

**MERCHANTS, MARKETS AND MERCHANDISE: STRATEGY
OF ENGLISH EAST INDIA COMPANY TRADE IN
TELLICHERRY 1725-1750**

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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN HISTORY

By

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that this thesis entitled “**Merchants, Markets and Merchandise: Strategy of English East India Company Trade in Tellicherry 1725-1750**” is a bonafide research work done by **Arun Thomas M.**, a candidate for Doctor of Philosophy in History under my supervision and guidance and that no part of this has been published previously or submitted for the award of any degree, diploma, title or recognition before.

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DECLARATION

I, Arun Thomas M., do hereby declare that this thesis entitled “**Merchants, Markets and Merchandise: Strategy of English East India Company Trade in Tellicherry 1725-1750**” is a bonafide research work carried out by me under the supervision and guidance of Dr. Asokan Mundon, Professor, Department of History, University of Calicut, and that no part of this has been published previously or submitted for the award of any degree, diploma, title or recognition before.

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INTRODUCTION

Arun Thomas M. “Merchants,markets and merchandise: Strategy of english east India company trade in tellicherry 1725-1750” Thesis. Department of History, University of Calicut, 2015.

INTRODUCTION

The present study entitled 'Merchants, Markets and Merchandise: Strategy of English East India Company Trade in Tellicherry 1725-1750' is an enquiry into various economic aspects of the factory of English East India Company at Tellicherry and its implications upon the transformation of Tellicherry into a prosperous coastal town of the Eastern world. It includes an exploration into the prominence acquired by the indigenous merchants, markets, merchandises, contacts with overseas markets, monetary system and weights and measures system during the period under study. This study also intends to understand the Company trade in Tellicherry in the light of commercial rivalry of other European mercantile companies. The English Company followed a distinctive strategy for procuring merchandises from Tellicherry and its adjacent areas. With the support of local rulers and indigenous merchants, the Company assumed a prime position in the region during the period under review. At the same time, they successfully confronted the competition of French at Mahe and Dutch at Cannanore. This peculiar feature of the early history of the English activities in Malabar invites a threadbare discussion of the growth of English domination in the Malabar Coast.

Malabar, the land of spices, was a destination point of adventurous trading communities throughout the ages. The modern period witnessed its peak with the arrival of European mercantile companies setting out to establish direct contact with the spice producing countries of the East. The European companies tried to establish their settlements in the suitable centers of the region. After a long search for an appropriate trade centre, the English East India Company selected Tellicherry in the late 17th century. The trajectory of its evolution to prominence began with the arrival of French East

India Company in 1670. Later it was taken over by the English East India Company. This event marked the beginning of the transformation of an insignificant coastal market into a busy mart of European trade. The demand for the Malabar commodities in European and Asian markets tempted the English to continue their trade in Tellicherry. The main reason for the selection of Tellicherry as settlement was the availability of good quality pepper. Hence, the region around Tellicherry came to be called a 'pepper belt'. The other goods like cardamom, sandalwood, ginger, turmeric etc. were also exported from Tellicherry in considerable quantities.

The coming of European companies witnessed the growth of merchant and mercantile communities in the coastal towns of India. In this period, a number of individual merchants and merchant groups acted as agents between European companies and indigenous producers. Tellicherry was only an insignificant coastal bazaar dominated by the Muslim merchants at the time of the establishment of English settlement. The indigenous merchants of Tellicherry played an important role in converting it into an international emporium of trade. The English Company sought the assistance of the native merchants to procure commodities which drastically altered the game in the favour of the Company. The goods of hinterlands were carried to the port and exported to foreign markets. Gradually it developed into a centre of commercial importance connecting a hinterland and foreland which was decisive in determining the fortunes of the city. Thus, Tellicherry came to be connected with most of the coastal cities of the world at that time like London, Mocha, Bombay, Calcutta and Canton. Gradually Tellicherry grew into the status of a major centre of English trade in the eighteenth century. The political course of events in the eighteenth century led to the partial diminishing of the importance of Tellicherry.

It is interesting to note that Tellicherry failed to configure itself into the global trade network before the appearance of the European companies in the scene. From the ancient time onwards, the region of Kolathunadu was visited by the foreigners for procuring pepper and other merchandises. The port town referred in classical accounts as 'Naura', was identified as Cannanore.¹ Valapattanam, Matayi and Dharmapattanam were mentioned by travellers as medieval trade centers. Matayi is situated on the bank of a large river, the Taliparamba (Killa).² Ibn Batutha, recorded Matayi as a "large and well built town situated on a bay navigable for large ships."³ Matayi is described by Duarte Barbosa as a Mappila centre, there were, however, Jewish and Hindu merchants engaged in various business.⁴ Valapattanam, situated on the south bank of Valapattanam River, was the royal city of Kolathunad as well as one of the early ports of Ezhimala kingdom. Dimishqi and Ibn Batutha mentioned it as 'Buddfattan'.⁵ Ibn Batutha noted that it was under the rule of Raja Kawayl (Kolathiri).⁶ During the medieval period, Cannanore had no importance because of the presence of Valapattanam and Matayi very near to it. But during the time of Portuguese, it became a major trading centre of Malabar. According to Tome Pires, "The Kingdom of Cannanore is large and has a large city and much trade and many people."⁷

The French settlement of Mahe, lies very near to Tellicherry and was referred to by early travellers. Ancient traveller Pliny refers to 'Melizeigara'

¹ Wilfred H. Scoff (ed.), *The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, New Delhi, 1972, p. 204.

² Genevieve Bouchon, *Regent of the Sea: Cannanore's Response to Portuguese Expansion, 1507-1528*, Delhi, 1988, p. 9.

³ Mahadhi Hussain (ed.), *The Rehla of Ibn Batutha* Cited in M. Vijayalakshmi, "Trade and Trading Centres in Kerala (AD 800-1500)", Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Calicut University, 1997, p. 123.

⁴ M.L. Dames (ed.), *The Book of Durate Barbosa*, Vol. II, London, 1967, p. 8.

⁵ S. Muhammad Husayn Nainar, *Arab Geographers' Knowledge of Southern India*, University of Madras, 1942, p. 29.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

⁷ Armando Cortesao (ed.), *The Suma Oriental of Tome Pires and the Book of Francisco Rodrigues*, Vol. I, New Delhi, 1990, p. 7.

which is identified as Mahe situated between Nitrias (identified as Netra or Mangalore) and Leuke (identified as Iringal).⁸ Duarte Barbosa refers to 'Mailariavil' between 'Tirumingate' (Thiruvangad) and Chombal. Mailariavil is identified as Mayyazhi, the other name of Mahe.⁹

In the modern period, the Europeans who visited the western coast of India naturally established factories at these port cities. All these port cities had all geographical features required to situate itself as good international ports. Among these ports, Dharmapatanam is situated very near to Tellicherry. Its geography allowed the supply of hinterland goods to the port easy. Two major inland routes beginning from the Western Ghats linked Dharmapatanam to the region which produced good quality pepper. The English would have liked to build the factory at Dharmapatanam but for the fact that it was then being contested by local rulers and the pirates. Hence when they got an opportunity to build a settlement at Tellicherry they decided positively even though it lacked the features of a port city.

Calicut was the first settlement to be established by the English East India Company in Malabar. Since medieval period it had been a busy mart of foreign traders. The Portuguese were the first of the Europeans to reach the Malabar Coast and to enter into trade contract with the Zamorin. The English also established factory at Calicut. During the time of English established their settlement at Tellicherry it became the chief centre of operations in the Malabar Coast. Later they appointed a resident at Calicut, who became subordinate to the Tellicherry factory. Logan stated that "Calicut would probably had been selected as a more favourable spot for trade than Tellicherry, but the Zamorins seem, not unnaturally after their experience of what had befallen then in the Portuguese period, to had looked with jealousy

⁸ M.P. Sreedharan, *Papers on French Colonial Rule in India*, Calicut, 1997, p. 16.

⁹ *Ibid.*

on all foreign fortified settlements.”¹⁰ The other port cities of the coast, Calicut, Cannanore and Cochin were under the control of powerful kings.

Tellicherry was an insignificant coastal market controlled by the Muslim traders until it was selected by the French Company to establish a settlement. The factory site situated within the territory of local chieftain named Kurungoth Nair, a subordinate of the Kolathiri. Bombay and Anjengo were the other factory sites established by the English on the western coast of India in the same period. These two centers were also insignificant coastal territories like Tellicherry. This shows that the British followed the tactics of selecting comparatively insignificant areas for their settlement. Their earlier factory at Surat, well-known for textiles production, was under Mughal control and occasionally faced attacks from the Maratha army. Therefore, the Company authorities vacated it and selected Bombay for their settlement. The British received this place as dowry from the Portuguese king. In the beginning, Bombay was a much less important place than Surat, but its trade was growing as Bombay lay near an important weaving area and had a good harbour and defensible site. The island was declared to be an asylum to all merchants and manufactures who might be disposed to place themselves under the English protection.¹¹ Subsequently, Bombay became the nerve center of the English power in western India. This helps us to assume that the strategy of selecting insignificant locations for settlement paid high dividends for the Company in its plans of diversification in the succeeding years.

Compared to other trade centers the main limitation of Tellicherry was the absence of river or road system linking it directly with the hinterlands. Alexander Hamilton mentioned that, “It has no river near it that can want its protection, nor can it defend the road from the insults of enemies, unless it be

¹⁰ William Logan, *Malabar Manual*, New Delhi, 2000, p. 390.

¹¹ C.J. Hamilton, *The Trade Relations Between England and India (1600-1896)*, Delhi, 1975, p. 42.

for small vessels that can come within some rocks that lay half a mile off or to protect the company's warehouse".¹² However, a few miles north and few miles south of Tellicherry river transportation facilities were available. The Anjarakkandy River joining the sea five miles north of Tellicherry was the important river system that brought hinterland goods to the port. The Eranjoli River flowed in the north- south direction to one mile east of the factory. Moreover, Valapattanam River, the major river system in Kolattunad also was used for carrying merchandise from hinterlands. In addition to these, two land routes, Peria ghat route and Perambadi ghat route were the main routes to reach Dharmapattanam. Later these routes were linked to Tellicherry. In due course Tellicherry became the chief English settlement in Malabar.

The existing literature on Tellicherry highlighted only the English East India Company as the earliest occupants of the factory. They ignored the French factory, mainly due to the lack of evidence.¹³ We get information on the existence of the French factory at Tellicherry from the accounts of two French travellers. *A Voyage to the East Indies* by Gabriel Dellon was one of the earliest travel accounts on Tellicherry. Dellon had a leading role in the establishment of French factory at Tellicherry.¹⁴ Abbe Carre was the other French traveller sent by the French Company to India. His travel account is titled *The Travels of Abbe Carre in India and Near East*. In this he gives a detailed description on French factory at Tellicherry. He traveled through Malabar from 1672 to 1674. He gave us a detailed account of political and commercial matters of French settlements.¹⁵

¹² Alexander Hamilton, *A New Account of the East Indies*, Vol. I, Edinburgh, 1727, pp. 296-297.

¹³ See for details, William Logan, *Op. cit.*, p. 349. Alfred Martineau, *Les Origines de Mahe de Malabar*, Paris, 1917, p. 17.

¹⁴ Gabriel Dellon, *A Voyage to the East Indies*, London, 1698, pp. 11-130.

¹⁵ Abbe Carre, *The Travellers of Abbe Carre in India and Near East: 1672 to 1674*, Ed. by Charles Fawcett, Vol. III, London, 1948, pp. 703-717.

Alfred Martineau's *Les Origines de Mahe de Malabar* was one of the major French works that focused on French East India Company's trade in Malabar. Alfred Martineau's work deals with the entire affairs related to the French factory at Mahe. This work does not mention about the French factory at Tellicherry but instead gives a reference to the origin of English factory at Tellicherry in 1690-1695 incorrectly.¹⁶ John Bruce, the official historiographer of the English East India Company, mentioned about the French factory in his *Annals of the Honorable East India Company*. According to him "the French had built a house at Tellicherry, the factors had kept up the trade at that port, without entering into discussions with them respecting the right to it."¹⁷ William Logan in his *Malabar* refers to the existence of the French settlement at Tellicherry. Then he passes over to the details on the English settlement at Tellicherry. According to William Logan, "as to when the factory was established it is certain that this event happened some time before the 24th October 1699", the first date in the 'General Letter Book' of the factory extant on the 6th May 1728 as mentioned in the factory diary of this latter date.¹⁸ Sir George Birwood says that "the English had established a factory at Tellicherry as early as A.D. 1683."¹⁹ Charles Fawcett, who wrote *English Factories in India*, speaks about the earliest English factories in India. He argued that the origin of English factory was in 1682. He noted that the English Company took over the vacated French factory. At

¹⁶ Alfred Martineau, *Op. cit.*, p. 17. The English established their factory at Tellicherry on 1682. See, SFR, Letter, Calicut Factory to John Child, 28 August 1682, Cited in Charles Fawcett, *The English Factories in India*, Vol. III, London, 1954, p. 395.

¹⁷ John Bruce, *Annals of the Honorable East India Company*, Vol. II, London, 1810, p. 487.

¹⁸ William Logan, *Op. cit.*, p. 348; According to Walter Hamilton, "In 1683, the Presidency of Surat established a factory at Tellicherry for the purchase of pepper and cardamoms." See, Walter Hamilton, *Description of Hindustan and the Adjacent Countries*, Delhi, 1971, p. 292.

¹⁹ Birdwood, "Report on the Old records of the India Office", Cited in A. Yeshuratnam, "The East India Company and the Principal Rajas of Malabar (1708-1805)", Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Calicut University, 1977, pp. vii-viii.

the same time he does not go into the details of French factory.²⁰ K.N. Chaudhury also believed that the English factory at Tellicherry was established in 1682, but he did not mention the existence of the French factory.²¹ However, the French failed to maintain Tellicherry as permanent settlement which was taken over by the English. But the literature on English factory gives different references on the year of establishment of the factory.

Aims and Objectives

The prime objective of this study is to locate Tellicherry in the eighteenth century world trade. How was Tellicherry linked up with the network of international trade, who were the players in the trade exchange, how was the exchange facilitated, what were the commodities of exchange, who were the mediators of this exchange, patterns of the hinterland trade etc. are some of the major areas proposed to be explored in the study. Thus, it grows into an attempt to address various issues related to the trading activities of the English factory at Tellicherry. Moreover, competition between the European companies to collect merchandises, localities from where the companies collected, mode of transportation, destination points etc. are also given proper attention in this study. Such an exercise is expected to bring to the forefront the capillaries of the internal trade networks through which the commodities of the hinterland was pumped into the port city as well as the imports to the land and the existing markets in different parts of the region. In addition to this, the study attempts to probe how these activities transformed the landscape of the port town due to the commercial interactions with the Company. An understanding of the monetary system prevailed at that time as well as the weights and measurement system becomes imperative at this point

²⁰ Charles Fawcett, *Op. cit.*, pp. 386-429.

²¹ K.N. Chaudhury, *The Trading World of Asia and the English India Company 1600-1760*, Cambridge, 1978, p. 574.

as the transaction was carried out in the locally existing measuring system which was unfamiliar to the Europeans.

Another important problem the study intends to address is the reason for the selection of Tellicherry by the English Company for the establishment of the factory. A hitherto unknown locality has shot up into prominence and transformed itself into a vibrant centre of international commerce under the English. The dynamics of this transformation is so far among the unaddressed issues of history. The problem is expected to be resolved on the course of the study. Equally significant is the role of the indigenous merchants who co-operated with all their efforts to help the English to establish themselves firmly in the Indian soil. The dynamics of their relationship, the important commodities of commercial significance, the problem of the shooting prices especially of pepper etc. also found their way into the study. Another major thrust area is the relation between the French at Mahe and the English at Tellicherry. The commercial rivalry between the two European companies had an important role in increasing the price of pepper in the region. They explored the possibilities of bringing down the price of pepper and seemed successful for a while. But it is noticed that even against their combined efforts, the prices of the commodities stood high. This warrants an analysis of the market strategy practised at that time, focusing on the nature of the relationships between the indigenous and European merchants. The study attempts to probe the role of principal merchants of Malabar and analyses their participation in the pepper, cardamom and sandalwood trade. This will, in turn, lead to a probe into the hinterland markets, patterns of hinterland trade, trade routes and modes of transportations. The study also enquires into the overseas and coastal markets and trade routes linked with Tellicherry.

Relevance of the Study

Tellicherry was a major European trading centre of the western coast of India in the eighteenth century. Naturally the city became the theme of many scholarly studies. The existing works on Tellicherry dealt with the political and social aspects of English East India Company at Tellicherry. These studies are focused mainly on the political dimensions of Tellicherry factory like the factors leading to the establishment of factory, its development, conflict with rulers, competition with other European companies, invasions, and the conquest of Malabar by the British and the nature and functions of the newly established Government. These studies neglected the economic aspects related to the Tellicherry factory and its implications upon the later establishment of the British Empire in India. Hence, a deviation is attempted in the present study by endeavouring to explore the early trading activities of the Tellicherry factory with the indigenous merchants. An attempt is also made to understand the attitude of English factors at Tellicherry towards the indigenous merchants, the nature of the transactions and the means employed by them to get hold of the maximum quantity of spices from the coast. The resolution of the differences between the English factory and other European companies active on the coast is also addressed at length in the present study.

Sources and Methodology

The nature of the study warrants consultation of archival materials. The primary source materials relating to the period under study was consulted from the Tamil Nadu State Archive. The major primary material for the study was the records of Fort St. George at Madras preserved in the Tamil Nadu State Archive. These records include Consultations of Tellicherry factory (1725-50), Diaries of Tellicherry factory (1725-50), Letters from Tellicherry (1729-50), and Letters to Tellicherry (1726-50). To supplement the

informations from the archival materials, travelogues and some other books, most of them pertaining to the period of study, were consulted. The travel accounts of John Fryer,²² Gabriel Dellon,²³ Abbe Carre,²⁴ Charles Lockter,²⁵ Alexander Hamilton,²⁶ Bartolomeo,²⁷ and Clement Downing²⁸ were highly useful for this study. In addition to this, *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads Relating to India and Neighbouring Countries* of C.U. Aitchison,²⁹ *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and other Papers of Importance Relating to British Affairs in Malabar* of William Logan,³⁰ *Letters from Malabar* of Jacob Canter Visscher,³¹ and *The Dutch in Malabar* of Galletti³² were also consulted. These materials were collected from different archival repositories such as Tamil Nadu State Archive, Kerala State Archive, Regional Archive Calicut and Internet Archives.

The secondary materials were collected from various educational institutions and libraries located in different parts of Kerala. Data was also collected from Cannimara Library at Chennai, Madras University Library, Kerala University Library Thiruvananthapuram, C.H.M.K. Library Calicut University, Department of History Library at Calicut University and some

²² John Fryer, *A New Account of East India and Persia, in Eight Letters, Being Nine Years Travel*, London, 1698.

²³ Gabriel Dellon, *Op. cit.*

²⁴ Abbe Carre, *Op. cit.*

²⁵ Charles Lockter, *An Account of the Trade in India*, London, 1711.

²⁶ Alexander Hamilton, *Op. cit.*

²⁷ Fra Paolino Da San Bartolomeo, *A Voyage to the East Indies: Containing An Account of the Manners, Customs of the Natives with a Description of the Country Natives with a Geographical Description of the Countries*, London, 1800.

²⁸ Clement Downing, *A Compendious History of the Indian Wars; With An Account of the Rise, Progress, Strength and Forces of Angria the Pyrate*, London, 1737.

²⁹ C.U. Aitchison (ed.), *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads Relating to India and Neighbouring Countries*, Vol. X, Calcutta, 1864.

³⁰ William Logan (ed.), *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and other Papers of Importance Relating to British Affairs in Malabar*, Calicut, 1879.

³¹ Jacob Canter Visscher, *Letters from Malabar*, Madras, 1862.

³² A. Galletti (ed.), *The Dutch in Malabar*, Madras, 1911.

other regional libraries of Tellicherry. The information from internet were also used.

An analytical and empirical method, supported by a descriptive approach is followed in the dissertation. Critical analyses of the collected primary and secondary materials are undertaken to make the study meaningful. The work is divided into chapters which have been serially numbered. The footnotes are given in one set of numerals for each chapter. The footnotes of the page is given at the foot of each page corresponding to the footnote numbers in the text, providing the details of authority for the consulting sources, authority for the statements or passage quoted, and explanations in the text. The information supplementing the study is given as Appendices. A standard bibliography is attached in the end of thesis arranged into primary and secondary sources on the basis of alphabetical order.

Review of Literature

A number of works related to the subject matter of the present study, written both by foreign and native scholars are available for the study. Several books and articles on various aspects of Malabar trade during the period under study are consulted to elicit evidences for the study. Though many general works on the English East India Company in India are available, only a few of them discuss matters related to the Tellicherry factory.

Establishment of British Power in Malabar (1664-1799), written by N. Rajendran³³ is one of the major works which deals with the origin and development of English East India Company in Malabar. For the completion of this work the author mainly depended upon the English East India Company records of Surat and Tellicherry factory. This work gives a detailed description of the origin of English factories at Calicut, Tellicherry and other

³³ N. Rajendran, *Establishment of British Power in Malabar*, Allahabad, 1979.

factories in Malabar. The work begins with the establishment of English factory at Calicut in 1664 and ends with the transfer of Malabar from the Bombay presidency to Madras. The author discussed the establishment of early factories like Calicut, Valapattanam and Dharmapattanam. It also deals with the Company's conflict with other European powers and local rulers of Malabar. The Canarese and Mysorian invasion of Malabar and its impact also received attention in this work. Above all the work discussed the process of consolidation of political power of English Company in Malabar. The study provides an overall picture of the matters related to the establishment of British power in Malabar in a time frame of 140 years. The main activity of the Company in the region received only a superficial treatment in the study.

The History of Tellicherry Factory by K.K.N. Kurup,³⁴ discusses the establishment of English factory at Tellicherry from the earliest period extended up to the year 1794. The work deals with the historical and political background relating to the Tellicherry factory. It also describes the relationship between the factory and local rulers of Malabar. The author examines the fight between the English and the French for procuring pepper and its impact on its prices. The author states that the continuous attack of the Canarese in 1730's, the wars between the English and French companies and Mysorean wars led to the disintegration of Kolathunadu. He also states that the factory had significant role in the colonial expansion of the English leading to the acquisition of political power in Malabar in the end of eighteenth century. The thrust of the work was on the factory administration and other activities and its impact on society and culture. However, this work helped considerably in understanding the political and social implications of the company administration on Malabar. In addition to this work, he has

³⁴ K.K.N. Kurup, *History of Tellicherry Factory*, Calicut, 1986.

contributed a number of articles relating to the activities of the English East India Company which are valuable to the present study.

Malabar in Asian Trade 1740-1800 of Ashin Das Gupta³⁵ was an attempt to locate Malabar in the broader framework of the Asian trade. The author analyzes the English and Dutch companies' trade in Malabar with the support of the factory records of the two companies. It has examined the trade centers, merchant community and their activities in Malabar Coast. It helps to know about the trading centers and the merchant communities in the Malabar Coast. This work covers the period between 1740 and 1800. The study attached more importance to the Dutch trade in Cochin than northern parts of Malabar including Calicut and Tellicherry. Though the author gives some details of Tellicherry merchants including Chattoo Chetty, Muccolly Paqui and Combem Allippy, he was unable to locate the other merchants who were equally significant like Suamy Putturah, a principal merchant at Calicut and 'bazaar merchants' of Tellicherry. Moreover, the period covered by the study begins from the year 1740 and is a general study of the Malabar Coast.

Malabar Manual is a work by William Logan³⁶ in three volumes. It is an official administrative report of British in Malabar. The first volume gives a detailed description of the social, economic and political system of Malabar. The author gives a vivid account of the affairs of Malabar from his extensive knowledge and through acquaintance of the Malabar. It deals with the geography, roads, port and rivers of Malabar. The author also discusses the revenue administration and tenancy system which existed in Malabar at that time. The early history of Malabar including the Portuguese, the Dutch and conflict for monopoly of trade, the Canarese wars, the Mysorean invasion and the growth of English Company are also discussed. The work gives the clear

³⁵ Ashin Das Gupta, *Malabar in Asian Trade, 1740-1800*, London, 1967.

³⁶ William Logan, *Malabar Manual, Op. cit.*

picture of Tellicherry factory, and other matters of Malabar are well supported by Tellicherry factory records from 1725 and other documentary evidences. The study is designed as a general course on the history of Malabar based on original sources.

From Contact to Conquest: Transition to British Rule in Malabar 1790-1805 of Margarat Frenz,³⁷ provides a new perspective to the transition from pre colonial to colonial rule in late 18th century on Malabar. The work also examines the period of the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French, the English and the Mysoreans in Malabar. It has provided fresh inputs relating to ports, rivers and trade routes in Malabar. The study concentrated on the developments of the period between 1790- 1805 to substantiate her arguments.

In addition to these, some other works also give a few details on Tellicherry factory and English Company trade. Those works were also able to provide some knowledge on the early history of Tellicherry factory. *The English Factories in India* by Charles Fawcett³⁸ and *The English Factories in India* by William Foster³⁹ are two significant works on the activities of the English East India Company in India. These works focused on the early English factories in Malabar. Besides, the authors give a clear picture of the beginning of trade in Tellicherry under the French East India Company. The work also gave a clear evidence of beginning of English factory in Tellicherry. *Annals of the Honorable East India Company* of John Bruce⁴⁰ is another valuable work on the early history of English in India. It contains clear references to the English factory at Tellicherry. John Bruce was an

³⁷ Margaret Frenz, *From Contact to Conquest: Transition to British Rule in Malabar 1790-1805*, New Delhi, 2003.

³⁸ Charles Fawcett, *Op. cit.*

³⁹ William Foster, *The English Factories in India*, Oxford, 1923.

⁴⁰ John Bruce, *Annals of the Honorable East India Company*, Vol. I- II, London, 1810.

official historian of the English East India Company and therefore he was able to consult large number of valuable data on the English Company.

Trading world of Asia and the English East India Company, 1660-1760 of K.N.Chaudhuri, is one of the significant works on the activities of the English Company in India. This work discusses the programs, policies, actions, relations between the natives of Asia and the English Company, etc., but then too, there is scope for empirically oriented regional narratives informed of the universal paradigms. Moreover, Tellicherry received only a marginal attention which catered to the general theme of the study.

*Seaport and Hinterlands*⁴¹, written by A.J. Sargent is one of the earliest works that discussed the relation between the ports and hinterlands. It discussed various theoretical aspects related to ports, hinterlands and forelands. It deals with different types of Ports and Hinterlands. He had attempted the categorization of hinterlands based on the nature and available commodity in the given locality. He argues that the survival of the ports depends upon nature and available resources of the hinterlands. He has stated that the products of the hinterlands had a considerable impact upon the development of the port. The work deals with hinterland products and its influence to the development of port. *The Economics of Sea Transport* of Carlen O' Loughlin,⁴² is another valuable study on this area. The work discusses the sea transport on different parts of the World.

In addition to these works, the Tellicherry factory and its trade formed the theme of discussion of a few doctoral dissertations. *Trade and Politics in Eighteenth Century Malabar*⁴³ by Bonaventure Swai is a thesis submitted to the University of Dar es Salaam in Tanzania. It is considered as one of the

⁴¹ A.J. Sargent, *Seaport and Hinterlands*, London, 1938.

⁴² Carlen O' Loughlin, *The Economics of Sea Transport*, London, 1967.

⁴³ Bonaventure Swai, "Trade and Politics in Eighteenth Century Malabar", Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, 1979.

most valuable theoretical works on the English Company trade in Tellicherry and provides valuable information on Tellicherry factory. The work deals with the eighteenth century political and economic development of Malabar. It throws light on the hinterlands, indigenous merchants and Company trade. The author presents the study as a debate on the English mercantilist imperialism in India. *The East India Company and the Principal Rajas of Malabar (1708-1805)*⁴⁴ doctoral dissertation submitted to University of Calicut by A. Yeshuratnam discuss the English Company's relations with the rajas and other related activities of Company in Malabar. These two doctoral thesis have provided useful information to the present work.

Design of the Study

Apart from the Introduction and Conclusion, the thesis is divided into six chapters. The introductory chapter attempts to situate the theme of the study against the backdrop of the pepper politics in a global context. An attempt is made here to understand the relevance of the exploration into the intricacies of the trading activities of the English East India Company in Tellicherry. The strategy employed by the Company in enabling it to acquire a dominant position in the Malabar Coast is also given sufficient attention. The introduction is also providing details on the sources and methodology followed in the study, review of the existing literature relevant to the area of study and aims and objectives of the study.

The first chapter is entitled “Situating the Tellicherry Factory.” This chapter gives an overview of the historical background of Tellicherry factory including the political and economic structures of the times. The first part of the chapter deals with the origin of Tellicherry factory and fort, early troubles and early trade of the Company. The next part of this chapter discussed the competition of European companies with the arrival of the French East India

⁴⁴ A. Yeshuratnam, *Op. cit.*

Company at Mahe. It also gives an overview of the trade and politics of Tellicherry that covered the whole period of this study. The Anglo- French wars, Canarese invasion of Kolathunadu, internal struggles in Kolathunadu, Austrian Succession war and its effect on Company trade etc. are also included in this chapter. An attempt is also made to discuss the agreements of the English Company with the French Company and local Rajas of Malabar.

The second chapter “Merchandise, Trade Routes and Pattern of Trade in the Hinterland” discusses the matters related to the theoretical aspects of ports and hinterlands. The formation of port and hinterland of Tellicherry are discussed in the first part of this chapter. This is followed by an examination of the hinterlands of Tellicherry and its implications upon the growth of Tellicherry as a trade centre. The third part of this chapter deals with the hinterland markets and hinterland merchandises of Tellicherry. The fourth part of this chapter discusses the inland trade routes and modes of transport. The fifth part deals with the exchange systems of hinterlands, cultivators, inland merchants etc.

The third chapter “Indigenous Pepper Merchants and the Company” discusses the role of merchants in the development of Tellicherry settlement. This chapter also addresses the issues related to the merchants of Malabar of pre- British Tellicherry. The main thrust of this chapter is focused on the English East India Company pepper trade with indigenous merchants of Tellicherry and adjacent areas of Valapattanam, Kottayam and Kadathanad. It also tries to study the role of principal pepper merchants in detail. The English Company depended on one principal merchant and most of the time the Company bought commodities from him. It also discusses the origin of the bazaar merchants, the group of merchants settled at Tellicherry market being the principal pepper merchants of Company. This chapter tries to highlight the relevance of pepper in the shaping of Tellicherry as important trading

settlement of Malabar. It also examines the increasing prices of pepper which was attributed to the competition of English and French Companies. An attempt is also made in this chapter to understand the different mechanism followed by the English Company to increase their profit in the pepper trade.

The fourth chapter is entitled “The Company and Other Merchants.” This chapter discusses the Company’s purchase of pepper from the merchants of Calicut and Honovar. Naturally, this chapter had to discuss the Company’s pepper contracts with Hur Comoty, the principal agent at Honovar and Suamy Putturah, the principal agent at Calicut in detail. The third part of this chapter deals with Company’s trade relation with the Cochin merchant Ezekiel Raby. The fourth part of this chapter discusses the cardamom merchants of Tellicherry and their contracts with the Company. The last part of this chapter is devoted to the discussion of the sandalwood merchants and their trade relations with the Company.

The fifth chapter “Trade Relations with Other Markets” tries to discuss theoretically the relation of Tellicherry with other markets of the world. This chapter tries to elaborate the shipping facilities of the English East India Company and seasons of shipping. It also contains a discussion of the overseas and coastal trade routes from Tellicherry to different markets of the world. An effort is made here to discuss the import and export relation of Tellicherry with the different markets of world.

The sixth chapter “Tellicherry Factory at its Height” reflects upon the changes that the city of Tellicherry underwent with the commencement of the English trade. This chapter deals with the development of bazaar of Tellicherry including the fort, factory, shops, warehouses, hospital facilities, arrack farm and all other matters. It also tries to address the monetary system that prevailed in Tellicherry, including the indigenous and European coins that enjoyed legal tender in Tellicherry. This chapter also refers to the systems

of money exchange, money lending, and weights and measures that existed at Tellicherry at that time.

The concluding part is a critical engagement of the various themes discussed in the study. It tries to reflect upon the issues behind the selection of Tellicherry for the establishment of the factory, the relation between the indigenous merchants and Company, the nature of the trade practices followed, the trade routes and the internal and external markets and the structural transformation of the city.

CHAPTER 1

SITUATING THE TELLICHERRY FACTORY

Arun Thomas M. “Merchants,markets and merchandise: Strategy of english east India company trade in tellicherry 1725-1750” Thesis. Department of History, University of Calicut, 2015.

CHAPTER I

SITUATING THE TELLICHERRY FACTORY

Malabar, lying on the southwestern coast of the Indian subcontinent, well-known for spices, maintained relations with the foreign countries from ancient time onwards. The renowned English historian Robert Orme has referred to spices of Malabar as “one of the powerful weapons attracted the traders to Malabar.”¹ The *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* of unnamed authorship, *Natural History* of Pliny and *Geography* of Ptolemy are foreign accounts which mention this prosperous trade. The Romans listed pepper among the most precious things along with metals.² The Sangam works *Akananuru*, *Purananuru* and *Patittupathu* refer to the Greco-Roman trade in Malabar. A verse in the *Akananooru* refers to the thriving town of Muziris, where the beautiful large ships of Yevanas, bringing gold come splashing the white foam in the waters of Periyar which belongs to the Chera King and returns laden with Pepper.³ Paranar recorded the brisk trade of pepper carried out at the port of Muziris.⁴

Malabar had trade relations with the Chinese. It grew through the 5th to 15th centuries.⁵ Medieval Arab traveller Sulayman says, “Chinese ships came

¹ Robert Orme, *History of Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan*, London, 1773, p. 7.

² The importance of pepper is shown in the event in AD 408-409. In the year, Alaric attacked and destroyed Rome. That it continued in high esteem is shown by the terms offered by Alaric for raising the siege of Rome. He demanded 3000 lb. weight of pepper along with precious metals. In 451 AD, when Attila invaded Rome, he also demanded pepper; See for more details, Edward Gibbon, *The History of Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Vol. I, New York, 1962, pp. 271-272.

³ N.P. Viswanathan Nair, *Akananooru* (mal.), 149, 7: 11, Vol. 2, 1983, p. 397.

⁴ See for details, V.R. Parameswaran Pillai (ed.), *Purananooru* (mal.), 343, Thrissur, 1969, p. 445.

⁵ Richard W. Frank and Barbare H. Chasin (eds.), *Kerala Development through Radical Reforms*, New Delhi, 1999, p. 51.

to Kollam and one thousand dirhams were collected from each of them.”⁶ *Unniyatcharitam* and *Unnulisandesam* are two indigenous works containing references to the Chinese contact with Malabar.⁷ The Venetian traveller Marco Polo mentioned that Malabar produced large quantities of pepper and ginger.⁸ Gracid Orta, emphasized that, “there was great demand for the pepper of Malabar.”⁹ Wang-Ta-Yuan, a contemporary of Ibn Batutha, while writing about Ezhimala Kingdom, stated that “the ground was poor but provided the best pepper in Malabar.”¹⁰ The Arabs called this land ‘biladun ful ful’ (or land of pepper). The Arabs acted as intermediaries of trade between the Europe and the East in the medieval period. With the establishment of the European power in Malabar Coast, the Arab trade declined.

The coming of Vasco da Gama opened a new epoch of overseas trade in Malabar. It witnessed the drastic changes in outlooks of Europeans on the East. It led to the commercial competition between the Western European powers in Malabar. The first European factory in Malabar was established in 1505 at Cannanore by the Portuguese. The European interest in the East was on merchandises like cotton, silk, opium and spices, which were abundant in the hinterlands of eastern countries. Thus, lots of European settlements established in Malabar Coast, were maintained principally in order that pepper and spices on which the profit was very large might be collected for the European markets. Merchandises of Malabar had great demand in European markets because of its good quality. They used spices for food

⁶ S. Muhammad Husayn Nainar, *Arab Geographers' Knowledge of Southern India*, University of Madras, 1942, p. 45.

⁷ M.R. Raghava Varier, “Socio-Economic Structure” in P.J. Cherian (ed.), *Perspectives on Kerala History*, Trivandrum, Vol. II, 1999, p. 107.

⁸ William Marsden (ed.), *The Travels of Marco Polo*, London, 1818, p. 684.

⁹ M.R. Raghava Varier, *Op. cit.*, p. 105.

¹⁰ Hsiai-Li, *Wang-Ta-Yuan in Rock-hill*, Cited in Genevieve Bouchon, *Regent of the Sea: Cannanore's Response to Portuguese Expansion 1507-1528*, Delhi, 1988, p. 4.

preparation, perfumes, and rituals. Pepper was a good ingredient for preservation of meat in the cold seasons for the European society. The amount of pepper collected by different companies varied on the basis of its demands and their relation with the native rulers, from whom they obtained spices at rates much below the market prices.

C.J. Hamilton wrote, “The pepper and spices of India and the East Indian Islands can scarcely be regarded as objects of great value, or as constituting great wealth, in the East itself. But while eastern spices could be purchased for a few pence per pound in the countries in which they were grown, they could often be sold for twice as many shillings per pound in the 16th and 17th centuries. A few cargoes of pepper and cloves were made to pay the whole cost of a trading expedition with a handsome profit into the bargain.”¹¹ The principal export of the European companies consisted of pepper and other spices in which the margin between the cost price in the east and the selling price in European markets were sufficient to yield great profit. Therefore, the European companies tried to establish their settlements at strategically significant places and signed agreements with local rulers. The local rulers also tried to make alliance with the European companies. They thought that the European companies’ alliance would help them during the times of war with other rajas. In addition, the European companies provided them with weapons, gunpowder and other presents. In this context, the rajas of the Malabar invited European companies to start trade centers in their territories.

Political Situation of Malabar

The political situation in Malabar was highly vulnerable due to the disintegrated kingdoms. There were four major dynasties in this coast. In

¹¹ C.J. Hamilton, *The Trade Relations Between England and India (1600-1896)*, Delhi, 1975, p. 8.

addition to this, large number of small kingdoms existed in the Malabar Coast. Calicut was the most powerful dynasty in Malabar ruled by Zamorin Raja. Cochin and Travancore were the other two powerful states of southwestern coast of India. In the northern parts of Malabar was Kolathunad ruled by the Kolathiri Raja. Kolathunad was the land lying between Perumba River in the north and Puthupattanam River in the south. Nevertheless, at the time of establishing the Tellicherry factory, the Kolathiri Kingdom was broken up into large number of petty principalities. Therefore, the territory ruled directly by the Kolathiri was comparatively small.¹² The executive power was divided among the five male members, viz. the Kolathiri, the Thekkelamkur (Southern Regent), the Vadakkelamkur (Northern Regent), the Nalamkur (Fourth) and the Anjamkur (Fifth).¹³

The Kolathiri was the major power centre of the family who had control over the middle part of Kolathunad. Since 1730s, the English East India Company records call him Chirakkal Raja and his territory was known as Chirakkal. The Thekkelamkur had separate charge in the southern part of the kingdom with its headquarters at Puthupattanam on the Kotta River. The Vadakkelamkur Raja ruled the northern territories of Kolathunad. During the arrival of the English at Tellicherry, the Vadakkelamkur Raja was the de-facto ruler of Kolathunad. He provided permission to English East India Company to establish a factory at Tellicherry. The Nalamkur and Anjamkur remained constantly attended on the Kolathiri himself in his court and rendered him assistance in times of need.¹⁴

¹² Gabriel Dellon, *A Voyage to the East Indies*, London, 1698, p. 2; See for further details, William Logan, *Malabar Manual*, New Delhi, 2000, pp. 345-346; K.P. Padmanabhaba Menon, *History of Kerala*, Vol. II, New Delhi, 1983, p. 203.

¹³ C.U. Aitchison (ed.), *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads Relating to India and Neighbouring Countries*, Vol. X, Calcutta, 1864, p. 16; William Logan, *Op. cit.*, p. 346.

¹⁴ K.P. Padmanabhaba Menon, *Op. cit.*, p. 205.

Alexander Hamilton gives an account of disruption of Kolathunad. According to him, “About the year 1680, there were three princes of the blood royal who conspired to cut him (the reigning Prince Unnithiri) and his family off, to possess themselves of the Government of Callistree (Kolattiri); but being detected, they were beheaded on altars built of stone. About two miles from Cannanore, the altars were standing, when I was there. They were only square piles of hewn stone, almost three yards high and four yards each side.”¹⁵ The Dutch administrator, Julius Valentijn Stein Van Gollenesse, wrote: “it has been so much ruined by internal dissensions and wars that this country, formerly so powerful, is no longer a chief kingdom except in name.”¹⁶

Due to the fragmentation of the kingdom, there emerged a number of semi-independent states within the boundaries of Kolathunad. Francis Day noted the fragmented rival states of Kolathunad as ‘antagonistic states.’¹⁷ They were Kottayam, Kadathanad, Iruvazhinadu (Iruvalinadu), Randathara and Ali Rajas of Cannanore. Cotiote or Cotata used by Europeans for Kottayam, was under Puranad (foreign) Raja’s. The Raja of Kottayam was one of the first rulers to enter into agreement with English Company. Kadathanad was another semi-independent territory of Kolathunad, lying between Mahe and Kotta River. It was under the jurisdiction of the Tekkelamkur or second ‘Rajasthanam’ of the Kolathiri.¹⁸ The early European records call it as ‘Boyanore’ or ‘Kadathuvayanadu.’ Raja of Kadathanad was

¹⁵ Alexander Hamilton, *A New Account of the East Indies*, Vol. I, Edinburgh, 1727, p. 295; William Logan, *Op. cit.*, p. 347; K.P. Padmanabhaba Menon, *Op.cit.*, p. 205.

