d) Foreign Trade; and
   (e) Government Interference in and Monopolies of Trade.
IV. Conclusion.

Appendixes A, B, and C.

"I have launched my vessel on the waves of Eternity. Farewell, Farewell, Farewell."

(*Aurangzeb's Last Cry.*)

CHAPTER I.

THE ORGANISATION OF THE EMPIRE.

(a) *General.*

Muhiuddin Muhammad Aurangzeb, the third son of the Emperor Shah Jahan and his famous wife Mumtaz Mahal the inspirer of the "Dream in Marble", was born on 24th October at Dohad in the Panch Mahal district of the Bombay Presidency. He ascended the throne on the 26th May 1659 and took the pompous title of *Alamgir* (the world compeller).

This puritan monarch cleared his way to the throne by imprisoning his old father and by murdering his brothers. He believed only in *Sunnism*. Hindus, Christians, *Shiahs* (a sect of Mohammedans), and men of other creeds were heretics, in his opinion, and as such must be persecuted by him to the glory of his God.

The number of Hindus he killed and the number of their temples he destroyed defy numerical representation. The methods he employed were barbarous, and so clumsily were they put into action that Chengiz and Timur must have turned in their graves. Monsieur de Thevenot describes the interesting ceremony of converting a temple into a mosque. Referring to the ceremony of King Aurangzeb for converting the Santidas Pagoda in Ahmadabad, he says, "When he performed that ceremonie, he caused a cow to be killed in the place....."[1]

Khafi Khan in his *Muntakhabu-l Lubah* describes the treatment accorded to Sambha son of the famous Shivaji and his minister Kabkalas. He says that "Aurangzeb gave orders that the tongues of both should be cut out.....After that, their eyes were to be torn out. Then.....they were to be put to death with a variety of tortures, and, lastly, he ordered that the skins of the heads of Sambha and Kabkalas should be stuffed with straw, and exposed in all the cities and towns of the *Dakhin* (the place of which Sambha was the ruler), with beat of drum and sound of trumpet."[2]

1) "The Travels of Monsieur De Thevenot" by Lovell (Part III). p.10.

2) "The History of India as Told by Its Own Historians" by Elliott and Dawson, (Vol. VII). p. 341.

In 1691 "An order was issued that no Hindu should ride in a *palki* (palanquin) or on an Arab horse without permission."[1] He revived the poll-tax on Hindus and also doubled it. He exempted the *Sunnis* from the payment of any tax. "The goods of the true believers, indeed, were for some time altogether exempted from duties; and were eventually charged only one-half the rate paid by the Hindus."[2]

He hated and distrusted the Persians, their only fault being that they were *Shiahs*.

The following routine of work of Aurangzeb gives an insight into the man who disgraced the throne of Delhi in 1658 A.D. :

"A.M.

5-0 Wakes ... Morning Prayer ... Devotional Reading.
7-30 Justice in Private Chamber.
8-30 *Darshan*—Review—Elephant fights.
9-15 Public *Darbar*.
11 Private audience.
11-50 Harem and Siesta.

P.M.

2 *Zuhar Prayer*.
2-30 Private Chamber—Study—Business—*Asar* Prayer—State affairs.
5-30 Evening salute in the Private Audience Hall—Sunset Prayer.
6-40 Soiree in the Dewan-i-Khas.
7-40 Court dismissed—*Isha* Prayer.
8 In the harem—Religious meditation—and reading—sleep."[3]

Such was the man about whom Tavernier wrote : "No animal food passed his lips, and his drink was water—he slept on the ground, with only a tiger skin over him."[4]

The Prophet's precept being that every Muslim should practise a trade, Aurangzeb started making skull-caps and writing the *Koran*. Such a fanatical *Sunni* fire-brand would have been a source of strength to the shrines of Mecca and Medina, but he was a source of danger to the already tottering throne of Delhi.

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1) "The History of India as Told by Its Own Historians" by Elliott and Dawson (Vol. VII), p. 343.

2) "The Mogul Emperors of Hindustan" by E. S. Holden, p. 335.

3) "Studies in Mughal India" by Jadunath Sarkar, p. 64.

4) "Mediaeval India under Mohammedan Rule" by Stanley Lane-Poole, p. 360.

India was prepared to endure "the eclectic philosohy" of Akbar, "the luxurious profligacy" of Jehangir, "the splendid ease" of Shah Jahan; but the senseless bigotry of Aurangzeb was the last straw. It broke the Empire into pieces which were then gathered, bit by bit, and consolidated by the East India Company.

There is one thing to be said in favour of Aurangzeb. He was a man of indomitable will and great courage. In the Balkh Campaign, hemmed in by the enemy "like locusts and ants," he dismounted and performed his evening prayer. The King of the Uzbegs noted the action and said, "To fight with such a man is self-destruction." Aurangzeb had the right conception of sovereignty, but his religious mania stood in the way of its application. He wrote to Shah Jahan "Sovereignty is the guardianship of the people, not self-indulgence and profligacy." By the people, he only meant the people of his sect—*Sunnis*.

Not believing in delegated authority, and not aware of the word 'Trust,' while fully believing in the transcendental supremacy of his *Sunnism,* Aurangzeb succeeded in rousing against him the Rajputs and the Marathas, lovingly designating the latter as "mountain-rats"!

Bakhtawar Khan author of *Mir-At-I'Alam* gives us a pen-portrait of Aurangzeb. He writes ".....The Emperor, a great worshipper of God by natural propensity, is remarkable for his rigid attachment to religion.....refrains from prohibited meats and practices.....nor does he ever use vessels of gold or silver.....Hindu writers have been entirely excluded from holding public offices, and all the worshipping places of the infidels and the great temples of these infamous people have been thrown down and destroyed in a manner which excites astonishment at the successful completion of so difficult a task. His Majesty personally teaches the sacred *Kalima* (creed) to many infidels with success, and invests them with *khil'ato* (Robes of honour) and other favours. Alms and donations to (Mohammedans) .....Remission of the transit duties upon all sorts of grain, cloth, and other goods, as well as on tobacco.....He exempted the Mohammedans from taxes .....The Royal orders were also issued to collect the revenues of each province according to the Mohammedan law..... .....One of the greatest excellences of this virtuous monarch is, that he has learnt the *Kuran* by heart....."To please Almighty God he never turned his eye towards a flatterer, nor gave his ear to a poet".....As long as nature nourishes the

tree of existence, and keeps the garden of the world fresh, may the plant of the prosperity of this preserver of the garden of dignity and honour continue fruitful."[1]

Never was a prayer more falsified, never were words in the mouth turned ashes so quickly as the pious and honest wishes of Bakhtawar Khan! Aurangzeb was against the fine arts; painting, music, poetry, decorations in buildings, etc. were all taboo, as they smacked of idolatry. He was opposed to the chronicling of the events of his reign, for, to his sensitive mind, it appeared akin to idol-worship.

His spartan character, great learning, and detachment from earthly pleasures make Aurangzeb a great figure in the history of the sensual Moguls. His indomitable will and his great personal courage secure for him a high place in the galaxy of the valiant warriors of that age. But his furious puritanism and his unkingly temperament put him at the feet of the pedestal of Babur—that gay chivalrous founder of the Mogul Empire.

(b) *Extent of the Empire and Its Administration.*

Aurangzeb's Empire in length and breadth greatly exceeded that of any Mogul King who sat on the throne of Delhi. From Ghazni to Chatgaon, and Kashmir to the Karnatac the people acknowledged him as their King. Even Ladakh and Malabar accepted his overlordship.

Tavernier says, the Empire "extends from the mountains upon this side of the river Indus to the other side of the Ganges, touches on the east the Kingdoms of Arakan (Arakan was annexed to the Empire in 1670 by the then Governor of Bengal Shaista Khan), Tipperah, Assam; on the west Persia and Tartary of the Usbegs; on the south the Kingdoms of Golconda and Bijapur (added to the Empire in 1681); and on the north it reaches to the Caucasus, having on the north-east the Kingdom of Bhutan, from whence comes Musk, and to the north-west the country of Chegathay or the Usbegs."[2]

Bernier says it requires three months to go from Golconda to Ghazni—from one end of the Empire to the other. He says the distance must be five times the distance from Paris to Lyons. Bakhtawar Khan in his *Mir-At-I'Alam* gives a clear description of the Empire and its divisions. He writes "Length from the

1) "The History of India as Told by Its Own Historians" by Elliott and Dawson, (Vol. VII). pp. 156-162.

2) "Travels in India" by Tavernier. Edited by Ball, (Vol. I). pp. 321-322.

port of Lahori, province of Thatta, to the thana of Bindasal in Bengal, is 994 royal *kos*, 1740 common *kos* known in most parts of Hindustan. Each royal *kos* measures 5,000 yards and each yard is the breadth of 42 fingers. Two royal *kos* are equal to $3\frac{1}{2}$ common *kos*.....and calculating every stage at twelve *kos*, the usual travelling distance in Hindustan, the whole length is 145 stages, or a journey of four months and twenty-seven days. The breadth of the whole Empire is from the frontier of Tibet and the delightful province of Kashmir to the fort of Sholapur....., a distance of 672 royal *kos*, or 1176 common *kos*.....At the rate of twelve *kos* a stage, the whole breadth is 98 stages, occupying a period of 3 months and 10 days....."It is divided into 19 provinces, and 4440 *paragannas*, the revenue of which amounts altogether to 9 *arabs* (one *arab* equals one thousand million), 24 *krors* (one *kror* equals ten million), 17 *lacs* (one *lac* equals 1/10th of a million), 16,082 *dams*, or 9,21,17,16,082 *dams*, out of which the *khalisa*, or the sum paid to the royal treasury, is 1,72,79,81,251 *dams*, and the assignments of the *Jagirdars*, or the remainder, was 7,51,77,34,731 *dams*."[1]

Such was the vast empire whose safety was placed in the hands of Aurangzeb by a blind Destiny!

Its Administration.

In Aurangzeb's time the number of *mansabdars* increased considerably. He continued the practice of giving them *khillats* (robes of honour) but was chary of issuing *Barattes*[2] (orders for the payment of money, which bore the King's signet) because of his miserliness. The demand for robes was so great that *Khan-i-Saman* or the Lord High Steward had to organise a *Khillat* department. The following gives some idea of the demand: "And its (*Khillat*) need was very large. Twice every year—in the rainy season and the winter—a robe (*khillat*) suitable for the season was presented by the Emperor to every *mansabdar*, and the number of *mansabdars* in 1690 is given as nearly 7,75000 who were paid in cash and 4,000 who held *Jagirs*.

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1) "The History of India as Told by Its Own Historians" by Elliott and Dawson, (Vol. VII). pp. 162-164.

2) A *barat* corresponded to the modern cheque. It was a statement of account giving details of the service for which it was issued, a pay order. It had to pass through many hands for countersignature before being actually cashed.

For the higher nobles, one suit of the robe of honour consisted of several articles of apparel. In addition to these two seasonal gifts, the princes of the blood, of vassal Rajahs and many of the ambassadors and court officials received robes of honour at the two birthdays of the Emperor (viz. according to the lunar and the solar calculations), the lunar anniversary of his coronations, the two *Ids* (Mohammedan Festivities), and, down to Aurangzeb's reign, on the old Persian New Year's Day, when the sun enters the Aries (*nav-roz*). As a matter of fact, *Khilats* were also bestowed on most persons when they were presented at Court or took leave, or, were appointed to posts, and, for some time in Aurangzeb's reign, on converts to Islam."[1]

As long as it was merely a question of giving titles or *Khilats* the system worked well, but when it came to the issue of *Barattes* (pay order) Aurangzeb strongly disapproved.

Khafi Khan puts the case of the *mansabdars* very clearly. Says he, "In the reign of Alamgir the *mansabdars* for a long period were reduced to wanting their evening meal, owing to the lowness of the assignments (*paebaqi*) granted by the emperor. His stinginess reminds one of the proverb *'Yak anar, sav bimar'* (one pomegranate for a hundred sick men). After many efforts and exertions, some small assignment (*Jagir*) on the land revenue would be obtained. The lands were probably uncultivated, and the total income of the *Jagir* might not amount to a half or even a third of the money required for the expenses of the animals. If these were realised from the officer, whence could come the money to preserve his children and family from death by starvation? In spite of this, the *Akhtah Begi* (Master of the Horse) and other accursed clerks caused the cost of feeding the emperor's animals to be imposed on the *mansabdars,* and, imprisoning their agents at Court, used force and oppression of all kinds to obtain the money. When the agents (*wakils*) complained of this oppression to the emperor, the head of the elephant stables and the *Aktah Begi* so impressed matters on the Emperor's mind, that the complaints were not listened to, and all the men were reduced to such an extremity by this oppression, that the agents resigned their agency....."[2]

The poor *mansabdars* were further subjected to frequent *Agenas,* that is to say, were bound to take at a fixed valuation the King's furniture, etc. Those *mansabdars* who were near Delhi

1) "The Mughal Administration" by Jadunath Sarkar, p. 7.

2) "The Army of the Indian Moguls" by William Irvine, p. 21.

could not easily extort money from others ; but they (*mansabdars*) whose *jagirs* or duties were far away from the capital violated all human laws and extorted as much as they could.