¹⁶ A. Galletti, *The Dutch in Malabar*, Madras, 1911, p. 66.

¹⁷ Francis Day, *The Land of the Permals or Cochin, its Past and Present*, Madras, 1863, p. 179; The various segments of Kolathunad performed functions similar to those of their superiors but on a smaller scale. See for details, L.K.A. Krishna Ayer, “Lectures on Enthurdogy”, Calcutta, 1925, Cited in Bonaventure Swai, “From Kolattunad to Chirakkal: British Merchant Capital and the Hinterland of Tellicherry, 1694- 1766” in *Journal Studies in History*, Vol. I, No. I, January-June 1985, p. 91.

¹⁸ William Logan, *Op. cit.*, p. 643.

known as 'Boyanore Raja' (Vazhunnor). So the European accounts denote him as 'Boyanore of Bargara' (Vadakara). Ali Raja was a Mappila ruler, known as 'Azhi Raja' (raja of the sea). He had a small territory in Cannanore.¹⁹ He reigned over Dharmapattanam (Dharmadam) Island,²⁰ and Lakshadweep Islands.²¹ He became an independent ruler in the beginning of 18th century and played an important role in the disputes in Kolathunad.

Randathara or Poyanadu was under the Achanmars (fathers), which consisted of four houses of the Nambiars. It was formerly an area under Kolathiri Raja and included the places known as Anjarakkandy, Edakkad, Chembilod, Eruveri, Makreri, Mavila and Muzhappilangadu.²² Iruvazhinadu was ruled by six houses of Nambiars and by one house of Nairs. The six Nambiars were Kunnimal, Chandroth, Kilakkedath, Kampurath, Narangoli and Kariyad. The Kurungoth was also a part of the original territory of Iruvazhinadu. Its ruler was called Kurungoth Nair.²³ Gradually Kurungoth increased its power and got separated from Iruvazhinadu.

The political condition of Kolathunad was conducive for European mercantile ambitions. It had been so much ruined by internal dissensions and wars that enabled European trading companies.²⁴ In this context, Kolathunad became the main focal point of European companies. Consequently, the coastal areas of the region were visited by large number of foreign ships in search of fortune. As a result, the region witnessed colonial competition

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 345.

²⁰ Dharmapattanam or Dhammapattanam, it means 'the place of Charity', and Island formed by the junction of the Tellicherry and Anjarakkandy rivers north of Tellicherry. See for details, S. Muhammad Husayn Nainar, *Op. cit.*, p. 32; M.P. Kumaran, *Kolothupazhama* (mal.), Trissur, 1998, p. 30.

²¹ See for details, C.U. Aitchison, *Op. cit.*, p. 17.

²² William Logan, *Op. cit.*, p. 634; The Randathara Achanmars were vassals of the Kolathunad whose Raj was segmented both politically as well as economically. See for details, Bonaventure Swai, *Op. cit.*, p. 91.

²³ William Logan, *Op. cit.*, p. 638.

²⁴ Lakshmi Subramanian, *History of India: 1707- 1857*, New Delhi, 2010, p. 39.

between the Western European powers, especially, the Dutch, the French and the English. In this context, they tried to collect more pepper through agreements with local rajas. The companies and rajas occasionally changed their allegiance to earn more profits. The return of European export was mainly in customs duty and gold, silver, iron, led, cloth and other precious goods to local rajas. In addition, the local rajas received weapons and gunpowder for use of war against other rajas and European enemies.

Beginning of Commercial Competition

The Portuguese established trade centers in different parts of coastal areas of Malabar and kept those settlements until the beginning of the second half of 17th century. In the beginning of 17th century, the Dutch and the English tried to establish their permanent trading centers in the region. The English East India Company, formed mainly for Eastern trade, was the first to go to Indonesian Islands, which was famous for pepper and other spices. They discovered that the products of Indonesian Islands could be profitably exchanged for the cotton cloths of India. Therefore, they devoted their principal attention to the development of trade with India.²⁵ The English faced commercial competition from the Dutch and this finally led to the withdrawal of the English from the Indonesian Islands. Therefore, the rivalry between these two powers in India became very intense.²⁶ Like Spice Islands, here also the English faced severe threats from the Dutch Company. The English succeeded in opening trade with Surat in 1612, when they were well received by the native merchants.

Robert Orme blamed Indians for producing such beautiful spices to attract the foreigners and lure them into Indian trade. In addition, the spirit of

²⁵ C.J. Hamilton, *Op. cit.*, pp. 15-16.

²⁶ Leena More, *English East India Company and Local Rulers in Kerala: A Case Study of Attingal and Travancore*, Tellicherry, 2003, p. 22.

the English awakening was kindled by the successful commercial attempts of the predecessors like the Portuguese and the Dutch in the 15th and 16th centuries.²⁷ When the English traders sought to establish trading centers in India, they faced opposition from the Portuguese. However, in 1612, in a 'Sea off Swally' the English succeeded in routing their opponents. In the year of this victory, the English Company established factory at Surat, the first English settlement in India. Then they signed an agreement with the local Governor, which permitted liberty of trade in the port, with further liberty of trade to settle factories at Cambay, Ahmedabad and Gogo.²⁸ The English entered into a treaty with the Portuguese in 1635, in the Malabar Coast, at Cochin. As a result, pepper was exported by the English directly from Malabar for the first time.²⁹ At the same time, the Surat factory of English sent ships to the Malabar to procure pepper and cardamom occasionally.

In 1654, the English and the Dutch signed treaty of 'Westminster', which resulted in peace between the two companies. It resulted in a temporary reduction of hostilities in Indian Ocean between the armed merchantmen of these two companies.³⁰ According to the treaty, the English obey the Dutch dominancy in archipelago and in return, the Dutch obey the dominancy of the English in India. Both parties accepted each other's superiority and self-determination in the Eastern trade. The same year the English signed 'Cromwell's' treaty with Portuguese which allowed the English ships to trade with any Portuguese settlements in the East Indies.³¹ In fact, this treaty sounded the death knell of Portuguese dominance in India and other Indian

²⁷ Robert Orme, *Op. cit.*, p. 8.

²⁸ C.J. Hamilton, *Op. cit.*, p. 16.

²⁹ See for details, William Foster, *The English Factories in India 1634-1636*, Oxford, 1911, p. 148; M.J. Koshy, *Encyclopedia of India*, Vol. XX, New Delhi, 1994, p. 59; It was noted by Logan, that some British merchants seems to have settled in Cochin probably in 1635. See for details, William Logan, *Op. cit.*, p. 335.

³⁰ C. J. Hamilton, *Op. cit.*, p. 36.

³¹ *Ibid.*

Ocean settlements. These treaties helped considerably the future expansion of the English power in the region of Indian Ocean.

In 1663, forts at Cannanore and Cochin came into the hands of the Dutch Company from the Portuguese.³² Shortly afterwards, the Kolathiri Raja made a treaty of peace and friendship with the Dutch and later a commercial treaty was executed. The Dutch maintained good relations with the Ali Raja, which made it possible for them to resist the hostility of the Kolathiri.³³ In addition to this, the Dutch had one trade centre at Calicut. At the same time, the English led number of attempts to establish a factory at Zamorin's country. Accordingly, in 1664, Surat Council of English sent two persons, Charles Smeato and Robert Barber to Calicut on the invitation of Zamorin.³⁴ Consequent to this visit, Zamorin permitted the English to construct a factory at Calicut. In 1699, he allowed the Company to reduce the duty of pepper from 10 fanam to 2½ fanam per candy.³⁵ After the reduction, the Zamorin showed special consideration towards the English and gave them more privileges.

The English presence at Calicut invited hostilities from the Dutch. The two nations were at war in Europe and obviously, this affected their relations in India too. The Zamorin permitted the English to engage in trade at Calicut on the payment of a fixed rate of custom duty. The factory at Calicut might have thought of procuring 100 tons of pepper annually.³⁶ They were searching for another friendly port to expand their trade. Meanwhile, the Surat Council received an invitation from Kolathiri Raja to start a factory at his

³² See for details, A. Galletti, *Op. cit.*; P.C. Allexander, *The Dutch in Malabar*, Annamalainagar, 1946; Francis Day, *Op. cit.*, pp. 120-121.

³³ A. Galletti, *Op. cit.*, p. 143.

³⁴ William Foster, *The English Factories in India 1661-1664*, Oxford, 1923, p. 357.

³⁵ William Logan (ed.), *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Other Papers of Importance Relating to British Affairs in Malabar* (hereafter '*Treaties*'), Calicut, 1879, No. II, p. 1.

³⁶ William Foster, *The English Factories in India 1665-1669*, Oxford, 1923, p. 116.

territory. Consequently, the English officials visited a number of coastal spots in Kolathunad. Finally, in 1669, they obtained permission to establish a trade centre at Kottakkunnu on the bank of Valapattanam River. Alexander Grigby had the leading role in negotiation with Kolathiri for establishing a trading centre in his dominion.³⁷ The Dutch opposition to the English settlement in Kolathunad was ineffective as the Prince of Kolathunad supported the English. The customs duty of 2½ percent and annual subsidy of 200 Venetian sequins were paid by them to the prince.³⁸

The English factory at Valapattanam was situated one mile away from sea. John Fryer says that, “it is walled around by the English with mud, except the two round points towards the land; whole foundations and bastions are of stone. The fort is a Tetragon from corner to corner.”³⁹ In 1670, the French Company also opened factory at Valapattanam. Dellon mentioned the English residency at Valapattanam was not safe; the tigers came in at night. Once, a tiger killed 3 English people.⁴⁰ At the same instance, the English reported to their Surat Council that some Moors (Mappilas) tried to prevent the purchase of pepper from Valapattanam.⁴¹ In this situation, in 1673, Aungier, the President of English Council at Surat, suggested that it was better to close down the factory at Valapattanam. At last, in 1675, the English Company decided to vacate the Valapattanam factory.⁴² Then, they went to Dharmapattanam, which was geographically better than the other areas. However, they did not make it a permanent trading center due to some reasons. At Dharmapattanam the English Company ships faced attack from

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ K.K.N. Kurup, *History of Tellicherry Factory*, Calicut, 1986, p. 41.

³⁹ John Fryer, *New Account of East India and Persia*, London, 1698, p. 57.

⁴⁰ Gabriel Dellon, *Op. cit.*, p. 78; John Fryer mentions that as hares, wild boars, tigers, and wild elephants, were dreaded by travellers of this area. See for details, John Fryer, *Op. cit.*, p. 56.

⁴¹ SFR, Letter, Calicut Factory to Surat Council, 21 July 1670, Cited in Charles Fawcett, *The English Factories in India*, Vol. III, London, 1954, p. 395.

⁴² Charles Fawcett, *Op. cit.*, p. 395.

Malabar pirates.⁴³ Another major problem was the dispute over ownership of Dharmapattanam between rajas of Kolathunad.⁴⁴

Dharmapattanam had suitable geographical features to establish a fine international seaport with the presence of two rivers. Therefore, it was easy to transport hinterland goods to the port. There were two major inland routes that begin from the Western Ghats to Dharmapattanam. The documents of the 16th century refer to the import of Persian horses to this port, which were later transported to Vijayanagara through land routes. The medieval travellers Ibn Battutha and Diminshqi noted it as 'Dahfattan.'⁴⁵ The Arabs and the Chinese traders had trade contacts with this port.⁴⁶ In 16th century, Barbosa mentioned of a prosperous and powerful 'Moorish' town 'Tremopattam' as the last place which the king of Cannanore (Kolathiri) held against Calicut.⁴⁷ This town 'Tremopattam' had been identified as Dharmapattanam.

Another Portuguese traveller, Tome Pires mentioned that "inland and upriver from these Moorish strongholds is the landlocked trading centre called Kottayam."⁴⁸ It was a prosperous hinterland of Kolathunad, sustained as a connecting point of major land routes of country. Tome Pires states that "Cannanore is the major port under Kolathiri, other ports like

⁴³ Malabar Pirates were a threat of travellers and ships in Malabar coasts. They were mainly settled in Kota River, Dharmapattanam, Valapattanam etc. These were Moors settlements. In December 1682, Mitchell, the new Chief of Calicut, was dangerously wounded by pirates. This is one of the references in the records of this period. See for details, SFR, Letter, Calicut Factory to Surat Council, 10 February 1683, Cited in Charles Fawcett, *Op. cit.*, p. 395; See for more details, John Fryer, *Op. cit.*, p. 55; Gabriel Dellon, *Op. cit.*, p. 120; Abbe Carre, *The Travellers of Abbe Carre in India and Near East: 1672 to 1674*, Ed. by Charles Fawcett, Vol. III, London, 1948, p. 701.

⁴⁴ See for details, William Logan, *Malabar Manual*, *Op. cit.*, p. 364.

⁴⁵ S. Muhammad Husayn Nainar, *Op. cit.*, pp. 30, 32.

⁴⁶ Genevieve Bouchen, *Op. cit.*, p. 20.

⁴⁷ M.L. Dames, *The Boooks of Duarte Barbosa*, Vol. I, Delhi, 1989, p. 82.

⁴⁸ Armando Cartesao (ed.), *The Suma Oriental of Tome Pires and the Books of Francisco Rodriguez*, Vol. I, New Delhi, 1990, p. 20.

Dharmapattanam, have no more significance.”⁴⁹ The reason for these changes was the incident in 1525, in which, with the order of Kolathiri the Portuguese burned Dharmapattanam port and its warehouses as part of their anti-Muslim activities. However, Dharmapattanam was sustained as a good strategic point. So the native rajas tried to keep it under their own control.

French Factory at Tellicherry

Like other maritime powers, the French people had been sufficiently attracted to the trade with the Eastern world. In 1664, the French ‘Compagnie des Indes’ was formed. In 1668, they established Surat factory, the first French factory in India.⁵⁰ In 1670, the French East India Company established two trading centers; one at Valapattanam and the other at Dharmapattanam situated in the territory of Kolathiri. In 1671, the French arrived at Tellicherry and selected it as their trading center. Abbe Carre wrote that, “In 1670 the French launched a factory at Balipattanam and Dharmapattanam the next year they established another settlement at Tellicherry.”⁵¹ The major reason for vacating Valapattanam was said to be its long distance from sea coast. Gabriel Dellon had the credit of shifting factory from Valapattanam to Tellicherry. It was mentioned by Robert Orme in *Historical Fragments of the Mughal Empire* that, “Bailepatan (Valapattanam) was inconvenient on account of its distance from the sea; so as a further token of their protection and friendship. The French Council at Surat appointed and ordered to Mr. Dellon to remove the French factory at Valapattanam to Tellicherry. In the beginning of 1670, Dellon reached Tellicherry from Surat and then he established a house here in the month of June.”⁵² Dellon mentioned in his travel accounts, that “we being seated at Batiapatana, in place where we wanted all manner of conveniency, by

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ G.B. Malleson, *History of the French in India*, Delhi, 1986, p. 1.

⁵¹ Abbe Carre, *Op. cit.*, p. 707.

⁵² Robert Orme, *Historical Fragments of the Mughal Empire*, London, 1745, p. 174.

reason of its distance from the sea side as soon as the two ships called the Strong and the Mary, had set sail in order to their return into France, we made our applications to Prince Onitri, to assign us another more commodious place for our habitations, which having soon been granted by the means of some presents, he himself settled us in a place called Tatichery, being part of his own estate, situate about 4 leagues to the south of Batiepatan, and two of Cananore.”⁵³

The establishment of French factory at Tellicherry frightened the English and the Dutch companies. The English factory Chief at Calicut reported to Surat Director about the establishment of a French factory near Tellicherry and expressed his concerns over the increase in the price of pepper.⁵⁴ The French faced much troubles from the Dutch factory at Cannanore, ‘who moved heaven and earth’ to prevent the establishment of French factory. Now the Dutch were more powerful than all the other European powers in this region and with the support of the Arakkal Raja, they were easily collecting hinterland goods. However, the Kolathiri and other princes provided the French everything possible to help them.⁵⁵ The French authorities thought new factory at Tellicherry was much more advantageous for obtaining merchandise of pepper and cardamoms. There was no doubt for the selection of Tellicherry, because of its proximity of pepper and cardamom producing hinterlands. Dellon wrote on new settlement that “there being not another such a convenient place for, their purpose in the whole Kingdom.”⁵⁶

Abbe Carre wrote on French factory at Tellicherry that, “it has a fine main building and big attached warehouses, which are situated on a high and

⁵³ Gabriel Dellon, *Op. cit.*, pp. 117-118.

⁵⁴ SFR, Letter, Calicut Factory to Surat Council, 21 July 1670, Cited in N. Rajendran, *Establishment of British Power in Malabar*, Allahabad, 1979, p. 30.

⁵⁵ H.K. Kaul (ed.), *Travellers’ India an Anthology*, New Delhi, 1979, p. 290.

⁵⁶ Gabriel Dellon, *Op. cit.*, p. 122.

pleasant place, surrounded by great ditches like a fortress. Facing the sea, there is a large terrace, at the end of which Company's flag is flown in the highest spot. On the land side there is a lovely garden which provides vegetables all the year round. The people are docile, affable and very friendly to the French. Provisions come very cheap and in abundance. The place is most healthy and pleasant, well peopled, and covered with trees."⁵⁷ The seaside of Tellicherry port had a small market town, inhabited by Mohametans. They had there a Mosque, which was neither built nor maintained properly. On the seashore, there were several habitations of the Moncovas (Muccuvas) and around it were very fair grounds belonging to some of the richest Nabers (Nambiars) of the country.⁵⁸ The French built suitable houses and storerooms all in a fine enclosure situated on the best part of the coast. It was much more advantageous for obtaining merchandises, for accommodation, and for easy access by ships.⁵⁹ The French built a mud fort at Tellicherry. Dellon describes the French house at Tellicherry that "there is a house built according to the India fashion, of wood and earth, upon a rising ground, in the middle of an orchard, containing between 200 and 300 coconut trees; and something lower there is a large enclosure full of coconuts and other fruit trees, surrounded with small ditch."⁶⁰ Later in the time of the English, Alexander Hamilton mentioned that, "the place where the factory now stands belonged to the French, who left the mud walls of a fort built by them, to serve the English Company when they first settled there, and for many years they continued so."⁶¹

⁵⁷ Abbe Carre, *Op. cit.*, pp. 705-706.

⁵⁸ Gabriel Dellon, *Op. cit.*, p. 121.

⁵⁹ H.K. Kaul, *Op. cit.*, p. 290.

⁶⁰ Gabriel Dellon, *Op. cit.*, p. 121; Abbe Carre, *Op. cit.*, p. 705.

⁶¹ Alexander Hamilton, *Op. cit.*, p. 296; John Pinkerton, *A General Collection of the East and Most Interesting Voyages and Travels in all Parts of the World*, Vol. VIII, London, 1881, p. 370.

Due to the wars and clashes with other European companies in India, the French Company decided to withdraw the unprofitable settlements in India. Therefore, the French Directors of Surat directed Abbe Carre to dissolve and leave Tellicherry factory. Abbe Carre wrote his resentment to Director Guesto, impressing upon him the harm and dishonor that this order would cause to the Company and to French nation. He expressed surprise over the design in the French Directors for sending the order to close down factories, which had been opened so quickly and inexpensively in contrast with the trouble, time and expense devoted by the other European companies, in order to get places for their trade in this country.⁶² In this context, the French decided to retain Tellicherry factory but their trade got declined continually.

Due to the insufficiency of money the French Company vacated a number of factories in the western coast of India in the last quarter of 17th century. Aniruddha Ray wrote that “due to the European war, the position of the French had declined in India and it appeared that the French had abandoned their factory at Tellicherry.”⁶³ There is no doubt that the decline of French trade was because of shortage of money. Kaepelin, remarks that the French abandoned Tellicherry because it was too costly.⁶⁴ John Bruce wrote, “the French house at Tellicherry could not be rented, so as to remove them from that settlement.”⁶⁵ At the same time, the English Chief of Calicut informed Surat Council that the French there would have some extra expense, they had ‘no trade’ no cash, and no goods there.⁶⁶ Alexander Hamilton also

⁶² H.K. Kaul, *Op. cit.*, p. 290.

⁶³ Aniruddha Ray, *The Merchant and the State: The French in India, 1666-1739*, Vol. II, New Delhi, 2000, p. 652.

⁶⁴ Charles Fawcett, *Op. cit.*, fn. 1, p. 396.

⁶⁵ John Bruce, *Annals of the Honorable East India Company*, Vol. II, London, 1810, p. 529.

⁶⁶ SFR, Letter, Calicut Factory to Surat Council, 28 August 1682, Cited in Charles Fawcett, *Op. cit.*, p. 395.

pointed out the insufficiency of money in the French factory at Calicut. He says, “the French have a factory settled in 1698, but they are not in a condition to carry on a trade for want of money and credit.”⁶⁷ M.P. Sredharan wrote “the French Company set up a ‘lodge’ in Calicut in 1701. Six years earlier they had tried to set up a lodge in Tellicherry with the permission of the Kolathiri Raja, but they abandoned Tellicherry when they obtained the Calicut lodge from the Zamorin.”⁶⁸ Later in the time of Francoise Martine, the President at Surat Council (1674-1689), he sent Andre Bourreau, to revive the French Tellicherry factory and he stressed the importance of pepper trade.⁶⁹ Nevertheless, he failed to restore the French factory at Tellicherry.

Establishment of English Factory

It was in April 1682, Chase and Mitchell, the two English Factors at Dharmapattanam heard that the French at Tellicherry had ‘fled with bag and baggage’ on their ship President, leaving their factory there unoccupied. The two factors immediately went to the Prince of Kolathiri to whom the house and ground belonged and got him to allow them to occupy the premises subject to the approval of the Surat Council of English Company.⁷⁰ The English promised to pay the custom as done by the French at the rate of one Venetian sequin (about Rs. 4) per candy on pepper.⁷¹ The Directors of the French Council at Surat were annoyed with inoccupation of the factory. They protested that they had no intention of giving it up; they said their factors had merely left because they all wanted to go to France and as there was no one they could send there at the time, the place had been put in charge of their

⁶⁷ Alexander Hamilton, *Op. cit.*, p. 306; John Pinkerton, *Op. cit.*, p. 374.

⁶⁸ M.P. Sredharan, “The French in Kerala” in P.J. Cherian, *Op. cit.*, p. 253.

⁶⁹ Holden Furber, *Rival Empires of Trade in the Orient, 1600-1800*, New Delhi, 1999, p. 114.

⁷⁰ SFR, Letter, Calicut Factory to John Child, 28 August 1682, Cited in Charles Fawcett, *Op. cit.*, p. 395.

⁷¹ Charles Fawcett, *Op. cit.*, p. 395.

Linguist. John Child, the English Company's President at Surat Council, gave them a courteous reply.⁷² The French, however, said that the factory had been built at their expense.⁷³ Nevertheless, the French was unable to do anything more.

The English Company had a view that the factory would be useful for purchasing good quality pepper and cardamom. John Child encouraged Chase to stay on and continue negotiations with the Kolathiri Raja for a constant supply of pepper.⁷⁴ Chase promised Child to get as much pepper, cardamoms, and cinnamon, at the cheapest price possible.⁷⁵ It was noted by John Bruce that, "the Presidency of Surat established a factory at Tellicherry, conceiving that one thousand candies of pepper and cardamom, might be obtained at this port, superior in quality to those of Calicut."⁷⁶ Therefore, in 1683, John Child and his Council decided to keep the Tellicherry factory provisionally, at any rate, so long as Bantam remained in the hands of the Dutch. He informed the Court of Directors of Company that the pepper, which Tellicherry provided was better than that obtained at Calicut and the custom duties were lower.⁷⁷

The Court of Directors of English East India Company was also pleased on selection of Tellicherry. They appeared to have encouraged John Child and other Company authorities in India to secure new trading privileges from the native rulers of Malabar. In 1684, John Child noted that the place had proved advantageous to the Company as a centre for the supply of excellent pepper as well as cardamom.⁷⁸ In 1685, the Directors had suggested

⁷² Charles Fawcett, *Op. cit.*, fn. 1, pp. 395-396.

⁷³ SFR, Surat Consultations, 26 September 1682, Cited in Charles Fawcett, *Op. cit.*, p. 395.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 396.

⁷⁵ SFR, Letter, Calicut Factory to John Child, 10 October 1682, Cited in Charles Fawcett, *Op. cit.*, p. 397.

⁷⁶ John Bruce, *Op. cit.*, p. 511.

⁷⁷ Charles Fawcett, *Op. cit.*, p. 406.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 415; N. Rajendran, *Op. cit.*, p. 36.

improvements for the factory at Tellicherry.⁷⁹ Again, in 1688-89, John Child directed the Tellicherry Factors to strengthen factory, that the Company might be certain of receiving an investment of calicoes, pepper and cardamoms.⁸⁰ The selection of Tellicherry was a suitable alternative for the English for their misplaced factories of Spice Islands in Indonesia. The preference of Tellicherry had turned out beneficial for the English and, later it became one of the major English trade centers in the western coast of India.

At the same instance, the Dutch Factors at Cannanore tried to prevent Tellicherry coming into the hands of the English. The Dutch feared the presence of English near to them. They were also afraid that their settlement and friendship with Kolathiri Raja and their commercial ambitions in the Kolathunad would be affected. Thus, the Dutch sent rich presents to the Kolathiri Raja and requested him to deny Tellicherry to the English, but Raja informed the Dutch of his inability to take back his word.⁸¹ In September 1682, Chase and Mitchell reported to Surat Council that the Dutch were doing everything by 'bribes' as well as by fair means, to get the factory into their hands.⁸² Therefore, the Surat Council provided all support to their Factors to keep Tellicherry factory. The English immediately built a house in the factory, on which six guns were to be mounted and a regime of ten or twelve soldiers were to be stationed for its protection. It was important to develop friendship with the Kolathiri Raja, and to show the Company's intention of enlarging trade in his country.⁸³ The Kolathiri also expected them to pay the

⁷⁹ John Bruce, *Annals of the Honorable East India Company*, Vol. I, London, 1810, p. 528.

⁸⁰ John Bruce, *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 616-617.

⁸¹ SFR, Letter, Calicut Factory to Surat Council, 28 August 1682, Cited in Charles Fawcett, *Op. cit.*, p. 395.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 9 & 30 September 1682, 179, Cited in Charles Fawcett, *Op. cit.*, p. 395.

⁸³ John Bruce, *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 529.

same customs duty as the French did; that was one Venetian sequin per candy on cardamoms and half a sequin per candy on pepper.⁸⁴

As other European factories, the Tellicherry factory also had to face stiff opposition from the local inhabitants.⁸⁵ Several members of the Kolathiri family and the nearby chiefs resented the action of Vadakkellamkur in assigning the factory site to the English. Hence, the English factory had to face serious troubles from the local populace, especially the people of Kurungothnadu. In 1704-05, one of the Princes belonging to the Udayamangalam branch of the Kolathiri family supported by the Kurungoth Nair entered the Company's warehouse at Tellicherry. Then, they committed certain irregularities in the factory, which caused serious damages to Company's property.⁸⁶

The contemporary travellers also noted that the Kurungoth Nair disturbed the factory. Alexander Hamilton mentioned that from 1703 onwards, the Company was at war with the Kurungoth Nair and his allies. He noted "the fort of Tellicherry had a stone wall around it to keep out enemies of the chiefs."⁸⁷ Charles Lockter gives a similar account of Hamilton that "the people are at enmity with the English, wherefore we ought to be cautious how we venture among them."⁸⁸ The French Company supported Kurungoth Nair in his war against English. In this situation, the English was forced to build a fort at Tellicherry. Alexander Hamilton states that "the conflict was due to the

⁸⁴ SFR, Letter, Calicut Factory to Surat Council, 28 August 1682, Cited in Charles Fawcett, *Op. cit.*, p. 395.

⁸⁵ In 1689, the Court of Directors of the English Company ordered the station at Attingal to be fortified in the strongest manner. See for details, A Galletti, *Op. cit.*, p. 17; John Bruce, *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 76.

⁸⁶ William Logan, *Malabar Manual*, *Op. cit.*, p. 348.

⁸⁷ Alexander Hamilton, *Op. cit.*, p. 297.

⁸⁸ Charles Lockter, *An Account of the Trade in India*, London, 1711, p. 277; Charles Lockter, who visited Tellicherry in January 1706, mentioned English factory at Tellicherry and their prosperous trade. See for more details, Charles Lockter, *Op. cit.*, pp. 274-276.

refusal of the factory to pay the customs dues to the Kurugott Nair who depended heavily on it.”⁸⁹ But, William Logan questioned the view of Hamilton that as the Company was so careful as to compensate the weavers and others; they would not have omitted to pay any dues to the Nair.⁹⁰

Fortification of Tellicherry

In this circumstances, the Company got permission for fortification of the factory from Vadakkkelamkur Raja. It was reported to the English Directors that “the Raja of Tellicherry had offered to allow the Company to take possession of that place and fortify it, explaining that otherwise he could no longer furnish them a proportion of pepper, from being unable to defend his country.”⁹¹ The house site of the Poonathil Pothuval, a street of weavers and a hill belonging to Vallura Thangal, named Thiruvallaban kunnu were selected for the fortification.⁹² Under the leadership of Robert Adams, the Chief of Tellicherry factory made an agreement with Vadakkkelamkur Raja at Thiruvangad pagoda (Sree Ramaswami Temple) on 20 August 1708.⁹³ In the agreement, Vadakkkelamkur stated: “the fort of Tellicherry has been built at the request and entreaties made by me as a friend. To acknowledge the love and friendship which the Company bears towards me and my palace, I give and take over the said fort with its limits to the Company, where no person shall demand, collect and plant. Our custom house will be obliged to give us what has been settled.”⁹⁴ The very establishment of factory led to the increase in the power of English in Malabar and it helped them to become a giant of commercial politics in the region against the French and the Dutch. Thus, the

⁸⁹ Alexander Hamilton, *Op. cit.*, p. 297

⁹⁰ William Logan, *Malabar Manual*, *Op. cit.*, p. 348.

⁹¹ John Bruce, *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 165; A. Galletti, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

⁹² William Logan, *Malabar Manual*, *Op. cit.*, p. 348.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 348.

⁹⁴ William Logan, *Treaties*, *Op. cit.*, No. III, p. 2; C.U. Aitchison, *Op. cit.*, No. XVII, p. 106.

fortification of Tellicherry became an important cause in the establishment of the English supremacy in Malabar.

The English Company records states that every endeavour was made to solve every issue harmoniously with Kurungoth Nair, even though it was unsuccessful. In 1715, the English commenced war against Unnittiri and Kelappan, the two local chiefs of Kurungothnadu. The victory over these local enemies brought about the English superiority in the commercial politics of the region. It was the base of their future superiority of entire Malabar. It was justified by Clement Downing that “Governor Robert Adams had some quarrels with the Nairs of Tellicherry; but the Governor by his own regular conduct soon settled those disputes.”⁹⁵ In this context, Kurungoth Nair understood and accepted the supremacy of English in the region. Thus, he signed an agreement with Robert Adams on 29 September 1719. According to the treaty, the Nair gave full right to the Company for collecting pepper from Punnol and other places belonging to him, there were no duty to be paid for procuring pepper. He also surrendered the Mailan hill to the Company.⁹⁶ It was this victory of English Company that enabled them to play a foremost role in Malabar politics.

The attempt of the French to retain their hold at Tellicherry was unsuccessful. Then they obtained a number of offers from local rulers of Malabar for establishing a new trade centre. Alfred Martineau wrote that, in 1701, the French got permission from the Kadathanad Raja for establishing a magazine at Mahe, at the mouth of the river.⁹⁷ The next year they got rights for establishment of a factory at Punnol from Kannan Kutty, the then

⁹⁵ Clement Downing, *A Compendious History of the Indian Wars; With an Account of the Rise, Progress, Strength and Forces of Angria the Pyrate*, London, 1737, p. 23.

⁹⁶ William Logan, *Treaties*, *Op. cit.*, No. VII, p. 3; C.U. Aitchison, *Op. cit.*, No. XVIII, pp. 106-107; See for more details, Jonathan Duncan, “Historical Remarks on the Coast of Malabar” in *Journal Asiatic Researches*, Vol. V, London, 1799, p. 25.

⁹⁷ Alfred Martineau, *Les Origines de Mahe de Malabar*, Paris, 1917, p. 17.

Kurungoth Nair. The French presence at Punnol affected the monopoly of English trade at Tellicherry.⁹⁸ This resulted in the commercial competition between the English and the French. The French factory at Punnol was noted by traveller Charles Lockter in 1706.⁹⁹ In 1708, the French started efforts to restore the factory at Calicut, whose chief was ordered to send pepper and cinnamon seedlings, if possible, to France.¹⁰⁰ A few months later the French Chief took up the offer which the Kadathanad Raja had made to the French Company's factory at Mahe.¹⁰¹ Since the abandonment of Tellicherry factory, the French started number of factories in North Malabar. However, they failed to establish a permanent settlement in Malabar Coast and they abandoned their factories at Punnol, and Mahe later.

In 1721 Mollandin, the Chief of French lodge at Calicut, informed their Governor at Pondicherry that Calicut settlement was now in bankruptcy. Therefore, he requested to send money for paying off the debt. Then the French Governor replied to him to search an attractive centre in Malabar for establishing a centre for purchasing pepper. Accordingly, on 2 April 1721, Mollandin signed a mutual agreement with Vazhunnor of Kadathanad.¹⁰² According to this agreement, the French got monopoly over pepper in Kadathanad. Currently, the coast of Malabar as a ground of competition for monopoly of trade, essentially affected the commercial aspiration of English settlement at Tellicherry. The French settlement at Mahe was situated only a few miles south of the riverside. In the words of Alexander Hamilton, "about four miles to the southward of Tellicherry, is a small French factory lately

⁹⁸ K.K.N. Kurup, *Op. cit.*, p. 51; Alfred Martineau, *Op. cit.*, p. 17.

⁹⁹ According to him, "Panola is a town about 5 miles to the south of Tellicherry, where the French have a factory, which supplies them large quantity of pepper." See for further details, Charles Lockter, *Op. cit.*, p. 276.

¹⁰⁰ Holden Furber, *Op. cit.*, p. 137.

¹⁰¹ Holden Furber noted that the French got invitation from Boyanore in 1709, but Martineau stated that it was in 1710. See for details, Holden Furber, *Op. cit.*, p. 137; Alfred Martineau, *Op. cit.*, p. 17.

¹⁰² Alfred Martineau, *Op. cit.*, p. 30.

settled at the mouth of a small river.”¹⁰³ The conditions on the coast in the 1720s were vividly described in 1726 by William Forbes who spoke of the French as coming ‘by an open violence’ to settle at Mahe within three miles of the English factory at Tellicherry.¹⁰⁴

On 23 March 1722, the English got one royal writings from the Kolathiri Raja. According to the grant, the trade and farms within his land or his predecessors’ territory from Canharotte down to the river Puthupattanam were all given to the English, except that was granted to the Dutch and the English were authorized to carry out their commerce. If any other European or any other stranger came to his country, the English Company could, in his name, punish, prevent and drive away.¹⁰⁵ On 24 February 1724, this treaty was renewed by Prince Regents of Kolathunad, Udayamangalam Palace and the Prince of Pally Palace. They signed two agreements in the presence of Kolathiri Raja. As part of the first agreement, Udayamangalam Palace and the Prince of Pally palace confirmed the privileges granted under the royal writings of Kolathiri Raja and those granted by their uncle to the English Company in dealing with all the articles cultivated in Kolathunad country from Canharotte to Puthupattanam. They agreed that if anyone else, save the Dutch Company, presumes to traffic, the English Company can, in Kolathiri Rajas name take him and imprison the intruder.¹⁰⁶ In the second agreement, Prince Regent promised to remain united with the English and settled the difference among themselves.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰³ Alexander Hamilton, *Op. cit.*, p. 298.

¹⁰⁴ Letter, William Forbes to John Fletcher, 24 September 1726, Cited in Holden Furber, *Op. cit.*, p. 238. Topasses were the back foot soldiers, descended from Portuguese marrying natives, called Topasses because they wear hats. See for more details, Jacob Canter Visscher, *Letters from Malabar*, Madras, 1862, Letter No. XV, p. 95.

¹⁰⁵ William Logan, *Treaties, Op. cit.*, No. VIII, p. 6; C.U. Aitchison, *Op. cit.*, No. XIX, pp. 107-108.

¹⁰⁶ William Logan, *Treaties, Op. cit.*, No. IX, p. 7.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, No. X, pp. 7-8.

The English understood that the present situation in south has affected their ambition in Kurugoth and Kadathanad. In this occasion, due to some misunderstanding between Kadathanad and the French, he turned against the French. In this context, Robert Adams encouraged and assisted the Kadathanad Raja to carry on his fight against the French. On 17 February 1725, the Vazhunnor made a resolution with English Company regarding the peace capitulation and settled the differences with the Company. In the resolution, the Raja stated that “I will not retain, nor give shelter, in Kadathanad to any other Europeans. I will not give nor permit to be given to any other European, save English Company, the cardamom and pepper of Kadathanad.”¹⁰⁸ As per the treaty, the English Company obtained privilege of collection of pepper and cardamom from hinterlands of Kadathanad.¹⁰⁹

Establishment of French Factory at Mahe

In 1725, Vazhunnor attacked Mahe forcing the French to retire to Calicut and nearly a hundred Frenchmen were wounded in action. Now, Mahe was under the protection of English Governor and troops. Then, a small French squadron under the command of Pardaillan, acting under the orders of the Government of Pondicherry, came opposite to the town of Mahe and summoned the place to surrender. However, the English Governor refused to surrender; therefore the French withdraw from that place.¹¹⁰ In December 1725, the French arrived under the command of Pardaillan and recaptured Mahe.¹¹¹ Mahe de Labourdonnais, young French Captain under Pardaillan,

¹⁰⁸ William Logan, *Treaties, Op. cit.*, No. XIII, pp. 12-13; C.U. Aitchison, *Op. cit.*, No. IXX, p. 108.

¹⁰⁹ Jonathan Duncan, *Op. cit.*, p. 25.

¹¹⁰ Tellicherry Consultation (hereafter TC), I, Diary, 22 November 1725.

¹¹¹ G.B. Malleson, *Op. cit.*, p. 64; William Logan, *Malabar Manual, Op. cit.*, p. 356.

was the champion of this victory.¹¹² The French attack on Mahe was recorded by the Directors of French Company, “with the view to secure, on the Malabar Coast, a post that would indemnify the French for the loss of Surat.”¹¹³ For this purpose, selection of Mahe was well suited for the French. However, the establishment of this permanent settlement led to the clashes between the French and the English on this coast.

In this occasion, Vazhunnor of Kadathanad was at war with Kottayam Raja and both were in good terms with English. With the tactical intervention of Robert Adams, the war was ended.¹¹⁴ At the same time, the Vazhunnor continued war with the French against their intervention in Kadathanad.¹¹⁵ On 14 August 1726, the French army seized a small hill lying between Mahe and Kadathanad territory. In this occasion, Tellicherry factory send hundred Nair troops to assist Kadathanad Raja. However, Kadathanad requested that they needed money; they were already indebted to the English. Adams told them to settle his accounts first of all. However, Kadathanad preferred settling disputes with the French than returning money to the English.¹¹⁶ There were a number of clashes in which the English and the French troops were involved. Kurungoth Nair realized his vulnerable political position. Thus he decided to enter into an alliance with the French.

The French Company now instigated the Kurungoth Nair to carry on his efforts against the English. On April 1725, Mollandin, the French Chief at Calicut, made a treaty with the Kurungoth Nair who gave Punnole to the French with exclusive right of trading activities. The French produced an Ola

¹¹² In the skill and enterprise of the Captain, the captured town transferred its name from Mayyazhi to the Mahe, the first name of Labourdonnais. See for details, G.B. Malleson, *Op. cit.*, p. 66; William Logan, *Malabar Manual, Op. cit.*, p. 404.

¹¹³ G.B. Malleson, *Op. cit.*, p. 64; William Logan, *Malabar Manual, Op. cit.*, p. 356.

¹¹⁴ TC, II, Diary, 8 August 1726.

¹¹⁵ William Logan, *Malabar Manual, Op. cit.*, p. 357.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

from the Kurungoth Nair who gave them permission to stay and engage in trade.¹¹⁷ As Punnole was still possessed by the English, the immediate purpose of the agreement was to make him an ally of the French Company. The French promised Nair their help to recapture the lost territories. Thus, Kurungoth Nair and Nambiar Chiefs of Iruvazhinadu seemed to favour the French. It was very close to Tellicherry, which caused to the endless quarrels between two European companies.

Hostilities resurfaced during the Thulappathu,¹¹⁸ the annual hunting festival of the Nairs. Between Tellicherry and Mahe lay some hills covered with brushwood which harbored wild pigs. Adams obtained information that on the 12 of October, Kurungoth Nair and the French intended to hunt on two hills, called Punnol and Putinha, which had been taken from the Nair by the English.¹¹⁹ It was accordingly resolved to oppose the hunt and to guard the hills in order to prevent the French from seizing them.¹²⁰ On 12 October, accordingly, the Nair and the French suddenly attacked the people stationed on the disputed hills. In the fight which ensued, one Nair was killed on the side of English, and one French man was killed on the other side. On the following day, there was another fight in which one Nair was killed on the English side and three Nairs were killed on the French side. The affair ended in mutual protests between the two companies, and finally a conference was arranged in December to settle the dispute.¹²¹ This war between the English

¹¹⁷ K.K.N. Kurup, *Op. cit.*, p. 70.

¹¹⁸ 'Thulam' is third month of Malayalam calendar (October - November). 'Thulapathu' was a hunting festival of Nairs of North Malabar. The hunting season opens on the 10th or 11th of Thulam of each year. See for details, William Logan, *Malabar Manual*, *Op. cit.*, p. 171.

¹¹⁹ TC, II, Diary, 10 October 1726.

¹²⁰ TC, II, Consultation, 12 October 1726.

¹²¹ TC, II, Diary, 13 October 1726.

and the French was the first fight between these two European powers in the Indian soil.¹²²

To protect their trade, the English resolved to assist Kadathanad with money. In addition, they made use of the friendship of Prince Regent of Kolathiri and Iruvazhinadu Nambiars. On 6 December 1726, an agreement was signed by the Company with Koylatu Nambiars, the one Iruvazhinadu Nambiar against Kurungoth Nair. The Nambiar promised to remain on the English side and to provide all help to the Company against the Kurungoth Nair. They further promised not to meet, or to speak to Kurungoth Nair and others, without first consulting the English. The Nambiars hoped that the English would behave in the same manner to them.¹²³ On 14 June 1727, there were report of the French opening fire upon English positions at Putinha and Moylan, and the Kurungoth Nair trying to embroil the Company with the French and some Nambiar chiefs. At the same time, Kurungoth Nair tried to disturb English trade and their merchants.¹²⁴

The fighting of English factory at Tellicherry was not supported or approved by Bombay Presidency or the Court of Directors of London. They advised the factory to live amicably with the French factory, to reduce expenses, and to come to an understanding with Kurungott Nair and the French.¹²⁵ The Secretary of State was also moved to send a remonstrance to the French Ministry against the French insults at Tellicherry, and the authorities of French Company was ordered to be in amity with the English

¹²² The French and the English companies confronted each other in India under the influenced number of European wars like Austrian Succession War and Seven Years War. See for further reference, G.B. Malleson, *Op. cit.*; S.P. Sen, *The French in India*, New Delhi, 1971.

¹²³ William Logan, *Treaties, Op. cit.*, No. XV, p. 14.

¹²⁴ See for details, TC, II, Diary, 1 July 1727.

¹²⁵ TC, II, Diary, 14 June 1727.

settlements in India.¹²⁶ Finally, the companies arranged mutually satisfactory and advantageous terms, and these were embodied into two agreements duly executed in April 1728.¹²⁷ These agreements resolved the difference between the factories related to the Kurungoth Nair's domain. It gave security to both factories from the intrigues of Kurungoth Nair and other local rulers of Kolathunad. It provided the surrender of deserters and for fixing fair prices for pepper.¹²⁸ Then, the French signed peace treaties with the Kurungoth Nair and Iruvalinaad Nambiars.¹²⁹ Thus peace and security reigned to the south of Tellicherry.

As time passed by, the Tellicherry factory became English East India Company's major trade centre of southwestern coast of India. In the second quarter of 18th century, a new political situation emerged in Malabar due to the presence of European companies. In the northern parts, the Portuguese had a settlement at Goa and they had a small factory at Mangalore. The English Company had factories at Carwar and Honovar. The presence of Dutch at Cannanore challenged English ambition for purchasing pepper from northern parts of Kolathunad. In the south of Calicut, the same situation prevailed. The Dutch at Cochin entered into Ponnani and nearby regions. The French at Mahe was main challenger to the English as they got the support of Kurungoth Nair and at the same time English received support from Vazhunnor, the opponent of the French. In this context, the English East India Company signed a mutual agreement with French in 1728. They maintained cordial relations with local rajas of Malabar with the signing of peace treaties with Zamorin, Kolathiri, Kadathanad and Kottayam.

¹²⁶ William Logan, *Malabar Manual*, *Op. cit.*, pp. 358-359.

¹²⁷ See for detail, William Logan, *Treaties*, *Op. cit.*, No. XVII, pp. 8-10.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

Canarese Invasion

The Canarese invasion of Malabar in 1730s was crucial for the ambitions of Tellicherry factory. The invasion was led by Bednur King Somasekhara Nayak II, who belonged to the Ikkeri Royal family.¹³⁰ In January 1732, the Canarese invaded northern parts of Kolathunad and destroyed Kolathiri army and reached Eli Mala (Ezhi Mala).¹³¹ Gradually, the Canarese moved to the south and reached Valapattanam, which was a principal pepper post of Tellicherry factory, brought sufficient quantity of pepper. On 10 May 1732, the Canarese attacked and captured Madayi, which was under Mappilas.¹³² On 21 October 1732, the Canarese army had crossed the river Valapattanam and prepared to attack and besiege Cannanore.¹³³ The Canarese invasion also affected economic and political systems of Kolathunad. It was the first major threat to the English East India Company in Malabar.

The English feared the attack of Canarese on Tellicherry. On 21 November, John Braddyll, the Chief of Tellicherry, wrote to Fort St. George that, there is nothing to stop Canarese to Tellicherry.¹³⁴ The English believed that the Prince Regent of Kolathunad made a mutual understanding with Canarese against the Mappilas of Cannanore, who always disturbed the Kolathiri. At the same time, the Tellicherry factory got an Ola from Kolathiri Raja which informed his agreement with Canarese General Ragonath. As per this agreement, the Prince could hold the country north of the Valapattanam

¹³⁰ The Ikkeri or Keladi or Bednur rulers had obtained political power with the breaking up of the Vijayanagara dynasty since the battle of Talikota in 1564. See for further details, William Logan, *Malabar Manual*, *Op. cit.*, p. 362; A. Galletti, *Op. cit.*, p. 68.

¹³¹ TC, V, Diary, 16 January 1732; William Logan, *Malabar Manual*, *Op. cit.*, p. 363.

¹³² TC, V, Diary, 11 May 1732.

¹³³ Letters from Tellicherry (hereafter LFT), II, John Braddyll, Tellicherry Factory (hereafter TF) to Robert Cowan, Bombay Council (hereafter BC), 23 October 1732.

¹³⁴ LFT, II, John Braddyll, TF to George Moreton, Fort St. George Council, 21 November 1732.

River as far as Neelesweram as a tributary to Bednur and they had given right of building three forts in Kolathunad, which were Neelesweram, Madakkara and Cavai. It was also stated that the southern territory of river Valapattanam was to be under the direct rule of the Prince Regent. The Canarese also agreed to provide all assistance to the Prince Regent against his rebellious subjects.¹³⁵

In December 1732, the Canarese army attacked northern parts of Aggar, which caused great annoyance and damage to the inhabitants. The inhabitants left their dwellings and moved to other places for safety. It also affected the Company's pepper trade in Aggar.¹³⁶ In addition to this, the Canarese stopped the Tellicherry factory's rice import from the Canarese port Mangalore.¹³⁷ In the beginning of January 1733, Stephen Law wrote to the Bombay Council that the Canarese army in conjunction with that of the Prince Regent, has camped about two miles from Cannanore, consisted of 20000 men, with a plan to attack Cannanore very shortly. He expected the Canarese would proceed to subdue the other powers in this country.¹³⁸ In January and February 1733, the combined army of Prince Regent and Canarese attacked Cannanore, but they were repulsed with huge loss. The Canarese had frequently solicited the English Company to mediate peace with the Mappilas, Prince, and themselves, but they had different interests which led to continue the war. Therefore, the English Company tried to make a grand alliance of local rulers including the Zamorin and King of Kottayam against Canarese.

¹³⁵ LFT, II, John Braddyll, TF to Robert Cowan, BC, 11 December 1732.

¹³⁶ LFT, II, Stephen Law, TF to Thomas Rout, the Master of the Dolphin Cruiser, 14 January 1733.

¹³⁷ LFT, II, John Braddyll, TF to Richard Boulton, the Commander of the ship King George Galley, 6 March 1731; LFT, II, Stephen Law, TF to Robert Cowan, BC, 2 January 1733.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*

The Mysore King also agreed to join the alliance, and provided 1000 horses and 5000 foot soldiers.¹³⁹

On 7 April 1733, the English came to know that the Canarese General had received a large supply of money, and that 500 horses with 3000 foot soldiers had joined him on the way from Bednur.¹⁴⁰ In May, the Company sent their representatives with the leadership of Hugh Howard, the head Linguist at the Tellicherry factory, to Bednur for meeting Canarese General Ragonath for mediating between Bednur and Cannanore, but was not successful.¹⁴¹ At the same time, the Canarese army continued their siege of Cannanore. In the opposite side, with the request of Kottayam Raja, about 500 horses and 2000 foot soldiers of the Mysore forces came to Kottayam for the protection of Thaliparamba Pagoda.¹⁴² In June, Mappilas of Cannanore requested the English to mediate a peace with the Prince Regent. The Prince Regent accepted the request and formed a coalition of Malabar rulers, the Company, and the Mysore to expel the Canarese.¹⁴³

Besides, the Canarese were also troubled by the Dutch factory at Cannanore. In August, the Dutch attacked the Canarese at Koodaly. The Dutch Council at Batavia sent four ships with a considerable number of forces to Cannanore against the Canarese.¹⁴⁴ In November, the Canarese attacked Cannanore, but they were repulsed.¹⁴⁵ The Canarese also besieged Koodaly, but the Mappilas repulsed them with the help of the Dutch.¹⁴⁶ In February 1734, with the mediation of the Dutch the Mappailas agreed to surrender

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 13 March 1733.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 8 April 1733.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 19 May 1733.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 29 May 1733. The Kottayam Raja, foreseeing he should be the next attacked. He had a large sum of money and gold in the Pagoda of Thaliparmba (Sri Rajarajeswara Temple). See for details, *Ibid.*, 3 April 1733.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, 20 June 1733.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 15 September 1733.

¹⁴⁵ LFT, III, Stephen Law, TF to Robert Cowan, BC, 27 December 1733.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 9 January 1734.

Koodaly to the Canarese.¹⁴⁷ Then, the Canarese planned to attack Kottayam. For that purpose Ragonath visited the Prince Regent and solicited his consent for setting up his camp on the Dharmapattanam Island.¹⁴⁸

Moreover, the English Company also had some ambitions on Dharmapattanam Island, which was undoubtedly a better site for improving the Company trade. However, at that time there was a controversy among the local powers Kolathiri, Kottayam Raja and Ali Raja about the ownership of Island. The Company believed there was a possibility that the Regent might transfer the Island to the Canarese. They also believed that there was a chance of handing it over to the French by the Kottayam Raja. In these circumstances, the Factors of Tellicherry on May 1734 obtained the right on Islands of Dharmapattanam through a secret agreement of Stephen Law with the Prince Udeyavarman of the Palli palace of Kolathiri.¹⁴⁹ In the end of 1734, the Arakkal Beebi transferred the Dharmapattanam Islands to the English because she feared that the French or Canarese would take it.¹⁵⁰

In December 1734, the Prince Regent had proposed to make a grand alliance of the rulers of Malabar against Canarese. The Chief accepted the Regents proposal and directed him to help the Canarese until the Kottayam, Kadathanad and Iruvazhinadu Nambiars were forced to combine against Canarese.¹⁵¹ In the end of January 1735, the Canarese made preparation for attacking Kottayam after making their lodgement on the low grounds at Dharmapattanam. The Chief directed the Prince the continuance of his good

¹⁴⁷ LFT, III, Stephen Law, TF to the Court of Directors for the United Companies of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies, London (hereafter 'the Court of Directors'), 23 February 1734.

¹⁴⁸ LFT, III, Stephen Law, TF to Robert Cowan, BC, 27 February 1734.

¹⁴⁹ TC, VII, Diary, 26 February 1735; TC, VII, Consultation, 26 February 1735; LFT, III, Stephen Law, TF to Robert Cowan, BC, 17 August 1734; C.U. Aitchison, *Op. cit.*, May 1734, No. XXII, p. 110; William Logan, *Treaties, Op. cit.*, No. XXI, XXII, pp. 19-20.

¹⁵⁰ William Logan, *Malabar Manual, Op. cit.*, p. 364.

¹⁵¹ TC, VII, Consultation, 8 February 1735.

offices for preventing the Canarese attack.¹⁵² On 3 February, the Canarese army consisted of more than 4000 men who crossed Anjarakkandi River and they captured the low grounds of the Dharmapattanam Islands and prepared to make more invasions to Kottayam.¹⁵³ Some parts of Dharmapattanam Islands remained with the Kottayam Raja. On 7 February, Vira Raja of Kottayam (Padinjare) agreed to transfer his portion of Island to the English Company.¹⁵⁴ In the evening on the same day, the English with the help of large troops had taken control of Dharmapattanam.¹⁵⁵ Then, the Canarese General agreed to leave the Island.¹⁵⁶

With the acquisition of Dharmapattanam the English tried to organise an alliance with rulers of Malabar against the Canarese. In March 1735, the Chief visited the French factory for getting support of French against Canarese, but he was disappointed with the attitude of French factory, but in November the French supported Kottayam in their attack of the Canarese.¹⁵⁷ At the same time, the French tried to increase the internal conflict in the Kolathiri family against the Prince Regent and the English Company. Besides, the French had maintained a good relationship with the Canarese by advancing money and receiving rice from them.¹⁵⁸

On 29 February 1736, the combined army of Kolathunad and Kottayam attacked the Canarese force at Edakkad, but were forced to withdraw without much loss on either side.¹⁵⁹ The alliance decided to support each other until the Canarese were expelled from the country. On 1 March,

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 30 January 1735.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 3 February 1735.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 7 February 1735. On 9 February, Kottayam Raja signed agreement with the English. See for details, William Logan, *Treaties, Op. cit.*, No. XXVIII, p. 17; William Logan, *Malabar Manual, Op. cit.*, p. 364.

¹⁵⁵ TC, VII, Diary, 7 February 1735.

¹⁵⁶ TC, VII, Consultation, 7 February 1735.

¹⁵⁷ LFT, IV, Stephen Law, TF to John Horne, BC, 17 November 1735.

¹⁵⁸ TC, VIII, Diary, 12 January 1736.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 29 February 1736.

the Canarese army arrived at Aggar, where a stiff fight between them and Nairs followed, but they were forced to retire with much loss.¹⁶⁰ On 3 March, Stephen Law decided to keep the present advantage gained over the Canarese and met the Prince and other country powers and planned to annoy the Canarese camp at 'Kadalai'.¹⁶¹ On 7 March, the Canarese surrendered their Madakkara fort to the Company.¹⁶² At the same time, Prince Cunhi Homo of the Palli Palace of Kolathiri allowed the English Company erect a fort at Madakkara and got the sole right over pepper and cardamom produced in those parts. In return, the Company agreed to protect the Kolathiri vessels from the Canarese. The prince also empowered the Company to erect another fort on the point of Edakkad, for the better security of Company's trade in Randathara.¹⁶³

The Company also tried to stop the supply of food to the Canarese through a negotiation between Stephen Law and the Dutch. On 15 March, the Dutch Chief at Cannanore took steps to stop the supply of food to the Canarese.¹⁶⁴ On 17 March, the alliance attacked the Canarese fort at Kadalai.¹⁶⁵ At the same time, Stephen Law tried to include the Dutch in their alliance. On 29 March, he visited Cannanore and the Dutch agreed to give 300 men to assist the English and their alliance.¹⁶⁶ On 30 March, the allied forces besieged Kadalai fort. In this attack large number of Canarese were killed including Canarese General Gopalji.¹⁶⁷ Later, the Canarese surrendered

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 1 March 1736.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 3 March 1736.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 7 March 1736.

¹⁶³ TC, VIII, IX, Diary, 5 July 1737; C.U. Aitchison, *Op. cit.*, No. XXIII, p. 110; William Logan, *Treaties, Op. cit.*, No. XXXI, p. 28.

¹⁶⁴ TC, VIII, Consultation, 15 March 1736.

¹⁶⁵ TC, VIII, Diary, 17 March 1736.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 29 March 1736; William Logan, *Malabar Manual, Op. cit.*, p. 367.

¹⁶⁷ TC, VIII, Diary, 1 April 1736; William Logan, *Malabar Manual, Op. cit.*, p. 367.

their remaining forts of Madayi, Taliparamba, Matalay and Ayconny to the Nair's army one by one.¹⁶⁸

The English Company wished to end clashes with the Canarese. Hence, they wrote to the Raja of Bednur detailing the reasons of his breaking with him. In addition, the Chief offered to negotiate terms of peace between Bednur and the Prince Regent of Kolathiri.¹⁶⁹ In February 1737, the Tellicherry factory representative Lynch visited the Canarese Governor Surappayya and signed a mutual agreement with him. Surappayya authorised all earlier grant to the Company. The Governor agreed to the re-opening of the English factory at Honovar and empowered to export rice from Mangalore without payment of 'adalamy.' The Governor assigned the monopoly of pepper and cardamom in the entire Kolathiri kingdom to the English Company. The treaty barred the Canarese coming to the south of the Valapattanam River, or erecting their forts there.¹⁷⁰

A few months later, the Canarese once again entered Kolathunad and reached the Taliparamba River. On 30 August 1737, the Chief, Lynch and the Prince Regent met Surappayya at Madakkara and signed a new agreement that decided the boundary of Bednur and Kolathunad.¹⁷¹ The terms of agreement were not fully acceptable to the Bednur King. Hence, the Company vessels refused the supply of rice from Mangalore port. At the same time, the Governor Surappayya was replaced and Ragonath was appointed as Governor of Mangalore, but it was not agreeable to the Company. In December 1737, Ragonath invited the Company Chief to Madayi. The Chief sent his

¹⁶⁸ TC, VIII, Consultation, 4 May 1736.

¹⁶⁹ William Logan, *Malabar Manual*, *Op. cit.*, p. 368.

¹⁷⁰ TC, IX, Letter, Richard Lynch, Tellicherry to Stephen Law, TF, 15 February 1737; William Logan, *Treaties*, *Op. cit.*, No. XXXIII, pp. 21-22.

¹⁷¹ See for details, TC, X, Consultation, 1 September 1737; William Logan, *Treaties*, *Op. cit.*, XXXVI, XXXVII, pp. 24-26; William Logan, *Malabar Manual*, *Op. cit.*, p. 372.

representative to Madayi. Ragonath wished the Company to remain neutral in the war about to commence against Malabar.¹⁷²

The Canarese repeated their attacks on Kolathunad a number of times. In the end of December 1738 and beginning of January 1739, fight between the English and the Canarese at Madakkara occurred again.¹⁷³ Hostilities ended in February 1740, through a peace treaty between the Company and the Canarese. It was the repetition of treaty of February 1737. In addition, the Company got permission to export a definite quantity of rice without duty from Mangalore, and they omitted the clause stopping the Canarese from making conquests to the south of the Valapattanam River. Since this agreement, the Canarese did not make any further trouble to the Tellicherry factory.¹⁷⁴

Internal Disputes in Kolathiri Family

The Kolathiri family at this time was marked by a number of internal clashes. One prince named Occkoo, turned against Kolathiri and the English Company. The Company defended the attack of Occkoo and protected their principal merchant Chattoo Chetty. The President of Bombay Council was pleased to approve the protection the English gave to Chattoo Chetty by sending an officer and a party of men to defend his houses and effects from the robberies of Occkoo.¹⁷⁵ Then, Occkoo tried to make alliance with Kadathanad. For that purpose, on 6 November 1739, he made an attempt to reach Vadakara by sea.¹⁷⁶ He was captured by the English and sent in custody

¹⁷² TC, X, Consultation, 29 December 1737.

¹⁷³ Letters to Tellicherry (hereafter LTT) III, Stephen Law, BC to William Jaynson, TF, 8 January 1739.

¹⁷⁴ William Logan, *Treaties, Op. cit.*, No. XLII, XLIII, pp. 29-31.

¹⁷⁵ TC, XI, Consultation, 17 September 1739.

¹⁷⁶ TC, XI, Diary, 6 November 1739.

to Madakkara fort. His followers revolted in the different parts of the country against the Company and Kolathiri.¹⁷⁷

In the south, a fresh issue emerged between the French and Iruvazhinadu Nambiar, on the question of 'pattam' of a Nair called Polatche: whether to pay pattam to Nambiar or to the French. The Iruvazhinadu and the French claimed the said Nair as their own vassal.¹⁷⁸ The French obtained assistance from the Kadathanad Raja and the English assisted Nambiar through the Prince Regent. Therefore, the French were repulsed. Then both companies signed a mutual agreement on 8 January and peace was restored in Malabar.¹⁷⁹ The Tellicherry factory diary dated 23 July 1740 recorded that the English Company had a grant from Kolathiri Raja, empowering them to hoist their flags at anytime and anywhere in the kingdom consisting of seven provinces. They were Pallartuta Nadu, Choulsaroum, Neelesweram, Alerta Nadu, Edevadu Nadu, Cartua Nadu and Porove Nadu.¹⁸⁰

In March 1740, the news came from Europe of a probable French assistance to Spain in the Anglo-Spanish war.¹⁸¹ On 13 November 1741, the French General M. De Labourdonnais with two large ships arrived at Mahe.¹⁸² He informed the English about the impending war on Kadathanad.¹⁸³ A few days later, three other French ships reached Mahe and another at Calicut. The French captured number of posts at Kadathanad.¹⁸⁴ At the same time, the French factory and Labourdonnais kept good relation with the Tellicherry factory. Labourdonnais informed the Chief of Tellicherry factory of his

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 7 November 1739; William Logan, *Malabar Manual*, *Op. cit.*, p. 374.

¹⁷⁸ TC, XI, Diary, 30 August 1739.

¹⁷⁹ TC, XI, Consultation, 11 January 1740; William Logan, *Treaties.*, *Op. cit.*, No. XLI, pp. 27-28.

¹⁸⁰ TC, XI, Diary, 23 July 1740.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 23 July 1740.

¹⁸² TC, XIII, Diary, 13 November 1741.

¹⁸³ TC, XIII, Letter, Mahe De Labourdonnais, Mahe to William Wake, TF, 15 November 1741.

¹⁸⁴ TC, XIII, Diary, 16 November 1741.

wishes to relinquish companies' forts in Iruvazhinadu and Kurungothnadu, which only increased clashes between both factories and Malabar rulers. The English accepted the proposal and signed an agreement to demolish the following forts and withdraw them. Consequently, the English demolished forts in Andollan Mala, Putinha, Tere Malla, Ponella Mala, Muicarra Cunnu and Muicarrakkandy. The French withdrew factories from Peringathur, Cannamala, Chimborra, Poitera, Bilay and Maylat.¹⁸⁵ The companies also had taken joint actions against the Iruvazhinadu Nambiars and Kottayam Raja if they had attempted to disturb the peace. They also had taken some measures on keeping the prices of pepper. Another provision of agreement was that in disputes between the French and Kadathanad Raja the English had to arbitrate. Similarly, the French would act in disputes between the English and the Kolathiri.¹⁸⁶ After signing this treaty, Labourdonnais sailed on 13 January 1742 for the Island of Mauritius.¹⁸⁷

Austrian Succession War and its Effects on Malabar

In 1744, Austrian Succession War broke out in Europe between England and France. In the early stages, the French had great losses in the sea therefore the war had little impact on the Company's settlements in Malabar. In July 1746, a French war ship arrived at Mahe, and the English heard about the French troop's preparations of war. Subsequently, the Tellicherry factory made an alliance of Malabar rulers except Ali Raja.¹⁸⁸ In September 1746, the French under the leadership of Labourdonnais captured Fort St. George.¹⁸⁹ Another English fort, St. David defended the French attacks. The news of

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 23 December 1741; William Logan, *Treaties, Op. cit.*, No. CVII, pp. 89-90; William Logan, *Malabar Manual, Op. cit.*, p. 377.

¹⁸⁶ TC, XIII, Diary, 25 December 1741; William Logan, *Treaties., Op. cit.*, No. CVIII, pp. 90-92; William Logan, *Malabar Manual, Op. cit.*, p. 377.

¹⁸⁷ TC, XIII, Diary, 13 January 1742.

¹⁸⁸ TC, XVI, Diary, 17 July 1746.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 24 September 1746.

these incidents from Coromandel Coast accepted the French factory at Mahe with every demonstration of joy. At Tellicherry, the English feared the French siege of the factory, therefore stocked food, liquor and other necessary items in the factory.¹⁹⁰

The native rulers the Prince Regent, Bednur Raja, Nileswaram Raja and Achanmar of Randathara offered their assistance to the English. The French and the English recruited many peoples to the army. The French factory at Mahe recruited 1500 troops from the local people and maintained close relations with Ali Raja of Arakkal, who hoped that Labourdonnais would attack the English at Tellicherry and capture the fort. The English troops camped out between Tellicherry and Moylan forts to be ready at a moment's notice. At the same time, the English recaptured Fort St. George from the French and the English successfully defended Fort St. David. During this time, the Tellicherry factory also had send 380 sepoy to help Fort. St. David.¹⁹¹

In the end of February 1747, the French fleets reached Mahe, but they had sailed away without even attacking Tellicherry.¹⁹² On 24 October 1748, the English and the French signed peace treaty 'Aix la Chappelle' by which the Austrian Succession War concluded in Europe. Thus, the French fleets returned to Madras.¹⁹³ It assured the return of peace at the Company's Malabar settlements. The English Chief invited the French Factors of Mahe with whom cordial relations had been established. The war economically and politically affected Malabar. In the wartime the price of pepper was

¹⁹⁰ William Logan, *Malabar Manual*, *Op. cit.*, p. 383.

¹⁹¹ TC, XVII-B, Diary, 19 August 1747.

¹⁹² TC, XVII-A, Diary, 4 March 1747.

¹⁹³ See for details, Holden Furber, *Op. cit.*, p. 150.

continually reduced and at the end of war the combined actions of factories had succeeded in reducing the price of pepper to Rs. 50 per candy.¹⁹⁴

By the end of the first half of 18th century, the English Company established itself as the major political power in Malabar, especially in the Kolathunad. In July 1748, Thomas Byfield, the Chief of Tellicherry factory, secured from the Kottayam Raja the exclusive right to trade pepper in his country. The Company and Raja agreed to help each other in the time of war with enemies.¹⁹⁵ With the end of Anglo- French war, the Tellicherry factory turned towards the Prince Regent. The Prince Regent agreed to expel a number of persons from his country, who created troubles to the Company. He also dismissed the custom master of his country and replaced the former custom master on the direction of the Company. In May 1749, Thomas Byfield, signed a mutual agreement with the Prince Regent.¹⁹⁶ In September 1749, with the signing treaty with the Kadathanad Raja, the Company got right for procuring pepper on payment of the usual customs duties. The Raja also agreed the protection of Company's trade in his country.¹⁹⁷

Summary

The Malabar region was well known throughout the ages for its good quality pepper. The Europeans in the age of colonialism competed for establishing trade monopoly in Malabar through their friendly relations with the local rajas. They skillfully managed the native rajas and other Europeans and entered into treaties to uphold their trade monopoly in the region. The political situation of the region helped them to safely establish trade there. Initially, the English secured permission from the Zamorin of Calicut to

¹⁹⁴ TC, VIII, Consultation, 6 January 1749.

¹⁹⁵ C.U. Aitchison, *Op. cit.*, 31 July 1748, No. XXIV, pp. 110-111; William Logan, *Treaties, Op. cit.*, No. XLVII, p. 46.

¹⁹⁶ See for further details, William Logan, *Treaties, Op. cit.*, No. XLIX, L, pp. 48-49.

¹⁹⁷ TC, XIX, Diary, 5 September 1749; William Logan, *Treaties, Op. cit.*, No. LIII, p. 50.

carryout trading activities at Calicut. Later, finding Kolathunad more comfortable they resumed trading operations at Valapattanam. Finally they settled down at Tellicherry on a vacated French port. They succeeded in reducing the influence of other European companies from the Kolathunad region. At the same time, they maintained friendly relations with the French Company factory at Mahe, a few miles away from Tellicherry. The joint efforts of both the companies were able to bring down shooting price of pepper. Actively interfering in the internal politics of the region they were able to elevate themselves to be dominant in power and in transforming Tellicherry in to a thriving port city.

CHAPTER 2

MERCHANDISE, TRADE ROUTES AND PATTERN OF TRADE IN THE HINTERLAND

Arun Thomas M. “Merchants,markets and merchandise: Strategy of english east India company trade in tellicherry 1725-1750” Thesis. Department of History, University of Calicut, 2015.

CHAPTER- II

MERCHANDISE, TRADE ROUTES AND PATTERN OF TRADE IN THE HINTERLAND

Tellicherry was the most important seaport in the Malabar Coast which became the part of the world trade, with the advent of the European companies in the late 17th century. The main reason for the selection of Tellicherry by the French and then by the English was the availability of good quality pepper and cardamom that had been in great demand in European markets. The story of the growth of Tellicherry explains the indispensability of a prosperous 'hinterland' lying adjacent to the port. There existed an organic connection between the cultivators, merchants and Company that resulted in the exchanging commodities. The existence of effective inland trade routes helped merchants to carry commodities from hinterland markets to the bazaar.

Theories of Port and Hinterland

The growth of a port city depends upon the volume of trade it carried out with the outside world. A port city invites the attention of the outside world through the good quality of commodities it provides to the outsiders. This pointed to the necessity of a flourishing hinterland for the success of a port city. As explained by Atiya Habib Kidwai, "the site of port means the area of land on which the ports exists and water or harbour on which it depends for existence."¹ Seaports are located in the mouths of seas where ships and boats load and unload passengers and cargoes. James Bird defined seaport "in terms of its function as a place where each way exchanges

¹ Atiya Habib Kidwai, "Conceptual and Methodological Issues; Port and Port Hinterland" in Indu Banga (ed.), *Port and their Hinterlands in India (1700 AD -1950)*, Delhi, 1992, p. 10.

between land and sea transport regularly take place.”² The economic and the geographic historians have generally called these oceanic and inland systems as ‘hinterland’ and ‘foreland’.

The hinterland lying adjacent to the port is the area from which the commodities of export reach the port through the trade routes. A hinterland is essential for the survival of the port. A.J. Sargent suggested a simple definition to the hinterland when he stated “it is an area within the service purview of a port.”³ Hinterland is a geographic and economic area from where the port receives its merchandise for export and distributes the merchandise imported from overseas countries or foreland. Like the hinterland, the foreland also had a key role in the development of any port. In general the port extends economic interactions between the hinterlands and forelands.

K.N. Chaudhuri pointed out that “the location of seaports in the Indian Ocean, as in any other port of the world, was the result of a contact between geographical features, historical developments and economic considerations.”⁴ Most of the seaports of Malabar were commercial ports, which had a significant role in commercial activities from the early time onwards. It has been described by Bal Krishna as, “wonderfully fertile, vastly rich in natural resources and productive of many varieties of valuable commodities which merchants from all over the east and the west came to seek at its numerous ports.”⁵ Margaret Frenz wrote on Malabar ports that “the ports located along the Malabar coastline differ from one another in their geographical features and have been of varying significance over the centuries

² James Bird, *Seaport and Seaport Terminals*, London, 1971, p. 13.

³ A.J. Sargent, *Seaport and Hinterlands*, London, 1938, p. 154.

⁴ K.N. Chaudhuri, *Trade and Civilisation in the Indian Ocean- An Economic History from the Rise of Islam to 1750*, New Delhi, 1988, pp. 161-162.

⁵ Bal Krishna, *Commercial Relations between India and England (1601-1757)*, London, 1924, p. 20.

to the trade around the globe.”⁶ The region was famous for its spices, particularly pepper, cardamom, cinnamon, ginger, clove, turmeric, sandalwood and timber. Therefore, it got considerable importance throughout the ages.

In 16th century Duarte Barbosa noticed that “hinterlands of Kolathunad were famous for its good quality pepper”.⁷ Tellicherry was one of the gateways of Kolathunad that assisted the transfer of commodities between oceanic and inland systems. Since the advent of English East India Company the major part of export from the region was controlled by Tellicherry factory. Due to the commercial significance of the region the English faced commercial competition from the Dutch in Cannanore and the French in Mahe. The renowned Economic historian Ramesh Chandra Dutt wrote in his *Economic History of India* “Tellicherry, Mahe and Dharmapattanam formed a circle, the commerce of the circle was of great importance and principle of commerce was pepper, sandalwood and cardamoms.”⁸ Over these issues the region witnessed great commercial competition between colonial powers.

Hinterlands of Tellicherry

The hinterlands and its relation with the port was the important factor for the development of Tellicherry factory or any other European settlement of the world. The Company’s commercial influences were not limited to the port or coast they had controlled but had also extended pressure on the hinterlands. Tellicherry had wide range of hinterlands extended to include the fertile agricultural lands of Malabar, Canara and Coorge which ensured a regular supply of commodities particularly spices for export.

⁶ Margaret Frenz, *From Contact to Conquest: Transition to British Rule in Malabar 1790-1805*, New Delhi, 2003, p. 8.

⁷ M.L. Dames (ed.), *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, Vol. II, London, 1967, p. 210.

⁸ Ramesh Dutt, *The Economic History of India*, Vol. I, Delhi, 1976, pp. 153-154; See also, Francis Buchanan, *A Journey from Madras through the Countries of Mysore, Canara, and Malabar*, Vol. II, London, 1807, p. 517.

Albert L. Seaman divided hinterland into three distinct regions. The first area is the local non-competitive tributary area. The second area is the port's hinterland proper. The last area represents the great competitive hinterland.⁹ Another scholar James Bird explained these as immediate hinterland, primary hinterland and secondary or competitive hinterland.¹⁰ The immediate hinterland or local non-competitive tributary area is the port area itself and the port city. The coastal area of Tellicherry was famous markets of copra, dried fish and salt. Primary hinterland or proper hinterland included the immediate hinterland and the area where port and city assume a commanding role in the life of the area. In addition to port city, the areas of Aggar, Dharmapattanam, Kottayam, Kathiroom, Kuthuparamba, Kurungothnadu, Ancharakkandy and Vengad were the primary hinterlands of Tellicherry. These areas supplied to Tellicherry factory the largest share of pepper trade. The secondary hinterland or great competitive hinterland is the area from which majority of commodities is directed to the main port. The areas of Mysore, Coorg, Wynad, Sreekandapuram, Koodaly, Madakkara, Valapattanam, Irikkur, Vadakara, Calicut and Ponnani were the secondary hinterlands. In these areas the English Company faced a severe competition from other European companies in Malabar.

The English Company secured rights for conducting trade from the Kolathiri Raja and other local rulers of Malabar. But the antagonistic nature of 'little kingdoms' of Kolathunad created tensions to Company in procuring merchandise from the states of Kolathunad. The fall of Mahe into the hands of the French led to the competition of both companies in Kolathunad. As a result of this competition the English were compelled to confine their trading

⁹ Albert L. Seaman, "Seattle as a Port City" in *Journal Economic Geography*, Vol. II, No. I, Clark University, 1935, pp. 21-22.

¹⁰ James Bird, *Op. cit.*, p. 125; Atiya Habib Kidwai, *Op. cit.*, p. 20.

activities to the area over the river Valapattanam, Vengad, Dharmapattanam, Kottayam and Koodaly, from where the Tellicherry factory procured pepper.¹¹

The major share of the exported pepper and cardamom from the Tellicherry port was procured from Kottayam country. In 1730, John Braddyll, the Chief of Tellicherry factory advised to Robert Cowan, the President of Bombay Council that “usually the factory depended on Cotata country (Kottayam) about one third of usual purchase of Malabar.”¹² The inland trade routes, Peria and Perambadi, go through the middle of Kottayam country, which easily carried goods from hinterland markets to the port. In addition to this, the merchants of Kottayam had good relations with Tellicherry factory, and acted as agents of the Company.

The important hinterland markets of Kottayam country were Kottayam Angadi, Vengad, Dharmapattanam, Kathiroor, Kuthuparamba, Pinarayi, Nettur, Kandamkunnu, Sivapuram, Pazhassi, Mattannur, Chavasseri, Cannavam, Manathana, Muzhakkunnu, Iritty etc. Kottayam Angadi was the capital of Kottayam country which lies 6½ miles North East of Tellicherry. It was the most important hinterland bazaar of Tellicherry, and carried out flourishing trade from early time onwards. This ‘Mappila’ bazaar is situated not far from the palaces of Kottayam rajas. It was a meeting place of Tellicherry and Cannanore routes. It was a rest place of travelling merchants to ‘Peria’ and ‘Perambadi’ ghat routes.

Dharmapattanam was one of the principal hinterlands of Tellicherry. It is an island formed by the junction of the Anjarakkandy and Tellicherry rivers just north of Tellicherry town. In the medieval time it was a major mart of Kolathunad. Logan stated that “the English factory at Tellicherry, secured

¹¹ Tellicherry Consultation (hereafter TC), II, Consultation, 21 August 1730.

¹² Letters from Tellicherry (hereafter LFT), I, John Braddyll, Tellicherry Factory (hereafter TF) to Robert Cowan, Bombay Council (hereafter BC), 19 February 1730.

their largest share of the trade in the excellent pepper produced in the Randathara Achanmars territory, in the Kottayam rajas domain and in that of the Iruvazhinadu Nambiars, tapped by the river converging at Dharmapattanam.”¹³ The other nearby areas also produced large quantity of pepper. The Company merchants brought these goods by sea or by land imported to Tellicherry. In 1734, the Company gets actual right on Dharmapattanam, and the Company collected rent from here. It was also renowned for coconuts and salt pans, so the Company collected duty on coconuts, paddy and salt.¹⁴ The Company and their merchants brought goods from eastern hinterland markets via Anjarakkandy River to Dharmapattanam port. Then it was carried through land or sea route to Tellicherry.

Randathara or Anjarakkandy was another major pepper producing hinterlands of Tellicherry, the land lying between Dharmapattanam Island and Cannanore provided good quantity of pepper.¹⁵ The English factory at Tellicherry, with its outworks on Dharmapattanam Island, secured to Company the largest share of the trade in the excellent pepper produced in the Randathara.¹⁶ At the time of Canarese invasion, the English Company had the fear of the Canarese attacking Randathara that part of the country Northward, from whence English Company gathered most of their pepper.¹⁷ In January 1736, the English expressed their fear of French entry to Randathara. Therefore, the English Chief directed Captains of ships Victoria Grab and King George Gally to seize them.¹⁸ Therefore, the French cancelled their attempt and returned to Mahe.

¹³ William Logan, *Malabar Manual*, Vol. I, New Delhi, 2000, p. 10.

¹⁴ See for details, TC, X, Consultation, 24 July 1738.

¹⁵ William Logan, *Op. cit.*, p. 634.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

¹⁷ TC, VI, Consultation, 8 January 1733.

¹⁸ TC, VIII, Consultation, 28 January 1736.

Aggar, well known for pepper, was one of the nearest hinterlands of Tellicherry. Aggar port is at the mouth of a small stream, the bar of which, however, cannot be crossed even by small craft.¹⁹ The English Company principal merchant Chattoo Chetty settled at Aggar. He had warehouses here for storing pepper. Once Chattoo Chetty reported that the country Aggar where he resided most years had produced from 1000 to 1200 candies of pepper.²⁰ After his death his family was divided but one of his nephews Chattoo of Aggar continued his business with the Company. Vengad was another major hinterland of Tellicherry producing finest pepper. The bazaar of Vengad was lying on the side of Anjarakkandi River that helped to carry goods of bazaar to Dharmapattanam.

Kuthuparamba lies eight miles east of Tellicherry on the Coorg Road. It is another major hinterland of Tellicherry. Kottayam which is only a mile from Kuthuparamba on the Cannanore road contains the seat of the Eastern and Southern palaces of the Kottayam royal family.²¹ It was a meeting place of Peria and Perambadi routes. It was connected to its minor trade centres like Merubambayi, Naravoor, Panunda, Kandankunnu, Neerveli, etc.

Mattannur, a well-known hinterland and market, lies 14 miles East of Tellicherry on the Coorg road. It was also connected with Cannanore through Koodaly. It was an important Angadi from very early times onwards. W.H. Schoof has identified Ptolemy's 'Mastanour' as Mattannur.²² Mattannur was connected with Irikkur, major sandalwood and pepper cultivated area through Irikkur River. It was bounded on north by Irikkur River and south by

¹⁹ William Logan, *Op. cit.*, p. 70.

²⁰ TC, V, Consultation, 28 January 1732.

²¹ A. Sreedhara Menon, *Cannanore District Gazetteers*, Thiruvananthapuram, 1972, p. 727.

²² Mattannur Nagarasabha, in *Nagarasabha Vikasana Rekhakal*, Kannur District, Vol. 165, 1996, p. 5.

Manakkay River.²³ Iritty, which is situated at the foot of the Perambadi Ghat lies on the Tellicherry- Coorg route. The merchandise of minor angadies like Vallithode, Koottupuzha, Aralam etc. were carried to Iritty bazaar. These are the hilly areas, pepper and forest goods were largely carried to main markets. There were large numbers of local routes that connected minor angadies and Coorg through the forest.

Kottiyur is the seat of the famous Sri Tricharamanna Temple dedicated to Lord Siva. With the presence of important pilgrim centres, it had been a market place especially in the festival seasons. The Tellicherry-Peria route was passing through Kottiyur. It lies in a distance of 40 miles to the east of Tellicherry. It was a most suitable place for transportation of goods because of the presence of Kottiyur River which originates from the Coorge forest. Manathana is another important minor hinterland of Tellicherry, lying on the branch route from Peria Churam at the foot of the Peria Ghat to Iritty. Wayanad was another major hinterland of Tellicherry situated on 2558 feet above the sea level.²⁴ This hilly region has produced the best quality cardamom, which was carried through Peria pass to Tellicherry port.