The whole administrative machinery was heavy and its parts were ill-adjusted, specially after the wholesale driving out of the Hindus from every administrative office under Aurangzeb. His measures, some effective and some utopian may be thus summed up :

(a) He abolished the New Year Festival of March and restored the Arabic lunar months ; (b) he prohibited the use of wine ; (c) he suppressed all gambling houses and abolished singing, dancing, and buffoonery.....All dancing girls were to be either lawfully married or banished from the King's dominions ; (d) he forbade Astrology ; (e) he introduced a system of strictest economy ; (f) he perfected the spy system ; (g) he passed measures against the *Shias,* namely '.....prohibiting the *Shias* from wearing long moustaches, he appointed officers to measure their moustaches and clip them if they exceeded the orthodox standard (*Yak Musht aur char oongul*—one fist and four fingers sanctioned by Mohammed. Peace be to his soul) ;'[1] (h) *Mullahs* (priests) were appointed to check all ostentatious display of idols. He forbade fairs on Hindu festivals. He dismissed the Hindu employees under him. About 1690, he prohibited Hindus from being carried in palanquins or riding on Arab horses. A large number of *Jogis, Sanyasis,* etc. (religious mendicants) were driven out of the Kingdom ; (i) he reduced the duty on merchandise belonging to Mohammedans to one-half the amount paid by Hindus and revived the hated *Jazia* or poll-tax in 1679 ; and (k) in 1668 he issued an order to stop castration of children throughout his Empire.

Such was the administration of Aurangzeb, which succeeded in detaching Rajputs and Shiahs from his *Sunni* Empire. When "the mountain rat" or "the hell-dog" (Sivaji) started nibbling at the Deccan territory of Aurangzeb, all the might of Aurangzeb, did not succeed in crushing the Marathas. The Empire was rotten to the core. Aurangzeb was not the man to impart vitality to it. He died at the age of 89 in Aurangabad vainly contesting against the forces which he himself had created and with him vanished the dreams of Babur and Akbar.

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1) "History of the Punjab" by Syed Mahomed Latif, p. 175.

(c) *Routes and Transport System.*

The Deccan policy of Aurangzeb was the ruin of the Empire, for all government activities were directed to the collection of men and directing them via Burhanpore to Golconda and Bijapur. Routes in Northern India became very unsafe. The *Jats* near Agra, the *Rajputs in* Gujarat and Sind, and any petty official who was not in the military camp earned their livelihood by looting the people. The pirates in Bengal, in the Coromandel Coast and in the Malabar coast enlarged their fields of operation. All the available transport, carts, camels, horses or men, etc., was needed by the King to move his harem and his men to the south in order to wipe out "the infidel dogs." The Marathas refused to be wiped out. The transport charges rose to such an extent that traders could not move their goods. Moreover, there was no safety on the roads. Trade came to a standstill.

The English withdrew from Agra and Delhi and tried to develop Bengal. In 1687, they acquired territorial rights in the Bombay Presidency of exactly the same type as they had acquired in Madras in 1653. In 1690 they established territorial rights in Bengal.

While Aurangzeb, by his mad Deccan policy, was annihilating trade and starving his subjects, the English were laying the foundation of their Empire in India.

(d) *Land Policy.*—Trade being at a standstill and the expenditure of the Government rising rapidly, land was rack-rented and labour sweated. The policy was the same as initiated by Akbar, but what a change in the application of the rules. The assignments were multiplied and the farming system was encouraged. Summary settlements were freely permitted. Fifty per cent. of the gross produce was forcibly taken from the cultivators as against $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. in the time of Akbar. Aurangzeb's new *Kharaj-i-Muazzaf.*[1] system placed the peasants under the merciless tyranny of the unscrupulous officials.

The *Krori* or the collector of a *Kror dam* received 8 per cent. on his collection in the reign of Akbar, and in the reign of Shah Jahan the percentage was 10, because the *Krori* did the work of a *faujdar* as well. Aurangzeb reduced the *Krori's* commission to 4 per cent. The *Krori* naturally made up the loss by ex-

1) *Kharaj-i-muazzaf* is the system under which a peasant compounds with the authorities for the land in his occupation by annual cash payments quite independent of the income which he might draw from it.

torting the difference and sometimes more from "the dumb, driven cattle." The result of the high-handed policy of the *Kroris* is obvious from the records of famines in Aurangzeb's time. "Thevenot says that when he was in India (A.D. 1665), human flesh was publicly sold in the market at Debca, about forty leagues from Baroche."[1] Aurangzeb ordered that in addition to the regular *bulghur-Khana* where raw and cooked grain was given away, ten more *Langar-Khanas* (free kitchens) should be opened in the city and twelve *bulghur-Khanas* in the suburbs and among "the tombs", that is to say, near the mosques and not near temples. He also remitted taxes on the transport of grain. The exactions on the land were so great and the Hindu peasants were so cruelly treated that revolts in different parts of the Empire were ordinary occurrences.

The revenue from land and also the total revenue reached their zenith in the reign of Aurangzeb. The land revenue went up on account of the high exactions and the larger size of the Empire and not on account of increased efficiency of the cultivators or of better terms offered to them. The total revenue went up on account of the pillage of the South and Assam and also from the sack of innumerable temples. The rich states of Golconda and Bijapur were sacked and plundered before they were finally incorporated into the Empire. Mir Jumla's conquest of Assam brought to the Imperial Treasury a very large amount of gold and precious stones. The Assamese used to bury gold and precious stones with their dead. The dead bodies were exhumed and the precious metals and stones removed by Mir Jumla. The Raja agreed to pay 120,000 *tolas* (40 *tolas* equal 1lb.) of silver, 2,000 *tolas* of gold, 50 elephants, and one of his ugly daughters to Aurangzeb; while he (the Raja) gave fifteen elephants and another daughter to Mir Jumla.

Khafi Khan gloats over the conquest of Assam in 1661 and describes Mir Jumla's chivalrous action in the following words: "He ordered that the prisoners should have the heads of the slain tied round them, and be thus exposed to the derision of the camp. He then sent them to the outposts to be again exposed, and afterwards put to death."[2]

The same Khafi Khan, while stigmatising Sivaji as "dog" and "hell-dog," writes about him as follows, "But he (Sivaji)

1) "Journal of a residence in India" by Maria Graham, p. 15.

2) "The History of India as Told by Its Own Historians" by Elliott and Dawson, (Vol. VII).

made it a rule that wherever his followers went plundering, they should do no harm to the mosques, the Book of God (*Koran*), or the women of any one. Whenever a copy of the sacred *Koran* came into his hands, he treated it with respect, and gave it to some of his Musalman followers."[1] The rich presents that Aurangzeb exacted from those who wanted to pay their respects to him used to amount to a great sum. (Tavernier's description of the presents which he gave to Aurangzeb is given in Appendix A.)

The net result of all these was a considerable increase in the total revenue. (A comparative list of the revenues of the Moguls from Akbar to Aurangzeb is given in Appendix B.)

The increased revenue of Aurangzeb was not the result of a benevolent policy benevolently followed. It was the result of the old, old policy of killing the goose that lays the golden eggs. Land was farmed, industry was crippled, labour was forced so that Aurangzeb might have money to carry on his plundering exploits in the South in the name of his *Sunni* religion.

and (e) *Labour Availability and Its Distribution.*

All labour in Aurangzeb's reign was classed according to the religion professed. The Hindus were disallowed from holding any appointment in the government but that of menial servants or ordinary foot-soldiers in the army.

The Sunnis were in their glory under Aurangzeb. But, as the demand of the army was insatiable, Hindus were compelled to join it under most disadvantageous terms.

Forced labour was a distinguishing practice of this King, and he made the situation worse by giving to this unnatural policy of his a religious tinge.

There was very little demand for artisans because Aurangzeb was against Art in any form. Appreciation of beauty was to him akin to idolatry. There was no demand for Hindu intellectuals, no demand for artisans, whether Hindu or Mohammedan; but there was a considerable demand for Hindu foot-soldiers. Hindus were dragged from their homes or caught on the roads to swell the numbers of his army. Labour consequently became immobile. Only force could make it move.

Labour reached its nadir in the reign of Aurangzeb.

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1) "The History of India as Told by Its Own Historians" by Elliott and Dawson (Vol. VII), p. 260.

APPENDIX—A.

Tavernier's presents to Aurangzeb and to sundry other people at Court (taken from "Travels in India" edited by Dr. Ball, Vol. I pages 139-141): "Having arrived at Jahanabad I went to make my reverence to the King on the 12th September 1665, and this is the present which I made him. Firstly, a shield of bronze in high relief thoroughly well gilt, the gilding alone costing 300 ducats of gold, which amount to 1800 livres (£135), and the whole price to 4378 livres (£328.7s.). In the middle was represented the history of Curtius, who threw himself, on horseback and fully armed, into the gulf which opened in Rome, and from which a mephitic vapour emanated. On the circuit of the shield was a clever representation of the sieve of Rochella. It was the chef d'acuvre of one of the most excellent workmen in France, and it had been ordered by M. Le Cardinal Richelieu.

"All the great nobles who were then with the King Aurangzeb were charmed with the beauty of this work of art, and they told him that he should place this rich piece on the grand elephant which carried the standard before his Majesty when marching. "I also presented the King with a battle mace of rock crystal, all the sides of which were covered with rubies and emeralds inlaid in gold in the crystal. This pair cost 3119 livres (£233. 18½. o d.). "Also a turkish saddle embroidered with small rubies, pearls, and emeralds, which had cost 2892 livres (£216. 18s.).

"Also another horse's saddle with the housing, the whole covered with an embroidery of gold and silver, costing 1730 livres (£129. 15s.). The entire present which I made to the King amounted to 12,119 livres. "Present made to Nawab Zafar Khan, uncle of the Great Mogul. Firstly, a table with nineteen pieces to make a cabinet the whole of precious stones of diverse colours, representing all kinds of Flowers and birds. The work had been done at Florence, and had cost 2150 livres (£161. 5s.).

"Also a ring with a perfect ruby which cost 1300 livres (£97 10s.). "To the grand Treasurer, a watch having a golden case covered with small emeralds, 720 livres (£54).

"To the attendants of the Treasury of the King, and to those who drew the money from the treasury, 200 rupees, which make 300 livres (£22 10s.).

"To the eunuch of the Grand Begum, sister of the King, Aurangzeb, a watch with a painted case which cost 260 livres (£19. 10s.). All the presents which I made to the Great Mogul (Mogor in the Original), to Shaista Khan, and to Zafar Khan, uncles of his Majesty, as also to the grand Treasurers of the King, to the Stewards of the Khan's houses, to the Captains of the Palace gates, and further to those who on two occasions brought me the *Khilat* or robe of honour, on the part of the King and as often on the part of the Begum, his sister, and once on the part of Zafar Khan all these presents, I say, amounted to the sum of 23,187 livres (£1739-0-6). (Trade must have been profitable to have allowed such presents to be made.)

"So true is it that those who desire to do business at the courts of the Princes, in Turkey as well as in Persia and India, should not attempt to commence anything unless they have considerable presents ready prepared, and almost always an open purse for diverse officers of Trust of whose services they have need. "I have said nothing in the first volume of the present which I also made to him who brought the *Khilat* on the part of the King of Persia to whom I presented 200 ecus (£45)."

APPENDIX—B.

The Revenues of the Moguls from Akbar to Aurangzeb :[1]

Name	Source	Land Revenue	Rev. from all Sources
1. Akbar (A.D. 1594).	Official documents	£16,582,440	£32,000,000
2. Jehangir (A.D. 1609-11)	Abdul Hamid Lahori	£17,500,000	£50,000,000
3. Shah Jehan (A.D. 1648-49)	Abdul Hamid Lahori	£22,000,000	(Not known)
4. Aurangzeb (A.D. 1655)	Official documents	£34,505,890	£80,000,000

1) "Revenue Resources of the Mughal Empire" by Edward Thomas, p. 54.

CHAPTER II.

CAPITAL ORGANISATION AND TAXATION.

Capital Organisation.

In the reign of Aurangzeb banks suffered a great deal. As a staunch follower of the Koranic laws, he could neither do banking himself nor could he permit any Mohammedan to take part in it. For a true Mohammedan the taking of interest is *haram* (unlawful). So the Bankers' Bank, the Imperial Treasury, stopped all money-lending transactions. Hindus were so bitterly persecuted that it became well-nigh impossible for them to carry on any business, least of all the banking business which was an eye-sore to true Mohammedans.

Mohammedans, being debarred from reaping any profit by way of interest, naturally stood in the way of the Hindus reaping any benefit. Moreover, as there was very little peace or safety in the Empire, the people themselves preferred to have all their available assets with them. Trade was so dislocated that there was very little demand for *Hundees*. The foreigners —the Dutch and the English—withdrew from internal trade and confined themselves mostly to the sea-carrying trade and to the tapping of the coastal areas and the South. For their own purpose they made themselves independent of Aurangzeb's coins by putting into circulation their own. The English opened a mint in Bombay and started minting their coins without the permission of Aurangzeb.

Aurangzeb resented their "boldness" and made an attempt to punish them, but the Englishmen in Bombay though a mere handful were more than a match for the fast-decaying might of Aurangzeb and his attempt ended in a fiasco.

The withdrawing of all the loans by the Treasury further dislocated trade, but it enabled Aurangzeb to lead a large army into the South, with the most disastrous results to himself and to his Empire.

The only currency reform that he made was the raising of the fineness of the coins. The factors wrote in the year 1659 "the new King, Oran Zeeb, hath rais'd his coine to 5/8 per cent. finer

than formerly....."[1] There was an annual coinage of rupees and the new rupees circulated at a premium of a *paisa* more than that of the foregoing year. (A *paisa* was equivalent to seventy bitter almonds.)

During the latter part of Aurangzeb's reign the coins of Bijapur and Golconda circulated freely. One might see "*Laris*" (a silver coin made of wire, doubled somewhat like a hairpin, with inscriptions stamped on the prongs and worth one shilling) circulating in the Persian Gulf and Western India and also the old and new "*Pagodas*", half *pagodas, fanams,* and others circulating freely on the West and the East coasts and in the South.