Iruvazhinadu was the nearest territory of Tellicherry factory, which provided sufficient quantity of pepper. The nearest angadies of Tellicherry like Eranjholi, Panoor, Panniyannur, Kariyad, Kodiyeri, Mokeri, Puthur etc. were hinterland markets of Iruvazhinadu. The French Company had procured pepper and cardamom from hinterlands of southern parts of Kottayam and Iruvazhinadu. The merchants of Panoor, one of the principal pepper produced area sold their pepper to the French Company. With the signing of treaty with Kurungoth Nair the English Company secured the right of pepper purchase in Moylan and other markets of Kurungothunadu. Moylan, situated on the south

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ See for details, A. Sreedhara Menon, *Op. cit.*, p. 730.

of Tellicherry, was the nearest market of Tellicherry town. Punnole and Kallai were important hinterland markets of Kurungothnadu.²⁵ Charles Lockter noted that, “Panola is a town about five miles to the south of Tellicherry, which supplies great quantities of pepper.”²⁶ Kallai was a small port in the inside bar of the Mahe River, which could be entered by ‘thonis’.²⁷ Pepper and other spices from Kurungothnadu were carried to Kallai port and then sent to Tellicherry by coastal or by the land.

Valapattanam was one of the major hinterland markets of Tellicherry, situated in the Kolathiri domain. From the early time onwards it had been a leading trading centre of Malabar. It was the first English and French Company settlement in Kolathunad. From that time onwards they procured merchandises especially pepper from there. At the time of the development of Tellicherry factory, it continued as ‘Northern’ hinterland of Tellicherry. Hence, the merchants of this place were addressed in Company records as ‘northern merchants’. Ballorate Callandra was the principal northern merchant of Tellicherry factory.²⁸ The presence of a navigable river enabled the merchants to carry merchandises of hinterlands to Valapattanam easily through the river.

Irikkur and Sreekandapuram were two important markets situated near the Valapattanam River. These Muslim populated places were mentioned by medieval travellers.²⁹ The Indian Atlas mentioned these places as ‘Erroocur’

²⁵ William Logan (ed.), *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Other Papers of Importance Relating to British Affairs in Malabar* (hereafter ‘*Treaties*’), Calicut, 1879, No. III, p. 2; C.U. Aitchison (ed.), *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads Relating to India and Neighbouring Countries*, Vol. X, Calcutta, 1864, No. XVII, p. 106.

²⁶ Charles Lockter, *An Account of the Trade in India*, London, 1711, p. 276.

²⁷ See for details, William Logan, *Malabar Manual*, *Op. cit.*, p. 93.

²⁸ See for details, TC, XII, Consultation, 16 January 1741.

²⁹ The medieval travellers Dimishqi and Ibn Batuata, mentioned Sreekandapuram as ‘Jurfattan’. See for further details, S. Muhammad Husayn Nainar, *Arab Geographers’ Knowledge of Southern India*, University of Madras, 1942, p. 41.

and ‘Surrukandapuram.’³⁰ The English and the Dutch companies procured major part of their sandalwood from the merchants of Irikkur. Javarra Canna, Ballipy Cutty Assen and Ballapilagata Cutussa were the principal sandalwood agents of English Company at Irikkur.

In the time of the arrival of the French at Mahe the English Company supported Vazhunnor of Kadathanad. As per the treaty of 1725, the Tellicherry factory got all right of collection of pepper and cardamom from Kadathanad.³¹ The hinterlands of Kadathanad were also renowned for agricultural products. These merchandises were carried to Vadakara port, which was one of the major ports of Malabar Coast, the capital of Kadathanad. Its hinterlands had abundance of pepper and cardamoms. Alexander Hamilton mentioned that this country produces pepper and best cardamom in the world.³² In 1749, with the signing of an agreement the Company renewed their right for procuring of pepper and cardamom from the hinterlands of Kadathanad.³³

The English got commercial privileges from the Zamorins of Calicut in 1664 and 1669.³⁴ In the early phase, the Tellicherry factory functioned as a subordinate centre of Calicut factory. The political power of Tellicherry rose only after the establishment of fort, but the Company continued their purchase of merchandises from Calicut. This was clearly stated by Alexander Hamilton in his account.³⁵ It was one of the medieval marts of Malabar, which was also still continued. The Tellicherry factory collected most of the merchandises

³⁰ See for details, William Logan, *Malabar Manual*, *Op. cit.*, p. 13.

³¹ William Logan, *Treaties*, *Op. cit.*, No. XIII, pp. 12-13; See also, C.U. Aitchison, *Op. cit.*, No. IXX, p. 108.

³² John Pinkerton, *A General Collection of the East and Most Interesting Voyages and Travels in all Parts of the World*, Vol. VIII, London, 1881, p. 371; Alexander Hamilton, *A New Account of East Indies*, Edinburgh, 1727, p. 298.

³³ TC, XIX, Diary, 5 September 1749; William Logan, *Treaties*, *Op. cit.*, September 1749, No. LIII, p. 50.

³⁴ William Logan, *Treaties*, *Op. cit.*, No. II, September 1699, p. 1.

³⁵ Alexander Hamilton, *Op. cit.*, p. 306; John Pinkerton, *Op. cit.*, p. 374.

that produced from Calicut. Due to the political power of the Zamorin Calicut remained an open market for the English and the French companies. The price of merchandise in Calicut was always higher than other Malabar markets. The high price of pepper in Calicut led to the smuggling of pepper to Calicut. In the period of 1735-36 it was Rs. 90 in Calicut but at the same time it was Rs. 72 or 73 at Tellicherry. Therefore, the merchants carried pepper overland to Calicut market from northern parts of the Malabar, which they bought for Rs. 73.³⁶

Beypore lie to the south of Calicut, which is situated on the mouth of the river by the same name.³⁷ Through this river teak and other timber and planks were carried from hinterland forests to Beypore. It resulted in the development of ship building industry in Beypore. Along with timber some other commodities like coconut, ghee, arrack, coir, mat and bamboo were brought through coastal route to Tellicherry.

Tannore (Tanur) was one of the earliest European settlements situated 28 miles South of Calicut. From the Portuguese time onwards it was a port town under a petty kingdom known as 'Vettathunad' or Tannore. The travellers mentioned that the inhabitants of the town were rich Muslims merchants and fisher folk.³⁸ In the 17th century traveller John Fryer mentioned in his travel accounts on Tannore town that "he saw double row cottages opened their shops of wares, which was confined to pepper, turmeric, ginger, toddy, arrack, cardamom, tobacco etc."³⁹ At the same time, the English collected merchandise to Tellicherry factory from Tannore like pepper,

³⁶ TC, VIII, Consultation, 21 January 1736.

³⁷ A.P. Ibrahim Kunju, *Studies in Medieval Kerala History*, Thiruvananthapuram, 1975, p. 2.

³⁸ Gabriel Dellon, *A Voyage to the East Indies*, London, 1698, p. 143.

³⁹ John Fryer, *A New Account of East India and Persia*, London, 1698, p. 52.

turmeric and ginger.⁴⁰ Isooph, the principal merchant of Tannore, entered into number of contracts with the English Company.⁴¹

Ponnani was another Muslim populated seaport town situated 36 miles away in the south of Calicut. It also provided pepper, ginger, turmeric and coconuts to the English factory at Tellicherry.⁴² The rich inhabitants engaged in trade with distant lands of Surat, Mocha, Madras and Bengal.⁴³ Swamy Putturah was the leading merchant at Ponnani.⁴⁴

Generally the rulers of Malabar had not entered into trade activities directly. An exception to this was Ali Raja of Cannanore, who engaged in maritime trade with Arabia, Lakshadweep and Maldives in their ships and was renowned as ‘the prince of merchant.’ They were important carriers of pepper, cardamom, timber, coconut, coir and rice to far-flung markets in India and abroad since the end of the 12th century.⁴⁵ Besides these exports from Malabar, Mysore and Canara, they additionally transhipped a whole range of merchandises that circulated in the Indian Ocean regions.⁴⁶ But Ali Raja was disappointed due to the presence of the European Company’s monopolising each centres of Malabar Coast, which lost him in maritime and hinterland trade of North Malabar. Ally Raja attacked Company’s principal pepper

⁴⁰ TC, IV, Diary, 11 September 1730; LFT, I, John Braddyll, TF to the Court of Directors for the United Companies of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies, London (hereafter ‘the Court of Directors’), 7 February 1731.

⁴¹ LFT, II, John Braddyll, TF to Robert Cowan, BC, 15 September 1733.

⁴² See for details, TC, II, Diary, 30 January 1727.

⁴³ See for details, Walter Hamilton, *Description of Hindustan and the Adjacent Countries*, Delhi, 1971, p. 297.

⁴⁴ TC, XIV, Consultation, 16 August 1742.

⁴⁵ Ruchira Banerjee, “A Wedding Feast or Political Arena?: Commercial Rivalry between the Ali Rajas and the English Factory in Northern Malabar in the Eighteenth Century” in Rudrangshu Mukherjee and Lakshmi Subramanian (eds.), *Politics and Trade in the Indian Ocean World*, New Delhi, 1998, p. 85.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

merchant Chattoo Chetty many times. All these occasions, the Company provided their support to the said merchant.⁴⁷

In 1676, Ally Raja borrowed some money from English factory at Calicut. In 1725 it grew into a huge debt. The Company asked him to clear these debts a number of times.⁴⁸ However, Raja was unable to refund the money as he was in financial troubles. Hence he enquired the possibility of entering into a contract with him for pepper, on the basis of four chequeens (about Rs. 13) per candy towards paying the debt. The Company accepted his offer.⁴⁹ In another occasion, which was in November 1748, Ali Raja offered some quantity of amber grease as part of his debt.⁵⁰ The records also noted that the factory bought Ponnani rice from the heiress of Cannanore.⁵¹ In addition to this, many times the Company bought pepper, coir, amber grease and other merchandise from Ally Raja.

Hinterland Merchandises

Pepper: One of the main reasons for the coming of European companies to Malabar was the desire to procure pepper. Pepper was the Chief produce of Malabar, which was collected in such abundance and good quality, and due to this reason Canter Visscher wished to call this country as the ‘mother of pepper.’⁵² Pepper was produced mainly in the lowlands, but with far more abundance in the elevated tracts and along the hills and mountains. It was not cultivated in open fields, but in the close neighborhood of trees, as the plant requires support. The French traveller Gabriel Dellon wrote that “the shrub which bears the pepper is always planted near other trees, which keep it

⁴⁷ TC, II, Diary, 6 June 1727; TC, III, Diary, 22 April 1728.

⁴⁸ TC, I, Diary, 20 November 1725.

⁴⁹ TC, II, Consultation, 31 October 1727.

⁵⁰ Letters to Tellicherry (hereafter LTT), X, William Wake, BC to Thomas Byfeld, TF, 6 December 1748.

⁵¹ TC, Diary, 18 January 1740.

⁵² Jacob Canter Visscher, *Letters from Malabar*, Madras, 1862, Letter No. XXVI, p. 153.

upright. The colour of pepper is green at first, but turns red when it comes to maturity, and after it has been dried in the sun.”⁵³ The dried pepper was essential ingredient of different foods and medicines. Dellon mentioned that “The Indians preserve pepper with sugar whilst it is green, and make also a pickle of it with vinegar, which they call ‘achar’, a name they give to all their pickle made with vinegar.”⁵⁴

The finest pepper lands in Kolathunad helped the English to improve their trade prospects. Therefore, the English tried to gather and export more and more pepper from Tellicherry. When the English arrived at Tellicherry, President of Surat Council John Child informed Company authorities that “the pepper provided at Tellicherry was better than that obtained at Calicut.”⁵⁵ After entering into agreements with the local rajas the Company procured pepper from the merchants of Kolathunad, Calicut and Canara. Every year the English purchased thousands of candies of pepper and exported it to the foreign markets.

Cardamom: Cardamom was the second important exported item from Kolathunad. It was mentioned by Gabriel Dellon that, “the cardamom grows in the Kingdom of Cannanore near a certain mountains, about six or seven leagues distant from the sea side, this being the only place in the world where it grows; this spot of ground produces vast yearly revenue to the owners.”⁵⁶ In the 17th and 18th centuries cardamom grew only in the Western Ghats of Malabar. Canter Visscher also pointed out that, “The best cardamom found in

⁵³ Gabriel Dellon, *Op. cit.*, p. 67; See for further details, Francis Buchanan, *Op. cit.*, pp. 520-521.

⁵⁴ Gabriel Dellon, *Op. cit.*, p. 67.

⁵⁵ Surat Factory Records (hereafter SFR), Vol. VIII, p.148, Cited in N. Rajendran, *Establishment of British Power in Malabar*, Allahabad, 1979, p. 38.

⁵⁶ Gabriel Dellon, *Op. cit.*, p. 67. Garcia da Orta mentioned that “cardamoms grow in the foothills of Wayanad Ghat and interior region between Cannanore and Calicut.” See for details, Garcia Da Orta, *Colloquies on the Simples and Drugs of India*, Vol. I, London, 1896, p. 286.

Colaistri kingdom, which is more delicate in taste than the other species, is the only kind which the East India Company bought for exportation to Europe and elsewhere.”⁵⁷ The records of the Tellicherry factory stated that the cardamom mainly grown of the hills, called Peria in Wayanadu, were esteemed superior to any other.⁵⁸ These hills produced annually more than the Company’s demand.⁵⁹ The factory records also stated that Cunhisue and other cardamom merchants of Company procured all cardamom produced from Peria.⁶⁰ The records also speaks that cardamom was cultivated in the estates. In December 1730, Symoyne stated, “the quantities my estate produced in times past was from 60 to 65 candies but the present season would not afford more than 20 to 25 candies.”⁶¹ In the beginning of 19th century Francis Buchanan stated that “in the 18th century approximately 50 to 100 candies of cardamom harvested in Wayanadu per year.”⁶²

The European companies collected cardamom from the merchants and exported to the other parts of the world. With the establishment of Tellicherry factory the import of cardamom to Cannanore was reduced and it was transferred mainly to Tellicherry. The Tellicherry factory records stated that “the Dutch and the French more especially, used all underhand means of purchasing the Peria cardamom, but are generally disappointed because they come through Kolathiri Prince Dominance.”⁶³ It had great demand in London, Paris, other European towns, Persia, Mocha, Surat, Bombay, Coromandal, Bengal and Chinese ports. Canter Visscher wrote that “the English Company send cardamom to Surat, Persia, Mocha, Coromandal and Bengal, where the

⁵⁷ Jacob Canter Visscher, *Op. cit.*, Letter No. IX, p. 57.

⁵⁸ Symond mentioned that the cardamoms of Wynad were considered the best on the coast. See for details, A.R. Symonds, *An Introduction to the Geography and History of India, and the Countries Adjacent*, Madras, 1843, p. 233.

⁵⁹ TC, XI, Consultation, 28 April 1740.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 31 July 1740.

⁶¹ TC, IV, Consultation, 23 December 1730.

⁶² Francis Buchanan, *Op. cit.*, p. 512.

⁶³ TC, XI, Consultation, 28 April 1740.

Mussulmans use it in their food and particularly in a dish of rice called 'brinsje' .”⁶⁴

Sandal: The 18th century traveller Symond mentioned that Tellicherry is the principal mart in India for sandalwood.⁶⁵ It was used for perfumes, ceremonial functions, burning of dead bodies etc. Dellon mentioned that the Kings and other great men made use of it in their buildings.⁶⁶ The hinterland forests of Tellicherry had not widely grown sandalwood, which was imported from Coorg, Seringapatnam and South Canara regions. These came to Tellicherry through Irikkur and Calicut. The scarcity of sandal in the Malabar forests was noticed by Buchanan. He mentioned that “the few trees of sandal wood may be seen, as in other parts of Malabar, but their wood has little or no smell, and cannot be sold.”⁶⁷ The sandalwood of Malabar had great demand in foreign markets especially in Canton and Macao. The records of Tellicherry factory speaks that sandalwood was largely exported from Tellicherry to foreign markets.

Ginger: Ginger in Malayalam is 'inchi', and dried ginger is called as 'chukku', one of the important cultivated items of Malabar. At the time of Portuguese, they collected and exported up to 6000 candies of ordinary ginger each year.⁶⁸ Buchanan gives the details of making chukku for sale. According to him “the ginger is scraped with a knife to remove the outer skin and spread out on mats, and dried eight or ten days; when it is ready for sale.”⁶⁹ The

⁶⁴ Jacob Canter Visscher, *Op. cit.*, Letter No. XXVI, pp. 156-157.

⁶⁵ A.R. Symond, *Op. cit.*, p. 233.

⁶⁶ Gabriel Dellon, *Op. cit.*, p. 149.

⁶⁷ Francis Buchanan, *Op. cit.*, p. 541.

⁶⁸ Genevieve Bouchon, *Regent of the Sea: Cannanore's Response to Portuguese Expansion 1507-1528*, New Delhi, 1988, p. 20; Tome Pires stated that more than 2000 quintals of ginger were produced in Kolathunad. See for details, Armando Cortesao (ed.), *The Suma Oriental of Tome Pires and the Book of Francisco Rodrigues*, Vol. I, New Delhi, 1990, p. 7.

⁶⁹ Francis Buchanan, *Op. cit.*, p. 469.

Tellicherry factory procured major part of their exported ginger from Calicut. In 1746, the price of ginger at Tellicherry was Rs. 30 per candy.⁷⁰

Turmeric: Turmeric was another important cultivated hinterland produce, which was extensively grown in the counties of Kolathunad and Calicut. It was also planted every year like ginger, in its root. Buchanan gives description of making dried turmeric. According to him, “after the harvest, turmeric is boiled a whole day in water. The pieces that are large are then split and for few days the whole is exposed on mats to the sun.”⁷¹ It has yellow colour on drying and used as powder. The Malabar people called it ‘manjal’, and it has been an important ingredient in their daily food items especially for preparation of a dish, which is called ‘curry’. It had great demand in the markets of Red Sea, Persia and Europe, used it as a dye and for reducing poisons of vegetables and non-vegetables. As per the Company records of 1746, the price of turmeric at Tellicherry and Calicut, was Rs. 29 per candy.⁷² In the south, Canter Visscher mentioned its price as 10 ducats (about Rs. 40) per candy and the Dutch Company collected from Calicut and Cannanore generally 200 candies in one season.⁷³

Coconuts: Coconut was one of the principal merchandises in Malabar Coast. The dried coconut is called ‘copra’ which is chiefly exported to Bombay, Surat, Persia and Red Sea.⁷⁴ Coconut oil is the best oil for food preparation and used as fuel in the lamps. Coconut palm produced liquor known as toddy (‘kallu’), the traditional wine of Malabar, which was distilled from the young

⁷⁰ On 13 January 1746, William West, the English agent at Calicut informed to the Tellicherry factory Chief that he had contracted for 10 candies of ginger at Rs. 30 candy. See for details, TC, Diary, 13 January 1746.

⁷¹ Francis Buchanan, *Op. cit.*, p. 469.

⁷² On 13 January 1746, William West informed to the Tellicherry factory that he had hopes that contract for 10 candies of turmeric at Rs. 29 per candy being the very lowest prices. TC, XI, Diary, 13 January 1746.

⁷³ See for details, Jacob Canter Visscher, *Op. cit.*, Letter No. XXVI, p. 156.

⁷⁴ As per the records of 16 November 1732, in Calicut market the price of copra at 8½ narrodies (Rs. 24½) per candy. TC, VI, Diary, 16 November 1732.

sprigs of coconut. It has a white colour, and a sweet and delicious taste. The Tellicherry factory brought toddy from Tellicherry, Calicut, Beypore, Parappanagadi and Tannore.⁷⁵ Vinegar is another item that was produced from this liquor. The palm leaf of coconut tree is used for construction of houses.

Coir: The ‘coir’ is rope which was manufactured from the fibrous bark of the coconut, which was also an important export item from Tellicherry. Alexander Hamilton noted that coir “which are the fibres of the cask that environs the nut spun fit to make cordage and cables for fishing, and several other uses.”⁷⁶ It was imported to Tellicherry from Maldives, Lakshadweep, Calicut and Kapad.⁷⁷

Jaggery: The Portuguese Jaggery called by natives of Malabar as ‘Jagara’ was a kind of sugar. Jagara was produced from toddy after retaining its sweetness through certain special measures. It was imported to the Tellicherry factory from Calicut.⁷⁸ It was made by sweet toddy boiling for some time, when it become sugar, not quite so good as that which is drawn from cane, but which is nevertheless much used among the common people of Malabar.⁷⁹

Arrack: Arrack was a traditional liquor of Eastern countries. Three types of arrack were brought to Tellicherry, the Malabar arrack, Goan arrack and the Batavian arrack. Beypore was the major centre of arrack in Malabar.⁸⁰ The Tellicherry factory bought Batavian arrack from the hands of Ezekiel Raby, the Dutch agent at Cochin and Goan arrack bought from Portuguese factory at Goa.

⁷⁵ See for details, LTT, VII, George Jenkinson, Beypore to John Geekie, TF, 25 November 1743.

⁷⁶ Alexander Hamilton, *Op. cit.*, p. 297; John Pinkerton, *Op. cit.*, p. 370.

⁷⁷ LTT, IX, Alexander Douglas, Calicut to TF, 20 April 1747.

⁷⁸ As per the factory records of April 1737, the rate of jagara at Rs. 8 per candy. See, TC, IX, Diary, 30 April 1737.

⁷⁹ Gabriel Dellon, *Op. cit.*, p. 63.

⁸⁰ LTT, V, Stephen Law, BC to William Wake, TF, 17 April 1741.

Rice and Paddy: The method of rice cultivation in Malabar was divided into three, mundakan, punja and virippu. Among these ‘mundakan’ is major the cultivation, sown in the month of August and reaped in January. The ‘punja’ is sown in January and reaped in April. This crop is small but profitable. The ‘virippu’ is a dry crop, which is grown on high dry lands.⁸¹ The rice field is called as ‘kandam’ or ‘vayal’ and is entirely watered by the rain. The farmers called as ‘kudiyar’ paid rent called ‘varam’ to their land lords.⁸² The factory bought rice from Tellicherry bazaar merchants like Chatoos Chetty, Combem Allippy, Badamala Putturah and Baunibeltu Cunhipi.⁸³ On Some occasions, the factory bought rice from rajas of Malabar⁸⁴ and from the merchants at Calicut like named Muta Chetty.⁸⁵ In addition to the purchase of rice from native merchants, the factory brought rice from Canara, Madras and Bengal.

Areca: Areca was seen throughout whole parts of East Indies. Its nuts were used for chewing mixed with betel leaf and lime. Francis Day mentioned of the use of areca nut in the ceremonial occasions that “at ceremonial visits, as a sign that it is time for a visitor to take leave, they are presented in slices, mixed with chunam and cardamoms, folded up in a betel leaf, and secured by a clove.”⁸⁶ It was also exported to the Coromandel, Bombay and Surat.⁸⁷

⁸¹ See for more details, Gabriel Dellon, *Op. cit.*, p. 61; Francis Day, *The Land of the Permals or Cochin, its Past and its Present*, Madras, 1863, pp. 562-564; Francis Buchanan, *Op. cit.*, p. 518; S. Subbarama Aiyar, *Economic Life in a Malabar Village*, Bangalore, 1925, pp. 41-42.

⁸² See for details, Francis Buchanan, *Op. cit.*, pp. 518-520.

⁸³ TC, IX, Consultation, 28 September 1736.

⁸⁴ On 11 July 1740, third King of Kottayam requested to the English Company to be advanced 2500 bales of rice. The Company accepted the request of Raja agreed that the sum of Rs. 1000 be now advanced him out of the Company’s treasury. See for details, TC, XI, Diary, 11 July 1740; Consultation, 11 July 1740.

⁸⁵ In December 1727, the Company bought rice amounting 4076 Calicut fanams, from Muta Chetty. See for details, TC, III, Diary, 6 December 1727.

⁸⁶ Francis Day, *Op. cit.*, p. 547.

⁸⁷ Its price was 3 to 4 rix dollars (Rs. 6-8) per candy. See for details, A. Galletti, *The Dutch in Malabar*, Madras, 1991, p. 41.

Betel: Betel is a plant which grows like the pepper plants and required the help of other plants to keep it upright. Its leaf has similarities with the pepper leaf. The leaf of the Betel was most extensively used by the people of Malabar and other parts of Asia. It was chewed with chunam, and the areca nut.⁸⁸ It was also used in some ceremonies like the beginning of education of students. The betel of Malabar had great demand and was distributed all across India by the coastal fleet.⁸⁹

Ghee: Ghee is produced from the milk. The Tellicherry factory collected it mainly from Calicut and Tellicherry.⁹⁰ The factory records speak that the Company purchased large quantities of ghee from the local merchants of Calicut for the Company garrison, which was kept in jars and casks.⁹¹

Bamboo, Rattan and Mat: Bamboo and rattans were mainly imported from Calicut. Bamboo was used for the masts of vessels, house building, weaving etc.⁹² Mat was used for covering cardamom and other spices. Written accounts show that thousands of mats were dispatched to Tellicherry factory for embalming in one time from Calicut. The Company record dated 9 February 1747, speaks of the sending of 14000 mats to Tellicherry factory for embalming pepper by the Calicut factory.⁹³

⁸⁸ See for more details, Francis Day, *Op. cit.*, p. 545.

⁸⁹ See for details, Claude Markovits (ed.), *A History of Modern India 1480-1950*, London, 1994, p. 17.

⁹⁰ LTT, IX, Alexander Douglas, Calicut to George Dudley, TF, 17 April 1747.

⁹¹ TC, VI, Diary, 9 February 1733; TC, VII, Diary, 19 January 1735.

⁹² See for more details, Francis Day, *Op. cit.*, p. 547. On 14 November 1748, the Calicut factory sends 2500 bamboos to Tellicherry factory. LTT, Alexander Douglas, Calicut to Thomas Byfeld, TF, 14 November 1748.

⁹³ LTT, IX, Alexander Douglas, Calicut to George Dudley, TF, 9 February 1747. See also, *Ibid.*, 19 February 1747; LTT, X, Alexander Douglas to Thomas Byfeld, TF, 8 November 1748.

Timber and Planks: Teak, black wood, sapanwood,⁹⁴ anjhili, jacktree and mango tree were some of the timber items from Tellicherry that enjoyed high demand. The Company records speak that timber, planks, poon mast, mast, yards and other kinds of timber were exported to Bombay, Surat, Gombroon, Madras and Bengal. The English Company collected timber and planks mainly from Calicut and they were used for building ships, houses and also factory purposes.⁹⁵ The factory collected large number of mast from Calicut for ship building.⁹⁶

Salt: From the very beginning coastal people of Malabar made salt from the sea water and then it was sold to hinterland people. At the time of English factory at Tellicherry, the coastal areas of Malabar especially Dharmapattanam produced salt. In 1734, the English Company got right on Dharmapattanam Island since the Company received rent from salt traders. As per the records the Company received Rs. 71.2 from three salt pans at Dharmapattanam.⁹⁷ The records of factory mentioned the merchants Combem Allippy and Niratti Cunhi Callandra purchased salt from the Company and paid rent to the Company.⁹⁸

Trade Routes

The trade routes, land and water were essential components of development of any trading settlements of the medieval period. These trade routes connected hinterland markets to the trading settlements and the ports. The region of Kolathunad was well known for its agrarian and commercial

⁹⁴ It is a red dye-wood. At Calicut in January 1746, it was at Rs. 33 per candy. See for details, TC, XVI, Diary, 13 January 1746.

⁹⁵ See for more detail, Francis Day, *Op. cit.*, p. 550.

⁹⁶ In November 1748, the Company contracted with a Calicut merchant for a poon mast, which had 85 feet long and 28 inches diameter at Rs. 1200. LTT, X, Alexander Douglas, Calicut to Thomas Byfeld, TF, 9 November 1748.

⁹⁷ TC, XIX, General Account of Rent and Revenues of Dharmapattanam in the year 1749-50.

⁹⁸ See for details, TC, XIII, Diary, 7 May 1742.

economy supported by the network of trade. Goods from this area was carried to the port and then transhipped to foreign countries through coastal and overseas route. In the return journey to the hinterlands the merchants carried mainly sugar, salt, cloths and treasures for purchase of merchandises. The two modes of transportation networks- river line and land route traffic created the linkage between the port and its hinterlands.

The hinterlands and their relation with the port was an important factor in the development of Tellicherry factory. In the early phase, the Company officials couldn't directly enter into the hinterlands, but on their directions the agent of the native merchant procured merchandises to the Company. From the very beginning of the Christian era trade exchanges existed between ports of Kolathunad and Mysore through the hinterlands of Tellicherry. These routes were used by 'Umanans' for salt trade in the first century AD.⁹⁹ Later, these routes were used by traders of Vijayanagara for horse trade. Gradually these became major trade routes which connected ports of Kolathunad and Mysore. With the presence of English factory, transportation facilities through land and water increased considerably.

Land Routes

The two land routes, Peria ghat route and Perambadi ghat route were main land routes that connected hinterlands to Tellicherry port. In addition to this there were large numbers of land routes connecting local markets with main markets, and these main markets with Tellicherry.

The Peria pass was one of the major trade routes in Kolathuandu. It played an important role in the development of Tellicherry trade. The term 'Peria' came from the 'Peria Peak' in Wayanad ghat which is the highest point on that range of ghats, the distance is computed at 40 miles. The Peria

⁹⁹ M. Kumaran, *Kolothupazhama*, (mal.), Thrissur, 1998, p. 46.

ghat forms the grand communication line from Tellicherry to Wynaad.¹⁰⁰ It also connected Tellicherry with its hinterlands like Kottayam, Kuthuparamba, Wayanad, Coorg and Seringapatanam. Barbosa says that in 15th and 16th centuries, many horses were imported to Kottayam market from Persia and Arabia. These horses were taken to Vijayanagara through the pass in Wynad by its traders by giving gold coins.¹⁰¹ It is probable that there existed a land route between the seashore and Kottayam and from here to Mysore through Peria ghat.

It was originally required as an alternative route for the passage of troops from the coast to Mysore, which avoided the risk of passing through the land of Coorg Raja. This route was mainly used by merchants who carried cardamom which was produced in Coorg and Waynad to Tellicherry.¹⁰² So we can assume that the development of this route depended largely on the demand for cardamom. At the time of opening of cardamom season principal merchants sent their people to Peria and Wayand for procuring cardamom from the inland merchants and cultivators.¹⁰³ The finest pepper producing country of Kottayam lay at the head of the Peria pass. The merchants also used this route for carrying return goods like sugar, salt, dried fish, rice and cloth from Tellicherry to hinterland markets.

The Perambadi ghat route leads from Tellicherry through Coorg to Seringapatanam and Mysore. This route was used for transporting pepper, sandalwood, cardamom and other goods which were brought to Tellicherry. In their return journey loads chiefly of salt, sugar and dried fishes were taken. We get clear evidence on sandalwood which was mainly procured from Mysore and Coorg countries, which was carried through Perambadi route.

¹⁰⁰ *The Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register for British India and its Dependencies*, Vol. XXIV, July to December, 1827, London, 1827, p. 443.

¹⁰¹ M.L. Dames, *Op. cit.*, p. 210.

¹⁰² TC, XI, Consultation, 28 April 1740.

¹⁰³ TC, IV, Consultation, 23 December 1730.

The merchants carried this sandalwood as oxen load to Markara and Irikkur River banks.¹⁰⁴ Then it was carried to Valapattanam through River and then was carried to Tellicherry through the coastal route. In addition to this, the merchants of Irikkur used land route for carrying merchandises to Tellicherry. At Kuthuparamba this route joined with Peria route. In the 19th century William Logan noted that “The highway from Tellicherry to Coorg and Mysore was particularly kept in good condition.”¹⁰⁵ The European companies’ records mentioned that the journey between Coorg and Tellicherry or Cannanore took five to six days.¹⁰⁶

In addition to these land routes, some other routes brought hinterland goods to Tellicherry. The Kuttiyadi Ghat road, leading from the head of the navigable waters of the Kotta River into North Wynad connected Vadakara. The merchants of Kadathanad brought cardamom from Wayanad and carried to Vadakara port. Then they exported it to Tellicherry through coastal route. The coastal areas of Malabar were populated by merchant class from the early time onwards. Therefore each coastal town were connected with others.

There was a land route, running parallel to coastal route connecting the entire Malabar coastal towns, which was also used by merchants. The merchants of northern parts of Kolathunad used land route of Valapattanam to Tellicherry. The land route from Calicut to Tellicherry was also used by merchants and other travellers. The sea route of Calicut to Tellicherry was not

¹⁰⁴ LFT, VII, Thomas Byfeld, TF to Gentleman Super Cargos appoint by English East India Company, 4 May 1749; TC, XVIII, Diary, 4 May 1749.

¹⁰⁵ A. Sreedhara Menon, *Op. cit.*, p. 40.

¹⁰⁶ TC, XVIII, Diary, 11 May 1749. The Dutch records mentioned that journey between Cannanore and Seringapattanam took five to six days. See for details, Binu John, “The VOC and the Prospects of Trade between Cannanore and Mysore in the Late Seventeenth Century” in K.S. Mathew and Joy Varkey (eds.), *Winds of Spices*, Thalasserry, 2006, p. 216.

safe in some occasions due to the attacks of pirates of Kotica.¹⁰⁷ In such situations, travellers selected land routes with the support of soldiers. Abbe Carre has given an account of pirates of Kotta River. He mentioned that his journey from Calicut to Tellicherry would have taken only two days journey by sea, but the coast was full of Malabar Pirates. Therefore, the English Company Chief at Calicut advised him to go by road.¹⁰⁸

In some occasions price of pepper in Calicut market was higher than Tellicherry and Mahe. In such occasions, the merchants of Tellicherry and Mahe carried goods to Calicut. In their return journey they carried sugar and other available goods to northward. The reason why they selected this land route was to prevent these activities of English and French companies. Another strong reason for merchants selecting land route was that the Raja of Kadathanad levied duty on ships passing through the sea under his jurisdiction.

Water Routes

The existence of water transportation facilities that connected the hinterland with the port city was an important factor of expansion of English Company trade at Tellicherry. The networks of water routes were highly significant in trading activities due to the lack of good transportation facilities through the land route. Therefore, the merchants of those days preferred water routes more than the land route for carrying goods from hinterlands to the trading centres. So the water routes of hinterlands were an important factor in port-hinterland relations of Tellicherry.

¹⁰⁷ Kotica or Kotta River is situated south of Vadakara. It was a centre of Kottakal Kunjhali Marakkar, made his name famous. See for detail, William Logan, *Malabar Manual*, *Op. cit.*, p. 12.

¹⁰⁸ Abbe Carre, *The Travels of Abbe Carre in India and Near East: 1672 to 1674*, Ed. by Charles Fawcett. Vol.III, London, 1948, p. 701.

William Logan has noted that “the chief traffic of the country was by water and not by land.”¹⁰⁹ An important factor regarding Tellicherry was the lack of direct river connection with this factory, but its major hinterland markets had direct exposure to rivers like Valapattanam, Dharmapattanam and Vengad. The merchants used river routes as well as land routes for carrying merchandises to the markets and ports. They controlled commercial transactions in the hinterlands. The use of water-routes reduced cost of transportation considerably and enabled the pepper producers themselves to be present at the coast to sell their goods.¹¹⁰ Besides, Malabar is blessed with large number of rivers, most of them originating from the Western Ghats and flowing through the agrarian lands before reaching the Arabian Sea. The navigable rivers passing through the hinterlands of Tellicherry are the following:

Anjarakkandy River: Anjarakkandy River rises in the thick Kannothe forest and lands on the western face of the Wayanad Ghat slopes, and after a course of about 40 miles divides into two branches and thus forms the island of Dharmapattanam at its junction with the sea.¹¹¹ The river flows through the agricultural villages of Kannavam, Kandamkundu towards west to Vemmanal. The land on either side of the river was thickly populated and crops such as paddy, coconut, pepper, etc. were grown.¹¹² It is navigable to boats at all seasons to a place called Vengad some distance above Anjarakkandy. With the acquisition of Dharmapattanam Island, the Company secured largest share of the trade in the excellent pepper produced in the territories of Randathara, Vengad, Iruvazhinadu and Kottayam. The pepper from these areas was brought to Dharmapattanam through this river. Later, the English Company built an outpost at Vengad, which was in the very heart

¹⁰⁹ William Logan, *Malabar Manual*, *Op. cit.*, p. 80.

¹¹⁰ Margaret Frenz, *Op. cit.*, p. 64.

¹¹¹ William Logan, *Malabar Manual*, *Op. cit.*, p. 14.

¹¹² See for details, A. Sreedhara Menon, *Op. cit.*, pp. 12-13.

of the finest pepper producing country in Malabar.¹¹³ Thus it is clear that large scale cultivation in this area is a profitable activity as far as the English Company was concerned.

The main tributary of Anjarakkandy River is Dharmapattanam Puzha, which takes its origin from the eastern limits of Tellicherry village and flows through the paddy fields in south-western direction. After flowing about 7 miles, it joins Edakkadavu or Anjarakkandy River near Dharmapattanam Island, about two and half miles north of Tellicherry.¹¹⁴ The command of the traffic on this river was considered so important that Dharmapattanam Island at its mouth, acquired by the Company in 1734-35, was heavily fortified and garrisoned from the Tellicherry factory, and it was even proposed to give up the Tellicherry factory altogether and to build a new one on Dharmapattanam Island.¹¹⁵

Tellicherry River: Tellicherry River otherwise called Ponnayam River is one of the small rivers. It originates in Kannothe forest on the western face of the Western Ghats. After flowing about 14 miles in a westerly direction, it empties itself into the Arabian Sea at Mannoyed, about one and half miles north of Tellicherry.¹¹⁶ Except a small stream on the right bank of the river, there are no tributaries of importance for this river. The above mentioned tributary starts from the hills at Muriyad above two miles east of Kuthuparamba and join the main river above Kunduchira, about three and half miles above it fall into the Arabian Sea.¹¹⁷ It was of importance as affording protection to the English factory at Tellicherry on the northern and eastern landward sides. It was frequently called the Koodaly River from the fort of

¹¹³ William Logan, *Malabar Manual*, *Op. cit.*, p. 14.

¹¹⁴ “Dharmadam Gramapanchayath” in *Gramapanchayath Vikasana Rekhakal*, Thalassery Block, Kannur District, Vol. 145, Thiruvananthapuram, 1996, p. 6.

¹¹⁵ William Logan, *Malabar Manual*, *Op. cit.*, p. 14.

¹¹⁶ A. Sreedhara Menon, *Op. cit.*, p. 13.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

that name, commanding the bay at its mouth.¹¹⁸ The river flows through the villages of Cheruvanchery, Mudiyanga, Mokeri, Pandakkal, etc. finally join to the Arabian Sea in Tellicherry. The total length of the river is about 18 miles and its drainage area is 24 sq. miles.

Mahe River: Mahe River is another major navigable river of hinterlands of Tellicherry. This river rises in the heavy forests of the Wayanad Ghats and after a course of about 34 miles falls into the sea at French settlement of Mahe, of the portion of which it forms the northern and eastern boundary for a distance of about two miles. Mahe River was nicknamed the 'English Channel', because it separated British ruled Tellicherry from the French ruled Mahe. It is navigable for country craft of a small size for a distance of about half a mile and for boats as far as Parakkadavu some 12 miles away from Tellicherry.¹¹⁹ This river has no tributaries except a large number of small feeder streams, all coming from the village limits on either side of this river. It flows through the villages of Iyyangod, Iringannor, Chekkiyad, Kacheri, Kunnummankara and Aliyur before it joins the Arabian Sea. Pepper, which was produced in the interior parts, usually was taken to Kurungoth Kallai market via Mahe River in small boats. The Mahe River has a drainage area about 90 sq. miles.¹²⁰

Valapattanam River: The Valapattanam River is the major water route in Kolathunad domain, which is connected with number of small streams. This river had three large branches; most of them were navigable for merchants. The origin of river is from western ghat and flowed through agricultural lands and touched with the hinterland markets like Sreekandapuram, Irikkur, Iritty etc. Among this Irikkur, was most important hinterland market from there much pepper, sandal and timber were dispatched to Valapattanam. In the early time onwards Valapattanam had been the great centre of timber trade in

¹¹⁸ William Logan, *Malabar Manual*, *Op. cit.*, p. 15.

¹¹⁹ M.P. Kumaran, *Op. cit.*, p. 42.

¹²⁰ A. Sreedhara Menon, *Op. cit.*, p. 13.

Malabar. The Company's sandalwood merchants Javarra Canna, who settled at Irikkur, and other merchants carried this commodity from Coorge by forest routes to Irikkur, and then it was carried through the river to Valapattanam.¹²¹ The Dutch Company agents also procured sandalwood from Irikkur and imported to their factory at Cannanore.¹²² For carrying merchandises the merchants used county boats like 'thonis' and 'changadams'.¹²³

Thaliparamba River: The main branch of Thaliparamba River is navigable in all seasons for country boats like 'thonis' and 'changadams'. It was connected with Thaliparamba bazaar, after passing bazaar the main branch of the river joined by one from the east, and the two together spread out into an extensive sheet of water.¹²⁴ Then it flowed to Pazhayangadi, one of the medieval bazaars, and then it joined with Valapattanam River. The length of Thaliparamba River from its source to mouth was about 51 miles.

The Tellicherry factory depended highly on coastal trade for import of merchandises from other Malabar ports like Vada kara, Calicut, Tannore, Ponnani, Manjeswer, Mangalore and Honovar. The factory imported rice from Canarese ports Honovar and Mangalore. From the beginning of 1740s, the factory purchased pepper from these ports. For the import of pepper and rice from Canarese ports the Company used manchuas.¹²⁵ Valapattanam was major trading posts of Kolathiri domain, the Company and merchants dispatched merchandise to Tellicherry by thonis and manchuas. From Vada kara, the capital of Kadathanad imported pepper mainly through coastal route by thonis.¹²⁶

¹²¹ See for details, TC, XIII, Consultation, 1 March 1742.

¹²² TC, XIII, Diary, 21 March 1743.

¹²³ "Irikkur Gramapanchayath" in *Gramapanchayath Vikasan Rekhakal*, Irikkur Block, Vol. 142, Thiruvananthapuram, 1996, p. 6.

¹²⁴ See for details, William Logan, *Malabar Manual*, *Op. cit.*, p. 12.

¹²⁵ TC, XI, Diary, 28 April 1740.

¹²⁶ We have get number of evidences on sent pepper from Vada kara to Tellicherry by 'thonies' to Tellicherry. See for details, TC, III, Diary, 7 February 1728.

The rulers of Kolathunad collected 'chungam' or toll tax from the traders of land routes. Even at the end of the 17th century there existed seven toll centers in Cannanore and Irikkur route- Chuva, Chelore, Cadalay, Aypoya, Irrekur, Herme and Padiyur.¹²⁷ In the Peria route nine toll centers existed. The Perambadi route was shorter than Peria route, but was safer than Perambadi. In the river routes, this was collected mainly at the 'kadavus'.¹²⁸ The river custom duty was known as 'kavadda', which was collected by the custom masters and they issued a certificate for bringing merchandises to the river, which must be shown to the Custom Master of next kadavu.¹²⁹

Mode of Transportation

The transportation of commodities through the land routes was carried out by head load of coolies, oxen caravans, cart and pack-bullocks. The same mode of transport was used for carry import goods from port city to hinterland markets. The size of an oxen load was normally one candy, which is approximately 250 Kg. But it varied on the basis of the nature of routes and size of the oxen. Articles were brought to the markets after covering it in gunny bags and mat bags. Transportation of commodities through the land routes had been very difficult in the rainy season.

The Tellicherry factory records graphically narrate the difficulties faced by the merchants in transporting merchandises carried by oxen load from hinterlands to the market. One such incident related to the loading of the Company ship Doddington was narrated in the factory records.¹³⁰ The 'Thalassery Rekhakal' also mentioned that rice and some other merchandise

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*

¹²⁸ See for details, V.K. Kuttu, *Kurumulaku Nattiloode Oru Charithrayathra*, (mal.), Thalassery, 2014, p. 29.

¹²⁹ On 5 April 1746, by an Ola the King of Kottayam wrote to the Chief of Tellicherry factory that when pepper had brought from Vengad by river to pay the duties of Cavadda and take a certificate from the Custom Master. TC, XIV, Diary, 5 April 1746.

¹³⁰ TC, XVIII, Consultation, 10 May 1749.

were brought from Coorg to Tellicherry on the back of oxen.¹³¹ The oxen were largely used for bringing merchandises from hinterlands to markets and warehouses. William Logan mentioned about a road where 'pack bullocks' carried items of trade.¹³²

In the case of river route, the goods were transported in local boats like 'thonies' and 'changadams' from production centers to hinterland markets and then it was carried to Tellicherry. The thonies and manchuas were also used for carrying merchandises from nearby coastal areas like Valapattanam, Cannanore, Vadakara, Calicut and Ponnani. One thoni carried more than 1500 Kg. of pepper or other merchandise.¹³³

The Hinterland markets and Trading System

There were two kinds of local markets, one was 'periodic market' and the other was 'regular local market'. The periodic market or weekly market was known in Malabar as 'Chantha' summoned once in a week, which was visited by local merchants, town merchants and the cultivators. These two types of markets functioned as the focal points of local trade. The regular local market was also known as 'bazaar' or 'angadies'. Dharmapattanam Bazaar, Koodaly Bazaar, Moylan Bazaar and Kottayam Angadi etc. were examples of local bazaars of Tellicherry. The other major hinterland bazaars of Tellicherry were Kathiroom, Kuthuparamba, Mattannur, Punnol, Ancharakkandy, Kadalayi, Chavasseri, Irikkur, Sreekandapuram etc. Most of the angadis were developed on the banks of rivers, and trade routes helped them to move goods from hinterlands to the site. The angadis which situated in the banks of rivers had a suffix 'kadavu', which was local boating service

¹³¹ Scaria Joseph (ed.), *Thalassery Rekhakal*, (mal.), Kottayam, 1996, Letter from Kiristhan Joosa to Jimissa Ishtivin, No. 1177 J, pp. 551-552.

¹³² William Logan, *Malabar Manual*, *Op. cit.*, p. 79.

¹³³ On 7 February 1728, the Raja of Kadathanad sent 31¼ candies of pepper in five 'thonies' to Tellicherry. (31¼ candies= 7812 Kg., 1 thoni= 1565 Kg.), See for details, TC, III, Diary, 7 February 1728.

centre. The major merchants had their own local boats for dispatch of goods to markets. The kadavu areas were centers of developing traders.

Different types of trading systems existed in the hinterlands of Tellicherry. There was an 'advance booking' of spices, pepper and coconuts before its harvest. The Company and merchants signed a bond and this bond will end after the delivery of goods. The 'advanced booking system' existed in Malabar from pre-British period onwards. It was mentioned by Jan Kieniewicz, as "the 'advanced payment' practiced by the traders in Malabar."¹³⁴ In the case of pepper trade in the beginning of pepper season the Company summoned meeting of principal merchants for discussion. After the discussion with principal merchants they fixed price and quantity of goods. Then the Company advanced money to the merchants.¹³⁵ At the same time, the agents or principal merchants went to the local bazaar and fixed price of commodities with local merchants.¹³⁶ This system was commonly known as 'pattam'. But in some cases the Company advanced money for commodities especially in the case cardamoms, without agreeing or stipulating any price till they were delivered.¹³⁷

The Tellicherry factory records show that usually there were three stages in purchasing merchandise from the production centers. The first stage was dealings of local merchants with the cultivators of crops or collectors of forest goods. The second stage was dealings between local merchants with principal merchants of Company in coastal towns. But unfortunately we have got only few references on the local merchants because the Company records mentioned only names of principal merchants who had direct trading contract

¹³⁴ Jan Kieniewicz, *Pepper Gardens and Market in Pre-colonial Malabar*, cited in Binu John, *Op. cit.*, p. 221.

¹³⁵ See for example, TC, XII, Consultation, 24 April 1741; TC, XVII-B, Consultation, 15 April 1748. At Mahe, the French also followed same method of the English for procured pepper. TC, XV, Diary, 24 January 1744.

¹³⁶ K.N. Chaudhury, "Markets and Traders in India during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries" in Sanjai Subrahmanyam (ed.), *Money and the Market in India 1100-1700*, Delhi, 1994, p. 269.

¹³⁷ TC, XI, Consultation, 28 April 1740.

with the Company. Usually the local merchants could not directly sell commodities to the Company. The story of the hinterland merchant named Nanbola, inhabitant of Manathana about ten leagues distance from Tellicherry and bordering on the Kottayam country is a case in point. In September 1730, he sent his representative Cacart Tupy with the offer of 50 candies of pepper into the English warehouse at so reasonable rate as Rs. 65 per candy, but the direct contract was unsuccessful. However, he prevailed on Chattoo Chetty, the principal merchant of Company to take the contract upon himself. The offer of Chattoo Chetty was accepted; the amount of the aforesaid pepper was advanced to him at the rate of Rs. 65 per candy.¹³⁸ The local merchants' bartered pepper, ginger and cardamom from the cultivators and collectors of forest goods for rice, cloths, sugar and salt and then sold it to the principal merchants of Company.¹³⁹ The local merchants regularly visited production centers and brought merchandise. Then they sold it to the town merchants, who were the agents of European factories. The third stage was dealings between the principal merchants and Company.

Summary

This chapter tried to understand the issues related to the ports and hinterlands and attempted to explain it theoretically. This is followed by an examination of the hinterlands of Tellicherry and its implications upon the growth of Tellicherry as an international centre of trade. The discussion of different commodities of interest and its modes of transportation was carried out in this chapter. A discussion of various hinterland markets as well as the dynamics of exchange was also given due consideration.

¹³⁸ TC, IV, Consultation, 11 September 1730.

¹³⁹ K.S. Mathew, "Trade and Commerce in Kerala" in P.J. Cherian (ed.), *Perspectives on Kerala History*, Thiruvananthapuram, 1999, pp. 217-218; See also, Claude Markovits, *Op. cit.*, p. 17.

CHAPTER 3

INDIGENOUS PEPPER MERCHANTS AND THE COMPANY

Arun Thomas M. “Merchants, markets and merchandise: Strategy of english east India company trade in tellicherry 1725-1750” Thesis.
Department of History, University of Calicut, 2015

CHAPTER III

INDIGENOUS PEPPER MERCHANTS AND THE COMPANY

The coming of European companies led to the growth of merchant and mercantile communities in the coastal towns of India in general and Malabar Coast in particular. In this period, a number of individual merchants and merchant groups acted as agents of European companies. The assistance of local merchants was inevitable for the companies and was engaged in a trading process between hinterlands and coastal towns. Francis Day has noted that the European factories made contract with native merchants and procured commodities at a given price.¹ These local merchants collected commodities from the cultivators at whatever price they succeeded in finalising and then supplied to the companies against the price already fixed in advance. The local merchants tried to derive maximum profit by purchasing the commodities at the fixed price.

Indigenous Merchants – An Overview

From the early time onwards the region including Tellicherry had connection with foreigners. The coastal towns like Dharmapattanam, Cannanore, Madayi and Valapattanam were the medieval emporiums.² Therefore merchants flourished in these towns. It can be assumed that the descendants of these medieval merchants made alliance with the English East India Company and became intermediaries between the producers and the Company. They maintained good relations with the Company. The origin, growth and decline of European settlements in Malabar were influenced by

¹ Francis Day, *The Land of the Perumals or Cochin, Its Past and its Present*, Madras, 1863, pp. 169-170.

² See for details, S. Muhammad Husayn Nainar, *Arab Geographers' Knowledge of Southern India*, University of Madras, 1942; Genevieve Bouchon, *Regent of the Sea: Cannanore's Response to Portuguese Expansion, 1507-1528*, Delhi, 1988.

these merchants. With the opening of French factory at Tellicherry large number of merchants migrated to this settlement. Abbe Carre, who visited French factory at Tellicherry, gave an account of the rich merchants of Tellicherry.³ The dissatisfaction of these merchants was one of the reasons for the ruin of the French factory.

The English Company from the very beginning tried to maintain good relations with merchants. They had trading settlements at Valapattanam and Dharmapattanam. After the establishment of English factory at Tellicherry many merchants migrated to this new settlement. In order to establish good relations with merchants as well as local rulers, the Company provided a lot of money in advance to them. In 1725, the Superiors of Bombay Council understood that these credits were now outstanding in both Tellicherry and Calicut factories. Robert Adams, the Chief of Tellicherry, gave details of these debts to the Company and his observations concerning the prospects of recovering the debts.⁴ He observed that most of these merchants were dead or ruined due to the wars except Chattoo Chetty. Therefore, the Company had no hopes of recovering these debts from the above mentioned merchants.⁵

Principal Pepper Merchants and Company

At Tellicherry there were large numbers of native merchants who rose to prominence during this period and acted as the Company merchants. The principal merchants were the chief agents of the Company as per records. Usually the Company made contract with merchants with the help of Company's Linguist before the harvest of commodities. When the Company needed commodity urgently they usually approached any of the principal

³ He wrote that the rich and principal merchants of the country were repelled by the continual disorders and bad behavior of the officers of the French factory at Tellicherry. See for details, Abbe Carre, *The Travels of Abbe Carre in India and Near East: 1672 to 1674*, Ed. by Charles Fawcett, Vol.III, London, 1948, p. 704.

⁴ Tellicherry Consultation (hereafter TC), I, Consultation, 20 November 1725.

⁵ *Ibid.*

merchant of Tellicherry or other subordinate centers of Tellicherry factory. The principal merchants in turn entered into contract with hinterland merchants. The hinterland merchants bought commodities from cultivators directly.

At Tellicherry, Chattoo Chetty remained as the principal pepper merchant of English Company till his death in 1739. Puddianon Chattoo Chetty was his complete name, who earlier lived in bazaar of Nadamell at Codalli, later moved to Aggar from where Company procured the major part of their pepper. At Aggar, he had his own estate and warehouses to store pepper. Chattoo Chetty had number of other merchants to assist him in trade. Chattoo Chetty seems to be the most favoured merchant of the Company and was acknowledged as a man of integrity and an honest friend who always favoured the Company interest.⁶ In the Tellicherry factory records it is stated that “he has ever demonstrated honourable and fair intentions and has actually a handsome landed interest, and capable of doing us more service in procuring the pepper, than any other person whatever in this country.”⁷ In his period, the Company mainly depended upon Chattoo Chetty to collect pepper from Malabar. Chattoo Chetty helped the Company by purchasing other necessary items like cardamom, rice and mats.⁸ On number of occasions he faced attacks from Moors and Ali Raja’s people, who invaded his place Aggar and attacked his houses and estates. On all these occasions the Company supported him with money and military.⁹ On 6 August 1739, the Chief received information about the death of Chattoo Chetty. The Company deputed Domingo Rodriguez to enquire into the possibilities of repaying the debt of Chattoo Chetty and reported that he is a great land lord and was

⁶ TC, II, Consultation, 6 June 1727; TC, VI, Consultation, 2 March 1733.

⁷ TC, X, Consultation, 23 December 1737.

⁸ See for details, TC, VI, Consultation, 1 November 1732; TC, VII, Consultation, 10 May 1736.

⁹ TC, XI, Consultation, 17 September 1739.

indebted only to the Company. The heirs later intimated that they would come to the factory and adjusted their accounts as soon as the ceremonies are over.¹⁰

Even before the death of Chattoo Chetty the Company was in the lookout for other merchants for the collection of pepper from the parts of Iruvazhinadu and Kadathanad. In this circumstance Stephen Law, the Chief of Tellicherry factory, in consultation with the Company Linguist had recommended that there were no better persons to be appropriated to this service than some of the Moors who had their families in that district. He also reported that some of them had found to be pretty punctual in their transactions and able to collect great quantity. They were Nelearate Tupee, Mucatum Portu Paqui, Baunibeltu Cunhipi, Batala Paqui and Combem Allippy.¹¹ These Moor merchants, later known as bazaar merchants, became the principal agents of the Tellicherry factory from the death of Chattoo Chetty. The Company records denoted them as 'our merchants'. They were settled in Tellicherry bazaar, therefore the Company called them as 'bazaar merchants.' The Company usually called the meetings of bazaar merchants and some other merchants including Cacart Tupy of Kottayam. In such meetings the price of pepper was fixed after discussions. The bazaar merchants decided price and contract with the Company in a common platform but they had separate accounts for their contracts.

In addition to the principal merchants, the Company records speak of the existence of other pepper merchants with whom the Company entered into contract for the supply of pepper. It speaks of the category of 'Northern' and 'Southern' merchants. The northern merchants were mainly the merchants of Valappattanam, Aggar and Dharmapattanam. Ballorate Callandra and

¹⁰ TC, XI, Diary, 11 August 1739.

¹¹ TC, IX, Consultation, 3 January 1736.

Maddaicarem Callandra were the main Valapattanam merchants of the Company. The factory records of Tellicherry wrote about Ballorate Callandra that “he being one of the most substantial and punctual of Company’s merchants.”¹² Chattoo of Aggar, Baccadem Chandu and Neyen Ellea Chettian were other northern merchants of Tellicherry factory. Samoyne, Comben Namby and Cunhiseu were the Company’s agents at Kottayam. Ballipy Cuttiasen, Assem Cutty and Javarra Canna were merchants from Irikkur. Ally Mamy, Amguem Piddie Cunhusa and Ticandy Cunhially were major merchants of Kadathanad dealing with English Company. The southern merchants were merchants of Calicut and Ponnani.

Conflicting Interests and its Impact

By the late 1720s a new scenario emerged in the trading of spices due to the presence of other European companies. The companies began to compete for securing maximum quantity of spices which led to rise in prices for the commodities. To face the situation the Company resorted to the strategy of entering into agreements with the local rajas. As part of agreements with the local rajas the English Company secured right on pepper trade in the Kolathunad, Kottayam, Randathara, Iruvazhinadu, Kurungothnadu, Kadathanad and Calicut. The French Company had no permanent or strong settlement on the coast till the establishment of factory at Mahe in 1725. Up to the coming of French at Mahe, the English Company had a Linguist there, who procured pepper from Mahe and Vadakara. Due to the political problems in the region the English failed to collect sufficient quantity from Kadathanad. The Company records show that in November 1725, they tried to increase collection of pepper from Kadathanad. Domingo Rodriguez, the English Company Linguist at Mahe, informed English about possibilities of purchasing 300 candies of pepper from the region, through

¹² TC, XII, Consultation, 16 January 1741.

some other merchants willing to dispose of small quantities.¹³ On 10 November, the Company contracted with Kadathanad Raja for 250 candies of pepper at 18½ Venetian sequins per candy.¹⁴ At Calicut and Ponnani, Francois Dias, the Linguist of Company bought large quantities of pepper from different merchants.¹⁵ At the same time, the Company bought 200 candies from Cochin and 154 candies of pepper at the rate of Rs. 64 per candy from Tellicherry merchants.¹⁶

The establishment of a permanent settlement of French East India Company at Mahe affected the English Company trade at Tellicherry. The English wrote in their factory Diary that “the French Company had gained great credit by their victory at Mahe, since pepper price rose to 26 ibrahims and as this judged there can be no pepper comes now from Kadathanad country.”¹⁷ The merchants of Kottayam and Kadathanad entered into contracts with the French, they offered higher price than the English which led to the increase in prices of pepper all over Malabar. This new trend of competition created the situation of spiraling price of pepper in Malabar. On 1 December, a Moor merchant come to Tellicherry willing to supply with 40 candies of old pepper, but he demanded at 19 venetians, which was about Rs. 95.¹⁸ The principal merchants of Tellicherry also demanded high rate for pepper.

In January 1727, the Bombay Council ordered the Tellicherry factory to provide the quantity of pepper available for dispatch to London. At the same time, there was no pepper stock in the warehouses of Tellicherry and new pepper was just coming in, the price even pedlars kept up at 16.75

¹³ TC, I, Diary, 9 November 1725.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 10 November 1725.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 12 November 1725; *Ibid.*, 17 November 1725.

¹⁶ TC, I, Consultation, 19 November 1725.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 29 November 1725. Ibrahim was one peculiar coin circulated in Malabar, which had the value of Rs. 2.5 to 2.8. See for details, Appendix No. 1, p. 253.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 1 December 1725.

venetians per candy. Therefore, the Company aimed at contracting with the hinterland merchants, but it was also a failure as they had demanded high prices. After prolonged negotiations Chattoo Chetty, agreed to supply 500 candies pepper by the end of the month at 16.75 venetians per candy.¹⁹ A few days later, the Company made contract with him for 200 candies of pepper at 17 venetians per candy.²⁰ At the same time, the Bombay Council dispatched the ship Devonshire to Tellicherry which brought nearly 1000 candies pepper.²¹ Hence, the Company required another great quantity, which was met by the supply of Ally Mamy²² and merchants of Calicut.²³

In June, the Bombay Council expected to collect 1000 candies of pepper from Tellicherry by the end of September. The Chief immediately contacted Chattoo Chetty, but he was reluctant to enter into new contract due to the political disturbances from Ali Raja.²⁴ A few days later, Chattoo Chetty offered 400 candies of pepper in loan to Company and insisted 17 venetians per candy. The Company unanimously agreed the contract and obliged to pay whole amount of it by the end of October or otherwise from that time to allow interest, one percent per month.²⁵ In September, the Bombay Council intimated the Tellicherry factory that their early order of 1000 of candies of pepper was to be attended.²⁶ Accordingly, Chattoo Chetty delivered the 400 candies pepper and in November these pepper was sent to Bombay by ships

¹⁹ TC, II, Consultation, 3 January 1727.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 30 January 1727.

²¹ Letters to Tellicherry (hereafter LTT), I, William Phipps, Bombay Council (hereafter BC) to Robert Adams, Tellicherry Factory (hereafter TF), 13 January 1727.

²² TC, II, Diary, 25 January 1727.

²³ *Ibid.*, 30 January 1727.

²⁴ TC, II, Consultation, 6 June 1727; LTT, I, William Phipps, BC to TF, 10 September 1727.

²⁵ TC, II, Consultation, 16 June 1727.

²⁶ LTT, I, William Phipps, BC to Robert Adams, TF, 10 September 1727.

named Victoria and Bombay Ketch.²⁷ Again in November, the Company brought 400 candies of pepper from Chattoo Chetty.²⁸

In April 1728, the Bombay Council directed the Tellicherry factory to observe the price of pepper contracted for the French. They had no doubt that their factory's prudent management would be able to procure quantity and directed even cheaper than 15 venetians per candy by the time.²⁹ The Bombay Council planned to purchase 1000 candies of pepper by October as they lost hope of a supply from Anjengo due to some troubles there.³⁰ Luckily the Company got 31¼ candies old pepper from Kadathanad Raja as part of payment of his debt.³¹ A few days later, Raja again sent 61¼ candies of old pepper and another 13¾ of old and new mixed together in all amounting to 75 candies.³² The Chief informed the impossibility of procuring at the limited price of 15 venetians per candy as formerly directed. At the same time, they expected fall in price this season.³³ The general opinion of most of the people of Malabar entertained that pepper price would rise when the season breaks up.³⁴

Treaty of 1728

Gradually both companies acknowledged that the high rate of pepper affected their future commercial and political ambitions in Malabar. On 23 January 1728, Tremisott, the French Chief wrote a proposition to Tellicherry in order to settle on means of the mutual tranquillity of each others.³⁵ The English agreed to French proposition and told the French that “fifteen

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 8 November 1727.

²⁸ TC, II, Consultation, 6 December 1727.

²⁹ LTT, I, William Phipps, BC to John Branddyle, TF, 19 April 1728.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 5 April 1728; TC, III, Consultation, 24 April 1728.

³¹ TC, III, Diary, 7 February 1728.

³² *Ibid.*, 15 February 1728.

³³ TC, III, Consultation, 24 April 1728.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 6 May 1728.

³⁵ TC, III, Diary, 24 January 1728.

venetians per candy was much sufficient, more than that they could not offer.”³⁶ On the basis of this mutual understanding, the English fixed the price of pepper to 15 venetians per candy.³⁷ Hence the French assembled their merchants to agree on the price for pepper and found that they were not able to procure at less than Rs. 60 per candy. They desired the English approval to begin their purchase which as they assured could not possibly be obtained at an easier rate. The English told them they might do accordingly.³⁸ The respective companies arranged terms mutually satisfactory and advantageous, to keep down the price of pepper and signed a treaty on 17 March 1728.³⁹ The inconvenience of the treaty was later recognised by the British.⁴⁰

Subsequently the English entered into contract with Chattoo Chetty to supply 500 candies of pepper at the rate he demanded being Rs. 61.⁴¹ On 6 July 1728, the Company received offers for 40 candies each from Muccolli Paqui⁴² and Cana Chetty⁴³ at the rate of Rs. 61 per candy. This was followed by the sudden increase in the price of pepper. Chatto Chetty reported his inability to supply more pepper under Rs. 62½ per candy.⁴⁴ Later, the Company made contract with Brahmin merchant for 300 candies of pepper to be delivered in August at the rate of Rs. 62½ per candy.⁴⁵

In 1729, the production of pepper in Malabar was higher than previous years and the rate of the commodity also stood very low. With the direction

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 15 February 1728.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 19 February 1728.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 17 March 1728. Alfred Martineau, *Les Origines de Mahe de Malabar*, Paris, 1917, pp. 300-304; William Logan (ed.), *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Other Papers of Importance Relating to British Affairs in Malabar* (hereafter ‘*Treaties*’), Calicut, 1879, No. XVII, pp. 8-10.

⁴⁰ LTT, I, William Phipps, BC to Robert Adams, TF, 26 March 1728.

⁴¹ TC, III, Consultation, 6 May 1728.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 6 July 1728; See also, Ashin Das Gupta, *Malabar in Asian Trade 1740-1800*, Cambridge, 1967, p. 19.

⁴³ TC, III, Consultation, 20 July 1728.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 29 July 1728.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

from Bombay, the Tellicherry factory purchased 1000 candies of pepper at the rate of Rs. 57 per candy. In September 1729, John Braddyll, the Chief of Tellicherry wrote to Courts of Directors of London that “the crop providing more plentiful than usual and factory believed they could have secured double the quantity on the like terms, if Company required.”⁴⁶ But the Bombay Council gave no direction to Tellicherry factory to procure pepper.⁴⁷ In November, the Chief informed the Bombay Council that the rate of pepper was very cheap and therefore the Company could procure more pepper for a cheaper rate.⁴⁸ In December, the Chief informed the Bombay Council that more pepper was to be procured and it would be ready by the first of April 1730.⁴⁹ Then the Bombay Council directed purchase of pepper as far as 1000 candies by April 1730, at the rate of Rs. 60 per candy or under.⁵⁰

Within few months the price of pepper started shooting up but the Company expected that the merchants of Kadathanad did not insist on Rs. 65-66 per candy for pepper, nor do the merchants of Kottayam insist on less. The merchants of Kadathanad exported their pepper to Calicut and sold there at the rate of Rs. 69 per candy. Although the French faced troubles, their ship *Duked Chartie* loaded at Mahe and sailed to Pondicherry with about 1300 candies of pepper, public and private.⁵¹ At Mahe, the French bought pepper at the rate of Rs. 65 per candy.⁵² At the same time, the Tellicherry factory received order from the Bombay Council to collect large quantity of pepper and they expected after the end of monsoon two ships would come from

⁴⁶ Letters from Tellicherry (hereafter LFT), I, John Braddyll, Tellicherry Factory (hereafter TF) to the Court of Directors for the United Companies of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies, London (hereafter ‘the Court of Directors’), 23 September 1729.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ LFT, I, John Braddyll, TF to Robert Cowan, Bombay Council (hereafter BC), 26 November 1729.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 12 December 1729.

⁵⁰ LFT, I, John Braddyll, TF to the Court of Directors, 31 January 1730.

⁵¹ LFT, I, John Braddyll, TF to Robert Cowan, BC, 5 June 1730.

⁵² LFT, I, John Braddyll, TF to the Court of Directors, 7 February 1731.

Britain. The factory found there was no sufficient stock of pepper in the warehouses and they expected a higher rate to be paid for new purchase.⁵³ In May, they made enquiries on the quantity of pepper Chattoo Chetty could supply. He would not engage himself for above 100 candies at the rate of Rs. 66. The merchants of Kadathanad insisted on Rs. 68 per candy, and the whole amount to be advanced them on contracting as was their manner with the French. Therefore, the Company decided to wait for one or two months for the arrival of new crop of pepper.⁵⁴

In July, after the repeated request of the Company, Chattoo Chetty agreed to deliver 120 candies at rate of Rs. 66.⁵⁵ A few days later, Chattoo Chetty informed the Company that for further supplies an increased rate of Rs. 68 per candy was required. The Linguist explored other means to procure pepper but realising the fact there was scarcity of pepper, they decided to procure 170 candies of pepper at the rate of Rs. 68 per candy.⁵⁶ In addition to this, the Company bought 150 candies from Calicut, Tannore and Ponnani.⁵⁷

As per the direction from Robert Cowan, the President of Bombay Council, in January 1731 the Company told Chattoo Chetty and other merchants to supply sufficient quantity of pepper for Bombay in two ships.⁵⁸ Again in February, Robert Cowan directed to provide 1000 candies of pepper after loading the two ships. The Chief immediately directed the Calicut Linguist to send 150 candies of pepper from the Company warehouses. Then the Company contracted with Chattoo Chetty, for 1000 candies of pepper at the rate of Rs. 65 per candy, but merchants of Kottayam and Tellicherry were

⁵³ LFT, I, John Braddyll, TF to Robert Cowan, BC, 5 June 1730.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ TC, IV, Consultation, 1 August 1730.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 19 August 1730.

⁵⁷ LFT, I, John Braddyll, TF to the Court of Directors, 7 February 1731; TC, IV, Diary, 4 September 1730; *Ibid.*, 11 September 1730; *Ibid.*, 29 September 1730.

⁵⁸ TC, IV, Consultation, 9 February 1731.

unwilling to contract for any large quantity of pepper.⁵⁹ The Company understood pepper could not be purchased that season in large quantities fewer than Rs. 65 to 66 per candy. John Braddyll, the Chief assured to Bombay Council, that they should take the most prudent and effectual measures.⁶⁰ In March, Braddyll wrote to Bombay Council that the French seemed busy with their agents in all places so they did not mind price, which was Rs. 67- 68 per candy.⁶¹ In June, Braddyll wrote to Bombay Council that the present season the French exported 1500 candies of pepper from Mahe.⁶² At the same time, the Company contracted 1000 candies at Rs. 65 and 800 candies at Rs. 63½ per candy.⁶³ The Chief assured his Superiors that pepper was daily coming to the warehouses and had no doubt of procuring near 2000 candies in all the month of October.⁶⁴

Canarese Invasion and Company Trade

The Canarese invasion into the northern parts of Kolathunad had not affected trade at Tellicherry in its early phase. In January 1732, Chattoo Chetty informed the Company that he had much about 800 candies of pepper in warehouses. The Company thought they could contract it at Rs. 70 per candy and asked him for more quantity at lower rate.⁶⁵ Then the Company offered Rs. 66 per candy for 1000 candies but he insisted for a higher rate. At last he contracted to deliver 1000 candies at Rs. 67 per candy before April.⁶⁶ In February 1732, the Bombay Council directed to the Tellicherry factory to make provision of 1800 candies of pepper out of the present crop for the ships

⁵⁹ LFT, I, John Braddyll, TF to Robert Cowan, BC, 6 March 1731.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 10 February 1731.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 6 March 1731.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 3 June 1731.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 2 August 1731.

⁶⁵ TC, V, Consultation, 28 January 1732.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

expected next season.⁶⁷ Gradually the Canarese invasion partially affected business of merchants of Valapattanam and Chattoo Chetty. Due to the Canarese invasion the English did not enter in any contract for pepper. Chattoo Chetty also reported that due to the invasion of Carnatic armies' in the region of Valapattanam led to general scarcity of pepper.⁶⁸

At the same time, the Company learnt from the natives, the favourableness of the season in Malabar to promise a very plentiful crop of pepper. The Company told Chattoo Chetty that he was the safest and proper person to see what quantity and at what price he would supply.⁶⁹ But due to the Canarese invasion Chattoo Chetty had to delay long to make his last contract for 1000 candies pepper. Then the Company informed him, their present requisition of pepper. He replied that he had 500 candies in his warehouse, which he could not deliver under the price of Rs. 75 to 76.⁷⁰ At the same time at Calicut there was a very trifling quantity of the old pepper and that too at so high a price as Rs. 77½ per candy.⁷¹

During discussion between Chattoo Chetty and the Company, held in the month of February he persisted on Rs. 70 per candy for 1000 candies he promised to supply. At last he agreed to supply 1500 candies at the rate of Rs. 69½ per candy by 10 April.⁷² After contracting with Chetty the English frequently attempted to make a further contract of pepper from other merchants, but found it impossible without giving a very high price.⁷³ On 8 April Chief assured to Robert Cowan, they were endeavoring to make another

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 19 February 1732.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 28 January 1732.

⁶⁹ TC, V, Diary, 5 July 1732.

⁷⁰ TC, V, Consultation, 29 July 1732.

⁷¹ TC, V, Diary, 22 October 1732.

⁷² LFT, II, John Braddyll, TF to Robert Cowan, BC, 22 February 1733; TC, VI, Consultation, 14 February 1733.

⁷³ LFT, II, John Braddyll, TF to Robert Cowan, BC, 22 February 1733.

contract with Chattoo Chetty.⁷⁴ Few days later, the Company made contract with Chattoo Chetty for 1500 candies pepper at Rs. 71½ the candy.⁷⁵ The Company did not care to enter into new contracts with Chattoo Chetty, because he was in huge debts. The Company purchased smaller quantities of pepper from several other merchants of Tellicherry, Calicut and Tannore.⁷⁶

The principal pepper markets of Malabar presented a considerably new situation after January the same year. Low yield in the new season showed the possibilities of low turnout in procuring pepper. The production for the year was estimated to be one third of the last year's production. In this situation, the merchants demanded very extravagant prices for their contract.⁷⁷ Even in the hinterlands price was high, it was at 20 fanams per maunds, which is Rs. 80 the candy. The Chief wrote to Bombay that due to the uncertainty of sufficient quantity of pepper it would be impossible to exceed 2400 candies of pepper by the time of departure of homeward ships.⁷⁸ At Mahe, the French delivered above Rs. 120000 in advance for pepper and they had raised the price of pepper up to Rs. 80 per candy.⁷⁹ In this situation, Chattoo Chetty informed the Company authority that as pepper was scarce and dear, he would not be able to supply for less than Rs. 84 per candy.⁸⁰ The Company understood it would be impossible to buy up any considerable quantity even more than 700 or 800 candies, and indeed Company was afraid of giving such an extravagant rate for it. They knew that it would subject them to terrible consequences in future.⁸¹ In this context, the Company searched for pepper from other regions. At the same instance, Chief got information that above

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 8 April 1733.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, BC, 19 May 1733.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 15 September 1733; LFT, III, Stephen Law, TF to Robert Cowan, BC, 31 October 1733.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 27 December 1733.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 9 January 1734.

⁷⁹ LFT, III, Stephen Law, TF to William Wake, Anjengo Factory, 23 January 1734.

⁸⁰ LFT, III, Stephen Law, TF to Robert Cowan, BC, 27 February 1734.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 17 January 1734.

2000 candies of pepper was ready belonging to the Sundall Raja at a place called Ancola lying between Merjee and Anjadiva, and that it might be purchased at about 22½ pagodas per candy. The Chief informed the Bombay Council that he or his factory is not authorized to contract for such quantity, nor would send vessel to transport it. He thought it was advisable for securing it for the next year's purchase, and to prevent it being carried away by the French or the private merchants of Bengal.⁸²

Decline of Chattoo Chetty's Trade

The factory records showed that the Company's principal merchant Chattoo Chetty faced troubles connected with his debts. By the end of 1734, Chattoo Chetty began to insist for advance money for his new contracts. This attitude of Chattoo Chetty wondered the Company. The Company observed that earlier Chattoo Chetty was capable of contracting for larger quantity of pepper without expecting any money in advance. The Company wanted to know more about the reasons for his inability to supply without going for advances. The problem was identified as the disunion of his family and division of their capitals, which plunged him in debts. In December 1734, Chattoo Chetty approached the Company for an advance amount of Rs. 10000 for the purchase of pepper from the several petty traders of Tellicherry. The Company agreed to supply him with Rs. 6000 and 1000 venetians rating the latter at 90 fanams.⁸³ In January 1735, Chattoo Chetty informed the Company that he was able to supply only 500 candies.⁸⁴ The Company considered it was impractical to engage another person to transact this affair and as they had full faith in him they decided to proceed with his contract.⁸⁵ On 11

⁸² *Ibid.*

⁸³ TC, VII, Consultation, 28 December 1734.

⁸⁴ LFT, IV, Stephen Law, TF to John Horne, BC, 17 January 1735.

⁸⁵ TC, VII, Consultation, 13 January 1735.

February, Chattoo Chetty agreed to deliver 2000 candies at the rate of Rs. 72 per candy including 530 candies which were already delivered.⁸⁶

Although the Company had trust in Chattoo Chetty they thought it was wise to enlist the support of other merchants who would be able to satisfy their requirements. This drew them towards Nelearate Mamod and Changuem Cunhiamod, the Moor inhabitants of Tellicherry bazaar. These merchants had been employed on Company's private accounts several times. They agreed to purchase pepper from the regions around Valapattanam, requesting an advance of Rs. 6000 to go on with their investment. The Company agreed the same as they expected the deal to likely come out cheaper than their deal with Chattoo Chetty.⁸⁷ On 5 March, Nelearate Mamod and Changuem Cunhiamod delivered 96 candies computed at Rs. 6750. Then they asked for another supply of Rs. 6000. The Company conceived it was impossible to reject the offer, in regard to integrity of these Moor merchants. The price of these merchants was cheaper than what the Company purchased from Chattoo Chetty. Accordingly the Chief directed the treasury to issue Rs. 6000 to the above persons.⁸⁸ The Chief reminded the Bombay Council about the due from Chattoo Chetty and wanted them to initiate steps to recover it in the best manner they could.

The Linguist informed the Chief that the French merchants carrying pepper to Calicut market was one major difficulty for Chattoo Chetty. They were collecting pepper from areas of operation of Chetty which adversely affected the business of Chattoo Chetty.⁸⁹ As per the Company accounts of October 1735, Chattoo Chetty had due of more than 3200 candies of pepper.

⁸⁶ TC, VII, Diary, 11 February 1735; LFT, IV, Stephen Law, TF to the Court of Directors, 15 February 1735; LFT, IV, Stephen Law, TF to John Horne, BC, 4 March 1735.

⁸⁷ TC, VII, Consultation, 13 February 1735.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 5 March 1735.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 21 September 1735.

While Chetty was in huge debts he promised to deliver what he owed to the Company and he tried to procure pepper with the support of some other merchants. For that purpose he had advanced money to two Moor merchants Cacart Tupy and Tykan Cutially for 60 candies of pepper. They promised to deliver it as early possible at the rate of Rs. 72 per candy.⁹⁰ Badamalah Cuhnipi also promised Chattoo Chetty to give 15 candies of pepper at the rate of Rs. 73.⁹¹

The Canarese invasion of the region had severely affected the prospects of Chattoo Chetty. As a result of Canarese invasion the houses, warehouses and other goods of Chattoo Chetty, at Aggar were burned down by the invaders that affected his prosperous trade.⁹² However, the Company apprehended by the most intelligent persons that his estate was yet in a condition not only of clearing his debts but that a handsome surplus would remain. Moreover, the Company had good faith on Chattoo Chetty for his supremacy in pepper trade in the region. Therefore, the Company continued to assert that “he was better capable of managing than any other persons hereabouts, and whose circumstances howsoever they might be, ought to be judged preferable to whomsoever else they could trust this way.”⁹³ In August 1736, the Bombay Council ordered the Chief to purchase that season all the pepper from Malabar, but the Company had no hope of entering into a new contract with Chattoo Chetty being in arrears.⁹⁴ Another important merchant Badamalah Putturah also failed in weighing the quantity expected from him. No other persons seemed fit to be trusted with any considerable sum. They had not been able to buy up much because of rain. Then Company directed

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 8 October 1735.

⁹² TC, VIII, Letter, Stephen Law, TF to Bentatamallo of Honovar and Gonia Sannay of Gundapore, 11 May 1736.

⁹³ TC, VIII, Consultation, 9 March 1736.

⁹⁴ TC, IX, Consultation, 12 August 1736.

Chattoo Chetty to supply what he owed to the Company and for endeavouring to make a further purchase.⁹⁵

Few days later, Chattoo Chetty agreed on Company request for contracting for pepper, but due to his sickness he was unable to reach the factory in person. He sent his brother, who being talked to on the above matter, positively refused to engage for any quantity.⁹⁶ In December, Chattoo Chetty reached the factory for adjusting his last contract with Company. There he found that he owed to supply 56 candies and seven mounds which he declared that he would deliver into Company warehouse. He represented that if Company failed to advance him an amount of Rs. 10000, he would lose the opportunity of collecting a considerable quantity of new pepper. Chattoo Chetty being the most trusted merchant of the Company the Chief agreed to issue him the sum he desired.⁹⁷ In between the Company held negotiations with the bazaar merchants for the supply of pepper. After the discussions, they agreed to supply 200 candies at the rate of Rs. 73 per candy.⁹⁸ The Company was not satisfied on this limited quantity and realising the risk in advancing the money, rejected the present offers of the Moors.⁹⁹ Few days later, the Moor merchants turned up with the offer to deliver 250 candies at the rate of Rs. 73 per candy. The Company accepted the offer accordingly and the whole sum was agreed to be issued immediately considering their reasons for requiring it. The Company found that if Moors were unable to secure the said quantity immediately, it might be difficult for them to obtain it hereafter.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 24 December 1736.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 20 August 1736.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 6 September 1736.

In February 1737, Chattoo Chetty reappeared in active business with the Company. The production of pepper in the year was assumed to be very low and a rise in the price of pepper was expected. After consultations Chetty offered to supply 1000 candies at the rate of Rs. 74 per candy. The Company realising the offered price very reasonable, agreed to accept his offer on the terms he proposed.¹⁰¹ Then he personally requested for the advance payment of the full amount due on account of contract. He convinced the Company of his financial difficulties and told them that non-payment of the full amount would make him unable to purchase the promised quantity. At the same time, the Bombay Council approved advancing Rs. 10000 to Chattoo Chetty.¹⁰² The Company realised that the price rise was due to scarcity of the crop. In this context, the Company agreed on his contract and ordered to disburse the required money to him.¹⁰³

Since the end of Canarese war, the Company's pepper purchase had been increased considerably, especially in Tellicherry and Calicut. Consequently, the price of pepper was also rising fast, especially at Calicut, but the onset of monsoon in the region had an adverse effect on Company's purchase of pepper.¹⁰⁴ Though the heavy rain began to decline in August they could not purchase sufficient quantity of pepper but the pepper was scarce and was able to deliver only less than 100 candies to the warehouse. Hence, the Company considered it a very insufficient quantity that had been received from Company's debtors last month. So the Company decided to press these merchants to deliver their arrears of pepper but, Chattoo Chetty who was the principal agent in arrears, represented his inability for making the same good at present. He also reported them that pepper was then extremely scarce and the rate at present had touched Rs. 80 per candies. In this context, the Chief

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 8 February 1737.

¹⁰² LTT, II, John Horne, BC to Stephen Law, TF, 22 February 1737.

¹⁰³ TC, IX, Consultation, 28 February 1737.