There was no difference between the old and the new *pagodas* as regards weight and fineness, and yet the old *pagodas* circulated at $4\frac{1}{2}$ rupees while the new *pagodas* were quoted at $3\frac{1}{2}$. This difference was due to, first, the superstition in favour of old things (just as to-day superstition taboos the keeping of five-shilling pieces called Crowns, so the shroffs of those days thought the new *pagodas* unlucky, and second, to the profit that the shroffs made in retaining a quasi-double-currency. Thevenot speaks well of the currency of Aurangzeb. Says he, "It is to be observed that the Silver Money of the Great Mogul is finer than any other, for whenever a stranger enters the Empire, he is made to change the Silver he hath, whether *Piastres* or *Abassis,* into the money of the Country, and at the same time they are melted down, and the Silver refined for the coyning of Roupies".[2]

Taxation.

The basic principle of taxation in Aurangzeb's time was the economic starvation of the Hindus. Taxes on bathing in the Ganges, carrying the Hindu dead to the cremation ground, Hindu marriages and births and diverse others like the hated *Jaziya* were mercilessly applied in order to end the Hindus or force them to accept Islam. Never in the history of India was the political and economic machinery of the government so set in motion to grind those subjects who were not of the same faith as the King as it was in the reign of the last of the Great Moguls.

Allahabad was specially obnoxious to Aurangzeb as it was a

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1) "The English Factories in India (1655-1660)" by William Foster, p. 211.

2) "The Travels of Monsieur de Thevenot" by Lovell (Part III), p. 18.

sacred city of the Hindus. The tax per bath in the Ganges at Allahabad was 6¼ rupees. ("This bath-tax yields a good revenue to the Moghul King, for every person who bathes in the river (the Ganges at Allahabad) pays six and a quarter rupees."[1])

The tax on merchandise was very strictly realised at Allahabad for, Mohammedans being exempt from paying custom duties, only Hindus were made to suffer. "For on each side there is a *Darogah* (Police officer), who allows no one to pass without an order; and he takes note also of the kind of merchandise carried, each waggon being charged four rupees, and a chariot paying but one, without counting the boat, for which it is necessary to pay separately."[2] Aurangzeb first exempted the Mohammedans from paying any custom duties and levied on the Hindus five per cent. Hindu goods were at a consideration passed by the Mohammedans in their own name and thus the King was cheated by his own "true believers"! So he levied on them also 2½ per cent. The Hindus, thus had to pay double the tax that a Mohammedan trader paid. The English after 1649 A.D. paid only two per cent. on the prime cost or sale value of the goods at the place of importation. This duty was increased by Aurangzeb to 3½ per cent., but, after the attack on Surat by Shivaji and the help that the English rendered to Aurangzeb's cause, the tax was permanently reduced to two per cent. As a puritan, he disallowed the sale of *bhang* (hemp), tobacco, wines and other intoxicating drinks. Prostitutes were given the option of either marrying or leaving the Empire. ("He appointed an official under the title of *Matucib* (Muhtasib), whose business it was to prevent the use of this beverage (*bhang*) or of others similar to it.")[3]

The letter that he wrote to his grandson Azim about wine-selling and drinking shows the purity of Aurangzeb's character. Here is a part of it: "Grandson Azim, though the produce of 'toddy' (drink obtained from date-trees and palm-trees) of Mahal (Raj Mahal, a district of Bengal) is meant for acquiring wealth, it cannot be understood which dishonest 'Kazi' gave you a decision (in favour of selling and drinking 'toddy').

"You should regard such Counsellors who are the cause of ruin to families, as the enemies of your person and property and as the evil wishers of your present and future lives....."[4]

1) "Storia Do Mogor" by Niccolao Manucci (Vol. II), p. 82.

2) "Travels in India" by Tavernier. Edited by Dr. Ball, (Vol.I), p. 117.

3) "Storia Do Mogor" by Niccolao Manucci (Vol. II), p. 7.

4) Letter XC, page 86 of "Letters of Aurangzeb" by J. H. Billimoria.

The Mohammedans consumed a great deal of tobacco and, according to Manucci, the chief tax-farmer paid five thousand rupees a day on this account for Delhi only. (The figure of five thousand appears improbable.) The sale of tobacco was declared illegal and the licence of the chief tax-farmer was cancelled.

A special tax was levied on the workers in cottons and silken stuffs. The workers were subject to the mercy of the licensee. "These workers (cottons, silken stuffs), before exposing anything for sale, have to go to him who holds the contract, in order to get the King's stamp inpressed on the pieces of calico or silk, otherwise they are fined and flogged."[1]

For sending goods from Agra to Surat the total cost of transportation used to rise to twenty-five per cent. "All goods in coming from Agra to Surat, for despatch of bills of exchange at 5 per cent. for packing, carriage, and customs, according to their classes, are charged from 15 to 20 per cent.[2]

Some remission of taxes was made in Bengal by the Governor of Bengal, Shaista Khan, but how far they were effective it is difficult to say. Shaista Khan abolished *ijara* (monopolies) of all articles of food and clothing which the former governors used to enjoy. He abolished *Zakat* (one-fortieth of the income) from merchants and travellers and he also abolished *Hasil* from artificers, tradesmen and newcomers. Other vexatious taxes were also abolished by him.

The King abolished a number of taxes, but on paper only. The real effect of the King's order was negligible. The officials would not introduce a new tax, but, once it was introduced by the King, it could not be taken away by the King for the officials would go on collecting the tax for themselves and not for the King. "The Emperor gave orders for the remission of the *rahdari* (toll) which was collected on every highway (*Guzar*), frontier and ferry, and brought in a large sum to the revenue. He also remitted the *pandari,* a ground or house cess, which was paid throughout the Imperial dominions by every tradesman and dealer, from the butcher, the potter, and the greengrocer, to the draper, jeweller and banker.....Other cesses, lawful and unlawful, as the *Sar-Shumari, buz-Shumari* (tax on

1) P. 118 of "Travels in India" by Tavernier. Edited by Dr. Ball, (Vol. I).

2) Pp. 24-25 of "Travels in India" by Tavernier. Edited by Dr. Ball, (Vol. II).

goats), *bargadi,* the *Charai* (grazing tax) of the *Banzaras* (the carriers who transport goods on the back of the animals), the *tuwa'ana,* the collections from the fairs held at the festivals of Mohammedan saints, and at the *Jatras* or fairs of the infidels, held near Hindu temples.....

"The tax on spirits, on gambling houses, on brothels, the fines thank-offerings, and the fourth part of debts recovered by the help of magistrates from creditors. These and other imposts, nearly eighty in number, which brought in *Krors* of rupees to the public treasury, were all abolished throughout Hindustan. Besides these, the tithe of corn, which lawfully brought in twenty-five *lacs* of rupees, was remitted in order to alleviate the heavy cost of grain. To enforce these remissions, stringent orders were published everywhere throughout the provinces, by the hands of mace-bearers and soldiers."[1] (*Muntakhabu-l-Lubab*). Of the long list of remissions only that of *Pandari* was successful as it was mostly collected in the Capital. Other taxes were freely collected in spite of the "stringent orders." The remission of taxes on Hindu fairs was based on the *Haram* (unlawful) nature of the tax. A puritan King like Aurangzeb could not defile himself by accepting *Haram* money. A parallel may be cited to-day in the recent controversy about the betting tax. Money collected from gambling was stigmatised by some as *Haram.* But this view was not accepted. About these remissions of Aurangzeb the same historian says, "By degrees matters have come to such a pass, that between the time of leaving the factory or port and reaching their destination, goods and merchandise pay double their cost price in tolls."[2] Further on, he says, "Through the villainy and oppression of the toll-collectors and the Zemindars, the property, the honour and the lives of thousands of travellers and peaceful wayfarers are frittered away."[3]

The maltreatment of a subject (*rayyat*) was of no consideration for Aurangzeb, for what cared he for them when his own revenue was soaring? His total revenue, composed of land revenue, tribute by the Hindus together with the 5 per cent. customs duty on goods brought by Hindu merchants and 2½ per cent. from the Mohammedans and 2 per cent. from the English and also presents from them, bathing and other taxes on the

1) "The History of India as Told by Its Own Historians" by Elliott and Dawson, (Vol. VII), pp. 246-247.

2) and 3) "The History of India as Told by Its Own Historians" by Elliott and Dawson, (Vol. VII), p. 248.

Hindus together with the rich yield from the Golkondah mines,[1] revenue from sea-ports and mint profit (Surat : income from the seaport was 30 *lakhs* and 11 *lakhs* was from mint), rich inheritance on the death of officers and grandees, and "divers others" "too numerous to mention"—his total revenue eclipsed the revenues of the other Great Moguls. But Aurangzeb forgot that his policy was that of "After me the deluge." The exactions that he made were not of the nature of income, but were a part of his capital : great slices of the Empire were carved and sold for cash.

1) "Any which (diamond) weigh above $\frac{3}{8}$ths of an ounce belong to Aurangzeb." P. 417 of "Storia Do Mogor" by Niccolao Manucci (Vol. II).

CHAPTER III.

TRADE.

(a) *General.*

Trade reached a low level in the reign of Aurangzeb for reasons already given. No attempt was made by him to revive trade for he was engaged, as he thought, in a *jehad* (religious war). The foreigners were supreme on the coastal strips (both East and West) and also on the water. The recognition by them of the Mogul Emperor was merely formal.

In 1694 A.D., the *"Ganj-i-Sawai"*—the largest boat of Aurangzeb which was reserved for its annual trip to Mecca—was bringing fifty-two lakhs of rupees from Mecca and several men and women passengers, most of whom were related to Aurangzeb. It was looted by the foreigners and the chastity of the women violated by them.

The Dutch blockaded Surat and its trade was destroyed. Aurangzeb could only make the Dutch raise the blockade by bribing them. To such a pass had the world-gripper come by his insensate policy! ".....the traders of Surat appeared again to supplicate his Majesty (Aurangzeb) to get them back the trade which had been stopped by the Dutch.....

"His Majesty ordered twelve lakhs of rupees to be paid to the Dutch, with which they must be content. The Dutch agreed to accept the amount and cease to blockade the trade of the port. They had suffered no loss, having at various times taken possession of several valuable prizes."[1]

Hindus did not venture on "forward" transactions for they did not know what the fiat of the Emperor had in store for them. The Mohammedans enjoyed their undeserved 'soft' jobs provided for them by the *Mullah*-King. The English were profiting by the muddle that was being created by Aurangzeb for they were laying the foundation of an Empire over which in future the sun would not set.

(b) *Manufactures.*

One new commodity came into general use in the reign of Aurangzeb. It was *Chai* or *The*, now called Tea. This article was

1) "Storia Do Mogor" by Niccolao Manucci (Vol. IV), pp. 275-276.

largely used in India in the XVIIth century and was introduced into England by Lords Arlington and Ossory, who imported it from Holland in 1666. A direct demand was made on the factors in India by the Company in 1669. Even to-day the largest *per capita* consumption of Tea is in England.

During the reign of Aurangzeb, Tea was not an article of commerce of any importance. It was only coming on the market, passing through an experimental stage.

Indigo had considerably declined in importance on account of the West Indies competition and also on account of adulteration of the Indian stuff.

From "Streynsham Master's Diary in 1676" we get interesting information about some new commodities and the condition of the country: "7th September. This morning wee came faire by the Arracan Shoare, and by the Dutch Boyes, and come to an anchor at the mouth of the River near the isle of Coxes, and bought as much fish out of a boate for half a rupee as would serve fourscore men.

"8th September. This day we passed by the river which goes to Chittygom and Dacca, which the English call the river of *Rogues,* by reason the Arracaners used to come out thence to Rob, and sailed up the river Ganges, on the east side of which most part of the great quantity of beeswax is made, which is the King's commodity, and none suffered to deale therein but for his accompt. And swarmes of Bees flew over our vessell, alsoe we passed by great number of salt pitts, and places to boile salt, which is alsoe appropriated to the King of Great Mogull, and none suffered to be made but for his accompt....."[1]

So beeswax and salt, we learn, were the monopoly of Aurangzeb. Aurangzeb was not a trader in the sense that Shah Jahan or Mir Jumla was. He had no time to meddle with trade, so busy was he in learning the Koran by heart and leading his army to fight with the Marathas.

In the Diary of Streynsham dated 8th November we find mention of the silk industry. "....All the country, or greater part thereof, about Cassambazar is planted or sett with Mulberry trees, the leaves of which are gathered young to feed the worms with, and made the silk fine, and therefore the trees are planted every yeare. The soile of Bengala is very fertile, being a kind of a loose fatt earth and some places a fatt sand. There is not one moutaine or Hill to be seen about Hugly or Cassam-

1) "India in the XVIIth Century" by J. N. Das-Gupta, p. 218.

bazar, the Country being all plaine and levell, and though anything will grow by reason of the fertileness of the soile, yett firewood is scarce, and timber bad and very deare."[1]

The famous Bidar work of inlaying gold and silver on pots, the Delhi and Agra painting and working upon agates and crystals, the Kimkhwab of Broach and Ahmadabad, the perfumes of Navsari, the ivory works of Jaipur and various others declined considerably in importance as the Court ceased to be a patroniser of arts and crafts.

Niccolao Manucci in his "Storia Do Mogor" (Vol. II) gives a description of the Provinces which is summarised below :

Delhi. "The province of Dihli is in the middle of the Empire.....Its territory is fertile in grains.....there are not many manufactures (P 421)."

Agrah or Akbarabad. "This province abounds in white cloth, silk stuffs, cloth of gold and of silver of great fineness, used for turbans, in lace and other adornments for women..... The country round produces much indigo, which is collected there (P.424)."

Lahor. ".....a quantity of fine white cloth is made there ; many pieces of silk of all colors (*alachah*) ; also much work in embroidery, carpets, plain and flowered, good bows and arrows, tents, saddles, swords, coarse woollen stuffs, boots and shoes. Much rock-salt is gained from neighbouring mountain.....(P.424)"

Asmir (Ajmere). ".....They make much fine white cloth ; they harvest much grain ; milk, butter and salt are abundant (P. 425)."

On account of the "black fat earth" Saltpetre was largely obtained.

Gujarat or Ahmedabad. "In this province there is made a prodigious quantity of gold and silver cloth, and of flowered silks.....They also make much gold and silver work, and a quantity of jewellery set with stones.....The country is fertile in cereals (P. 425)."

Malwa.—"This province produces white and coloured cloth abundantly. The country is fertile in cereals.....(P .425). "Poppy is lagely grown.[2]

Patnah, or Bihar. "Fine white cloth is very plentiful in

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1) "India in the XVIIth Century" by J. N. Das-Gupta, pp. 220-221.

2) "High and low alike gave to their children, up to the age of three, opium to eat." (LXI of "India of Aurangzeb" by Jadunath Sarkar).

this province; they find there the materials for a great quantity of saltpetre, which is carried by the Europeans to Europe..... .....Patnah (much earthen pottery is made, which emits a pleasant odour, and is so fine that it is no thicker than paper (P. 426)."

Multan. "Much printed cloth is made in this province, also bows and arrows. The country has many short-haired camels, mules and asses (P. 426)."

Kabul. "This province abounds in good horses, called Turki, also in large hairy camels, and it has many good fruits, the equal of those of Europe.....The traders of India go to this province to buy beavers (castors) and the skins of these beasts, musk, Zedoar, and rubies (P. 426)."

Tatthah. "The province of Tatthah abounds in very fine white cloth, also in coarse cloth and printed cloth of two kinds, and has much leather, which is exported to Arabia and Persia. The country produces much grain, and butter is very plentiful, which is exported to Musqat (P. 427)."

Bhakkar. "In this province is made much white and coloured cloth; the soil is fertile, and the grain produced is excellent (P. 427)."

Urissah. ".....much fine white cloth is made there. The land produced much rice (P. 427)." Eunuchs were procurable in this province.

Kashmir. "In the province of Kashmir much fine (woollen) cloth is made.....They make many beds, ink-boxes, trays, boxes, spoons, etc., out of wood, both in plain and carved works. Fruit is plentiful.....(P.428)."

Illavas (Allahabad). ".....no cloth is made; nothing but dishes of different colours, and not very durable.....

Benares: many stuffs of silk, cloth of gold and of silver turbans, waist-belts, and goods suited to women's use (P. 428)."

Aurangabad. "In this province much white cloth and silk stuffs are produced (P. 428)." Sugar-cane, mango, coconut, betel-leaf, rice and *Keora* (leaves yield the rich *Keora* perfume) formed the chief agricultural wealth of the province.

Barar. ".....productive in cereals, corn, and vegetables, poppy, sugar-cane (P.429)." "Iron mines and other metals found near Indor and Narnal. Near Wairagarh were diamond and ruby mines. Figured cloth was woven at Wairagarh; excellent stone utensils were carved at Indor and Narnal; the materials for the manufacture of soap and glass were extracted and salt-petre produced from the Lonar Lake. Lustre was given

to weapons of steel by dipping them in the water of a spring in Gawil."[1]

Burhanpur or Khandesh. "In this province they make much very fine white and coloured cloth, also printed cloth, which are exported in quantities by Persian and Armenian merchants to Persia, Arabia, and Turkey. The soil is productive in grain (P. 429)."

Baglanah. "They weave in this province much coarse white cloth, but little of fine quality. Much grain grows in it (P. 429)."

Dhakan. ".....prodigious quantity of white cloth and silken stuffs of which the nations of Europe and elsewhere transport annually several shiploads (P. 429)."

Ujjain. "This province produces nothing but grain and salt (P. 430)."

Raj-Mahal. ".....they make much fine cloth, and a great quantity of rice is harvested (P. 430)."

Gulkandah. "In this province are the diamond mines. A quantity of printed cloth is made, and these goods are the best to be found in India. They also make a great deal of white cloth, coarse and fine. Iron is abundant (P. 431)."

Tavernier gives us a description of Golconda before its ruin by Aurangzeb. He writes, "There are so many public women in the town, the suburbs, and in the fortress, which is like another town, that it is estimated that there are generally more than 20,000 entered in the Darogha's register, without which it is not allowed to any women to ply their trade. They pay no tribute to the King, but a certain number of them are obliged to go every Friday with their governess and their music to present themselves in the square in front of the balcony. If the King be there they dance before him, and if he is not, an eunuch signals to them with his hand that they may withdraw....."[2] The *tari* (drink) shops could only be opened after sunset. The King derived great revenue from *tari* shops and that is why he permitted the prostitutes to ply their trade without paying any tribute. Before entering Golconda men were carefully searched for tobacco and salt, "because these yield the principal revenue of the King."[3]

1) "India of Aurangzeb" by Jadunath Sarkar, p. LXXIX.

2) "Travels in India" by Tavernier. Edited by Dr. Ball, (Vol. I), pp. 157-8.

3) "Travels in India" by Tavernier. Edited by Dr. Ball, (Vol. I), p. 154.

(c) *Trade Centres and Inter-provincial Trade.*

Surat declined in importance on account of the rise of the Marathas and also on account of the decline of the Indigo trade. The *Sakanas* or *bawarals* (a lawless set of men belonging to Surat and living by piracy) became so bold that the Governor of Surat had to bribe them. The power of punishment was gone. Even Aurangzeb had to bribe the Dutch with twelve *lakhs* of rupees in order to have the port opened!

Hooghly was coming to the forefront as it had a rich hinterland. The following is from Clavell's account of the trade of Hooghly and Balasore which is appended to Streynsham Master's Diary of his tour of inspection through Bengal in 1676:

"About Hugly there live many weavers who weave cotton cloth, and cotton and *Tesser* or Herba of several sorts, and from the parts thereabouts there is brought silk, sugar, opium, rice, wheat, oyle, butter, course hampe gunneys, and many other commidityes. The way of procuring these is to agree upon musters with the merchants of Hugly or to send *Bannias* who can give security to buy them on our accounts in the places where they are made or procurable at cheapest hands and whether wee use one way or other we give passes in the English name, for the bringing those goods free of custome, and all those places have soe great a convenience that most of the goods are brought by water, unless from the places near into Hugly. The goods wee sell in Hugly by merchants there are upon time, or ready money, but which way soever it is that wee sell them, wee give passes and send them out in our names to avoide the merchants paying custome which otherwise they would not doe, and wee are forced to abate in the price proportionate."[1]

The trend of the trade was towards the South, for the North was passing through a grave crisis. The Mogul authority was confined to the *Lascar* (army) round Aurangzeb. Outside that it ceased to be effective.

The movement of men and goods from one province to the other was checked, remaining only brisk behind the army. Trade in the latter part of Aurangzeb's reign followed the army, for in other parts of the Empire safety to life and property was very little.

(d) *Foreign Trade.*

The Portuguese trade was completely smashed by Aurangzeb because he became weary of them. Khafi Khan says, "their

1) "India in the XVIIth Century" by J. N. Das-Gupta, pp. 226-227.

(the Portuguese) conversion policy irritated him (Aurangzeb)." How naively he puts it! The English suffered much from shortage of funds. They wrote to the Company that the difference between cash and credit prices ranged between ten and fifteen per cent. Money was so tight that the cash prices were very favourable. Sivaji also dislocated their trade by attacks on the Western coast and Surat. After his attack on Surat in 1664 the factors wrote home "Sevagy is soe famously infamous for his notorious thefts that report hath made an airey body and added winges....."[1]

The English trade had considerably decreased in the Mogul Empire during Aurangzeb's reign. They had closed their factories at Lucknow, Agra, and Ahmadabad. The Surat and Persian trade was very low. The Madras factory suffered from famine. Bengal was only supplying them with business.

By the export of manufactured goods they made less and less profit, so they started sending raw materials to England and importing manufactured goods—a state of things which is the characteristic feature of Indo-British trade to-day. The English factors wrote in 1661 "the two vessels had now good cargoes of olibanum, myrrh, pepper, cowries, and other goods; but saltpetre could not be obtained, 'the captaines of this townes castle (Surat) ingrossing it, under pretence of the King's service.'"[2] India wanted spices and the Dutch supplied them to her; she needed lead, broadcloth, rhinoceros horns, elephants' teeth and slaves from Ethiopia; horses from Arabia, Persia, or Ethiopia; musk and porcelain from China, and pearls from Bahrein. The English supplied her with all these commodities. The *cowries* (sea-shells) and ambergris she got from the Maldives either through the Dutch or through the English.

India at the death of Aurangzeb was like a cripple needing the support of others. She leaned more and more on the English because they out-rivalled other competitors and were supreme in India. From the proud position of a great manufacturing country sending her goods far and wide she became "a hewer of wood and drawer of water." All this followed from

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1) "The English Factories in India (1661-1664)" by William Foster, p. 345.

2) "The English Factories in India (1661-1664)" by William Foster, p. 30.

the nefarious activities of Aurangzeb who, in forcing his faith, lost his throne.

(For Bernier's description of Indian trade see Appendix C.)

and (e) *Government Interference in and Monopolies of Trade.*

Aurangzeb was not a trader. He was an annihilator of trade. The various monopolies in saltpetre, wax, silk, and others were the creations of his wily governors. All trade regulations were violated and various interferences in trade amounted to a policy of obstruction. His *firmans* were mere scraps of paper —no one paid any attention to them. His authority was flouted and the increased insecurity in the Empire first paralysed trade and then killed it outright.

APPENDIX—C.

From the letter to Monseigneur Colbert by Bernier in 1670 (pp. 202-204 of "Bernier's Travels in the Mogul Empire" (1656-1668 A.D. by Constable and Smith) :—

"It is important to observe that of this vast tract of country, a large portion is extremely fertile ; the large kingdom of Bengala, for instance, surpassing Egypt itself, not only in the production of rice, corn and other necessaries of life, but of unnumerable articles of commerce which are not cultivated in Egypt ; such as silks, cotton and indigo. There are also many parts of the Indies, where the population is sufficiently abundant, and the land pretty well tilled ; and where the artisan although naturally indolent, is yet compelled by necessity or otherwise to employ himself in manufacturing carpets, brocades, embroideries, gold and silver cloth, and the various sorts of silk and cotton goods, which are used in the Country or exported abroad.

"It should not escape notice that gold and silver, after circulating in every other quarter of the globe, come at length to be swallowed up, lost in some measure, in Hindustan. Of the quantity drawn from America and dispersed among the different European States, a part finds its way through various channels, to Turkey, for the payment of commodities imported from that country ; and a part passes into Persia, by way of Smyrna, for the silks laden at that port. Turkey cannot dis-

pense with the coffee, which she receives from Yemen, or Arabia Felix; and the productions of the Indies are equally necessary to Turkey, Yemen, and Persia.

"Thus it happens that these countries are under the necessity of sending a portion of their gold and silver to Moka, on the Red Sea, near Babel-Mandel; to Bassora, at the top of the Persian Gulf; and to Bander Abassi on Gomeron near Ormus, which gold and silver is exported to Hindustan by the vessels that arrive every year in the *mausem,* on the season of the winds, at those three celebrated ports, laden with gold from that country. Let it also be borne in mind that all the Indian vessels whether they belong to Indians themselves or to the Dutch or English or Portuguese which every year carry cargoes of merchandise from Hindustan to Pegu, Tannaseri, Siam, Ceylon, Achen, Macassar, the Maldives, to Mozambic, and other places, bring back to Hindustan from those countries large quantities of precious metals, which share the fate of those brought from Moka, Bassora, and Bander-Abassi. And in regard to the gold and silver which the Dutch draw from Japan, where there are mines, a part is, sooner or later, introduced into Hindustan; and whatever is brought directly by sea, either from Portugal or from France, seldom leaves the country, returns being made in merchandise.

"I am aware it may be said that Hindustan is in want of copper cloves, nutmegs, cinnamon, elephants and other things with which she is supplied by the Dutch from Japan, and the Moluccas, Ceylon and Europe; that she obtains lead from abroad, in part from England; broad cloths and other articles from France; that she is in need of considerable number of foreign horses, receiving annually more than five-and-twenty thousand from Usbec, or great many from Persia by way of Kandhar, and several from Ethiopia, Arabia, and Persia, by sea, through the ports of Moka, Bassora, and Bandar-Abassi. It may also be observed that Hindustan consumes an immense quantity of fresh fruit from Samarkand, Bali, Bokhara and Persia; such as melons, apples, pears and grapes eaten at Delhi and purchased at a very high price nearly the whole winter; and likewise dried fruit, such as almonds, pistachio, and various other small nuts, plums, apricots and resins, which may be procured the whole year round; that she imports a small sea-shell from the Maldives, used in Bengala, and other places, as a species of small money; ambergris from the Maldives and Mozambic; rhinoceros and porcelain from China, and pearls from Beheren,

and Tutuconry, near Ceylon; and I know not what quantity of other similar wares, which she might well do without.

"The importation of all these articles into Hindustan does not, however, occasion the export of gold and silver; because the merchants who bring them find it advantageous to take back, in exchange, the productions of the country.

"Supplying itself with articles of foreign growth or manufacture does not, therefore prevent Hindustan from absorbing a large portion of the gold and silver of the world, admitted through a variety of channels, while there is scarcely an opening for its return."[1]

1) It was for the above reasons that Bernier called India "an abyss of gold and silver."