¹⁰⁴ TC, IX, Diary, 17 June 1737.

reported to the Bombay Council that it would be most prudent for them to wait, until he could pay debt.¹⁰⁵

On 23 December, Chattoo Chetty appeared before the Company authorities and assured them that the whole quantity would be delivered as soon as the new crop is gathered. He also requested for full advance payment of pepper to be purchased. The Company thought that in the early years, under such circumstances he was able to launch out large sums for securing new pepper at the beginning of the year. The Company realising his bad situation, decided to help him to disburse Rs. 10000.¹⁰⁶ On 25 December, the Chief informed the Bombay Council that the present stock of pepper in warehouse was 1771 candies. The merchants were expected to supply another 245 candies as per the existing contracts. He also informed that the price of new pepper was at Rs. 82 to 84 per candy.¹⁰⁷ At the same time, the Company entered into contracts with the several merchants among whom Chattoo Chetty in particular had been applied to, but was found no ways inclinable to engage for delivering the near quantity of Company's needs. In this time Chetty was unwilling to supply more quantity and no other merchant of reputation to be prevailed on to contract. The Company found that the production of pepper in that season was very inconsiderable. The Company apprehend that it would not be in their power to secure even 2000 candies this season and the contract which they made would be at a most exorbitant rate. The possibility of the renewal of the Canarese war also had an impact on the pepper markets.¹⁰⁸ Hence, the Company directed the Moor merchants to immediately clear their former balances.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁵ TC, IX, Consultation, 7 October 1737.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 23 December 1737.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 25 December 1737.

¹⁰⁸ TC, X, Diary, 24 January 1738.

¹⁰⁹ TC, X, Consultation, 23 January 1738.

After the discussions with the Company, on 17 February 1738, the merchants Chattoo Chetty, Mucatum Portu Paqui, Nelearate Tupee, Baunibeltu Cuhnipi and Batila Paqui contracted for supplying 1250 candies at a price of Rs. 80½ per candy.¹¹⁰ At the same time, the Company was able to procure some quantity of pepper from some other merchants at a low rate than that of Chattoo Chetty and the Moor merchants. On 20 February, Ballorate Callandra contracted with the Company for procuring pepper from Valapattanam and solicited for an advance of Rs. 4000 and the treasury disbursed the same to him accordingly.¹¹¹ On 27 February 1738, the Company advanced Cacart Tupy an amount Rs. 4000. Then Cacart Tupy had delivered to the warehouse 41 candies and one mound and he told that within a short time the supply would be raised to 100 candies. Therefore, the Company agreed to sign contract with him for 100 candies at the rate of Rs. 79¼ per candy.¹¹² At this time, the Bombay Council directed the Chief to secure 2000 candies of pepper as three ships were expected from England for the next season. They permitted the Chief for giving the same price for it as others if not to be had for less.¹¹³ The Chief replied that he apprehend it would be impractical to secure more than 1800 candies this season and what was remaining at the Tellicherry warehouse of the old crop were about 1499 candies.¹¹⁴

In this circumstance, the Company tried to enter into contracts with more merchants to facilitate the purchase of more quantity of pepper. On 8 March, Chattoo Chetty solicited for an advance of money on account of 25 candies at the rate of Rs. 80½ per candy of pepper which he promised to

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 17 February 1738.

¹¹¹ TC, X, Diary, 20 February 1738.

¹¹² TC, X, Consultation, 27 February 1738.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 6 March 1738.

¹¹⁴ TC, X, Diary, 7 March 1738.

deliver speedily.¹¹⁵ Few days later, Chattoo Chetty requested advance for 25 candies of pepper at the rate of Rs. 84 per candy.¹¹⁶ In March, four bazaar merchants demanded Rs. 84 per candy to supply 250 candies of pepper. The demand of the merchants for enhanced prices showed that there was an extreme scarcity of pepper this season. The scarcity of pepper in the country and competition from the French led to the rise in price of the commodity. Therefore, the Company accepted the offer made by the Moor merchants to supply 250 candies at the price demanded by them being Rs. 84 per candy. Accordingly, on 27 March, four Moors- Nelearate Tupy, Mucatum Paqui, Batila Paqui and Baunibeltu Cunhipy- delivered 250 candies of pepper at the rate of Rs. 84 per candy.¹¹⁷ On 23 March, Ballorate Callandra solicited for a further advance of Rs. 2000 towards providing pepper.¹¹⁸ On 27 March, Cacart Tupy, solicited for an advance of money equal to the amount of 25 candies at the rate of Rs. 84 per candy.¹¹⁹ In May, the Chief wrote to Bombay that because of the scarcity of pepper last season the factory had only been able to contract for 2545 candies at the rate of Rs. 84 the candy.¹²⁰ On 9 June, the Chief acquainted to Bombay Superiors that they were having a prospect of securing 250 candies of pepper more at Rs. 84 the candy.¹²¹

European Companies and Increasing Prices of Pepper

The commercial competition between, the English and the French companies lead to increasing the demand and price of pepper in Malabar. At Mahe, the French agents paid high prices to hinterland merchants and producers. It had affected adversely the prospects of the English and their merchants. It is clear from a number of Company records. On 23 August

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 8 March 1738.

¹¹⁶ TC, X, Consultation, 13 March 1738.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 27 March 1738.

¹¹⁸ TC, X, Diary, 23 March 1738.

¹¹⁹ TC, X, Consultation, 27 March 1738.

¹²⁰ TC, X, Diary, 23 May 1738.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 17 June 1738.

1739, Nelearate Tupy came to factory with Rs. 3440 as part advanced money for 55 candies of pepper in June. He informed the Company of his inability to procure sufficient old pepper due to the French practice of giving price ranging from 95 to 110 per candy for small quantities. Hence, he desired to give back advanced money to the Company.¹²² The English heard of the French practice of giving extravagant prices.¹²³ Therefore, the records of Tellicherry factory stated that these practices would make them suffer in the end.¹²⁴ In May 1739, the Bombay Council recommended to the Tellicherry factory to secure the entire pepper possible, and effectively prevent the price rising.¹²⁵ The English realized that it was impractical for the merchants to procure further pepper. They found that the French dispatched number of ships to Europe from Mahe with large quantities of pepper. The English feared it would affect their purchase of pepper.¹²⁶

In 1740, the English and the French companies agreed on the price of pepper in that season at the rate of Rs. 78 per candy. The English advised to their merchants in the case of the French giving more than Rs. 78 to the merchants of Mahe, they might also consider it accordingly.¹²⁷ The merchants Cacart Tupy and Ananda Cutty offered pepper at the rate of Rs. 78 per candy and desired advance money.¹²⁸ On 12 January, five other bazaar merchants contracted with the Company for Rs. 78 per candy.¹²⁹ But in February, pepper merchants complained to the English that the merchants of Mahe given high prices for pepper, which was from 45 to 50 Spanish dollars per candy (Rs. 90-

¹²² TC, XI, Consultation, 31 August 1739.

¹²³ LTT, IV, Stephen Law, BC to William Wake, TF, 23 November 1739.

¹²⁴ TC, XI, Consultation, 31 August 1739.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 6 November 1739.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 14 December 1739.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 7 January 1740.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 8 January 1740.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 12 January 1740.

100). So they could not procure any at the rate they contracted for with the Company.¹³⁰

The English Chief Stephen Law complained in several letters to the French for increasing the price of pepper but the French denied they had not paid anything more than the price agreed by both companies. Then with the permission of the Chief, the Linguist sent ten maunds of pepper to Mahe, and sold it there to a French merchant for 237 fanams, which was at the rate of Rs. 95 per candy. With this the Tellicherry factory became convinced of the complaint of their merchants.¹³¹ Therefore, the English decided to give liberty to the merchants to purchase all the pepper they could, at the least rates, and advance them money in the usual manner.¹³² At the same instance the drought affected the Company's purchase of pepper from southern region mainly from Kadathanad.¹³³ These factors led to the leap in the price of pepper throughout the hinterlands of Tellicherry. The bazaar merchants alleged that what they had lately bought cost them from Rs. 82 to 86 per candy and that the price still is rising. Then the Company repeated to the bazaar merchants, what they before recommended to them to purchase as cheap as they could.¹³⁴ In April, the bazaar merchants declared they could not afford to deliver less than Rs. 89 per candy. On 21 April, the merchants Nelearate Tupy, Batila Paqui, Muccatum Paqui, Baunibeltu Cunhipy and Combem Allippy made contract with the Company for 200 Candies of pepper.¹³⁵

In May 1740, the three northern merchants Ballorate Callandra, Baccadem Chandu and Neyen Ellea Chettian came to the factory and adjusted their accounts of new pepper delivered to factory this season, which they had

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 23 February 1740.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*

¹³² *Ibid.*

¹³³ LTT, IV, Stephen Law, BC to William Wake, TF, 13 February 1740.

¹³⁴ TC, XI, Consultation, 18 March 1740.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 21 April 1740.

purchased at various prices. Ballorate Callandra assured that one of the country merchants had in hand ready weighed off condition more than 14 candies of pepper. The Company accepted his demanded price which was at the rate of Rs. 86 per candy.¹³⁶ The Company considered that prices of pepper were going into its peak in entire Malabar. In this context, the Company followed a new method for purchase pepper from these areas. The Company carefully observed the price in the several bazaars from where these merchants purchased. The Company computed that the whole quantity of pepper purchased this season from Aggar and Valapattanam was from Rs. 76 to 85 per candy. Therefore, the Company proposed that contract with the northern merchants be made at the rate of Rs. 83 per candy.¹³⁷

In July, the pepper merchants of the bazaar and others came to the fort to adjust their accounts.¹³⁸ To adjust price with bazaar merchants the Company followed the same method as with those of the Valapattanam.¹³⁹ The Company agreed that the whole quantities of pepper would be delivered this season by the bazaar merchants at the rate of Rs. 84 ½ per candy. Cacart Tupy and Comben Namy also agreed at the rate of Rs. 83 per candy. At the same time, the Company bought 27 candies of pepper at the rate of Rs. 82 from Ballipy Cunhimy.¹⁴⁰ Another merchant Annada Cutty agreed delivery for 15½ candies at same price.¹⁴¹ By August of the same year the cost of pepper rose to Rs. 89 per candy.¹⁴² Cacart Tupy agreed to procure 200 candies of pepper from the Kadathanad region, but demanded Rs. 96 to 98 per candy as it must be brought a great way about inland as the French were obstructing

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 13 May 1740.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 31 July 1740.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴² TC, XII, Consultation, 26 August 1740.

transportation by sea.¹⁴³ He insisted for a quick decision to secure it considering the possibility of carrying it overland to Calicut where Rs. 106 per candy was given for small quantities of old pepper. In this context, the Company agreed to Cacart Tupy's proposal and advanced him Rs. 4000.¹⁴⁴

Due to the high price of pepper at Calicut the merchants carried pepper from Vadakara and other places to Calicut, which disappointed the English Company.¹⁴⁵ The merchants of Calicut brought these pepper at the rate of Rs. 100 to 108 per candy, and had sold it again on board ship for Rs. 110 to 120 per candy. The demand of Calicut had drained nearly the whole produce of Kadathanad. At the same time, the English Company merchants gave very exorbitant price to the inland merchants, as the French gave Rs. 100 per candy to the inland merchants.¹⁴⁶ Through their enquiries the Company understood that the merchants could deliver pepper under Rs. 95 per candy. Then the Company called a meeting of merchants and the Linguist acquainted them that the Company would advance them for 350 candies at the rate of Rs. 95 per candy to be delivered in all that season. Finally, the merchants Muccatum Paqui, Nelearate Tupy, Baunibeltu Cunhipy, Combem Allippy, Batila Paqui and Cacart Tupy contracted with Company to deliver 350 candies of pepper that season at the rate of Rs. 95 per candy.¹⁴⁷ The Company also procured 100 candies from Cacart Tupy and 30 candies from Batila Paqui at the rate of Rs. 95 per candy.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, 6 November 1740.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁵ TC, XII, Letter, William Wake, TF to Dirois, Mahe Factory (hereafter MF), 7 March 1741.

¹⁴⁶ TC, XII, Consultation, 24 April 1741.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 12 May 1741; *Ibid.*, 1 July 1741; *Ibid.*, 1 June 1741.

Treaty of 1741

In September 1741, Signard, the French Chief at Mahe expressed his desire for a friendly correspondence with Tellicherry factory. William Wake, the Chief of Tellicherry replied that he was not only desirous of keeping a friendly correspondence with him, but should gladly enter into proper measures for lowering the exorbitant price of pepper.¹⁴⁹ Then, William Wake entered into the several discussions with French Superior La Bourdonnais, for breaking the price of pepper.¹⁵⁰ Accordingly on 25 December 1741, the French and the English companies signed another mutual agreement for lowering the prices of pepper.¹⁵¹

The ultimate result of agreement was that the companies understood the price of pepper could not be reduced by contracts or agreements. The companies agreed not to advance any money to the merchants until the price could be opened at the rate of 85 per candy. Then La Bourdonnais assured the English that they would not purchase pepper at Calicut and he did the same to them.¹⁵² The agreement had not resulted in bringing down the price of pepper in the market of Malabar. It is evident from their later contracts. On 27 March 1742, the bazaar merchants agreed with the English for new contract for 300 candies of pepper at the rate of Rs. 104 per candy.¹⁵³

On 3 March, Ballorate Callandra was advanced Rs. 97 per candy for 125 candies of pepper. Javarra Cana of Irikkur also agreed on the same terms with the Company. They contracted with Cacart Tupee for 100 candies at the

¹⁴⁹ TC, XIII, Diary, 11 September 1741.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 25 December 1741.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*; William Logan, *Treaties, Op. cit.*, 25 December 1741, No. CVIII, pp. 90-92.

¹⁵² TC, XIII, Diary, 12 January 1742.

¹⁵³ As per this contract Mucatum Paqui- 60 candies, Baunibeltu Cunhipy- 40 candies, Batila Paqui- 40 candies, Nelearate Tupy- 35 candies, Cacart Tupy- 100 candies and Combem Allippy- 25 candies agreed to delivering to the Company. See for details, TC, XIII, Consultation, 27 March 1742.

rate of Rs. 98 per candy.¹⁵⁴ On 20 March, Ballorate Callandra requested the Company for a further advance for 50 candies of pepper and expressed willingness to purchase what was remaining in the parts adjacent to Valapattanam for less than Rs. 100 per candy.¹⁵⁵ The Company considered that Ballorate Callandra, was not able to deliver pepper at less than Rs. 101 per candy. Therefore, they agreed to advance him for 50 candies of pepper in full at the rate of Rs. 101 per candy.¹⁵⁶ Chattoo of Aggar likewise contracted with 25 candies of pepper at the rate of Rs. 101 per candy. At the same time, Shaik Abdalla of Madday demanded at the rate of Rs. 98 per candy for 8 candies.¹⁵⁷

In September 1742, the Bombay Council directed the Tellicherry factory for procuring all the pepper possible they could. The Company had already used their utmost diligence to collect pepper from Tellicherry and other places like Cochin, Mangalore and Honovar. At the same instance, the Chief received information that several parcels of pepper at Mangalore and the parts adjacent were being readied to be proceeded to Tellicherry. The Chief agreed the offer and the sum of Rs. 5000 was sent to Mangalore.¹⁵⁸ The Company expected from Cochin some quantity. They were able to collect 200 or 300 candies at the market price and as much or more from Swamy Putturah at Calicut. Small quantities were procured from Mangalore and Manjeswer, but the disputes between the Canarese Government and merchants adversely affected the purchase of pepper from these places.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 3 March 1742.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 20 March 1742.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 21 March 1742.

¹⁵⁸ TC, XIV, Consultation, 16 August 1742.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 17 September 1742.

Again in January 1743, the Bombay Council asked the Tellicherry factory to collect pepper in large quantities in the new season.¹⁶⁰ On 10 January, William Jaynson, John Lemmon, Linguist and merchants went to Mahe, to settle the price of pepper. After consultations the companies reciprocally agreed to advance money to their respective merchants.¹⁶¹ The companies found that the merchants misused their contracts and they were buying pepper inland at the rate of Rs. 114 per candy, which was unheard price until yet.¹⁶² In this context, the companies decided to keep the prices and mutually agreed to purchase pepper for the future at the rate of Rs. 104 per candy.¹⁶³ Both the companies decided to invite their merchants to adjust the price of pepper.¹⁶⁴ Therefore on 19 February, with the Chief's direction the English summoned the merchants at Tellicherry factory. The merchants demanded Rs. 116 per candy.¹⁶⁵ At Mahe, the French could not prevail on them to fix a price.

The next day, the French Chief Duval de Leyril arrived at Tellicherry, he alleged that pepper was so scarce. The English merchants had already given Rs. 116 per candy at Pannor. Then English Company called their merchants and insisted on fixing a price for the pepper.¹⁶⁶ After the discussions with Company the merchants agreed Rs. 115 and offered 250 candies.¹⁶⁷ At the same time, the English Company complained to the French that they heard that Candote Paqui, the head merchant of Mahe was purchasing pepper from Pannor at the rate of Rs. 120 per candy.¹⁶⁸ On 28

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 8 January 1743.

¹⁶¹ TC, XIV, Diary, 10 January 1743.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 2 February 1743.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 3 February 1743.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 18 February 1743.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 19 February 1743.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*; TC, XIV, Consultation, 22 February 1743.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 26 February 1743.

¹⁶⁸ TC, XIV, Diary, 26 February 1743.

February, the French also made condition to settle the price of pepper, as the English had already done.¹⁶⁹

In the following days the Tellicherry factory signed number of contracts with different merchants, most of them demanded Rs. 115. On 3 March, Mucatum Paqui and Batila Paqui expressed their willingness to make contract for 50 candies of pepper each at the rate of Rs. 115 per candy.¹⁷⁰ On 4 March, Chattoo of Aggar entered into a contract for 110 candies pepper at the rate of Rs. 115 per candy.¹⁷¹ On 11 March, three bazaar merchants requested to be advanced money for 125 candies more of pepper at the rate of Rs. 115 per candy.¹⁷² In the following days the Company contracted with Mucatum Paqui for 50 candies,¹⁷³ Tycandy Cuhnially for 25 candies¹⁷⁴ and Combem Allippy for 30 candies¹⁷⁵ at the rate of Rs. 115 per candy. Whereas on 25 April the Company refused the demand of Cunhiseu for Rs. 115 per candy and the Company insisted for Rs. 110 per candy.¹⁷⁶ Same day, Chattoo of Aggar and Ballorate Callandra pressed for Rs. 110 per candy.¹⁷⁷ The Company accepted the price and agreed to purchase it.¹⁷⁸

In this context, the English adopted new method for lowering the prices of pepper, so they tried to meet their merchants separately. The merchants severally stated that, the price stood at the same high price in the hinterlands. It was very scarce and could be purchased only in very small parcels and with a great deal of trouble and difficulty.¹⁷⁹ On 20 May, the

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 1 March 1743.

¹⁷⁰ TC, XIV, Consultation, 3 March 1743.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 4 March 1743.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, 11 March 1743.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, 25 March 1743.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 1 March 1743.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 29 March 1743.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 25 April 1743.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.* 6 May 1743.

Company discussed with the bazaar merchants and they prevailed on to contract at less than Rs. 115 per candy. Then the Company agreed with Mucatum Paqui and Combem Allippy advanced money for 50 candies at the rate of Rs. 114.¹⁸⁰ Other three merchants Nelearate Tupy, Batila Paqui and Baunibeltu Cunhipy being still deficient upwards of 130 candies of what they should have delivered in the last year, and about 14 candies for what money advanced them this year. The Company entirely rejected this proposal, and told them to first bring in a reasonable part of what they have already indebted to the Company.¹⁸¹ At the same time, the French Chief Leyrit, informed the English that he had been equally with English endeavoring to lower the price of pepper.¹⁸²

Fall of Price of Pepper

The English Company records speak that by the end of 1743 there was great fall in the prices of pepper throughout the markets of Malabar. The reason for the fall of price was mainly the policies of English Company and plentiful production of pepper. When the price touched Rs. 114 per candy the Company thought it the time to fix the price for pepper. The Company had the opinion that they might get the ensuing crop at something under Rs. 90 per candy. Then they decided to fix one candy of pepper at the rate of Rs. 80 and send a notice to the merchants that they were resolved not to give above Rs. 80 per candy for any of the new crop of pepper and forbid them giving more than that. Duval de Leyril, the French Chief followed the same method at Mahe¹⁸³ and believed the price of Rs. 80 per candy which the English had determined upon was reasonable. He told they would forbid their merchants

¹⁸⁰ TC, XIV, Diary, 20 May 1743.

¹⁸¹ TC, XIV, Consultation, 20 May 1743.

¹⁸² TC, XIV, Diary, 21 May 1743.

¹⁸³ TC, XV, Consultation, 21 November 1743.

to exceed that price in any of their purchases.¹⁸⁴ Therefore, the English Company's merchants were summoned at the factory to fix at the rate of Rs. 80 per candy.¹⁸⁵ In December, the Company heard that the price inland being at present from Rs. 85 to 90 per candy, by the best intelligence Company would get, it was sold at less than Rs. 80.¹⁸⁶

In January 1744, the new season of pepper contract was opened when the bazaar merchants demanded Rs. 100 per candy. The English Company thought that if they waited ten or fifteen days until the bazaars were well stocked and the merchants in expectation of purchasers, that they should be able to buy much cheaper, which appear to be very reasonable. Then Company sent for Chattoo, Ballorate Callandra and Ticandy Cuhnially, who were better able to judge what they might venture to contract. The Company's bazaar merchants agreed to stand to any price they would contract. The Company decided not to give more than Rs. 80 per candy.¹⁸⁷ On 17 January, the French had summoned their pepper merchants but could not prevail with them to fix the price for the new crop. So they dismissed them with a prohibition to make any purchases at higher rate than to be able to sell it to them at the rate of Rs. 80 per candy, as the English had done. Then they told their merchants and gave public notices in their bazaars that nobody should presume to give more.¹⁸⁸

On 24 January 1744, the bazaar merchants and Cacart Tupy met at factory and demanded Rs. 90 per candy for contract of new season. At last they agreed it to Rs. 87½ per candy for all that season. The English fixed that for the above mentioned price, and that they agreed to pay money for 1550

¹⁸⁴ TC, XV, Letter, Duval De Leyrit, MF to John Geekie, TF, 23 November 1743.

¹⁸⁵ TC, XV, Consultation, 24 November 1743.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 31 December 1743.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 12 January 1744.

¹⁸⁸ TC, XV, Diary, 17 January 1744.

candies.¹⁸⁹ Also acquainted to Chattoo and Ballorate Callandra of the price the Company had made with bazaar merchants, and bid them come to receive money likewise.¹⁹⁰ As per this agreement the Company contracted with Cacart Tupy 200 candies, Mucatum Paqui 500 candies, Combem Allippy 250 candies, Baunibeltu Cunhipy 200 candies, Nelearate Tupy 250 candies and Batila Paqui 150 candies. At Mahe, the French also agreed with their merchants on the same terms of the English at Tellicherry.¹⁹¹ On 27 January, the Company agreed with Chattoo for 700 candies at the same price of Rs. 87½ per candy.¹⁹² Ballorate Callandra also demanded the same price given to the bazaar merchants, but the Company refused his demand. Later he reduced it down to Rs. 85½ per candy, and the Company agreed with him for 300 candies.¹⁹³ Another merchant Ticandy Cunhially offered 500 candies at the same rate with bazaar merchants and the Company accepted this offer.¹⁹⁴ On 10 February, Arera Muta Raja, the King of Kottayam promised the Company that his debt in pepper delivered at Tellicherry at the rate of Rs. 90 per candy.¹⁹⁵

Again on 3 February, the Company made another contract with the bazaar merchants and Cacart Tupy for 450 candies at the rate of Rs. 87½ per candy.¹⁹⁶ In the end of February, the bazaar merchants, Cacart Tupy, Cunhiseu and Ballorate Callandra requested an advance of money for 1550 candies. The Company endeavoured to lower the price but found it ineffectual. Therefore, the Company agreed with them for 1550 candies, at the

¹⁸⁹ TC, XV, Consultation, 24 January 1744.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁹¹ TC, XV, Diary, 24 January 1744.

¹⁹² TC, XV, Consultation, 27 January 1744.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, 28 January 1744.

¹⁹⁴ Ticandy Cunhially was a punctual merchant, who lives in Kadathanad, and makes his purchases there which does not at all interfere with Company's other merchants. See for details, *Ibid.*, 30 January 1744.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 10 February 1744.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 3 February 1744.

same price as before at Rs. 87½ per candy.¹⁹⁷ In April, these merchants offered another 3000 candies more pepper at the same price. The Company argued with them to lower the price, but they alleged that the hinterland merchants had begun to purchase with a design to keep it up until the end of the season, in the hope of getting a greater price for it. Therefore, the Company accepted their demand.¹⁹⁸ In May, Maddaicarem Callandra a merchant to the north of Valapattanam had made an offer to deliver about 30 candies of pepper. Therefore, the Company accepted his offer and paid to him Rs. 88½ per candy.¹⁹⁹

On 18 June, the English Linguist enquired with merchants about contracting for 2000 candies more. The Company decided to wait for three or four days thinking to lower the price three or four rupees.²⁰⁰ On 20 June 1744, the Chief summoned meeting of merchants and decided to purchase 2000 candies more for that year by the end of December. The Company offered them Rs. 84 per candy, but they refused to contract for that price. After discussions with the Company the merchants were willing to contract for 2000 candies at the rate of Rs. 85 per candy, and assured to deliver by the end of December.²⁰¹ As per this agreement the Company contracted with Cacart Tupy 50 candies, Mucatum Paqui 250 candies, Combem Allippy 245 candies, Baunibeltu Cunhipy 200 candies, Nelearate Tupy 225 candies, Batila Paqui 250 candies, Chattoo of Aggar 400 candies, Tycandy Cunhially 150 candies and Ballorate Callandra 200 candies.²⁰²

Since Company's last contract with their merchants at the rate of Rs. 85, the price of pepper rose to Rs. 88 per candy in the hinterlands of

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 27 February 1744.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 30 April 1744.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 7 May 1744.

²⁰⁰ TC, XV, Diary, 18 June 1744.

²⁰¹ TC, XV, Consultation, 20 June 1744.

²⁰² TC, XV, Diary, 26 June 1744.

Tellicherry. So the Company seemed doubtful that their merchants would be able to supply the contracted quantity of 2000 candies.²⁰³ In their turn the merchants were very much disappointed in the quantity they imagined procurable. They requested that in case they found it absolutely impossible to procure the said quantity, the Company would permit them to return to the Company account the advanced money. The merchants told that if they deliver the said quantity of pepper under Rs. 95 per candy, it would not only ruin them but have a bad effect on the price of the next year crop as well. In this situation the Company accepted the request of merchants to return the money that they had received back.²⁰⁴

The Company records of August 1745, speaks that the price of pepper again reduced to less than Rs. 90.²⁰⁵ In the beginning of 1745, the Company contracted with bazaar merchants at the rate of Rs. 88 per candy for the new season pepper. On 24 August 1745, the Company accepted the offer of one Chuli Paqui a merchant of Errioud, about 60 candies of pepper at the rate of Rs. 88 per candy, the same price Company gave to merchants.²⁰⁶ The same day Combem Allippy made contract with Company for 150 candies of pepper at Rs. 88.²⁰⁷ On 28 November, Domingo Rodriguez had delivered 153 candies at the rate of Rs. 88 per candy into warehouse.²⁰⁸ In the beginning of 1746 the price of pepper again increased in Tellicherry and Calicut. On 12 January 1746, William West at Calicut advised that he had hoped to contract for the pepper at less than Rs. 102 per candy and would then break the price.²⁰⁹ The next day he advised that he had contracted for 200 candies of pepper for ship

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, 7 July 1744.

²⁰⁴ TC, XV, Consultation, 31 July 1744.

²⁰⁵ We not get any records of period from August 1744 to July 1745.

²⁰⁶ TC, XVI, Diary, 24 August 1745.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 28 November 1745.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 12 January 1746.

Essex at the rate of Rs. 100 per candy.²¹⁰ In January, the English Company considered the purchase of new crop of pepper and they assumed that the merchants might give it to Company at the rate of Rs. 78 per candy. It was Rs. 10 per candy lesser than the last year. At the same time, the English understood that the French might not probably be purchasers that season, yet should the English Company limit them to a lower price the greatest part of it would slip out of the English hands and be carried to other places.²¹¹

The disastrous political condition of Malabar affected the purchase of pepper, the Company thought that they were too late that season and no money yet advanced or fixed regarding the price of pepper with merchants. They thought the long delay would help them to reduce the price as low as possible. There were above 2700 candies of last year crop in the warehouse.²¹² At last on 14 March, the pepper merchants discussed with the Company, they asked the quantity of pepper that the Company was willing to contract for new season, and at what price. They agreed to make contract for 1000 or 1500 candies at the same price as last year, which was Rs. 88 per candy. The English informed them that their demand was unreasonable. The Linguist informed them that “the Company’s warehouses had enough of the former years pepper to serve Company’s occasions without touching upon the new year crop, and that they were about to make new contract only to encourage the planters and merchants to continue their industry and give them employment, in order that they might earn livelihood for their families.”²¹³ To this the merchants answered that this year’s crop was not above three fourths the quantity of last years, and that they met with obstructions from the King

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 13 January 1746.

²¹¹ TC, XVI, Consultation, 29 January 1746.

²¹² TC, XVI, Diary, 12 March 1746.

²¹³ TC, XVI, Consultation, 14 March 1746.

of Kottayam who had taken some pepper from them last year and had not yet returned all to them.²¹⁴

On 17 March 1746, the bazaar merchants were summoned at factory and they were offered Rs. 84 per candy and agreed to supply 1875 candies.²¹⁵ The Company also contracted with Ballorate Callandra, for 100 candies at the rate of Rs. 82 per candy.²¹⁶ In April, Cheriandi Cunhiamod delivered 72 candies of pepper at the same price contracted with Company's bazaar merchants. And he desired to have an advance for 27 candies more at the same rate, which he promised to bring shortly.²¹⁷ Throughout this year the Company procured pepper in low prices. Therefore, the Bombay Council wrote to George Dudley the Tellicherry Chief, that "the price of pepper being reduced was very pleasing to the Company." They had no doubt of factory's endeavours to bring it still lower. They approved factory's adjusting with the pepper merchants for new season at the end of December.²¹⁸

In January 1747, the Tellicherry factory received a letter from the Court of Directors of London expressing their satisfaction over procuring a large quantity of pepper in the last season from Tellicherry.²¹⁹ There were plentiful pepper stocks in the warehouses of Tellicherry, so the Bombay Council directed them to sell 200 candies to one Portuguese ship.²²⁰ In this time the Company's warehouses of Calicut had 1000 candies of pepper.²²¹ In order to bring down the price of pepper as much as possible the Chief directed Company's merchants and shop-keepers as usual not to give above Rs. 60 per candy for such quantities as are daily brought for sale into the bazaar of

²¹⁴ LFT, IV, TF to William Wake, BC, 12 April 1746.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*; TC, XVI, Consultation, 22 March 1746.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 21 April 1746.

²¹⁸ LTT, IX, William Wake, BC to George Dudley, TF, 21 August 1746.

²¹⁹ TC, XVII-A, Diary, 8 January 1747.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*; LTT, IX, William Wake, BC to George Dudley, TF, 2 January 1747;

²²¹ TC, XVII-A, Diary, 23 January 1747.

Tellicherry.²²² Few days later, Cheriandi Cunhamed had delivered into the Company's warehouse 176 candies and Combem Allippy 194.16 candies of new crop of pepper at the rate of Rs. 60 per candy.²²³ Other merchants were not ready to deliver their pepper at lesser rate to the Company. The Company pressed the merchants to reduce the prices and after many long and tedious arguments the merchants declared their willingness to contract for 2500 candies at the rate of Rs. 65½ per candy.²²⁴ Therefore the next day the Company advanced sum of Rs. 135302 to Ballorate Callandra, Chattoo of Aggar and seven bazaar merchants including Mucatum Paqui, Combem Allippy, Nelearate Tupy, Batila Paqui, Baunibeltu Cunhippy, Cheriandi Cunhamo and Cheriandi Checu.²²⁵

In June, a merchant at Calicut offered to truck pepper for the cotton lying in the Company's warehouses which had about 299 candies, at the rate of two candies of pepper for one candy of cotton. The Company accepted his offer and allowing the cotton at Rs. 131 per candy and the pepper at Rs. 65½ per candy.²²⁶ At the same time, the Board of Tellicherry factory was informed that price of pepper has fallen since the last contract of Company. They observed it would be fine to make further purchase in case the Company had sufficient cash.²²⁷ The Bombay Council hoped that they might be able to get pepper still cheaper than Rs. 65½ per candy.²²⁸ On 7 September 1747, the Company made contract with Combem Allippy for 50 candies of pepper at the rate of Rs. 63 per candy.²²⁹ At the same time, warehouses at Tellicherry had a large quantity of pepper.²³⁰ In this context, the Company's purchase of

²²² *Ibid.*, 9 January 1747.

²²³ *Ibid.*, 20 February 1747.

²²⁴ TC, XVII-A, Consultation, 3 April 1747.

²²⁵ TC, XVII-A, Diary, 4 April 1747.

²²⁶ TC, XVII-A, Consultation, 4 June 1747.

²²⁷ *Ibid.*, 4 June 1747.

²²⁸ TC, XVII-B, Diary, 2 September 1747.

²²⁹ TC, XVII-B, Consultation, 7 September 1747.

²³⁰ TC, XVII-B, Diary, 12 November 1747.

pepper from Tellicherry was reduced. On 5 February 1748, the Chief received an Ola from Ballorate Callandra, which read “he has hitherto brought all the pepper produced annually in those parts on account the English Company, but having received no orders as yet and a large quantity being daily carried out of the country.” Therefore he sent a Moor man belonging to him requesting money would be advanced as usual.²³¹

On 15 April 1748 after a long interval the English Company convened the meeting of merchants.²³² The merchants acquainted to the Company that about 500 candies was the utmost they would procure and that too, not under Rs. 73 per candy. The Company told them that their demanded price was unreasonable and the Company’s warehouses had large quantity of pepper. Again on 19 April, the Company called once again merchants together and the Company acquainted to them they could not think of purchasing at so extravagant a rate because they had in warehouses near 6000 candies of pepper in stock.²³³ The merchants informed to the Company that the price of pepper in inland bazaars is Rs. 69 per candy but the Company replied to them not to purchase at a greater price than Rs. 65 to 67 per candy.²³⁴ In June, two of the Company merchants offered to the Company 200 candies of pepper at the rate of Rs. 66 per candy but the Company refused offer, which was greater price than Company’s last contract which was at Rs. 63.²³⁵ A few days later, Combem Allippy and Mucatum Paqui, offered 800 candies of pepper at the rate of Rs. 65 per candy.²³⁶ The Company accepted their offer at the rate of Rs. 65 per candy.²³⁷ On 12 October 1748, the Bombay authority wrote to

²³¹ *Ibid.*, 5 February 1748.

²³² *Ibid.*, 15 April 1748.

²³³ *Ibid.*, 19 April 1748.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*, 19 May 1748.

²³⁵ *Ibid.*, 24 June 1748.

²³⁶ *Ibid.*, 28 June 1748.

²³⁷ TC, XVII-B, Diary, 30 June 1748.

Tellicherry to contract for the new crop as early as usual.²³⁸ The pepper merchants had already delivered into warehouse 485 candies of pepper, in part of their contract for 800 candies.²³⁹ The Chief wrote to Bombay that they desired a supply of Rs. 350000 might be sent them as they were in hopes of getting 5000 candies of pepper at or under Rs. 58 per candy.²⁴⁰

In January 1749, the English and the French companies agreed to settle the price of pepper as formerly practiced before advanced money for merchants.²⁴¹ Thomas Byfeld, the Chief of Tellicherry, wrote to the French that he observed his good inclinations for the good of the two settlements, and to reduce the price of pepper.²⁴² Both companies agreed to stay till the end of January before the Company advance money for the ensuing crop of pepper, and that the Company prohibit for the present any one giving more than Rs. 50 per candy for pepper.²⁴³ Then the companies ordered to their merchants no one to give more than Rs. 50 per candy.²⁴⁴ The merchants informed that the French boats daily exported pepper from Vadakara and other ports to Calicut and if it would not be prevented there is a chance of rise in price of new crop. Then Thomas Byfeld wrote to the Chief of Mahe of his complaint against the French attitude on this occasion.²⁴⁵ Again on 16 January, the Chief informed the merchants of Mahe given 17 fanams per maund which was nearest Rs. 60 per bazaar candy. Therefore for the certification of the truth Chief ordered three maunds to be sent thither for sale by one Tiringalatu Tarney a shopkeeper of Arinhirole (Eranjoli) with three maunds of pepper.²⁴⁶ He had

²³⁸ TC, XVIII, Diary, 12 October 1748.

²³⁹ TC, XVIII, Consultation, 4 October 1748.

²⁴⁰ TC, XVIII, Diary, 1 November 1748.

²⁴¹ TC, XVIII, Consultation, 3 January 1749.

²⁴² TC, XVIII, Diary, 4 January 1749.

²⁴³ TC, XVIII, Consultation, 6 January 1749.

²⁴⁴ TC, XVIII, Diary, 4 January 1749; *Ibid.*, 7 January 1749.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 13 January 1749.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 16 January 1749.

sold it to one Toney Pariey for 17 fanams per maund.²⁴⁷ On 17 January, Thomas Byfeld wrote to Monsieur Louet, the French Chief a complaint on this matter and directed him to stop such an evil practice.²⁴⁸

On 17 February, the bazaar merchants were summoned at Tellicherry factory to contract for the new crop of pepper. The merchants told that the great quantities which had been carried overland to Calicut and parts to the southward brought up by ships and other vessels for the need of Malabar goods, so they could not contract with Company for less than Rs. 75 per candy. In addition to this, the French were giving 18 fanams the maund which was Rs. 72 per candy. Therefore, the Chief credibly informed by Tellicherry Linguist the same had been raised to 18½ which had 370 fanams or Rs. 74 per candy.²⁴⁹ Then the merchants absolutely declared that they could not contract at less than Rs. 74½ per candy. They expected no more than 1500 candies at present purchase. In this circumstance, the Company accepted the demand of merchants that Rs. 74¼ for per candy. It was agreed to contract with them at that price to prevent pepper falling into the hands of the French.²⁵⁰ As per this agreement the Company contracted with Mucatum Paqui 350 candies, Combem Allippy 350 candies, Baunibeltu Cunhipy 150 candies, Nelearate Tupy 325 candies, Batila Paqui 150 candies and Cherriandy Cunhamod 175 candies.²⁵¹ On 24 February, Ballorate Supy the heir of Ballorate Callandra contracted with the Company for 70 candies of pepper at the rate of Rs. 72¼ per candy. He also desired to be advanced money for 50 candies.²⁵² Later on

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 17 January 1749.

²⁴⁸ TC, XVIII, Letter, Thomas Byfeld, TF to Monsieur Louet, MF, 17 January 1749.

²⁴⁹ TC, XVIII, Consultation, 18 February 1749; LFT, VII, Thomas Byfeld, TF to William Wake, BC, 24 February 1749; LFT, VII, Thomas Byfeld, TF to the Court of Directors, 2 March 1749.

²⁵⁰ TC, XVIII, Consultation, 18 February 1749.

²⁵¹ TC, XVIII, Diary, 18 February 1749.

²⁵² TC, XVIII, Consultation, 24 February 1749.

10 April 1749, the Company accepted the offer of Chattoo of Aggar for 60 candies of pepper at rupees two less in the candy than bazaar merchants.²⁵³

Summary

This chapter attempted to study the role of indigenous merchants in the development of the Tellicherry settlement. With the help of the indigenous merchants of the region the Company tried to collect almost all the pepper produced in the region. The trade was largely depended upon the principal merchant Chattoo Chetty, who was considered as the dependable ally of the Company. After the death of Chattoo Chetty a new consortium of merchants by name 'bazaar merchants' acquired the status of the principal merchants. To facilitate the purchase of more pepper the Company resorted to the practice of entering into agreements with the local rajas. The French presence at Mahe brought in the new tendency of competitive purchasing which lead to shooting up of the price of pepper. At this point both the companies thought in terms of introducing a common strategy to bring down the price. Though unsuccessful in the initial stages, they were able to bring down the price considerably.

²⁵³ *Ibid.*, 10 April 1749.

CHAPTER 4

THE COMPANY AND OTHER MERCHANTS

Arun Thomas M. “Merchants, markets and merchandise: Strategy of english east India company trade in tellicherry 1725-1750” Thesis. Department of History, University of Calicut, 2015

CHAPTER - IV

THE COMPANY AND OTHER MERCHANTS

The most important commodity purchased by the English East India Company at Tellicherry was pepper. Large numbers of indigenous merchants were engaged in pepper trade with the Company. At the same time, the factory purchased pepper from other areas of Malabar including Calicut, Tannore and Ponnani. The Company record speaks about the flourishing pepper trade of the Company since 1740 from Honovar and adjacent places like Mangalore and Manjeswer. In 1740, the Bombay Council introduced some changes in Company's purchase of pepper from Malabar Coast. Thus, the practice of sending Company representatives came into existence. These representatives procured pepper from merchants in these areas. The Tellicherry factory also purchased pepper and Batavian arrack from the Cochin merchant Ezekiel Raby. We also have ample evidences related to factory's interactions with indigenous merchants dealing in cardamom and sandalwood.

Trade and Merchants of Calicut

At Calicut, the English maintained a factory, which functioned as a subordinate centre of Tellicherry factory. Purchases at Calicut were handled by the Linguist appointed by the Company. Suamy Putturah, a wealthy merchant of Calicut, acted as the principal merchant of the Company at Calicut and Ponnani.¹ Muta Chetty, Ananda Putturah and Surchanda, a Bania merchant, were the other principal merchants of the Company at Calicut.²

¹ Tellicherry Consultation (hereafter TC), XIV, Consultation, 16 August 1742.

² Bania or Vannian was a particular merchant community in the western coast of India. See for further detail, Adriaan Moens, "Memorandum on the Administration of the

At Tannore, Isooph, a Moor merchant of good credit, was recorded as entering into a number of contracts with the Company.³

On 12 November 1725, Francois Dias, the Linguist at Ponnani, informed the Company about the possibilities of procuring 150 candies of pepper at the rate of 26 ibrahims per candy.⁴ He enquired for new pepper, which was then coming in small quantities. He believed that within a few days, he might be able to get 50 candies at the rate of 255 new fanams of Calicut per candy.⁵ On 17 November 1725, he informed the Company that 263 bales of pepper belonging to Suamy Puttarah was on board a manchua bound for Calicut. He expected 50 candies of new pepper to be procured at the rate ranging from 255 to 260 new fanams per candy. He expressed his hopes to the Company to purchase 30 candies more at Calicut.⁶

In January 1727, on the request of Tellicherry factory, the Calicut Linguist informed that Suamy Puttarah had 100 candies of pepper ready at Calicut and he expected 100 more from Ponnani.⁷ The factory directed the Linguist to bring without delay the 100 candies of pepper of Suamy Puttarah.⁸ In March 1727, the Bombay Council expected a large quantity of pepper from Tellicherry, but warehouses had ready only 450 candies.⁹ In this situation, the Chief directed Calicut Linguist to ask Suamy

Coast of Malabar”, Dated 18 April 1781, in A. Galletti, *The Dutch in Malabar*, Madras, 1911, p. 215.

³ Letters from Tellicherry (hereafter LFT), II, Stephen Law, Tellicherry Factory (hereafter TF) to Robert Cowan, Bombay Council (hereafter BC), 31 October 1733.

⁴ Ibrahim was about Rs. 2.5 to 2.8. See for details, LFT, II, Stephen Law, TF to the Court of Directors for the United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies, London (hereafter ‘the Court of Directors’), 28 February 1733.

⁵ TC, I, Diary, 12 November 1725. As per the factory records of 1730, 5.3 fanam was equal to Rs.1. See for details, TC, IV, Consultation, 4 September 1730.

⁶ TC, I, Consultation, 17 November 1725.

⁷ TC, II, Diary, 30 January 1727.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*, 23 March 1727.

Putturah to supply more pepper.¹⁰ Therefore, Suamy Putturah delivered 100 candies to the Company.¹¹

In August 1730, the Linguist explored other means to procure pepper realising the scarcity of pepper. He decided to procure 170 candies of pepper at Rs. 68 per candy.¹² The Company merchant at Calicut was able to purchase 100 candies of pepper and those of Tannore and Ponnani purchased about 50 candies. The Linguist informed the Company that they could collect pepper under 26 narodies.¹³ The Company ordered the Linguist immediately to make contract for the aforesaid 150 candies on the best terms he could.¹⁴ Finally, he contracted with Calicut merchants at the rate of 26 narodies per candy and with the merchants of Ponnani and Tannore for 25 candies more at the rate of 24¾ narodies.¹⁵ In September, the Linguist contracted with Tannore merchants for 25 candies at the rate of 25½ narodies.¹⁶ In November, the Linguist informed the Company that the aforesaid 150 candies of pepper are ready to be delivered in Calicut warehouse.¹⁷

At the time of Canarese invasion, Chattoo Chetty and other merchants of north were unable to enter into contracts with the Company.¹⁸ In October 1732, the Company ship Marlborough arrived at

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 27 March 1727.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 5 April 1727; TC, II, Consultation, 5 April 1727.

¹² TC, IV, Consultation, 19 August 1730.

¹³ TC, IV, Diary, 4 September 1730. One Narody was a peculiar coin circulated in Malabar, which was equal to Rs. 2.6-2.8. See for details, LFT, Vol. II, John Braddyll, TF to the Court of Directors, 28 February 1733; TC, III, Consultation, 24 February 1728.

¹⁴ TC, IV, Diary, 8 September 1730.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 11 September 1730; LFT, I, John Braddyll, TF to the Court of Directors, 7 February 1731.

¹⁶ TC, IV, Diary, 29 September 1730.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 13 November 1730.

¹⁸ TC, V, Consultation, 29 July 1732.

Tellicherry with the order of Bombay Council to collect and load pepper. Therefore, Tellicherry Chief ordered the Calicut Linguist to provide pepper. The Linguist replied that at Calicut, only a trifle was available and that too was high priced.¹⁹ In November, the Chief enquired the Linguist the possibility of contracting with merchants of Calicut.²⁰ Then, Ananda Putturah, informed the Linguist of his interest to enter into a contract with the Company at the rate of 27 narodies (Rs. 76¾) per candy.²¹ Some other merchants at Calicut offered to supply 200 candies at the rate of 30 narodies per candy.²² In September 1733, Isooph offered the Linguist about 100 candies pepper to be ready in January.²³

In 1734, the extraordinary situation of spiraling price of pepper worried the English very much. The price rise was attributed to the role of the French in its purchase. The attempt of the English to enter into contract with the Sundah country was not successful. The Company managed to collect some quantity of pepper from Canarese ports. At Calicut warehouses, there were 195 candies, bought at different prices.²⁴ The Linguist of Calicut was instructed to secure whatever quantity he could get from Ponnani and Tannore.²⁵ In November 1734, on the advice of Chief for filling the Company ship Middlesex, the Linguist immediately bought 110 candies and enquired the prospects of entering into a new contract with the merchants of Calicut and Tannore.²⁶ He dispatched sufficient quantities to Tellicherry and informed them that the French were buying pepper from

¹⁹ TC, VI, Diary, 22 October 1732.

²⁰ TC, VI, Consultation, 1 November 1732.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 13 December 1732.

²² LFT, II, John Braddyll, TF to Robert Cowan, BC, 22 February 1733.

²³ LFT, III, Stephen Law, TF to Robert Cowan, BC, 31 October 1733.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 8 April 1734.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 17 August 1734.

²⁶ TC, VII, Consultation, 18 November 1734.

Tannore at 400 new fanams per candy. The Chief directed him to go to Tannore for weighing the pepper and settling price on the best terms.²⁷

In February 1740, the Bombay Council directed the Tellicherry authorities to send suitable persons to supervise the purchase of pepper at all parts of Malabar other than Tellicherry and to procure it at the lowest possible rate.²⁸ Accordingly, the Tellicherry factory appointed Francois Dias as their agent for the purchase of pepper from Calicut and adjacent areas with the instruction to procure maximum possible amount of pepper at the lowest prices.²⁹ Later, the Chief dispatched a letter to Francisco Dias with the orders to purchase pepper there conforming to the factors of resolution in the Council.³⁰ As per the direction of the Chief, Dias bought 70 candies of pepper at the rate of Rs. 100 per candy and expected 30 candies more from Ponnani, at about the same price. A few days later, he got an offer of 60 candies more from merchants of Calicut, for which they asked Rs. 102½ per candy.³¹ In July, Dias bought about 46 candies perfectly dry and cleaned old pepper at the rate of Rs. 106 per candy.³² Again, on 9 August, he bought 47¼ candies at the same rate.³³ Thus, within a few months the Company could collect a good quantity of pepper from Calicut.

In the new season, two merchants of Calicut came forward to contract with the Company for 200 candies of pepper at the rate of Rs. 100 per candy.³⁴ At that time, the Chief directed Dias to purchase maximum quantity

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 3 January 1735.

²⁸ Letters to Tellicherry (hereafter LTT), IV, Stephen Law, BC to William Wake, TF, 13 February 1740; TC, XI, Consultation, 25 February 1740.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ TC, XI, Diary, 27 February 1740.

³¹ TC, XI, Consultation, 16 March 1740.

³² *Ibid.*, 1 August 1740.

³³ TC, XII, Diary, 13 August 1740.

³⁴ TC, XII, Consultation, 4 December 1740. On 11 December, Rs. 1000 was sent to Francois Dias as advance for the above mentioned 20 candies of pepper. See for details, TC, XII, Diary, 11 December 1740.

from Calicut, as they learned that the French will be busy in the Calicut market to procure pepper as they do not have sufficient stock in their warehouse.³⁵ In the beginning of 1741, the merchants of Calicut offered a high rate for pepper which led to great quantities of pepper being carried to Calicut out of Kottayam and other places.³⁶ In April, Dais had purchased 75 candies of pepper at the rate of Rs. 108 per candy.³⁷ On 6 May, a few merchants demanded Rs. 109½ per candy for about 90 candies.³⁸ Later, Dias bought them at the rate of Rs. 106½ per candy.³⁹ On 12 May, he wrote to the Tellicherry factory that he should weigh off the remaining pepper brought immediately to the warehouses shortly, which had 270 candies.⁴⁰

In August 1741, the Chief received an order from Bombay authorities to procure all the pepper in Malabar as much as possible. Therefore, he sent William West to Calicut immediately so that weather will permit purchase of pepper, and proper instructions were drawn up for that purpose.⁴¹ At the same time, the merchants of Vadakara sent several quantities of pepper to Calicut and they asked the rate of Rs. 110 per candy.⁴² A few days later, West bought 48 candies from these Vadakara merchants at the rate of Rs. 110 per candy. He informed the Tellicherry factory that the Calicut merchants expected higher price from Rs. 115 to 120 per candy.⁴³ The Company realized that the demand of merchants was very exorbitant.⁴⁴ On 29 September, West bought 10 candies of good dry

³⁵ TC, XII, Consultation, 4 December 1740.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 14 February 1741.

³⁷ TC, XII, Diary, 4 May 1741.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 6 May 1741.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 9 May 1741. The factory sends Rs. 20000 to Calicut as payment for the pepper. TC, XII, Consultation, 9 May 1741.

⁴⁰ TC, XII, Diary, 12 May 1741.

⁴¹ TC, XIII, Consultation, 19 August 1741.

⁴² TC, XIII, Diary, 17 August 1741.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 3 September 1741.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 4 September 1741.

pepper at the rate of Rs. 110 per candy.⁴⁵ He stated that the merchant would not sell him at a price under Rs. 110 per candy.⁴⁶ In November 1741, West went to Calicut and confirmed that he could purchase some pepper procurable at Tannore.⁴⁷ In December, he had purchased 422 candies of old pepper at the rate of Rs. 110 per candy.⁴⁸

In December 1741, the Bombay Council directed Tellicherry factory to procure 2400 candies of pepper to be send to London. They were also directed to continue the purchase at outposts of Tellicherry without limiting the price. In this context, William West at Calicut came to know that some pepper may be purchased at Tannore, which will come out at a moderate price than at Calicut.⁴⁹ The Company considered William West's request, having duly weighed the orders of the Bombay Council to purchase pepper from the outposts of Tellicherry.⁵⁰ They sent a proper person to enquire into the quantity and price of pepper at Tannore.⁵¹ Therefore, the Chief ordered West to collect all pepper from Tannore and Ponnani intended for Bombay. The Company was fully sensible that constantly purchasing pepper at Calicut at so high a price as Rs. 110 per candy would have an ill effect on the price in these parts.⁵² Due to the ill health of Suamy Putturah, the Company could collect only a small quantity of pepper from Calicut.

In 1743, there was a great and uncommon scarcity of pepper in parts of Tellicherry. On 21 January, William Jayson, the Chief of Tellicherry, advised

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 29 September 1741; LTT, VI, William West, BC to William Wake, TF, 27 September 1741.

⁴⁶ TC, XIII, Letter, William West, BC to William Wake, TF, 21 October 1741.

⁴⁷ TC, XIII, Diary, 29 November 1741; LTT, VI, William West, BC to William Wake, TF, 28 November 1741.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 8 December 1741; TC, XIII, Diary, 9 December 1741; *Ibid.*, 12 December 1741; *Ibid.*, 16 December 1741; LTT, VI, William West, BC to William Wake, TF 11 December 1741; *Ibid.*, 16 December 1741.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 31 December 1741; TC, XIII, Diary, 1 January 1742.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 1 January 1742.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 4 January 1742.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 18 January 1742.

the Anjengo factory that there was a great scarcity of pepper in Tellicherry.⁵³ Considering the large tonnage to be provided in the season, the Company was pleased to allow them to purchase pepper at Calicut even without any limitation in the price. They had no hope of procuring pepper neither from Anjengo, nor from Ezekiel Raby, who would give them any hopes of further quantity of pepper.⁵⁴ Now, the Company expected nothing from Suamy Putturah. The Chief and his Factors unanimously agreed to purchase pepper at Calicut at the most reasonable rate and sent William West to Calicut for that purpose. In February, West procured above 355 candies at the rate of Rs. 113 and 114 per candy.⁵⁵ Some days later, he contracted with two merchants for 50 candies more pepper.⁵⁶

On 7 March, West informed that the merchants of Calicut seemed backward in contracting for any more pepper alleging that some Moors of Mahe and Tellicherry were purchasing from thereon southwards at Rs. 115 per candy.⁵⁷ Within a few days, the price of pepper increased up to Rs. 116 per candy. However, the Company decided not to purchase pepper for such a high price mainly because they had about 427 candies in the warehouse now which was the maximum storage capacity of Company warehouses at Calicut. Then they obliged to keep some quantity of pepper in the merchants warehouses.⁵⁸ Some days later, West informed the Chief that they had more than 611 candies of pepper in the warehouses at Calicut.⁵⁹ In April, West informed that about 700 candies of cleaned pepper in Calicut warehouses were ready to be loaded in the ships.⁶⁰ Since 1743, due to the Anglo-French

⁵³ TC, XIV, Diary, 21 January 1743.

⁵⁴ TC, XIV, Consultation, 6 February 1743.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, TC, XIV, Diary, 16 February 1743.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 1 March 1743.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 7 March 1743.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 13 March 1743.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 22 March 1743.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 20 April 1743; TC, XIV, Consultation, 25 April 1743.

wars, the Tellicherry factory could collect only a few quantity pepper from Calicut, Tannore and Ponnani.

Company Trade in Canara

As a part of the English Company treaty with the Canarese General Surappayya, they re-established the trading centre at Honovar. Thereafter, the pepper trade of Honovar, Mangalore and other nearby areas came to be controlled by Tellicherry factory. The Tellicherry factory records from 1740 speak about the purchase of pepper from merchants of these areas and among these Hur Comoty was the principal agent of Company. He had the sole liberty from the King of Bednur for exporting pepper from the Canarese ports like Mangalore, Honovar, Mirjee, Manjeswer etc. He paid rent to the King for all the pepper produced from Batticala southwards as far as the Carnatic dominions.⁶¹ Hence, the Company recognized Hur Comoty as their principal merchant who procured pepper from those areas to the Company account.

In 1740, the Tellicherry factory faced a shortage in the supply of pepper. So they tried to procure pepper from Canarese ports. The President and the Council at Bombay ordered the Tellicherry factory to appoint a proper person for purchasing pepper for the English at Honovar and the adjacent region. Therefore, the Chief selected and appointed Thomas Purnell for that purpose. Accordingly Thomas Purnell was permitted to give as far as Rs. 98 per candy for 510 Ib. of pepper and was directed to reduce it below that rate if possible.⁶² The Company directed him to make an enquiry about the commodity at Mangalore and to the northwards and southwards and to buy whatever he can. They appointed Ventura de Souza, well acquainted with the

⁶¹ LTT, V, Thomas Purnell, Honovar to William Wake, TF, 17 October 1740; TC, XII, Diary, 13 January 1741.

⁶² TC, XI, Consultation, 8 March 1740. The weight of Canara had been different. At Honovar it was from 510 to 520 Ib. At Tellicherry it was at Rs. 115 for a candy of 600 Ib.

customs, manners and languages of the Canarese, to assist Thomas Purnell. They believed that Ventura de Souza can locate the trustworthy merchants of the region. The Company also decided to dispatch proper person to Honovar and Manjeswer to make a public enquiry for procuring pepper. The Chief gave directions to Purnell to make purchase from Manjeswer as well as at Honovar if possible; it was to be delivered at Mangalore, where the Company would pay for it.⁶³

On 22 March 1740, Purnell informed the Company that he had contracted for 110 candies from Manjeswer at Rs. 97 per candy of 560 Ib.⁶⁴ In April, Purnell purchased 100 candies of 520 Ib. at the rate of Rs. 97 per candy from Hur Comoty at Honovar. Then it was delivered at Mangalore out of all charges, and he promised to send Tellicherry a greater quantity before the rains. A few days later, Purnell contracted with Hur Comoty for 200 candies more at Rs. 85 per candy. Then Purnell expressed the hope of getting pepper from Honovar every day, and in future the Company could contract for large quantities.⁶⁵ On 27 April 1740, a manchua imported 78 candies of Manjeswer pepper from Mangalore. Purnell also informed the Company that 100 candies of Honovar pepper would be sent to Tellicherry in a day or two.⁶⁶ Therefore, on 28 April, he sent 3 manchuas of pepper to Tellicherry.⁶⁷

The Bombay Council was satisfied with the sending of Purnell to Honovar and the contracts he made there with Hur Comoty and other merchants.⁶⁸ In September 1740, the Chief directed Purnell to find other merchants who would provide him cheaper rate than Hur Comoty for

⁶³ TC, XI, Letter, William Wake, TF to Thomas Purnell, Honovar, 12 March 1740.

⁶⁴ LTT, IV, Thomas Purnell, Honovar to William Wake, TF, 22 March 1740; TC, XI, Diary, 24 March 1740.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 23 April 1740.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 27 April 1740.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 28 April 1740.

⁶⁸ LTT, V, Stephen Law, BC to William Wake, TF, 23 August 1740.

purchasing pepper.⁶⁹ Hence, he made enquiries to purchase pepper from Mangalore and Honovar, but found that the merchants insisted upon some terms those were not agreeable to him.⁷⁰ At the same time, Purnell thought that in case of the death of Hur Comoty, the Government may seize his estate, which will render the recovery of money lodged in his hands precarious.⁷¹ Within a few months, Hur Comoty recovered from ill health and promised that 300 candies will be delivered immediately at the arrival of any of the Company vessels from Bombay.⁷² Some days later, he promised Purnell 200 candies of pepper, which was contracted in April.⁷³ In February, he wrote that due to the demand for pepper, the merchants will not sell him at a price less than 30 Ikkeri pagodas.⁷⁴ Therefore, he could not agree for any price conforming to his instructions.⁷⁵

On 18 March 1741, the Chief gave directions to Purnell for purchasing pepper in the new season.⁷⁶ Then he contracted with several merchants of Mangalore for 82 candies of pepper to be delivered at Mangalore and Manjeswer. He informed the Chief that there had been very little demand for pepper since the new season came in and he was not able to get it at a rate less than 28½ pagodas or Rs. 98 per candy of 560 Ib.⁷⁷ Purnell tried to contract with Hur Comoty, but he refused to deliver more than 40 candies.⁷⁸ So the Company informed Purnell not to give Hur

⁶⁹ TC, XII, Consultation, 17 September 1740.

⁷⁰ LTT, V, Thomas Purnell, Honovar to William Wake, TF, 30 September 1740.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² TC, XII, Diary, 31 October 1740; LTT, V, Thomas Purnell, Honovar to William Wake, TF, 15 October 1740.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 16 October 1740; TC, XII, Diary, 7 December 1740.

⁷⁴ This was nearly Rs. 120 per candy including freight and other charges from Mangalore to Tellicherry. The exchange rate of one Ikkeri pagoda was Rs. 3½. See for details, Appendix, No. 2, p. 254.

⁷⁵ TC, XII, Consultation, 13 February 1741.

⁷⁶ TC, XII, Letter, William Wake, TF to Thomas Purnell, Honovar, 18 March 1741.

⁷⁷ LTT, V, Thomas Purnell, Honovar to William Wake, TF, 30 March 1741.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 1 April 1741; TC, XII, Diary, 5 April 1741.

Comoty more than Rs. 84 per candy, which was the contract price till Hur Comoty complied with his agreement with Presidency.⁷⁹

In the former season, Hur Comoty had contracted with the Company for about 260 candies of pepper but that was not delivered then. Therefore, the Company received direction from Bombay to increase purchases at Calicut, Mangalore or elsewhere, being apprehensive of a want of tonnage for the ships in the next season.⁸⁰ Under many circumstances, the Company bought pepper from Hur Comoty almost at a rate of Rs.100 per candy, but the Company thought that the season having ended; Hur Comoty might be willing to contract at the rate of Rs. 84 per candy. As the price was very reasonable, the Company ordered to provide at all outposts what they possibly can.⁸¹ Purnell further said that, “Comoty has a power from the King that no man but himself can export any pepper out of the Carnatic country from the Northward of Mangalore, and the money would, if he lives, be safe in his hands.”⁸²

In August 1741, Purnell agreed to send to Tellicherry in a tonnage with all expedition the remaining 83 candies of pepper at Mangalore purchased there in the last year.⁸³ He also informed the Company that Hur Comoty would deliver the remaining 259 candies of his contract for pepper at Mirjee and Honovar.⁸⁴ A few days later, he contracted with Hur Comoty for 100 candies of pepper at Mangalore at the rate of 28½ pagodas per candies of 520 Ib.⁸⁵ In September, Purnell informed the Chief that Hur Comoty had 300 candies of pepper to be disposed at about the

⁷⁹ TC, XII, Consultation, 6 April 1741.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 4 May 1741.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸² TC, XII, Diary, 19 May 1741.

⁸³ TC, XIII, Consultation, 19 August 1741.

⁸⁴ TC, XIII, Diary, 28 August 1741.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 29 August 1741. On 30 September arrived a manchua with 79.8 candies of pepper from Mangalore. See for details, TC, XIII, Diary, 30 September 1741.

rate of Rs. 80 for that candy.⁸⁶ In November, Hur Comoty sent 172 candies of pepper which the Company had laden on board Fort St. George. He was assured by the Company that the remaining of his contract with the Presidency lies at Mangalore. Again, the Bombay Council had advised and sent him to purchase 300 candies of pepper lying at Honovar or Anjadiva for Rs. 27000.⁸⁷

On 5 December, Hur Comoty promised the Company to deliver some pepper at Mangalore to be boarded in Onslow or St. George, but those ships had already passed Mangalore port before he reached there. Therefore, the Chief wrote to Charles Crommelin, the new English Company agent at Mangalore, to collect that pepper from Hur Comoty. The Chief informed him to purchase more pepper at a limited price from there if possible.⁸⁸ Therefore, on 7 December, Charles Crommelin arrived at Mangalore and immediately enquired for the purchase of pepper. Hur Comoty informed him there was almost 88 candies of pepper ready at Honovar. Charles Crommelin found that the Portuguese was attached on account of a dispute between Hur Comoty and a merchant of Goa and that affair was not settled. He actually refused to take the attachment away, because the remaining 38 candies or so were under the care of a merchant there. For this, the merchant asked 31 pagodas per candy. This exceeding price limited Charles Crommelins instructions and he could not purchase it.⁸⁹

On 23 January 1742, Pedro Rangell at Mangalore wrote that there was not a grain of pepper procurable at Mangalore. Nevertheless, at the

⁸⁶ TC, XIII, Consultation, 28 September 1741.

⁸⁷ TC, XIII, Diary, 18 November 1741.

⁸⁸ TC, XIII, Letter, William Wake, TF to Charles Crommelin, Mangalore, 5 December 1741.

⁸⁹ TC, XIII, Letter, Charles Crommelin, Mangalore to William Wake, TF, 8 December 1741.

same time, some merchants told him that if he would advance money they would deliver some pepper within two months time at the rate of 30 pagodas per candy. The merchants asked about Rs. 114 per candy of 600 Ib. However, even if the price was more reasonable, they could not trust any of the merchants of that country with money beforehand, as experienced in Hur Comotys contract with the Presidency.⁹⁰ On 25 February, the Company received a private intelligence that there were small quantities of pepper at Mangalore and Manjeswer. Then they wrote a letter to Pedro Rangal, ordering him to make due enquiry what quantities and at what price it could be purchased.⁹¹ The Company was apprehensive that the quantity of pepper that could possibly be procured in that season at Tellicherry would be very less than that purchased last year. However, every trifle of pepper available was purchased. Then the Company purchased 25 candies of pepper from Ragojee, a Banyan merchant of Manjeswer at the rate of Rs. 114 per candy of 600 Ib.⁹²

In October 1742, Hur Comoty informed the Company that he was ready to sell pepper of Honovar at the rate of Rs. 87 per candies. The Company entrusted Charls Crommelin to purchase whatever pepper available at Honovar and Carwar.⁹³ However, Hur Comoty informed Charles Crommelin that there was no pepper ready at Honovar. At that time, the balance of what Hur Comoty promised to deliver was nearly 88 candies. He also informed Crommelin that about 200 candies are available at Mirjee which he would endeavor to purchase. Crommelin ordered him to go forward as he had contracted for 400 candies at the rate of 34 pagodas per candy. He also made an enquiry if there was certainty of

⁹⁰ TC, XIII, Consultation, 15 February 1742.

⁹¹ TC, XIII, Letter, Pidgeon Mate, the Captain of Ship Ann to William Wake, TF, 25 February 1742.

⁹² TC, XIII, Consultation, 3 March 1742.

⁹³ TC, XIV, Diary, 31 October 1742.

procuring pepper at Carwar. However, having a very low prospect of getting a considerable quantity, he had only two chests of treasure amounting to Rs. 20000, which he judged would pay for about 100 candies.⁹⁴

On 8 November, the Chief sent Bernardo de Cunha, an inhabitant of Tellicherry bazaar, to Mangalore with the instructions to purchase what pepper may be procurable there at or lesser than a rate of Rs. 116 per candy of 600 Ib.⁹⁵ But in December, the Company found that Bernardo de Cunha, can be of no use, as nothing is procurable until the latter half of January. Bernardo de Cunha informed to seize all manners of trade as the merchants at Mangalore were not yet been able to accommodate their differences with the Government. Thus Chief wrote him to return to Tellicherry.⁹⁶ At the same time, the Company was informed that there was no pepper at Carwar. Then a merchant at Honovar gave them hopes of supplying 300 to 400 candies; but at that time the Company could not come to any agreement with the merchant.⁹⁷

The Company records showed that their purchase of pepper from Canara decreased in 1743 and 1744. In March 1743, Crommelin contracted with one Carwar merchant named, Crustna Naique for 30 candies of pepper at the rate of Rs. 115¼ per candy. At the same time, Crommelin contracted with Hur Comoty for 50 candies at Rs. 120 per candy and with Cossadass for 75 candies at Rs. 115 per candy.⁹⁸ In December 1743, Crommelin informed the Company that he had no

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 8 November 1742. As in the case of Bernardo de Cunha, in some occasions the English depended on inhabitants of Tellicherry as their agents for purchasing pepper from other parts of Malabar. We see that Company sent one Brahmin, named Amboo Ambee, to Ponnani for purchasing pepper from Swamy Putturah.

⁹⁶ TC, XIV, Diary, 3 December 1742.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 13 November 1742.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 29 March 1743.

prospects of getting more than 100 candies of pepper, between then and the month of April.⁹⁹ At Honovar, Crommelin had contracted for 100 candies of pepper to be delivered in two months at 27 pagodas, at the rate of Rs. 90 per candy of 520 lb., free of all charges except bags to be embarked to Tellicherry before the rains set in.¹⁰⁰ In 1743 and 1744 the Company could collect only a few quantity pepper from the Canares areas. By the end of 1744, Tellicherry factory stopped their purchase of pepper from these areas.

Ezekiel Raby and the Company

Ezekiel Raby, one of the most influential merchants of eighteenth century India, was the descendent of famous Jewish merchant family at Cochin, who worked mainly as agents of the Dutch East India Company.¹⁰¹ In November 1734, for the purchase of cardamom the Tellicherry factory required Venetian sequins. There was no possibility of receiving venetians from Bombay. They decided to exchange in rupees since it was easy to exchange at Cochin from Ezekiel Raby. Then the Chief sent Rs. 16000 to Ezekiel Raby, the head merchant at Cochin and exchanged it under reasonable terms.¹⁰² He was also a good dealer of Batavian arrack, which he sold to the Tellicherry factory. In December 1739, the Company bought 9 leaguers of Batavian arrack from Ezekiel Raby and paid Rs. 900.¹⁰³ Again, in January 1740, the Company purchased 16 leaguers of Batavian arrack from Ezekiel Raby at the rate of Rs. 96 per leaguer.¹⁰⁴ At an occasion, he helped Company for procuring Batavian arracks. In addition to this, the

⁹⁹ TC, XV, Diary, 6 December 1743.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 24 February 1744; LTT, VII, Charles Crommelin, Honovar to John Geekie, TF, 6 February 1744.

¹⁰¹ Ashin Das Gupta, *Malabar in Asian Trade 1740-1800*, Cambridge, 1967, p. 108.

¹⁰² TC, VII, Consultation, 18 November 1734.

¹⁰³ TC, XI, Consultation, 10 December 1739.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 8 January 1740; TC, XI, Diary, 19 January 1740.

Company bought Japanese copper from Ezekiel Raby.¹⁰⁵ Moreover the Company records speak that they purchased large quantity of pepper from Ezekiel Raby. It was mainly due to the Kulachal war, which resulted in the decline of the Dutch power in Cochin, that Ezekiel Raby delivered his pepper to the English factories at Anjengo and Tellicherry.

In November 1742, as per the request of William Wake, the Chief of Tellicherry factory, Ezekiel Raby promised some quantity of pepper from Cochin.¹⁰⁶ He demanded that he would not agree for a price less than Rs. 100 for the Cochin candy of 540 Ib. and the Company had a hope that they could obtain about 160 candies. The Company enquired about the safest and the fastest method to bring this quantity and to remit the amount to Ezekiel Raby. Therefore, the Company sent the ship *Britania* to Cochin for bringing pepper from Ezekiel Raby with a sum of Rs. 20000 put on board her to be delivered to Ezekiel Raby or his son at Cochin.¹⁰⁷ On 30 January 1743, the Ship *Britania* returned to Tellicherry, with 500 robbins of pepper from Ezekiel Raby.¹⁰⁸ Again, in February, Ezekiel Raby informed that he had 100 candies of pepper ready in his hand, and he desired that Company would supply him with Rs. 10000 as soon as possible.¹⁰⁹ The next day the Company sent Rs. 10000 to Ezekiel Raby for the early mentioned purposes.¹¹⁰ The Company had little hopes of Ezekiel Raby' supplying them with a further quantity. Hence, the Company agreed to pay him Rs. 20000.¹¹¹ In March, Ezekiel Raby informed the Company that if Company would send a vessel to take it, he

¹⁰⁵ Ashin Das Gupta, *Op. cit.*, p. 178.

¹⁰⁶ TC, XIV, Letter, William Wake, TF, to William Jaynson, TF, 8 November 1742.

¹⁰⁷ TC, XIV, Consultation, 8 January 1743.

¹⁰⁸ TC, XIV, Diary, 30 January 1743.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 8 February 1743.

¹¹⁰ TC, XIV, Consultation, 9 February 1743.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 13 February 1743.

would give them as much pepper as he could.¹¹² However, later, he informed the inability to supply Company more than 100 candies of pepper.¹¹³

In May 1743, Ezekiel Raby informed the Company that he had from 300 to 400 candies of pepper ready at the rate of Rs. 95 per candy.¹¹⁴ The Company answered him that he would keep pepper for the Company of an amount of Rs. 20000.¹¹⁵ Therefore, on 5 September, the Chief informed Ezekiel Raby, that the Company expected to send a ship sometime in October to take the pepper.¹¹⁶ Ezekiel Raby replied that the pepper provided in the former season would be ready whenever a ship calls for it. The price for the new crop will be the same as that of the last, for it was likely to be very scarce. Whenever, the Company was in want of pepper, he desired that the Company would send him timely notice, and he would endeavor to provide it.¹¹⁷ Therefore, the Chief wrote to Ezekiel Raby to keep 200 candies pepper for the Company and in October, Ezekiel Raby informed that he can supply 400 candies of pepper.¹¹⁸ The Chief advised him that they would send one ship as he desired to take the 400 candies of pepper.¹¹⁹

However, in December, Ezekiel Raby informed John Geekie, the Chief of Tellicherry, that if the Dutch Company's ships arrived before the English, he may perhaps meet with some impediment in delivering it. Hence, the Chief immediately sent Thomas Byfeld by the ship Montague to Cochin for procuring pepper from Ezekiel Raby.¹²⁰ Therefore, on 15 December, Thomas Beyfeld bought about 410 candies of pepper at the rate of Rs. 95 per candy.¹²¹

¹¹² TC, XIV, Diary, 18 March 1743.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 22 March 1743.

¹¹⁴ TC, XIV, Consultation, 28 May 1743.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 30 May 1743.

¹¹⁶ TC, XV, Diary, 5 September 1743.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 28 September 1743.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 21 October 1743.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 19 November 1743.

¹²⁰ TC, XV, Letter, John Geekie, TF to Thomas Byfeld, 8 December 1743.

¹²¹ LTT, VII, Thomas Byfeld, Cochin to John Geekie, TF, 23 December 1743.

Ezekiel Raby was satisfied with his contract with the Company and he promised to supply whatever further quantity he was able to provide.¹²²

In January 1744, Ezekiel Raby wrote to the Company that that year's yield was scarce and demand high, the inland merchants demanded Rs. 110 per candy and none of them sold for an amount less than Rs. 105 per candy. Therefore, he desired the same rate from the Company.¹²³ With the direction from Bombay, the Chief informed Ezekiel Raby that they would take any quantity he could give. Then the Company sent the ship Tiger Galvat to Cochin and the Chief directed to him to send sufficient quantity he can send in that Ship.¹²⁴ On 2 February, Tiger Galevat returned from Cochin with 150 candies of pepper. Ezekiel Raby mentioned that the yield of pepper was scarce, and at present, he could supply that quantity only.¹²⁵ Again, on 11 February, Ezekiel Raby sent 100 candies of pepper by ship Bombay Grab, for which he demanded Rs. 95 per candy.¹²⁶

Cardamom Merchants

Similar to the pepper merchants, some merchants involved in cardamom trade acted as the agents of Tellicherry factory. The Company had always purchased cardamom by contract from the principal merchants. It was mentioned by Francis Buchanan that, "Traders who lived near the ghats brought those from Wynad for sale, and they generally received part of the price in advance from the merchants on the sea-coast."¹²⁷ The merchants of Tellicherry also bought cardamom from local merchants of Thamarasserry

¹²² TC, XV, Consultations, 23 December 1743.

¹²³ TC, XV, Diary, 21 January 1744.

¹²⁴ TC, XV, Consultations, 24 January 1744.

¹²⁵ TC, XV, Diary, 2 February 1744.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 11 February 1744.

¹²⁷ Francis Buchanan, *A Journey from Madras Through the Countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar*, Vol. II, London, 1807, p. 539.

and Coorg.¹²⁸ The Company sent these cardamom to London only after garbling them in the warehouses at Tellicherry. The black or light grains were removed from the cargo exported to Europe or China. However, these bad grains were sold to private traders, who disposed them to the Arabs. Buchanan noted that the private traders never garbled their cardamom. They exported mainly to Bengal, Bombay, Surat, Cutch and the different ports in Arabia.¹²⁹ The Company records speak that Tellicherry factory dispatched to London about 20 candies of cardamom every year.

Until 1737, the English Company at Tellicherry mainly depended on Symoyne and his nephew Cuhniseu to procure cardamom. The records of later years show that the Company made contracts with some other merchants including Ticandy Cuhnially, Areca Shaek, Ekoda Moosa, Moosa of Kadathanad, Coota Moossa, Toy Cunhi Ally, Paraporem Ussem Cutty, Paraporem Cuhnippy, Paraporem Cuhnipocar and Cunhi Ahamod. The Company entered into contract with Symoyne for first time in 1727 for 20 candies of cardamom for 80 chequines (Rs. 240).¹³⁰ Gradually the Company increased their purchase of cardamom from Tellicherry.¹³¹ In February 1728, the Bombay Council wrote to Tellicherry factory to increase the quantity of cardamom.¹³² Then the Company procured 20 candies of cardamom from Symoyne for which he demanded 80 venetians per candy. A few days later, the Company accepted the offer of Moosa a Kadathanad merchant, who offered 10 candies at the rate of 73 venetians

¹²⁸ At the time of arrival of Buchanan, the Coorg Raja generally sells to Moosa, the principal merchant of Tellicherry factory all the cardamom which his country produced. See for more details, Francis Buchanan, *Op. cit.*, p. 539.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

¹³⁰ TC, II, Consultation, 8 February 1727.

¹³¹ TC, III, Consultation, 7 October 1727.

¹³² LTT, I, BC to Robert Adams, TF, 31 January 1728; TC, III, Diary, 16 February 1728.

per candy.¹³³ The Company found that it was impossible to get any more cardamom from Tellicherry. Therefore, the Chief dispatched a boat to Calicut to contact a merchant there from whom the Company procured 20 candies of cardamom.¹³⁴ The Chief made an enquiry at Calicut and came to know that the price must be 100 narodies or 1300 fanams per candy of 20 mounds.¹³⁵ In Fort St. George Gally, these cardamom reached Bombay. William Phipps, the President of Bombay Council, enquired John Branddyle, the Chief of Tellicherry, if they could offer more at a reasonable price.¹³⁶

In January 1730, the Chief wrote to the Court of Directors that cardamom was very scarce that season and that the yield was much less than the last season. He also informed that the merchants demanded 85 venetians per candy even for small quantities. At the same instance, the Dutch at Cannanore purchased more than 40 candies for which they paid 80 to 85 venetians per candy.¹³⁷ In June 1730, the Chief informed Robert Cowan, the President of Bombay Castle, that in the former season they were not fit for providing the usual quantity of cardamom. The Chief requested his masters to direct the arrival of the expected ships to purchase a quantity of these goods.¹³⁸ In November, the Chief wrote to Bombay as a part of their request for 40 candies cardamom that they should get them in early January.¹³⁹

On 22 December 1730, Symoyne informed the Linguist of Company that he had a muster of cardamom ready for sale. The Linguist

¹³³ LTT, I, William Phipps, BC to John Branddyle, TF, 19 April 1728; TC, III, Consultation, 2 January 1728.

¹³⁴ TC, III, Diary, 16 February 1728.

¹³⁵ TC, III, Consultation, 24 February 1728. One Narody was 13 fanams. See for details, TC, III, Consultation, 24 February 1728.

¹³⁶ LTT, I, William Phipps, BC to John Branddyle, TF, 19 April 1728.

¹³⁷ LFT, I, John Braddyll, TF to the Court of Directors, 31 January 1730.

¹³⁸ LFT, I, John Braddyll, TF to Robert Cowan, BC, 5 June 1730.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 21 November 1730.

told him to try, if the quantity ordered by the Company superiors could be purchased at a reasonable rate.¹⁴⁰ After the discussion with Cunhiseu, the nephew of Symoyne, the Company assured that there was no possibility of reducing it below 90 venetians per candy and the whole cardamom produce in the country should be secured to them at that rate. The Company accepted the conditions proposed by Cunhiseu and therefore he agreed to deliver 20 candies of cardamom at the rate of 90 venetians per candy.¹⁴¹ As per the request of Symoyne the Company immediately advanced him a sum of 1000 venetians.¹⁴²

At the same time, the Dutch offered 100 venetians per candy for this same quantity.¹⁴³ However, on 30 December 1730, Symoyne wrote to English that apart from his contract with them for procuring quantities of cardamom in the country, the Dutch emissaries had several times been with him and had offered him a 100 venetians a candy for the whole. This time the English Company ships were waiting to receive this cardamom on board and the Company expected the whole quantity to be immediately sent.¹⁴⁴ On 13 January 1731, Symoyne brought 21 candies of cardamom and requested the Company to advance of Rs. 5000 or thereabouts in part of his contract.¹⁴⁵ In December 1731, as part of promises of Cunhiseu, the French advanced money to him for 8 candies of cardamom. Then he offered the remaining 50 candies to the English and he demanded 100 venetians per candy, which he was pretty sure of

¹⁴⁰ TC, IV, Diary, 22 December 1730.

¹⁴¹ One Venetian sequin coin was equal to 20 fanam and Rs. 4½. One Kottayam candy was 600 lb. See for details, Appendix, No. 2, p. 254.

¹⁴² TC, IV, Consultation, 23 December 1730.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁴ TC, IV, Diary, 30 December 1730.

¹⁴⁵ TC, IV, Consultation, 13 January 1731.

obtaining from the Dutch. The English contracted with him for 50 candies at 90 venetians per candy and advanced him 6000 venetians.¹⁴⁶

In November 1734, the Bombay Council directed the Tellicherry factory to send 10000 Ib. weight of cardamom to London in that season.¹⁴⁷ Cunhiseu offered 18 candies and he requested for an advance of Rs. 2000 on account of this commodity.¹⁴⁸ On 7 December 1734, Cunhiseu came to the factory and held discussions on the quantum of that commodity that he may be able to deliver that season, and the price he expected. He told that he was under a necessity on account of some money that he borrowed from the French in April last to deliver them 10 candies. He assured that the remainder shall be delivered to the English but he demanded 97 venetians per candy. Then he accepted 96 venetians which in Company opinion was pretty reasonable. At last, the Company presented him with a piece of China silk as usual on such occasions.¹⁴⁹

In some contexts, the Company depended on merchants to save cardamom to the next season. In October 1735, the Bombay Council ordered Tellicherry factory that they required 10000 Ib. weights of cardamom for exporting to England.¹⁵⁰ However, the Company warehouses had only 2½ candies of cardamom which was not sufficient quantity for export to England. Therefore, the Company pressed Cunhiseu to bring in the quantity contracted with him. He failed to procure more quantity. Therefore, the above mentioned 2 candies of cardamom were returned him so as to keep them till next year. Otherwise it will be damaged.¹⁵¹ In 1737, a representative of Symoyne reached the factory and

¹⁴⁶ TC, V, Consultation, 31 December 1731.

¹⁴⁷ TC, VII, Diary, 6 November 1734.

¹⁴⁸ TC, VII, Consultation, 11 November 1734.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 7 December 1734.