CHAPTER IV.

CONCLUSION.

On 4th March 1707 Aurangzeb passed away at the ripe age of eighty-nine. He had ruled for fifty years. He dug his grave and also the grave of his Empire in Aurangabad. After the battle of Panipat in 1761 and the still more famous battle of Buxar in 1764, the moribund Empire of the Moguls ceased to function. The treaty of Buxar made the Nawab-Vazier a vassal of Calcutta and the Mogul Emperor (by courtesy called emperor) a pensioner of the East India Company. Such was the inglorious ending of the glorious Mogul Empire of which the first foundation was laid by Babur! Akbar expanded and consolidated the Empire, Jehangir enjoyed the fruits of his ancestors' labours, Shah Jahan immortalised his name by building magnificent buildings and by maintaining law and order, and Aurangzeb wrecked all for his faith! His policy of destruction, rigorously applied to exterminate those who were not of his faith roused the ire of the Rajputs, the Sikhs, the Jats, and the Marathas; his policy of trade suppression; his intense puritanic cult amounting to an obsession; his policy of distrust—all these and other follies ended the Empire even before his death.

He was a stranger to the finer instincts of humanity like Love, Trust, Tolerance, etc. In Babur's time Love mounted "the warrior's steed," in Akbar's time she danced "on the green," in Jehangir's time she tuned "the shepherd's reed," in Shah Jahan's time she was "in Halls in gay attire seen," but in Aurangzeb's time she was buried under the earth.

Such a man was not fit for the throne of Delhi. His *firmans* were not for the betterment of the people, but for the glory of his faith: "On the 18th April 1669 orders were issued to all the governors of provinces.....to destroy with a willing hand the schools and temples of the infidels; and they were strictly enjoined to put an entire stop to the teaching and practising of idolatrous forms of worship."[1] (Lubbu-T-Tawarikh Hind of Rai Bhara Mal).

1) "The History of India as Told by Its Own Historians" by Elliott and Dawson, (Vol. VII), p. 184.

It is not of much use to harp on the idiosyncracies of Aurangzeb. Here is a bright strain imparted by that veteran writer on the Mogul period, Jadunath Sarkar to the good, indifferent, and bad doings of the Great Moguls who kept the Empire going.

Says he, "The Mughal Empire re-established the contact between India and the outer Asiatic world.....Through the passes of the Afghan frontier the stream of population and trade flowed peacefully into India from Bokhara and Samarkand, Balkh and Khorasan, Khawarizam and Persia, because Afghanistan belonged to the ruler of Delhi, till near the end of the Mughal Empire. Through the Bolan Pass leading from India to Qandhar in South Afghanistan and thence to Persia, as many as 14,000 camel-loads of merchandise passed every year in the reign of Jehangir early in the XVIIth Century. The ports in our Western Coast—Tatta, Broach, Surat, Choul, Rajapur, Goa (before its annexation by the Portuguese), and Karwar,—were so many doors between India and the outer world that could be reached by sea, such as Arabia, Persia, Turkey, Egypt, Barbery, Abyssinia, and even Zanzibar. From the eastern port of Masulipatam belonging to the Sultans of Golconda up to 1687 and thereafter to the Moguls—ships used to sail for Ceylon, Sumatra, Java, Siam, and even China." [1]

Such was the vast empire teeming with rich potentialities, and to-day even its debris is with difficulty traced!

Verily does Omar Khayyam sing his plaintive tune:

"The Palace that to Heaven its pillars threw,
And Kings their forehead on the threshold drew;
I saw a solitary ring-dove there,
And *'Coo,*[2] *Coo, Coo,'* she cried, and *'Coo, Coo, Coo.'* "

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1) "The Mughal Administration" by Jadunath Sarkar, p. 67.

2) *Coo* in Persian means 'Where'?

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1. "Mediaeval India under Mohammedan Rule" by Stanley Lane-Poole.
2. "The Army of the Indian Moguls" by William Irvine.
3. "Journal of a Residence in India" by Marie Graham.
4. "Revenue Resources of the Mogul Empire" by Edward Thomas.
5. "The English Factories in India (1655-1660)" by William
6. " " " (1661-1664)" Foster.
7. "Letters of Aurangzeb" by J. H. Bilimoria.
8. "Socialism : Its Embryonic Development in India" by D. Pant.

BOOK VI.

SIDE-LIGHTS ON THE GREAT MOGULS, THEIR GOVERNMENT, TRADE, ETC.

APPENDIXES A AND B.

"Ba yak nuktah mahram mujrim Shavvad."

(By one spot 'confident' becomes 'criminal').

SIDE-LIGHTS ON THE GREAT MOGULS, THEIR GOVERNMENT, TRADE, ETC.

General.

The pages that follow only stress some of the points already discussed in the other Books. The manner of presentation of the material is different, and some new information will also be found scattered here and there.

Minds, like the facets of a crystal, receive and reflect light at different angles and that is why the more the facets the more brilliant the effect produced on the retina. Some old authors, now alas! forgotten, and a few new authors who have just appeared have been mercilessly taxed here to contribute to the greatness or detract from the supposed greatness of the Great Moguls. The real spade-work in laying the foundation of the Mogul Empire on a sound and firm basis fell to the lot of Akbar. Babur indeed waged wars and wrested the crown of *Hind* from Ibrahim Lodi, but it was never firmly placed on his head. Laying claim to the Empire of India in the name of his ancestor, Timur the Lame who devastated the country in 1398, Babur became the first Mogul Emperor of India. About Babur, Ferishta records, "in his person he was handsome; his address was engaging and unaffected; his countenance pleasing, and his disposition affable."[1] "He was learned, and had few equals in the arts of poetry, prose, composition and music.....He was ardently devoted to the enjoyments of the cup, and to female society."[2]

Humayun, who succeeded him, was a prince of refined taste and cultivated mind. But he was of a weak nature and internecine quarrels harassed him a good deal. When Humayun sent word to his brother Prince Kamran to cease fighting and join forces with him, Kamran replied, "He shall obtain the bride of the kingdom who embraces her across the edge of the sharp sword."[3] Humayun had, therefore, no option but to carry on internecine wars to the bitter end, crippling his resources and handicapping him greatly in the consolidation of his

1) and 2) "A History of the British Empire in India and the East" by Dr. Nolan, (Div. IV), p. 630.

3) "Tezkereh Al Vakiat" by Charles Stewarts, p. 91.

Empire. The crown fell from his head, but subsequently he managed to replace it. The conquest of India and the consolidation of the Empire, however, dates from 1556 A.D., when Akbar ascended the throne of his father.

Akbar the Great.

"In spite of the Mogul traditions of his (Akbar) family, he was humane and beneficent. Though a warrior and a conqueror, he was a just ruler and a mild and wise legislator. Though brought up in tents, he was polished and urbane. Excelling in athletic sports, he was yet fond of literary pursuits. Reared in a fanatical religion, he was the most tolerant of rulers. Continually successful, he was ever moderate, and preserved an even temper under contradiction. His mental energy was astonishing.....He was most attentive to business, and listened to reports which were made to him from different parts of the Empire. He was accessible to all his subjects, and heard causes every day."[1] "That any person might be able to speak to him on business of importance, Echeber appeared twice daily in public, and gave audience to all classes of his subjects..... When giving audience, the King is also attended by a number of secretaries, whose duty is to record in writing every word that he speaks."[2]

Akbar was a freethinker and, therefore, placed no restrictions on religious performances. He invited the Jesuits and when he found that under their religious garb they were supplying information to their Government in Goa, he did not break off relations. He kept up relations with them, but changed his tactics. He kept spies on them and sent ambassadors to Goa with instructions to report on the feasibility of attacking Goa. They were ordered to supply him with information regarding the army, navy, forts, etc. This game of double-dealing does not reflect credit on Akbar, but it must be borne in mind that the game was first started by the Jesuits.

"It may be presumed that, from the outset, they (the Fathers) were expected to do anything they could to further the interests of their country at the Mogul Court, and to pass on to Goa any information likely to be of use to the Portuguese authorities....."[3]

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1) "Golden Bullets" by William W. Ireland, p. 59.

2) "Akbar and the Jesuits" by C. H. Payne, p. 11.

3) "Akbar and the Jesuits" by C. H. Payne, p. XLIV.

"Akbar's attitude towards the Missions closely resembled that of the Portuguese authorities. Like them, he was influenced by both religious and political motives.....The Missions, however, did offer him political advantages, and he naturally welcomed them none the less on that account. Chief amongst these were the opportunities, or excuses, which they afforded him of sending letters and *firmans* to Goa, the bearers of which were able to bring him much useful intelligence regarding the state of affairs in the Portuguese Settlements, towards which he had long been casting covetous eyes."[1]

Paradoxical as it may sound, his own creed with its dogmas and ritualisms rather irritated than soothed him. There are several instances when he actively lent his support to the Fathers to humiliate men learned in the Koran. "(In 1590), the King caused all the *Alcorans* (*Alcorana* is a minaret) in the town in which he then held his court to be razed to the ground."[2] There is a note (No. 3, page 229) relating to the above information which runs as follows : "The desecration of the mosques is referred to by Badaoni, who says that they were 'changed into store-rooms, or given to Hindu *Chowkidars*' (Ain, I, p. 200); but the destruction of the minarets is not confirmed by other writers." How naively Badaoni turns Akbar's anti-Islamic actions into childish pranks : "And in contempt of Islam ceasing to consider swine and dogs as unclean, he kept them in the *haram* and under the fort, and regarded the going to look at them every morning as a religious duty."[3]

Akbar always kept an open mind in religious matters and it was only to keep his relatives and *Qazis* from terrorising his non-moslem subjects that he used to belittle what was his religion from birth. "Perfect religious toleration existed in his (Akbar's) Empire at a time when the Moriscoes were expelled from Spain, and the Catholics and Protestants were shedding one another's blood. During his reign the Hindus were admitted to the highest offices of State. No prince ever knew better how to govern India, to make himself respected, obliged, loved, and feared."[4]

Akbar was a great admirer of the Portuguese, but he also hated them for their fanaticism in matters of religion and for their high-handedness on the seas. From the Persian Gulf to Mo-

1) "Akbar and the Jesuits" by C. H. Payne, pp. XLV-XLVI.
2) "Akbar and the Jesuits" by C. H. Payne, p. 44.
3) "Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh" by Badaoni, Vol. II, p. 314.
4) "Golden Bullets" by William W. Ireland, pp. 61-62.

zambique and from Mozambique to Malacca was the monopoly of the Portuguese. Without their license, even Akbar's ships carrying pilgrims to Mecca were not permitted to sail. "As a race he (Akbar) held a high opinion of the Portuguese: he was strongly attracted by their religion; he admired their civilisation; and he took delight in the society of their learned doctors. At the same time, he regarded them as intruders. Their domination of the Indian seas was a constant offence to him, and was rendered the more intolerable by the humiliating control which it enabled them to exercise over his maritime ventures. More than all, he resented their settlements on the outskirts of his territories, which effectively barred his access to the West Coast ports. In short, the Portuguese were a very troublesome thorn in Akbar's side, and one of the dearest wishes of his heart was to turn them neck and crop out of India."[1]

This dearest wish of his heart was never realised in his lifetime.

The greatest wealth of India, namely the forests, never received any attention from the Moguls. In fact, it has received very scant attention even from the English. It was only late in the XIXth century that a regular scientific Forest policy was begun in India. The Mohammedans are known in History for their vandalism and their hand lay heavy on the forests. The forests were ruthlessly destroyed, and 'India intra Gangem' consequently suffered, just as other countries like Persia and Spain suffered, for having come under the yoke of the Mohammedans. It is true that trees were planted by the roadsides, near mosques and Serais, and that flower and fruit-gardens were laid out by the Kings and *Omrahs;* but it is also true that their activity was not in afforestation but deforestation. Even so, there was no justification for them to burn forests, miles in area for the purpose of "driving out thieves" or for the purpose of raising one crop in their life-time on that forest reclaimed land.

"The Mahomedan had no regard for the forests, nor any religious scruples about destroying them. Rather, he was taught that the forest was a free gift of Nature and belonged to anyone, just as water did. The destruction, therefore, proceeded apace. India suffered from Mohammedan incursions just as Persia, Asia Minor, Spain and other countries on the Mediterranean suffered. "On the other hand, the planting of trees either for the fruit which they yielded or for the purposes of obtaining shade was

1) "The Forests of India" by E. P. Stebbing, Vol. I, pp. 31-32.

an act which was held in high esteem in Eastern countries, and especially in India, from very early times..... In the *Sunnad* of the Emperor Akbar, it is directed 'that on both the sides of the canal down to Hissar, trees of every description, both for shade and blossom, be planted, so as to make it like the Canal under the tree in Paradise ; and that the sweet flavour of the rare fruits may reach the mouth of every one, and that from those luxuries a voice may go forth to travellers calling them to rest in the cities where their every want will be supplied' (Calcutta Review, No. 23)."[1]

The *Sunnad* shows the innate generosity of his heart. Akbar was of a very kind and loving disposition. He was the only Mogul Emperor who took away the power of capital punishment from his governors and he deliberated a good deal before exercising the same power himself. "Towards his fellow-men he was kind and forbearing, averse from taking life, and quick to show mercy. Hence it was that he decreed that if he condemned any one to death, the sentence was not to be carried into effect until the receipt of his third order."[2]

Akbar was not only humane but an Economist of a high order. In order to improve the material welfare of his people, he laid down very generous rules for foreigners. He regulated taxes and customs and in various ways helped the growth of trade. He was neither 'novelty-mad' like his son Jehangir nor 'trade-mad' like his grandson Shah Jahan. He steered a safe and dignified course for himself. He worked unceasingly to check corruption and to promote the welfare of his people. History is unanimous in recognising Akbar's high worth.

Dr. Garbe writes about Akbar as follows : "Akbar sought also to advance trade and commerce in every possible way. He regulated the harbor and toll duties, removed the oppressive taxes on cattle, trees, grain and other produce as well as the customary fees of subjects at every possible appointment or office. In the year 1574 it was decreed that the loss which agriculture suffered by the passage of royal troops through the fields should be carefully calculated and scrupulously replaced."[3] "Under Akbar's rule India stood upon a much higher plane of

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1) "The Forests of India" by E. P. Stebbing, Vol. I., pp. 31-32.
2) "Akbar and the Jesuits" by C. H. Payne, pp. 205-206.
3) "Akbar" by Dr. Richard Von Garbe, p. 14.

civilisation in the sixteenth century than Europe at the same time."[1]

Controversies as to the manner of death of this great King are corrent and not finally settled. P. Du Jarric, a Jesuit Father, wrote in his "Akbar and the Jesuits" which has been recently translated by Mr. Payne that Akbar's death was due to poison administered to him by his son Salim who succeeded him under the title of Jehangir.

Akbar is reported to have uttered the following lines in his unconscious state just before his death :

"Baba Shaikhuji[2] since all this
Sultanate[3] will devolve on thee, why
Hast thou made this attack on me :
To take away my life there was no need of injustice,
I would have given it to thee, if thou hadst asked me."[4]

Against this Jesuit version of Akbar's death, there is another which Colonel Tod, the famous author of the "annals of Rajasthan" advances. He shows that Akbar's death was due to poisoning but that the poison was self-administered by mistake. "Colonel Tod, on the authority of the Boondi records,—which, he asserts, are well worthy of belief,—says that a desire to be rid of the Rajah Mann Singh of Jeypore, to whom he was so much indebted, and whom he did not dare openly attack, induced Akbar to prepare a *maajun* (intoxicating confection), part of which he poisoned, but presenting by mistake the innocuous part to the *rajah,* he took the other himself, and thus perished in his own snare. Mann Singh's offence was, that he seconded the pretensions of his nephew, Khosrow. The old writers of the West attribute the death of this monarch to a similar cause."[5] Most of the reliable historians neither support the Jesuit version nor Tod's "Boondi records." It appears that Akbar died of heart-failure due to old age. Tod's version, if correct, would take away much of the romance from Akbar's life. A few lines from the Cambridge Modern History Series (Vol. VI, pages 513-514) are a fitting tribute to Akbar's greatness of heart and head.

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1) "Akbar" by Dr. Richard Von Gorbe, p. 40.
2) Baba Shaikhuji was Akbar's pet name for his son Salim.
3) Sultanate means Empire.
4) "Akbar and the Jesuits" by C. H. Payne, p. 247, note 23.
5) "A History of the British Empire in India and the East" by Dr. Nolan, Div. IV, footnote p. 647.

"He (Akbar) united high military ability with political genius;.....he understood the art of ruling; and his wise government quieted the people whom he subjected to his arms..... He attached the Rajput chiefs to his family by matrimonial alliances; he strove to win the confidence of all classes of his subjects by tolerance and conciliation; he aimed at softening religious antipathies by the humanising influence of intellectual culture."

Jehangir the Pleasure-Seeker.

Jehangir was skilful and energetic in war, but passionate, brutal, and unforgiving. Though he ascended the throne in 1605 A.D. and ruled till 1627 A.D., yet his reign after 1611 A.D. was the reign of his consort Nur Jehan who secured the following terms for herself before her capitulation to Jehangir: "First that she should have the rank of first queen; secondly, that her father should have the post of *Etmadoulet,* or first minister, and thirdly, that her brothers, as well as her other relations, should fill the first places at Court."[1]

To the credit of Jehangir be it said that he kept the terms of the fair victor absolutely and unconditionally.

Amongst the Mohammedans "the coining of money, and having public prayers read in the mosques in his name, are two of the peculiar privileges which belong to a King alone."[2]

Nur Jehan secured the prerogative of having coins struck in her name. The other prerogative of having prayers read in her name was denied to her on the ground of her sex. No Mohammedan could have reconciled himself to that idea. The fate of the *Pathar Masjid,* built by her in Srinagar, was only too well-known to her. Fortunate was it for India that the reins of the Government were taken away from the hands of "the talented drunkard" by Nur Jehan. She was capable and sensible. "Nurjehan," Sir Thomas Roe notes, "fulfils the observation that in all actions of consequences a woman is not only always the ingredient, but commonly a principall drug of most virtue, not incapable of conducting business, nor herself void of wit and subtilitie."[3]

Jehangir was as fond of show as his son Shah Jahan, but the

1) "History of the Mogul Dynasty in India" by Father Francois Catrou, pp. 144-145.

2) "Siyar ul Matakherin" by Ghulam Hussain Khan, (translated by John Briggs), p. 5.

3) "The Cambridge Modern History Series", Vol. VI, p. 516.

son was wiser than his father. Shah Jahan left a memorial for posterity in huge marble buildings of exquisite architectural taste. Jehangir is remembered as the victor-victim of Nur Jehan. The extravagant magnificence of his coronation ceremonial is described as follows by an author of repute: "The jewels of the throne alone were estimated at one hundred and fifty millions sterling, and four tons of gold were employed in the workmanship of it. The legs and body were loaded with seven hundredweight of ambergris, so that wherever the throne—which was so constructed that it might be taken to pieces—was removed no further perfumes were necessary. The pearls and rubies, with which the crown was clustered, were worth two millions and seventy thousand pounds; and the space which surrounded the throne was covered with the most costly brocades and gold-embroidered carpets. Censors of gold and silver were disposed in different directions, from which was emitted the delicious perfume of burning odoriferous drugs. Three thousand camphorated wax-lights, three cubits in length, in branches of gold and silver, scented with ambergris, illuminated the scene from night till morning; a number of beautiful blooming youths, clad in dresses of the most costly materials, woven in silk and gold, with zones and amulets sparkling with the lustre of the diamond, the emerald, the sapphire, and the ruby, rank after rank, and in respectful attitude, awaited the imperial commands; and to crown all, the *ameers* (nobility) of the empire, from the captain of four hundred to the commander of five thousand horse, covered from head to foot in gold and jewels, in brilliant array, encircled the throne, awaiting the commands of their sovereign. The *tout ensemble* furnishing an example of imperial magnificence seldom paralleled, as the great Mogul truly says, in this stage of earthly existence." [1]

Such colossal expenditure did not empty the treasury, for every courtier or grandee invited had to wish luck to His Majesty by first presenting what he could get hold of by begging, borrowing, or stealing. The costlier the presents, the warmer the reception of the donor. Everybody used to compete with everyone else in pouring into the treasury what he could lay hands on.

"Jehangire asserts that, of the paraphernalia and regalia for state pageants, accumulated by his father, whether in treasure

1) "History of the British Empire in India and the East" by Dr. Nolan, Div. IV., p. 648.

or splendid furniture, the invincible Tamerlane—who had subdued the world, and from whom his father was eighth in descent[1] —did not possess one-tenth; and that on his wishing to ascertain the amount deposited in the Treasury at Agra, he had four hundred pair of scales at work day and night weighing gold and jewels only, and at the expiration of five months, the task was far from being completed, and never was."[2]

Jehangir enjoyed life as no Mogul before him did. Gifted with an easy conscience and a strong will to crush its voice whenever it became troublesome to him, he galloped headlong into the realm of Pleasure. He stopped the tobacco trade and prohibited the manufacture or sale of wine or of any other intoxicating beverage though he was himself notorious for wine drinking and opium eating. His naive defence of such illogical procedure is given below in his own words :

"And in very truth, encompassed as I was with youthful associates of congenial minds, breathing the air of a delicious climate, ranging through lofty and splendid saloons, every part of which was decorated with all the graces of painting and sculpture, and the floors bespread with the richest carpets of silk and gold, would it not have been a species of folly to have rejected the aid of an exhilarating cordial,—and what cordial can surpass the juice of the grape? With some acknowledged beneficial effects, it must, however, be confessed, that these indulgences to excess must expose a man's infirmities, prostrate his constitutional vigour, and awaken false desires, such being the most injurious properties belonging to the best of stimulants. For myself, I cannot but acknowledge that such was the excess to which I had carried my indulgence, that my usual daily allowance extended to twenty quarts. So far, indeed, was this baneful propensity carried, that were I but an hour without my beverage, my hands began to shake, and I was unable to sit at rest. (From the Autobiographical Memoirs of Jehangir.)"[3]

A scrutiny of the 'understandings' with Best and Roe will give an idea of what the English demanded and what Jehangir agreed to give. It must be made clear at the outset that what Jehangir promised to do he never really meant to fulfil. It was

1) See Appendix A.

2) "History of the British Empire in India and the East" by Dr. Nolan, Div. IV, p. 649.

3) "History of the British Empire in India and the East" by Dr. Nolan, Div. IV, pp. 648-649.

one of the implied privileges of the Kings in those days to go back on their words. Any firm alliance in the sense of a treaty was *infra dig* to the Great Mogul, for did it not take away his right of going back on his words? To the credit of Jehangir it must be explicitly mentioned here that he never signed a treaty either with Best or Roe. This question has been discussed in detail in Book III and so, suffice it to give here a verbatim copy of Best's terms and Roe's "Nineteen Points". (There is much similarity between Jehangir's interpretation of the "Nineteen Points" and Wilson's interpretation of the "Fourteen Points," but the subject, being off the track, is left for others to pursue.)

Captain Best on 21st October, 1612, secured the following terms: "Imprimis, that all which concerneth Sir Henry Middleton be remitted, acquitted, and cleared to us; that they shall never make seizure, stoppage, nor stay of our goods; wares, and merchandizes, to satisfye for the same.

"By the 2nd, a confirmation of all the articles now agreed to, was to be obtained under the seal of the Great Mogul within forty days.

"By the 3rd, an ambassador for the King of England to reside at the Mogul's Court.

"The 4th, that on the arrival of the Company's ships at Swally, proclamation be made in Surat, several days successively, that the people of the country may freely come and trade with the English at the water side.

"5th, All English commodities to pay a duty of 3½ per cent.

"6th, But petty wares, above (?) ten dollars, to be free of custom.

"The 7th settled the rate and mode of carriage between Swally and the city.

"The 8th releases the effects of English subjects dying in the Mogul's dominions from forfeiture or claim.

"And by the 9th, it is provided, that if all the English left on shore should die in the interval between the departure and arrival of the Company's ships, the government of Surat should see that their effects were faithfully collected and preserved, and deliver them to the first captains which should arrive.

"10th, All men and goods which may be taken by the Portuguese, to be recovered by the Government, and restored without charge.

"The 11th, exempts the trade and factory from responsibility for the robberies of English pirates.

"The 12th, No provisions, except exceeding one thousand dollars, to pay customs.

"And by the 13th, That in all questions of wrongs and injuries done to the English Nation, justice be rendered without delay, or exorbitant charge."[1]

The "Nineteen Points" delivered by Roe for ratification on 26th March, 1616 A.D. are given below. Suffice it to say that changes were made in them by Jehangir before issuing the *firman*.

"I. That there be perpetual peace and amity between the King of Great Britain and his Indian Majesty.

"II. That the subjects of England have free trade in all ports of India.

"III. That the governors of all ports publish this agreement three times, upon the arrival of any English ships.

"IV. That the merchants and their servants shall not be searched or ill-used.

"V. That no presents sent to the Mogul shall be opened.

"VI. That the English goods shall not be stopped above twenty-four hours at the Custom House, only to be there sealed, and sent to the merchants' house, there to be opened and rated within six days after.

"VII. That no governor shall take any goods by force, but upon payment at the owner's price; nor any taken upon pretence of the King's service.

"VIII. That the merchants shall not be hindered selling their goods to whom they please, or sending them to other factories, and this without paying any other duty than what is paid at the port.

"IX. That whatsoever goods the English buy in any part of the Mogul's dominions, they may send down to the ports, without paying any duty more than shall be agreed on at the port at shipping them; and this without hindrance or molestation.

"X. That no goods brought to any port shall be again opened, the English showing a certificate of their numbers, qualities, and conditions, from the governor or officers of the place where they were bought.

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1) "Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire" by Orme Robert, pp. 328-329.

"XI. That no confiscation shall be made of the goods or money of any English dying.

"XII. That no custom be demanded for provisions during the stay of English ships at any port.

"XIII. That the merchants' servants, whether English (or) Indians, shall not be punished or beaten for doing their duty.

"XIV. That the Mogul shall punish any governor or officer for breach of any of these articles.

"XV. That the English ships shall suffer all others to pass and repass freely to the Mogul's ports, except their enemies; and that the English ashore shall behave themselves civilly as merchants.

"XVI. That they shall yearly furnish the Mogul with all rarities from Europe, and all other such things as he shall desire, at reasonable prices.

"XVII. The English to pay the duty of three and a half per cent. for goods reasonably rated; and two per cent. for pieces of eight; and no other duty elsewhere.

"XVIII. That the English shall be ready to assist the Mogul against all his enemies.

"XIX. Lastly. That the Portuguese may come into this peace within six months; or, if they refuse, the English be at liberty to exercise all hostilities against them."[1]

Shah Jahan, "The Solomon of the Moguls."[2]

"It was in Shah Jahan's reign that the Mogul empire reached its climax of external magnificence.....But he was a despot, ruling with no system effectively organised for controlling the abuses, the corruption, and the tyranny of his subordinates.....Commerce and agriculture were overburdened with capricious exactions, and depressed by the general insecurity of all property. The wealth of the whole country was sucked in from all parts of the empire to the great cities that were the centres of Government, to provide for the maintenance of a huge army, to defray the cost of the imperial buildings, and to supply a vast outlay on the sumptuous establish-

1) "Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire" by Orme Robert, pp. 367-368 (foot-note).

2) "History of the Mogul Dynasty in India" by Father François Catrou, p. 192.

ments of the official nobility and on the horde of adventurers and parasites by whom the Court was infested." [1]

Shah Jahan's reign was brilliant but it was of that type of brilliancy which precedes the final flare-up of a flame. Two causes contributed to the misery of the people over whom Shah Jahan reigned. One was "the forward policy" which his son Aurangzeb vigorously followed in the Deccan and the other was the building mania of Shah Jahan.

For the first time we notice in Shah Jahan those pro-Islam and anti-Hindu feelings which were soon to destroy the Empire. Father Francis Catrou was in the wrong when he compared Shah Jahan to Solomon. A man not dazzled by the external glamour of Shah Jahan's reign could easily see the various dark patches increasing in number and in area, forming a sort of a background to the fast decaying glory of the Moguls. One can understand "the forward policy" as aiming at territorial aggrandisement. One can understand the building mania of the Moguls which reached its zenith in the reign of Shah Jahan, for aesthetic perception and fanaticism encouraged them to commemorate their name in marble. "It should, however, be understood that an intense fanaticism led them to lavish upon gorgeous mosques the wealth plundered from heathen temples. The injunctions of the Koran caused a vast expenditure upon tombs; hence the resting-place of the dead is peculiarly dear to the Mohammedan, and is exhibited in this age as well as by the remains of past centuries. Whether in the care bestowed upon the turbaned tombs of Smyrna and Stamboul, or in the costly tombs reared for their deceased relatives by modern princes, the Mohammedans prove their veneration for their beloved dead. In the crisis of his ruin, the heir of the fallen house of Oude built in 1858 a beautiful tomb at Paris, in the picturesque burial-ground of Pere-La-Chaise, for his mother.

"The pride of power, as well as religious and filial piety, originated many of the great structures of Mohammedan India. The palatial glories of Ghizni, Delhi, Agra, and Lucknow, had their origin in the towering ambition and love of domestic splendour characteristic of Mohammedan Kings and conquerors. The means for executing the vast and brilliant works which were accomplished in the Mohammedan ages of India, were found in

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1) "The Cambridge Modern History Series", Vol. VI, p. 520.

the oppressive taxation or plunder of the people."[1] But one cannot understand the anti-Hindu feelings of Shah Jahan who was three-fourths Hindu and one-fourth Mohammedan.

The British people in India can draw some morals for their own guidance from the reign of Shah Jahan.

First, the quick dethronement of ancient princes like Nabha and Indore smacks of "the forward policy" of Aurangzeb. The Government of India may have been absolutely in the right, as we believe they were specially in the case of Indore, but the public does not know of "the wheels within wheels" moving behind the scene. They being an alien Government, an uncharitable construction is put by the people on the close watch set over the allies of His Majesty, the Emperor of India. A policy of caution and conciliation would go a long way in easing the tense situation occasionally created by a *firman* from Simla.

Second, the love of display and the unproductive building enterprises that were the two common features of Shah Jahan's reign characterise many of the activities of the British in India to-day. The construction of New Delhi ranks in importance with Akbar's construction of Fatehpur-Sikri,—both being useless and unwarranted by the state of the times. The construction of the Council Hall in Lucknow and of various other costly and ornamental buildings throughout India tells the same tale. One should be on one's guard, for, it needs no effort to go down the path of luxury till the nadir is reached.

And, third, every attempt should be made to keep out of religious questions. Any favour shown to any religion at this time of mutual misunderstanding between the Hindus and the Mohammedans may cause a conflagration, the extent of which no one can foresee. Unfortunately, the country has become a cockpit for Religious fanatics who are fighting for the garbage accumulated in it since archaic days. A policy of strict impartiality rigidly followed would pay immensely.

Aurangzeb, the last of the Great Moguls.

"It is well-known that Aurangzeb used the mask of religious austerity, amongst his other means of acquiring the throne..... .....he determined to enforce the conversion of the Hindus throughout his empire by the severest penalties, and even threatened the sword; as if the blood of his subjects were to wash

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1) "History of the British Empire in India and the East" by Dr. Nolan, Div. IV, p. 712.

away the stains, with which he was imbrued by the blood of his family....."The religious vexation continued. Labour left the field, and industry the loom; until the decrease of the revenues drew representations from the governors of the provinces; which induced Aurangzebe to substitute a capitation tax, as the balance of the account between the two religions. It was laid with heavy disproportion on the lower orders of Hindus, which compose the multitude; insomuch, that the produce, if we understand the account, would have amounted to half the ancient revenue, few, nevertheless, bartered their faith for the exemption, and thousands perished under the oppression. (Year 1679 A.D.)"[1] Aurangzeb sold the possessions of his ancestors in order to satisfy the false cravings of his soul. People were harassed and persecuted, trade contracted and his "forward policy" in the Deccan was vigorously pushed by him in person.

"At the time Aurangzebe deposed his father, Shah Jehan, condemning him to lifelong captivity, the dominions were comparatively well-governed, and had the former, a man of unquestioned ability, set himself to consolidate the empire into a homogeneous whole it might have kept together. But he spent his time in over-running and spreading desolation and ruin amongst neighbouring independent states regardless of the internal decay which was sapping the very heart of his empire."[2]

But what cared Aurangzeb for an empire bounded by Time and Space when he was laying the foundations of a new empire in Heaven? Aurangzeb was a crafty man and knew how to mask his feelings. After he succeeded in imprisoning his father and destroying his brothers, he requested his captive father to give him some precious stones which he had in his keeping and which he needed for completing the ornamentation of the peacock throne. "Let him govern with more justice" said Shah Jahan; "for equity and clemency are the only jewels that can adorn a throne. I am weary of his avarice. Let me hear no more of precious stones. The hammers are ready which will pulverise them should he importune me for them again."[3] Aurangzeb treated this answer with great coldness, and replied,

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1) "Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire" by Orme Robert, pp. 73-74.

2) "The Forests of India" by E. P. Stebbing (Vol. I), p. 25.

3) "History of the British Empire in India and the East" by Dr. Nolan, Div. IV, p. 666.

"That to offend the emperor was far from being the intention of his dutiful son. "Let Shah Jehan keep the jewels," said he; "nay, more—let him command all those of Aurangzeb. His amusements constitute a portion of the happiness of his son."[1]

Aurangzeb was a puritan. Any kind of show was, according to him, against God. He carried this idea to such an extent that "in 1674 he forbade the use of cochineal in the dyeing of garments, as too splendid a colour for the sanctity of a Mahomedan."[2] One question of Socio-economic importance, namely the position of *Fakeers* (holy men) in India during the Moguls, has not been touched upon in the previous books and is brought in here for two reasons. First, because Aurangzeb rose out of their rank. Previous to his phenomenal rise to the throne of Delhi, he posed as a *Fakeer* (holy man who lives by begging) and thus successfully duped his brothers. And second, the *Fakeer* problem is as important to-day as it was then.

Gathering strength as one era merges into the other and defying all accepted canons of civilised societies, these locusts feed on and destroy what others labour to produce. Neither the Government which tolerates nor the people who encourage these professional beggars can claim to be called civilised. The problem was an acute one then as the following report conveys :

".....the *Fakiers* or Holy Men, abstracted from the world, and resigned to God....."Most of these are vagabonds, and are the Pest of the Nation they live in..... .....they profess poverty, but make all things their own where they come; all the heat of the Day they idle it under some shady Tree, at night they come in Troops, armed with a great Pole, a *Mirchal* (pointed iron rod) or Peacock's Tail, and a Wallet; more like Plunderers than Beggars; they go into the Market, or to the Shopkeepers, and force an Alms, none of them returning without his share : Some of them pass the bounds of a modest Request, and bawl out in the open Streets for an hundred Rupees, and nothing less will satisfy these..... ".....that they are almost become formidable to the citizens; nor is the Governor powerful enough to correct their Insolencies. For lately setting on a Nobleman of the Moors,

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1) "History of the British Empire in India and the East" by Dr. Nolan, Div. IV, p. 666.

2) "Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire," by Orme Robert, p. 251, (note LII).

when his kindred came to demand Justice, they unanimously arose in defence of the Aggressor, and rescued him from his deserved Punishment."[1] We find a foot-note (No. 1, page 242) to the above which runs as follows : "The insolence of these *Faqirs* was much greater under the native government than at the present day."

The foot-note makes it clear that "the insolence of these *Faqirs*" has not been rooted out by the strong hand of the civilised Government of India. The beggars have considerably increased in number. They are somewhere about six million in round figures and the amount of wealth that they destroy at a modest rate of eight annas a day would amount to more than seventy million pounds sterling a year !

Added to this colossal waste of national wealth is the other, the greater one, the moral aspect of the beggar problem. They considerably lower the moral tone of the nation. As a carrier of germs—both physical and moral—the army of beggars is unique ! To end this national evil, a bold progressive policy should be followed. The Government that successfully tackled the *Suttee* evil need not be afraid of these human pests who must be eliminated in order to free humanity in India. The heights which this evil reached during the reign of Aurangzeb is very well brought out by the following : ".....of this Order (*Fakir*) are many the most Dissolute, Licentious, and Prophane Persons in the World, Committing Buggery, will be Drunk with *Bang* (intoxicating hemp), and Curse God and Mahomet ; depending on the Toleration the Mogul (Aurangzeb) indulges them with, having been one himself in the time of the Contest among his Brethren,.....these People Beg up and down like our Bedlams with an Horn and Bowl, so that they enter an House, take what likes them, even the Woman of the House ; and when they have plaid their mad Pranks, away they go to repeat them elsewhere. Under this Disguise many pass as Spies up and down, and reap the best Intelligence for the benefit of the Prince that Employs them."[2]

"With Aurangzebe the glory of the Moguls may be said to have departed. He was the last of the Great Moguls ; and whatever the splendour of his career, it was equalled by his guilt : to his sire and King, treacherous, unfilial, and disloyal ; to his brothers, deceitful and unnatural, ambitious tyrannical, and un-

1) "East India and Persia" by Dr. Fryer, Vol. I, pp. 240-242.

2) "East India and Persia" by Dr. Fryer, Vol. II, pp. 113-114.

scrupulous, his name and life are stains upon the reputation of Mohammedan India."[1]

"The fiercest robber of the Mahrattas was in many things more to be commended than Aurangzebe. The code of military honour that prevailed among that rude and low caste people was much higher than what was practised or acknowledged at the Court and camp of the emperor. The people of all classes groaned beneath the sway of the most glorious of the Moguls."[2] The death of Aurangzeb in 1707 brought into the field his sons to contest for the throne of India. And it also opened the way for the English and the French to carve out for themselves an empire in India.

From the reign of Aurangzeb we learn two lessons of great importance : the first is the validity of the old saying "Trust begets Trust" and the second is the desirability of the ruling power resisting the temptation of 'playing off' different religious groups against each other by lending its weight to one or the other group in order to maintain 'the balance of power.' Much mischief has already been done by the policy of 'mutual misunderstanding'. The offspring of such an unnatural policy has been the Non-Co-operation Movement which considerably impoverished the National life of India. What India needs to-day and what the Government should foster is Co-operation between the people and the Government. But co-operation pre-supposes mutuality of interests. Therefore, trust, which is based on the annihilation of suspicion, should be the link between the people and the Government.

Religion as a part of the political programme has come into the field of practical politics very recently. The temptation to use it as a lever against one or the other group is very great. But it must be borne in mind that this temptation is fraught with great evil. No one can fix the extent to which damage may be done if the evil is not nipped in the bud.

Their Government.

The vast extent of the Empire and the lack of means of communication and transportation confined the influence of the Emperor, however autocratic, to the parts near the Capital. In the distant parts of his Empire his influence was faintly felt.

The Mogul Kings in India enjoyed greater powers than the

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1) and 2) "History of the British Empire in India and the East", by Dr. Nolan (Div.IV), p. 711.

Sultans of Turkey or the Shahs of Persia. In India they could flout and they did flout the opinion of *Ulemas* (religious heads of Islam), because by so doing they would only estrange the sympathies of a small class of orthodox Mohammedans but gain the loyalty of the vast Hindu population and also of the unorthodox Mohammedans. Not so in Turkey or Persia, where they had to bow down to the rulings of *Ulemas*. The other powers that the Moguls enjoyed, namely, complete control over the lives and property and prospects of their subjects, made them responsible only to their own whims and fancies.

"The combined result of all these facts and circumstances was an inordinate centralisation of authority at the Capitals, whereby the whole fabric became unstable and top-heavy ; so that when this supreme authority passed into feeble hands, the Empire, loosened by internal revolt and battered by foreign enemies, toppled over into irremediable collapse."[1]

The whole Empire was divided into a number of provinces which were placed under *Subedars* also called *Nabobs*. Under the *Nabob* were the *Phoujdar* (Commander-in-chief), *Diwan* (judge in civil matters), *Bakshi* (paymaster of the troops), *Amaldar* (manager of expenses, which must have been a highly remunerative office), *Havildar* (Superintendent of a village), and the *Cazee* (Mohammedan judge in ecclesiastical matters).

The gradation of the offices and their classification were adequate for those times, but the uncertainty of tenure was so great that everybody used to follow the extremely injurious policy of 'making hay while the sun shines.' "A newly appointed *Nabob* set out from Delhi, riding with his back turned to the head of his elephant : his attendants asked him the reason of that uncustomary posture ; he said that he was looking out for his successor."[2]

No wonder we learn that "The *Havildar* plunders the village, and is himself fleeced by the *Zemindar;* the *Zemindar* by the *Phousdar;* the *Phousdar* by the *Nabob* or his *Duan*..... and the *Nabob* compounds on the best terms he can make with the throne."[3] In Aurangzeb's reign the official machinery came to a sudden stop because of his extreme distrust of all human

1) "The Cambridge Modern History Series" Vol. VI, p. 526.

2) "Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire" by Orme Robert, p. 398.

3) "Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire" by Orme Robert, p. 402.

beings. He could not trust anybody and thus the officers did not know how to carry on their work. Aurangzeb hit upon a new plan. He allowed the officers to go out to the distant parts of the Empire to carry on their work provided they kept their wives and children in the capital as a security for their good and faithful conduct.

".....Auren Zeeb; who Governs by this Maxim, To Create as many *Ombrahs,* or Nobles, out of the Moguls or Persian Foreigners, as may be fairly entrusted, but always with this Policy, to remove them to remote Charges from that where their *Jageah* (*Jagir* is land grant), or Annuity arises; as not thinking it fit to trust them with Forces or Money in their allotted Principalities, lest they should be tempted to unyoke themselves, and slip their Neck from the Servitude imposed on them; for which purpose their Wives and Children are left as Pledges at Court, while they follow the Wars or are Administering in Cities or Provinces; from whence when they return, they have nothing they can call their own, only what they have Cheated by false Musters and a hard Hand over both Soldiers and People; which many times too, when manifest, they are forced to return to the King, though not restore to the Oppressed; for all Money, as well as goods and Lands are properly his, if he call for them."[1]

When such was the condition of the Kings and their officers, it is but natural to conclude that the subjects groaned under the weight of hardships which they could neither understand nor remove. The condition of labour was pitiable. "The mechanick or artificer will work only to the measure of his necessities. He dreads to be distinguished. If he becomes too noted for having acquired a little more money than others of his craft, that will be taken from him. If conspicuous for the excellence of his skill, he is seized upon by some person in authority, and obliged to work for him night and day, on much harder terms than his usual labour acquired when at liberty."[2]

Not only would a rich artificer be prosecuted but anybody who got a reputation for being rich would see trouble brewing. It was a crime to be rich unless well protected in the Court. "There is another thing above all the rest an unpardonable offence; for a Banyan or Rich Broker to grow Wealthy without Protection of some Great Person; for it is so mighty a Dis-

1) "East India and Persia" by Dr. Fryer, Vol. II, pp. 110-111.

2) "Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire" by Orme Robert, p. 405.

quiet to the Governor, that he can never be at ease till he have seen the bottom of this Mischief; which is always cured by Transfusion of Treasure out of the Banyans into the Governor's Coffers: Which makes them become humble Suiters for the Umbrage of any of Quality, to skreen them from this Violence."[1]

Despotism of this kind could not flourish long and it was one of the important causes responsible for the collapse of the House of Tamerlane. How truly it is said, "Under a despotic monarch, while the liberty and life of the subject are constantly exposed to danger, the crown totters on the head of the monarch; he who is the most absolute is frequently the least secure; and the annals of Turkey, of Persia, and of the Mahommedan Conquerors of Hindustan, teem with tragic stories of dethroned and murdered princes." (History of Hindustan. 1792.)[2]

Their Trade and Banking.

The South Arabians, Phoenicians, Venetians, Genoese, Turk, Portuguese, Dutch, English and French, wave after wave touched the shores of India in order to gaze on her superb wealth and bring back to their countries what wealth they could by way of trade. The Romans looked down upon trade in merchandise and their greatest trade was war. "..... the first authentic sea trade with India was that maintained by the fleets of Solomon and Hiram, whose ship captains, according to Hunter (Imperial Gazetteer), 'not only brought Indian apes, peacocks and sandal wood to Palestine; they also brought their *Sanskrit* names.' "[3]

How the Portuguese were crushed by the Dutch, the Dutch by Clive in 1758 in the Battle of Chinsura, and the French in 1757 in the historic field of Plassey forms an important portion of Modern History. The English were thus left free of 'the foreign interlopers.' They began to strengthen their position with a view to guarding themselves against the chaos that set in after the death of Aurangzeb.

The decay of the Empire after Aurangzeb is very clearly depicted in the following lines: "This was no organised struggle

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1) "East India and Persia" by Dr. Fryer (Vol. I), p. 246.

2) "History of the British Empire in India and the East" by Dr. Nolan, Div. IV, p. 717.

3) "The Forests of India" by E. P. Stebbing, Vol. I, p. 18.

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being only Corporal, not confiscation of Goods: This Place is filled with Publicans, Waiters and Porters, who are always at the Receipt of Custom, but are a little too tardy sometimes in the delivery of Goods, making the Merchant dance attendance, till a right understanding be created betwixt the *Shawbunder* (Lord of the haven) and them, which commonly follows when the Fist is mollified."[1]

Describing the trade between Mecca and India, Varthema says, "From India Major there come a great many jewels and all sorts of spices,.....; and there also comes from India Major, from a city called Bangchella (Bengal), a very large quantity of stuffs of cotton and of silk, so that in this city is carried on a very extensive traffic of merchandize, that is, of jewels, spices of every kind in abundance, cotton in large quantities, wax and odoriferous substances in the greatest abundance."[2]

The artisans were reputed to be very clever in their work. The goods that they made were in great demand both in the country and outside. "The Handicrafts Men of this Countrey, though naturally lazy, follow their Employments very close, being either forc'd thereto by necessity, or otherwise; and make carpets, Embroideries, Cloth of Gold and Silver, and all manner of Silk and Cotton Stuffs, and Linnen, which is worn in the Countrey, and transported to other Places."[3]

The extreme fineness of the cloth was due to many causes, chief among which were: First, a strong demand for high class cotton and silk goods made by the King, his grandees, and other rich people; Second, hereditary occupation; and Third, 'Sensibility and pliantness of the whole frame' of Indians. In this connection the following is very interesting and instructive: "The hand of an Indian cook-wench shall be more delicate than that of an European beauty: the skin and features of a porter shall be softer than those of a professed *petit maitre*.

"The women wind off the raw silk from the pod of the worm. A single pod of raw silk is divided into twenty different degrees of fineness; and so exquisite is the feeling of these women, that whilst the thread is running through their

1) "East India and Persia" by Dr. Fryer, Vol. I, pp. 247-248.

2) "The Travels of Ludovico Di Varthema" by Jones and Badger, p. 38.

3) "Asia" by John Ogilby, Vol. I, p. 157.

fingers so swiftly that their eye can be of no assistance, they will break it off exactly as the assortments change, at once from the first to the twentieth, from the 19th to the second.

".....that the tools which they (the Indians) use are as simple and plain as they can be imagined to be. The rigid, clumsy fingers of an European would scarcely be able to make a piece of canvas, with the instruments which are all that an Indian employs in making a piece of cambric."[1]

Varthema describes the bankers and money changers of Calicut. (The same system which prevailed in Mogul India prevails even to-day in British India. The system of sale and purchase described by him is still the common practice to-day in Bombay, specially in the case of marketing pearls). Says he, "The money-changers and bankers of Calicut have some weights that is balances, which are so small that the box in which they stand and the weights together do not weigh half an ounce; and they are so true that they will turn by a hair of the head. And when they wish to test any piece of gold, they have carats of gold as we have; and they have the touchstone like us. And they test after our manner. When the touchstone is full of gold, they have a ball, of a certain composition which resembles wax, and with this ball, when they wish to see if the gold be good or poor, they press on the touchstone and take away some gold from the said touchstone, and then they see in the ball the goodness of the gold.....And when that ball is full of gold they melt it, and take out all the gold which they have tested by the touchstone. The said money-changers are extremely acute in their business. The merchants have this custom when they wish to sell or to purchase their merchandise, that is, wholesale :—They always sell by the hands of the *Cortor* or of the *Lella,* that is, of the broker. And when the purchaser and the seller wish to make an agreement, they all stand in a circle, and the *Cortor* takes a cloth and holds it there openly with one hand, and with the other hand he takes the right hand of the seller, that is, the two fingers next to the thumb, and then he covers with the said cloth his hand and that of the seller, and touching each other with these two fingers, they count from one ducat up to one hundred thousand secretly, without saying 'I will have so much' or 'so much'. But in merely touching the joints of the fingers they understand the price

1) "Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire" by Orme Robert, pp. 412-413.

and say: 'Yes' or 'No'. And the *Cortor* answers 'No' or 'Yes'. And when the *Cortor* has understood the will of the seller, he goes to the buyer with the said cloth, and takes his hand in the manner above mentioned, and by the said touching he tells him he wants so much. The buyer takes the finger of the *Cortor,* and by the said touches says to him: 'I will give him so much.' And in this manner they fix the price. If the merchandise about which they treat be spices, they deal by the *bahar* (300 lbs.).....If they be stuffs, they deal by *curia* (Kauri equals a score), and in like manner if they be jewels....."[1]

The currency of the country, though of very pure metal, suffered from frequent fluctuations which caused great hardship to traders. "The Money of this Countrey doth not always bear one price, but rises and falls very often, according to the Exchange, in which many *Banias* (dealers in money) drive a vast Trade to their great advantage, for they buy all the Gold and Silver upon the coming of the English, Dutch, and other European Ships, and the Moor's Vessels from Aden and Persia, when commonly they are at the lowest, and afterwards raise the Money when any quantity is to be sent up to the places lying up in the Countrey."[2] Commerce in its widest aspect was never encouraged by the Moguls. They limited their attention to agriculture and ignored large scale production, and distribution. "As agriculture is the foundation, so are manufactures and fisheries the pillars, and navigation the wings, of Commerce.[3] In this sense, Commerce has only been understood by the English and applied to India to the great material prosperity of both countries, India and England.

The dazzling brilliance of the Moguls and their great display of brilliants and pearls were rendered possible by the sweat and tears of the starving millions. Many suffered silently so that the few might have the best of life. The whole policy of the Government was based on this practice.

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1) "The Travels of Ludovico Di Varthema" by Jones and Badger, pp. 169-170.

2) "Asia" by John Ogilby, Vol. I, p. 164.

3) "Annals of Commerce" by David McPherson, Vol. I, p. VII.

APPENDIX—A.

Akbar's *firmans* frequently commenced thus: "Jalal-ud-din Muhemmad Akbar, Padshah, Ghazi, son of Humayun Padshah, son of Babur Padshah, son of Umar Shaikh Mirza, son of Sultan Abu Said, son of Sultan Muhammad Mirza, son of Miran Shah, son of Timur Mirza Saheb Quran. This shows that Akbar "was eighth in descent" from Tamerlane. The heading of *Farmans* would be in *tughra* (a particular style of caligraphy) and the body of the *farman* would be in the *nashtalik* (round hand style). The royal sea was placed on the right-hand side of the *tughra* lines.

Akbar, like the other Moguls, adopted a very pompous style when writing official letters. The heading of the letter sent by him to the Viceroy of Goa is given below:

> "The message of the great Lord of the law of Mahomet, high and mighty King, slayer of hostile Kings, to whom the Great pay homage, whose dignity is unsurpassed, who is exalted above other Kings, and whose government is renowned throughout the world, to Ayres de Saldaqua Viceroy:
>
> "Meeting with favour and grace at the hands of the King of Kings, honoured and privileged by him, know that, by the grace of God,....."[1]

At the close of the letter was put down "The 9th day of *Fauradi*[2] of God of the forty-sixth year of the era."[3] In the body of the letter, Akbar styles "our Court"[4] as "the fulcrum of the world."[5]

APPENDIX—B.

Stray Notes on The English Trade during the Moguls.

"It was the grasping policy of the merchants of this latter nation (the Dutch) in raising the price of pepper from three to

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1) and 2) "Akbar and the Jesuits" by C. H. Payne, pp. 115-117.

3) 11th March (*Fauradi*) 1556—Illahi era began.

4) and 5) "Akbar and the Jesuits" by C. H. Payne, p. 116.

six and eight shillings per pound (the cost in India being two to three pence), which actually led to the formation of the British East India Company."[1]

"Before the establishment of the East India Company, the main source of supply was Antwerp. Here more than 20,000 persons are said to have been employed by the English merchants."[2] The following figures show the great difference between the prices of Indian Commodities in India and in England. The prices refer to the year 1620 A.D.

Pepper	in	England	1s.	8d.	a	lb.	and	in	the	East	2½d.	a	lb.
Cloves	,,	,,	6s.		,,	,,	,,	,,	9d.	,,	,,
Nutmegs	,,	2s.	6d.	,,	,,	,,	,,	4d.	,,	,,
Mace	,,	,,	6s.		,,	,,	,,	,,	8d.	,,	,,
Calicoes	,,	20s.	a	piece	,,	,,	,,	7s.	a	piece

"Pepper alone to the value of £200,000 was imported into England in 1623, nine-tenths of which was exported within twelve months."[3] The freight was very low and yet the discrepancy in prices was so great! This was due to the monopoly price that the traders were charging. In 1685-1686, "……passengers from London to St. Helena paid £6 each, and to India £8; and that surgeons were paid 'head money' at 5s. and 3s. per passenger."[4] From 1668 onward artificers were sent from England to teach the Indians how to manufacture goods for the European markets. This considerably increased the export of manufactured goods from India.

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1) "The Forests of India" by E. P. Stebbing, Vol. I, p. 24.

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(A) Chapter VII: Collections of the Coins, Weights, and Precious Stones (pp. 125-148, Vol. II) is very useful.

(B) II Vol. Scattered information about E. I. Co., and IV Vol. (Close) Coins, Prices in England (Appendix No. II) and Chronological Table of Prices (Appendix No. III) are very instructive.

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