¹⁵⁰ TC, VIII, Diary, 13 October 1735.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 20 January 1736.

requested for an advance of 200 gubbers for the commodity he proposed to weigh in December.¹⁵² The Company accepted his request and agreed for an amount of 200 gubbers.¹⁵³

On 6 February 1738, the Chief informed the Bombay Council that they had 6¼ candies of cardamom in the warehouse, which together with what were more procurable, should be laden on the ship Wilmington.¹⁵⁴ At the same time, Cunhiseu was ready to deliver 4¼ candies of cardamom. The produce of that year was the least ever known. Therefore, the Company thought that the merchants could send them to Calicut where the price of cardamom was between Rs. 600 to 700 per candy.¹⁵⁵ The Company was fully convinced of the truth of the extreme scarcity of cardamom and also that private persons might afford to offer a higher rate for them. So the Company decided to pay him 110 gubbers per candy and accordingly he accepted.¹⁵⁶

In November 1737, Ticandy Cuhnially and Areca Shaek, two reputed dealers of cardamom solicited for an advance of 300 gubbers and assured to deliver the commodity in December.¹⁵⁷ The Company advanced them 1¼ gubbers less than the price when opened.¹⁵⁸ In October 1739, the Company contracted with Paraporem Ussem Cutty, a substantial merchant of Kottayam, for 5 candies of the first sort of cardamom.¹⁵⁹ On 8

¹⁵² Gubber or Dutch Ducat was one of the foreign coins circulated in Malabar during 18th century, which was equal to Rs. 4.76. See for details, Appendix. No. 1, p. 253.

¹⁵³ TC, X, Consultation, 20 October 1737.

¹⁵⁴ TC, X, Diary, 6 February 1738.

¹⁵⁵ TC, X, Consultation, 10 February 1738.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁷ TC, X, Diary, 9 November 1737.

¹⁵⁸ TC, X, Consultation, 8 December 1737.

¹⁵⁹ TC, XI, Consultation, 25 October 1739.

January, Paraporem Ussem Cutty signed new cardamom contract and the Company issued Rs. 200.¹⁶⁰

At the same time, the Company issued Rs. 2400 to Cunhiseu as a part of contract of cardamom.¹⁶¹ On 23 January 1740, Cunhiseu came to the factory to adjust the price of cardamom which he purchased recently, but it had been light and of a very bad color. He replied that the weather at the latter part of the season was uncommon and that was the reason of their bad color. But, according to his promise, he and Paraporem Ussem Cutty secured all of the produce of the head sorts which were esteemed of the highest flavour, for which they demanded Rs. 429 per candy of 560 Ib.¹⁶² The English was indeed sensible that advancing money in time prevented the French purchasing any, and that this year Rs. 600 per candy at Calicut of 600 Ib. had been paid there for about 6 candies. After many discussions, the Company agreed with him for Rs. 410 per candy. He also promised that the remaining 2 candies will be delivered in a few days.¹⁶³

In July 1740, Cunhiseu requested the Company for an advance of Rs. 3000, to deliver the head sort of the ensuring season.¹⁶⁴ He demanded advance money without settling the price and goodness of the commodity. He stated that he and all other cardamom merchants made contracts always in that manner, and if he was not advanced in time, he cannot engage inland merchants. It may lead the Company to disappointment in their usual purchase of 10000 Ib. weight of cardamom and would have to pay an extravagant price for them. The last year, the merchants sold at Calicut for Rs. 700 per candy. Therefore, it was agreed that the Company now advanced Cunhiseu the sum of Rs. 3000 on account of 10000 Ib. weight of

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 8 January 1740.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 4 October 1739; *Ibid.*, 31 December 1739; *Ibid.*, 7 January 1740.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 23 January 1740.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 31 July 1740.

cardamom.¹⁶⁵ Again, in August 1740, on the request of Cunhiseu, the Company delivered him a sum of Rs. 2000 as per the agreement of 31 July.¹⁶⁶

In May 1741, Cunhiseu came to the factory to adjust the price of cardamom he had delivered that season. He said that he could not prevent some small quantities being brought and carried to Calicut, for which such an extravagant price was given. The Company obliged to allow him at the rate of Rs. 440 per candy which is Rs. 30 per candy more than the rate given earlier.¹⁶⁷ Again on 1 June, he requested for an advance of Rs. 2000. The Company was fully sensible that early advance for cardamom was the best method to get the quantity annually required of them. They also understood that if they failed to advance money to him, it will be carried to Calicut, where that commodity would have been in so great demand, as Rs. 700 per candy might be paid there for the head sort. In this context, the Chief ordered to disburse an amount of Rs. 2000 out of the treasury to Cunhiseu.¹⁶⁸

On 10 August 1741, on the request of Paraporem Cuhnipocar of Aggar, a relative of Cunhiseu, the Company advanced a sum of Rs. 600 on account of cardamom.¹⁶⁹ In January 1742, Cunhiseu requested again for Rs. 2000 to be advanced to him on account of his contract. He being a responsible man of good character, the Company agreed to advance the sum of Rs. 2000 to him out of the treasury.¹⁷⁰ However, in March, Cunhiseu sent his brother to factory to settle the price of cardamom, as he was ill. He likewise took notice of the great price at Calicut that season. The Company knew that a considerable quantities of the second sort sold that year at Calicut was from Rs. 600 to 700 per candy. After many arguments, the Company found that Rs. 500 per candy

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁶ TC, XII, Consultation, 26 August 1740.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 6 May 1741.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 1 June 1741.

¹⁶⁹ TC, XIII, Consultation, 10 August 1741.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 14 January 1742.

of 560 lb. was the lowest price.¹⁷¹ Paraporem Cunhipocar delivered only 11 maunds and 20 pounds with part of his contract for cardamom. The Chief found that Paraporem Cunhipocar account was credited at the same rate as Cunhiseu and he ordered that all proper methods should be taken to recover the balance Rs. 307 due from him.¹⁷²

Ticandy Cunhially, another cardamom merchant, was a dealer of the second sort of that commodity. On 4 September 1742, he offered to procure what he can of the first sort at the most reasonable rates to the Company. The Company agreed to advance the sum of Rs. 1000 to him.¹⁷³ On 7 September, Ticandy Cunhially requested a further sum of Rs. 1300 and the Chief ordered it to be paid from the treasury.¹⁷⁴ On 16 October, he again turned up with a request for Rs. 2000. The Company considered Ticandy Cunhially as a creditable merchant and they had no reason to doubt him and hence they immediately delivered the sum to him.¹⁷⁵ Again, on 30 November, Company disbursed a sum of Rs. 1000 as requested by Ticandy Cunhially.¹⁷⁶

On 4 September, Cunhiseu sent his brother to factory, and requested to advance the sum of Rs. 2000 for cardamom in the usual manner.¹⁷⁷ The Chief agreed and advanced the required money to Cunhiseu for head sort of cardamom.¹⁷⁸ But at the time of delivering the cardamom, the third King of Kottayam stopped a parcel of cardamom provided by Cunhiseu, on a dispute between Cunhiseu and his heirs. Then the Chief wrote a letter to the King, informing him that the cardamom were Company goods, for which they had advanced the money a long time ago and Cunhiseu's heirs could have no just

¹⁷¹ TC, XIII, Diary, 1 April 1742.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*

¹⁷³ TC, XIV, Diary, 16 August 1742.

¹⁷⁴ TC, XIV, Consultation, 7 September 1742.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 16 October 1742.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 30 November 1742.

¹⁷⁷ TC, XIV, Diary, 4 September 1742.

¹⁷⁸ TC, XIV, Consultation, 4 September 1742.

pretence to desire his majesty to stop them.¹⁷⁹ The Chief wrote a letter to Cunhiseu, informing him that as he had at his request wrote to the King in his behalf, he would have ended the dispute with his heir, and sent away the cardamom.¹⁸⁰ On 6 April, Cunhiseu answered the Company that his heirs had sold cardamom to the French at Mahe, and was extremely sorry for the disappointment. However, they were ready to return the remaining money with interest.¹⁸¹ The Company had no hope that Cunhiseu will deliver the offered cardamom, so they agreed to accept pepper, if he could give it.¹⁸²

In April 1743, Cunhiseu being sick, he sent his brother to Tellicherry to adjust the price of cardamom. He informed the Company that the commodity was very scarce and asked for Rs. 540 per candy. The Company was sensible that what he alleged was partly true, and by the best information they could get, that he could not well afford to give them at less than what he did in the last year which was Rs. 500 per candy of 560 Ib. The Company pressed him to lower the price to Rs. 20 per candy, which he solemnly affirmed. At last, the Company found that Rs. 500 per candy of 560 Ib. was the lowest price Company could bring him to accept.¹⁸³ The Company also contracted with Ticandy Cunhially, who delivered 9.6 candies at the same rate of Rs. 500 per candy of 560 Ib.¹⁸⁴ On 27 July, Ticandy Cunhially requested for an advance of Rs. 2000 for cardamom, which the Company accepted and ordered the sum to be paid him out of the Company treasury.¹⁸⁵

In August 1743, Ekoda Moosa of Naddowry offered some candies of cardamom expecting advance money. But he asked more money than Cunhiseu and Ticandy Cunhially, so the Company refused his offer. At the

¹⁷⁹ TC, XIV, Diary, 18 February 1743.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 30 March 1743.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 6 April 1743.

¹⁸² TC, XIV, Consultation, 8 April 1743.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, 25 April 1743.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 27 July 1743.

same time, the Company expected Cunhiseu to make a contract in a few days, and already had advanced money to Ticandy Cunhially. The Company thought that advancing money to others will only increase the number of buyers, and consequently enhance the price.¹⁸⁶ In September, the Tellicherry factory got the order from Bombay to make contract with Cunhiseu for cardamom in new season.¹⁸⁷ But at the same time Linguist informed the Company that he was credibly informed that the dispute between Cunhiseu and his heirs held in the last year was not thoroughly settled till that date. The Company decided to wait until Cunhiseu comes to the factory. The Company also decided that if he would not be able to fulfill his contract, the Company will apply to Ekoda Moosa or any other merchants.¹⁸⁸ In October, Cunhiseu informed the Linguist that he should be able to furnish a quantity, and promised to come to factory within a few days. But, then the Company informed that he and his heir were on very bad terms and Company would advance him any considerable sum for a suitable supply of cardamom. The Company had an opinion that it would be better to contract with Ekoda Moosa. Accordingly, the Linguist ordered to give him notice that Company desired to make contract with Ekoda Moosa.¹⁸⁹ Ekoda Moosa accept the Company request and on 21 November, he sent his brother to Tellicherry, and desired to be advanced Rs. 1000 for which he would deliver cardamom of the first sort in the next month. The Company disbursed the desired amount to him.¹⁹⁰

In February 1744, the Company required 4 candies to complete 10000 Ib. weight in the ship Prince of Wales, which being nearly full. At that time, a merchant in Tellicherry bazaar offered to supply with the quantity and the

¹⁸⁶ TC, XV, Consultation, 18 August 1743.

¹⁸⁷ TC, XV, Diary, 2 September 1743.

¹⁸⁸ TC, XV, Consultation, 19 September 1743.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 12 October 1743.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 21 October 1743; *Ibid.*, 21 November 1743.

Company was ready to give at the rate of Rs. 550 per candy.¹⁹¹ In March 1744, the Linguist ordered Ekoda Moosa to whom the Company advanced Rs. 1000 last November for cardamom, not completely delivered yet.¹⁹² But Ekoda Moosa delivered only one candy and sixteen maunds for the Rs. 1000 advanced him on that account and agreed to pay the balance in pepper at the rate of Rs. 87.5 per candy.¹⁹³ After a good deal of unwillingness, in April, Cunhiseu, having consented to fix the price of the head sort of cardamom, supplied that season at the rate of Rs. 500 per candy of 560 lb. It was agreed and the accounts of Ticandy Cunhially and Ekoda Moosa were ordered to be made up at the same rate.¹⁹⁴

On 5 October 1745, Ticandy Cunhially made contract with the Company and received Rs. 5000. Another merchant Toy Cunhi Ally received Rs. 1200.¹⁹⁵ In December, the Company agreed them to pay Rs. 450 per candy of 560 lb.¹⁹⁶ On 17 January 1746, Toy Cunhi Ally delivered four candies of cardamom at the rate of Rs. 450 per candy.¹⁹⁷ In the same instance, William West at Calicut purchased those 20 candies of the second sort of cardamom from Coota Moosa.¹⁹⁸ Coota Moosa informed the Company that he had about nine candies, and asked Rs. 350 per candy, which was at last fixed at the rate of Rs. 340 per candy.¹⁹⁹ On 10 February, Ticandy Cunhially delivered 13.7 candies of cardamom at the rate of Rs. 435 per candy.²⁰⁰

In August 1747, the Company decided to advance money to the merchants. Then they accepted the offer of Cunhi Ahamod, the cousin of

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 10 February 1744.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, 12 March 1744.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, 21 March 1744.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 13 March 1744.

¹⁹⁵ TC, XVI, Diary, 5 October 1745.

¹⁹⁶ TC, XVI, Consultations, 26 December 1745.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 17 January 1746.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 5 February 1746.

²⁰⁰ TC, XVI, Diary, 10 February 1746.

Ticandy Cunhially, by which he promised to deliver in the month of January, and desired an advance for Rs. 4000.²⁰¹ In February 1748, Paraporem Cunhippy offered a parcel of cardamom ready to deliver.²⁰² Then, Chief advised Alexander Douglas, the resident of Calicut that they would sent him one candy and seventeen maunds of cardamom belonging to Paraporem Cunhippy in order to sell them at Calicut market.²⁰³ Therefore, Alexander Douglas received Rs. 695 from Paraporem Cunhippy for cardamom sold at Calicut.²⁰⁴ In February 1748, Toy Cunhi Ally offered some cardamom, but the Company refused to accept his offer.²⁰⁵

In October 1748, the Bombay Council directed to enter into contract for a usual quantity of cardamom of 12000 Ib. Therefore, the cardamom merchants were summoned on 15 November at factory for making contract. Paraporem Cunhippy lately received an advance of Rs. 2000 for the first sort from the late Chief on his own private account. He told that it was not possible to procure more than 8 or 10 candies from the whole country. However, the Company asked him to supply more quantity. The Linguist was then directed to summon the other inland cardamom merchants in order to receive their proposals.²⁰⁶ Ticandy Cunhially was reminded of the money advanced him in the last year on account of cardamom, and he had three candies of the same in his warehouse ready to deliver.²⁰⁷ On 12 December, Ticandy Cunhially's nephew came to the fort for an advance of Rs. 1000 on account of his uncle for providing the first sort of cardamom. The Chief ordered secretary to pay that money to him.²⁰⁸ In January 1749, Cunhiseu

²⁰¹ TC, XVII-B, Consultation, 17 August 1747.

²⁰² *Ibid.*, 6 February 1748.

²⁰³ TC, XVII-B, Diary, 7 February 1748.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 23 February 1748.

²⁰⁵ TC, XVII-B, Consultation, 18 February 1748.

²⁰⁶ TC, XVIII, Consultation, 15 November 1748.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 17 November 1748.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 12 December 1748.

requested for an advance of Rs. 800 more for making a further provision of cardamom. The Chief ordered secretary to issue that money from treasury.²⁰⁹ On 15 March, Cunhiseu come to factory to settle the price of cardamom at the rate of Rs. 460 per candy.²¹⁰ On 30 March, Paraporem Cunhippy and Toy Cunhi Ally were willing to take the same price for the cardamom delivered by them as was settled by Cunhiseu.²¹¹

Sandalwood Merchants

There were no evidence of English Company purchase and export of any sandalwood from Tellicherry factory until 1736. In April 1736, as per the direction from Bombay Council, the Tellicherry factory exported 200 candies of sandalwood to Macao in China, since the Company purchased large quantities of sandalwood and exported to foreign markets.²¹² The principal sandalwood merchants of Tellicherry factory were Ballipy Cutty Assen, Javarra Canna and Ballapilagata Cutussa. On 1 December 1741, Ballipy Cutty Assen, visited factory and was willing to supply the Company with 300 candies, by the end of March next. Then Company advanced Rs. 15000 to Ballipy Cutty Assen to procure the promised 300 candies.²¹³ On 28 December, as per the request of Javarra Canna for the purchase of sandalwood from hinterlands, Company advanced him Rs. 1000.²¹⁴

As in the case of pepper and cardamom, the English faced competition from the Portuguese, the Dutch and the French for procuring sandalwood from the hinterlands of Malabar. The Portuguese ships from Macao collected sandalwood from Malabar which led to the increasing the demand and price of this goods. In March 1742, two substantial sandalwood merchants Ballipy Cutty Assen and Javarra Canna came to factory to adjust the price of

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 30 January 1749.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 15 March 1749.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, 30 March 1749.

²¹² TC, VIII, Consultation, 19 March 1736.

²¹³ TC, XIII, Consultation, 1 December 1741.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 29 December 1741.

sandalwood. They complained that the arrival of Portuguese ships from Macao at the coast had raised the price considerably.²¹⁵ The French had also exported sandalwood to Chinese ports. Candiotti Paqui, the principal pepper merchant at Mahe, also procured sandalwood for the French Company.²¹⁶ At Cannanore, the Dutch factory sent their agents to hinterlands for procuring sandalwood. In March 1743, the English Chief got the information that Mathews, a servant of the Dutch Company at Cannanore, went to Irikkur to buy sandalwood, to be carried by a branch of the river that went to Cacatt, a place within three miles of Cannanore.²¹⁷

In the beginning of 1742, the price of sandalwood was Rs. 90 per candy.²¹⁸ The arrival of four Macao ships on the Malabar Coast led to the scarcity of sandalwood and it caused a sudden leap of prices of commodity, which was at Rs. 115 per candy at Calicut. In this context, the English Company Linguist ordered sandalwood merchants to come to the fort, in order to make the best terms with them for procuring the quantity directed by Company Superiors at Bombay to be provided to the Harrington's China voyage.²¹⁹ On 1 October 1742, Ballipy Cutty Assen, with others of his family, came to the factory to sign the contract. They have agreed to deliver in the month of March next 100 candies of the head sort at the rate of Rs. 87 per candy and 200 of a good sort at Rs. 75 per candy. Then Company provided them an advance of Rs. 20000.²²⁰ On 9 April 1743, Ballipy Cutty Assen delivered full quantity of contracted sandalwood.²²¹

In July 1748, as per the directions of Bombay Council, the Tellicherry factory enquired about the purchase of 300 candies of

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 27 March 1742.

²¹⁶ TC, XIII, Diary, 2 March 1742.

²¹⁷ TC, XIV, Diary, 21 March 1743.

²¹⁸ TC, XIII, Diary, 6 May 1742.

²¹⁹ TC, XIV, Consultation, 17 September 1742.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, 1 October 1742; LFT, VII, Thomas Byfeld, TF to William Wake, BC, 16 June 1749.

²²¹ TC, XIV, Diary, 9 April 1743.

sandalwood for China.²²² At that time, what remained in warehouse was 100 candies of the first sort and 150 of the second. The quantity produced in the previous years was but small and that was in the hands of private merchants which made it uncertain whether the 300 candies ordered can be procured.²²³ On 29 August, the Bombay authority ordered Tellicherry factory to keep sandalwood ready for shipping.²²⁴ For this purpose, the Company advanced money to Ballapilagata Cutussa in June, but it was not delivered.²²⁵ On 20 November, the Chief wrote a letter to Domingo Rodriguez, the Linguist demanding sandalwood. Then, he had not the full quantity of the first sort in warehouse nor any was procurable in the place but he was ready to weigh off what he had and to make up the difference in the second sort allowing the difference in the price.²²⁶ Domingo Rodriguez agreed to take the entire first sort he had in warehouse and as no more was procurable, he delivered the rest in the second sort making an allowance from Rs. 95 to 110 per candy.²²⁷

Summary

This chapter concentrated on the purchase of pepper from the merchants of Calicut, Cochin and Canara regions. This chapter also discussed the Company trade in cardamom and sandalwood which was conducted on the same procedures followed in pepper. The trade of the Company in Malabar was mainly depended on these three items.

²²² TC, XVII-B, Diary, 5 July 1748.

²²³ *Ibid.*, 12 July 1748.

²²⁴ TC, XVIII, Diary, 29 August 1748.

²²⁵ *Ibid.*, 30 August 1748.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, 20 November 1748.

²²⁷ TC, XVIII, Consultation, 21 November 1748.

CHAPTER 5

TRADE RELATIONS WITH OTHER MARKETS

Arun Thomas M. “Merchants, markets and merchandise: Strategy of english east India company trade in tellicherry 1725-1750” Thesis. Department of History, University of Calicut, 2015

CHAPTER - V

TRADE RELATIONS WITH OTHER MARKETS

The prosperous trade centers in the coastal regions had always been linked with a wide range of markets in overseas area for distributing the procured merchandises and collecting commodities of their interest. The overseas areas are called forelands which also had a key role in the development of any port.¹ Frank Brooze defined foreland as “those overseas areas with which the port is linked through shipping which lay on the seaward side of the port, beyond maritime space.”² Weigend defined forelands as “the land areas which lie on the seaward side of a port beyond maritime space with which the port is connected by ocean carriers.”³

The arrival of Portuguese by the end of 15th century opened a new sea route to India. This led to the entry of other European companies and circulation of commodities in the Indian Ocean and Indo-Atlantic region. The settlement of English East India Company at Tellicherry, the principal centre of 18th century trade network in the Indian Ocean, was connected with its foreland or overseas markets like London, Red Sea, Persian Gulf, China and the Coastal markets of the Indian subcontinent. The goods of hinterlands that reached Tellicherry were exported to overseas areas, with which the port was linked through shipping activities.

¹ The concept of foreland was first introduced by S. Berezowski in 1949. Weigend G.C., “The Problems of Hinterland and Foreland as Illustrated by the Port of Hamburg” in *Economic Geography Journal*, No. 32, 1956, p. 16.

² Frank Brooze, “The External Dynamics of Port City Morphology: Bombay, 1815-1894” in Indu Banga (ed.), *Port and their Hinterlands in India (1700 AD -1950)*, Delhi, 1992, p. 245.

³ Weigend G.C., “Some Elements in the Study of Port Geography” in *Geographical Review*, 1958, No. 48, p. 195.

Shipping Facilities

The ocean carriers of the day catered to the requirements of the business houses. These ships had storage facilities of food, water, medicine, weapons, merchandise, and all other necessary facilities required for nine or more month long journey from London to ports of India or China. K.N. Choudhary mentioned that the vessels belonging to the European trading companies always carried mixed cargoes and their value was not permitted to exceed a pre-determined limit.⁴ In every year the English East India Company sent large number of ships from London to Tellicherry and other Indian Ocean markets. These ships procured merchandises from each market with the help of Company factories and agents. In return such ships provided required merchandises to these markets and factories. The English Company records speak that in every year 16 to 19 ships were sent from London to all parts of India and China, and the same numbers of ships were returned to home every year. These ships had tonnage capacity of 480 to 495.⁵

The Bombay, Madras, Bengal and China Councils of the English Company maintained small ships known as Supercargoes, Sloops, Gally and Grabs.⁶ They were known by the name of the Company settlements like Tellicherry Grab, Mocha Merchant, Bengal Merchant, Gombroon Merchant, Anjengo Ketch, Bombay Galley, Fort St. George Galley, Patna Brigantine and Canton Merchant. These vessels were engaged in trade between Indian, Red sea, Persian and Chinese markets. These ships also followed the sea routes of

⁴ K.N. Chaudhary, "Markets and Traders in India During the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries" in Sanjai Subrahmanyam (ed.), *Money and the Market in India 1100-1700*, Delhi, 1994, p. 267.

⁵ Letters to Tellicherry, (hereafter LTT), II, Copy of Sundry Paragraphs of the Court of Directors and their Commands to Bombay Relating to Tellicherry Factory, List of ships taken up for India for the year 1736, 3 November 1736; LTT, IV, Richard Benyon, Fort St. George to William Wake, Tellicherry Factory (hereafter TF), List of ships taken up for India for the year 1740, 27 June 1740.

⁶ See, LTT, II, William Wake, Anjengo Factory (hereafter AF) to Stephen Law, TF, 24 May 1737.

European ships. These vessels had 20 to 200 tonnage capacity. The European officials and private traders also had chartered vessels for their personal trade.⁷ In addition to this the Company maintained Indian vessels called ‘pattamar’ or ‘pathemari’ and ‘manchua.’ Pattamar was engaged in coastal trade and Persian- Red sea trade. Francis Buchanan wrote that, “The trading boats called patemars on an average can carry 50,000 coco-nuts, or 1000 mudies of rice, equal to 500 Bengal bags. There were many larger patemars, but these seldom frequent this port.”⁸ The ‘manchua’ or ‘uru’ were very strong boat, mainly built from Beypore used for coastal trade. The merchants of Tellicherry Chattoo Chetty, Baunibeltu Quiomo, Pauly Canddi Cuttially and Combem Allippy had their own manchuas for trading activities between coastal markets of Malabar.⁹

The shipping was depended on seasonal changes in the Indian Ocean-north-east monsoon and south-west monsoon. During the season of the south-west monsoon normally from the months from June to August when the winds were at their strongest, the ports of Indian Ocean would remain closed to shipping and maritime trade.¹⁰ The months from October to March was considered as north-east monsoon season when the winds were blowing from the high pressure areas on the land to the low pressure areas in the seas would cause no rain except at Madras and on the Coromandel Coast due to the configuration of the land. Therefore, the north-east monsoon formed the open

⁷ For example Robert Adams the Chief of Tellicherry factory had chartered ships and ‘manchuas’ which were engaged mainly in import opium from Bengal. See for more details, Holden Furber, *Bombay Presidency in the Mid-Eighteenth Century*, Bombay, 1965, p. 10.

⁸ Francis Buchanan, *A Journey from Madras through the Countries of Mysore, Canara, and Malabar*, Vol. II, London, 1807, p. 420.

⁹ See for example, Tellicherry Consultation (hereafter TC), II, Diary, 21 April 1727; *Ibid.*, 19 May 1727; TC, VII, Consultation, 21 May 1735.

¹⁰ See for further details, Celsa Pinto, *Trade and Finance in Portuguese India: A Study on Portuguese Country Trade 1770-1840*, New Delhi, 1994, p. 33.

season for navigation and trade in the Arabian Sea.¹¹ The shipping season began with the end of south-west monsoon, which was usually in the middle of September. The records of Tellicherry factory showed that the maximum number of ships inward and outward sailing occurred in the months from September to May.

Trade Routes

The spices of Malabar had been well known in the overseas areas from earliest phase of human history and foreign ships regularly visited Malabar ports. Sinnappah Arasaratnam has emphasised the strategic location of Malabar on the international trade route as the reason for its growth.¹² With the establishment of English factory it became an entreport in the East-West trade, which was transshipment point of Indian Ocean merchandise where the transfer of commodities and passengers took place. The English Company ships visited all their factories in the east. The exported items of Tellicherry were also sold in these factories. In return, the Company imported different commodities to Tellicherry from overseas markets. The factory records show that Tellicherry had trade links with London, St. Helena, Madagascar, Mocha, Aden, Bussorah, Jiddah, Gombroon, Achein, Canton, Macao, Manila, Malacca and Benkalone.

At the same time, the Company developed a network of coastal markets within the costal circuit of the Indian subcontinent. They were Surat, Bombay, Goa, Honovar, Mangalore, Cochin, Anjengo, Lakshadweep, Maldives in the western side and Cuddalore, Madras and Bengal in the eastern side of the subcontinent. Tellicherry port was highly depended on its satellite ports like Valapattanam, Cannanore, Vadakara, Calicut, Beypore,

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² See for further details, Sinnappah Arasaratnam, *Maritime India in the 17th Century*, Delhi, 1994, p. 39.

Tannore and Ponnani which provided to Tellicherry their hinterland commodities.

The ships to India and China usually left England between December and July. These ships halted at the St. Helena and Cape of Good Hope to replenish with food and water, especially if carry troops.¹³ After rounding Cape ships sailed to Madagascar and then Aden and Mocha. Then the ships sailed to Persia or to western coast of India, mainly to Bombay. After their loading and unloading at Bombay ships sailed to south and reached Tellicherry after seven or eight months of journey from London. The records of English Company speak that some ships from London avoid voyage to Red Sea and directly reach Tellicherry and Anjengo. These ships required about 5 to 6 months to reach Tellicherry.¹⁴ A few ships directly went from Cape to Madras, Bengal and China. In the return voyage these would not return directly to England, but would join with convoys of Malabar.¹⁵

There was a flourishing coastal trade network beginning from Surat and ending in Bengal. The ships and indigenous boats were used for carrying commodities between markets of Western and Eastern coasts of the Indian subcontinent. The imported ships from England, Red Sea, Persia and Bombay halted for one or more days at Tellicherry and then moved towards the south to the next destination at Anjengo. Some ships avoided journey to Anjengo and returned to London directly from Tellicherry or otherwise, sailed to Bombay or to Persian Gulf, and Arabian ports. Those ships that arrived at Anjengo sailed to south towards Ceylon and reached at Cuddalore after 15-17 days or at Madras after 20 days, journey from Tellicherry. The Bengal bound

¹³ Peter A. Ward, *British Naval Power in the East, 1794-1805: The Command of Admiral Peter Rainier*, London, 2007, p. 130.

¹⁴ LTT, II, The Court of Directors for the United Companies of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies (hereafter 'the Court of Directors') to Chief and Council at Tellicherry, 2 July 1736; LTT, III, the Court of Directors to Chief and Council at Tellicherry, 21 July 1738.

¹⁵ See for further references, Peter A. Ward, *Op. cit.*, p. 130.

ships would move straight to the destination, which takes 28 days of journey from Tellicherry. The China bound ships were to move from Madras or Bengal to Achen in Sumatra. Then, the ships proceeded to Malacca and then to Chinese markets of Macao and Canton. The principal commodities carried to Tellicherry were Chinese sugar, tea, cloths, and gold which were exchanged here mainly against pepper, cardamom, and sandalwood. The European ships took 50-55 days to reach China from Tellicherry.¹⁶ In return voyage ships from China arrived at Tellicherry usually in December and January.

The ships would follow the same route in return journey to England. Some ships proceeded from Tellicherry directly to the Red Sea or the Persian Gulf and others went to Bombay and Surat.¹⁷ The ships were loaded from Tellicherry to Bombay and were sent to the Persian port of Gombroon. The ships usually left Bombay for Aden and Mocha, in the middle or end of November; the ship might expect to reach Mocha about middle of December or perhaps earlier.¹⁸ The voyage from Mocha to Jiddah had 10 days journey. The ships those reached Gombroon after their loading and unloading used to move to Red Sea markets Aden and Mocha. The ships which visited Persia in their onward journey would proceed directly to Red Sea markets. The goods which they received from Malabar were carried to Aden and Mocha on the Red Sea Coast and then transhipped to Suez, Cairo and Alexandria. The merchants also used land routes to carry commodities from Mocha and Jiddah.¹⁹ Then these ships went to the Cape. From there the ships moved to northern direction and reach London after eight or nine month journey. The

¹⁶ See for details, LTT, V, Edward Page, Canton to TF, 3 November 1740.

¹⁷ Om Prakash, *The New Cambridge History of India*, New Delhi, 1998, p. 249.

¹⁸ *The Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register for British India and its Dependencies*, Vol. XXIV, London, 1827, p. 719.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

ships from India and China would usually arrive at England between April and August.²⁰

Relation with other Markets

The goods of hinterlands that reached the ports were exported to overseas areas, with which the port had regular contact. The major export item of Tellicherry was pepper, which returned large sums to the cultivators, merchants and the local kings of Malabar. The other exported items from Tellicherry were cardamom, sandalwood, timber, planks, sapanwood, ginger, turmeric, cinnamon, coir, coconut, oils, ghee, arrack, olibanum, putchuch,²¹ clove, nutmeg, amber grease, bark, cattle hides,²² chests, mat, mast, rattan, bamboo and some plants. The principal returned goods were treasures, rice, sugar, cloth, metals, gold, gunny bags, arrack, wine, liquor, weapons and large number of commodities for the use of Company factory. The English Company records provided ample evidence to reconstruct the import-export relations of Tellicherry with other markets.

England

The chief destination of exported merchandises from Tellicherry was mainly the Company's home market. Canter Visscher noted that "the English East India Company's ships mainly exported merchandises to England."²³ These exported merchandises had good demand in European markets; therefore, a large number of ships arrived at Tellicherry every year from London and returned with large quantities of sundry merchandises. The

²⁰ LTT, IV, Richard Benyon, Fort St. George to William Wake, TF, List of ships arrived in England 1739, 27 June 1740.

²¹ Putchuch is a fragrant leaf or root mainly exported to China and Bombay. See for details, Adriaan Moens, "Memorandum on the Administration of the Coast of Malabar", Dated 18 April 1781, in A. Galletti (ed.), *The Dutch in Malabar*, Madras, 1911, p. 219.

²² The European companies collected cattle hides from different parts of Malabar mainly for packing cinnamon. See for details, Adriaan Moens, *Op. cit.*, p. 215.

²³ See for more details, Jacob Canter Visscher, *Letters from Malabar*, Madras, 1862, Letter No. XXVI, p. 155.

Bombay Council would direct the Tellicherry factory to load and dispatch merchandises to England. Some of these ships came directly to Tellicherry, but most of them were from Bombay and after completing the tonnage these ships went to Europe. In some occasions, the Bombay council would send small ships or boats to Tellicherry for bringing pepper and other goods. These goods were re-exported to England by Company's bigger ships. The traveller Bartolomeo wrote that "a brisk trade is carried on at Taliceri, and foreign ships take on board here pepper, various cotton articles, biti and teka wood, cardamoms, rice, sandalwood and other Malabar productions, which they transport to Bombay and thence to England."²⁴ Merchandises were also loaded in the returning ships from China, Bengal and Madras to England.

In the 18th century Tellicherry became one of the main destinations of English ships in the east. The availability of pepper was one reason for the selection and development of the Tellicherry factory. The Tellicherry pepper was an important commodity in the ships to England from the Eastern world. As per the Tellicherry factory records every year the Company exported more than 3000 candies of pepper, which was valued as per the price of 1728 was Rs. 187500.²⁵ It rose to Rs. 258000 as per the price of 1738.²⁶ In 1743, it recorded a further rise to Rs. 345000.²⁷ This was the price the Company paid to the merchants and they also required to pay extra charges including packing, loading, and shipping charges. In addition to the export of pepper to England, the Company exported pepper to the markets of China, Persian Gulf, Red Sea coast and Indian markets.

²⁴ Fra Paolino Da San Bartolomeo, *A Voyage to the East Indies: Containing An Account of the Manners, Customs of the Natives With a Description of the Country Natives with a Geographical Description of the Countries*, London, 1800, pp. 143-144.

²⁵ TC, III, Consultation, 29 July 1728.

²⁶ TC, X, Consultation, 7 July 1738.

²⁷ TC, XIV, Consultation, 11 March 1743.

The Tellicherry factory records give details of large scale export of pepper from Tellicherry. One of the letters dated 10 September 1728 from William Phipps, the President of Bombay Council to Robert Adams, the Chief of Tellicherry factory, ordered to arrange 1000 candies of pepper to load into the two ships which were expected from England.²⁸ In another record dated 26 December 1732, the Bombay Council directed the factory to arrange large quantity of pepper required for the three ships intended from home that season.²⁹ The diary of Tellicherry factory dated 6 March 1738, speaks of the direction from Bombay to arrange by the middle of March to load 2000 candies of pepper as three ships were expected from England.³⁰ We can get large number of similar records to show that as per the request of the Company authorities the factory contracted and purchased large quantities of pepper.

Cardamom occupied second place in the exported merchandises from Tellicherry to England. The Company exported every year a main part of cardamom they collected from Tellicherry. In the early years the factory sent 20 candies of cardamom to England every year. In February 1728, the Bombay Council wrote to Tellicherry factory that their “Honourable masters having been pleased to order double the quantity of cardamom to be provided in the new season.”³¹ In September, they directed to send as early in January as possible 40 candies of cardamom of the best sort, let them be ready to despatch by the ship Ockham.³² The following years, the factory exported 40 candies of cardamoms to England.³³

²⁸ LTT, I, Bombay Council (hereafter BC) to Robert Adams, TF, 10 September 1727.

²⁹ TC, VI, Consultation, 26 December 1732.

³⁰ TC, X, Diary, 6 March 1738.

³¹ LTT, I, BC to Robert Adams, TF, 31 January 1728; TC, III, Diary, 16 February 1728.

³² LTT, I, William Phipps, BC to John Branddyle, TF, 20 September 1728.

³³ *Ibid.*; Letters from Tellicherry (hereafter LFT), I, John Braddyll, TF to Robert Cowan, BC, 21 November 1730; TC, V, Consultation, 11 December 1731.

The Tellicherry factory records of 1732 shows that the factory exported 49 candies of cardamom to England.³⁴ In the following years as per the requirement of Company Directors the Bombay Council directed and factory sent 10000 Ib. (17.85 candies) of cardamom to England.³⁵ In 1737 August, the Bombay Council directed that 10000 Ib. weight of cardamoms the best sort was provided for England.³⁶ We also have year wise records of similar directions from Bombay Council. The factory records of 1740s show an increase in the exported quantities of cardamom to England. On 31 January 1740, the Bombay Council ordered to send 9000 Ib. weight of cardamoms,³⁷ and again in April 1740, they ordered to provide 10000 Ib. weights of cardamom.³⁸ The records between 1745 and 1749, speak that the usual exported cardamom to England was about 12000 Ib. each years.³⁹

The principal imported goods from England were treasures, which included bullion of gold, silver, and different currencies.⁴⁰ The other imported goods were medicines, cloths, precious metals, perfumes, glass, hour glass, looking glass, scales, wines, port wines, brandy, rum, cheese, gunpowder, copper, tin, carpet, scarlet, broad cloth, jewellery, tar, iron, nails, lantern, Europe twine, led, flints, Europe match, stationary and toys. Most of these goods were mainly for the Company garrison. The Company buildings in their settlements followed the European model; therefore, they required European furniture. The imported valuable commodities were also presented to the rulers, merchants and other reputed persons of Malabar.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 2 and 4 February 1732; TC, V, Diary 5 February 1732; TC, V, Consultation, 15 February 1732.

³⁵ TC, VII, Diary, 6 November 1734; TC, VIII, Diary, 13 October 1735; TC, X, Diary, 26 August 1737; TC, XI, Consultation, 28 April 1740.

³⁶ LTT, II, John Horne, BC to Stephen Law, TF, 19 August 1737; TC, X, Diary, 26 August 1737.

³⁷ TC, XI, Consultation, 31 January 1740.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 28 April 1740.

³⁹ TC, XVIII, Diary, 12 October 1748.

⁴⁰ See for example, LTT, VII, William Wake, BC to John Geekie, TF, 20 August 1743.

St. Helena

St. Helena was another trade centre of the English East India Company. It lies in the South Atlantic Ocean and the west of the south western coast of Africa on the way to London. The Company cargo ships usually stopped here and then sailed to London. The records speak that the Tellicherry factory had trade link with this Island. As per the request of St. Helena Council in February 1733, the Tellicherry factory sent 7 tubs of mango plant, jews ears, pepper, coconuts, cassia and coffee to St. Helena.⁴¹ At the same time, Stephen Law the Chief of Tellicherry factory wrote to Isaac Pike the Governor of St. Helena Council that they were unable to send bamboo seed as it was not the season. He offered to send it by the next ship.⁴² The Tellicherry factory also transshipped commodities of other centers to St. Helena.⁴³

Madagascar

Madagascar Island, situated in the south east side of African continent, was renowned for slaves and pirates. The convoys mostly halted at this Island. Of the European companies mainly the French brought Madagascar slaves to their plantations in the East.⁴⁴ The English and Danish companies also engaged in slave trade with Madagascar.⁴⁵ The Tellicherry factory records give evidence of the English Company importing slaves to factory for service of Company plantation at Dharmapattanam Island. In February 1743, the

⁴¹ LFT, II, Stephen Law, TF to Isaac Picke, St. Helena, 28 February 1733.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ In January 1749, the Council of Fort St. David sent two tons of rice and two tons of sugar to Tellicherry, which was intended for St. Helena. LTT, X, Charles Floyer, Fort St. David to Thomas Byfeld, TF, 25 January 1749.

⁴⁴ Holden Furber, *Op. cit.*, pp. 11-12. In Malabar in addition to pepper trade the French were interested in the export of slaves. It was one cause of friction that led to strained relations between the Vazhunnavar and French Company. See for details, M.P. Sredharan, "The French in Kerala" in P.J. Cherian (ed.), *Perspectives on Kerala History*, Vol. II, Thiruvananthapuram, 1999, p. 253.

⁴⁵ TC, XI, Diary, 24 August 1739.

Bombay Council sent 20 of Madagascar slaves and their families to Tellicherry factory.⁴⁶ The factory dispatched these slaves to their plantation at Dharmapattanam.⁴⁷ The factory provided clothes and also a spot adjacent to the fort to settle the slaves.⁴⁸ Another record dated 4 November 1743, speaks of running away of 11 Madagascar slaves including 5 men, 5 of their wives and 1 child from Dharmapattanam.⁴⁹ The Company searched for these slaves, but failed to find them.⁵⁰

Red Sea and Arabia

Most of the ships dispatched from India visited the Arabian coast, except those ships which directly went to the Cape. These ships exchanged Malabar goods to the markets like Mocha, Aden, Muscut, Bussorah, Jidda etc. The ships also carried sundry merchandises from these markets to Tellicherry. The factory records mentioned that pepper, cardamom, ginger, turmeric, coconut, timber, planks etc. were exported and exchanged to these centres.⁵¹

Mocha or Mokha is a port city on the Red Sea coast of Yemen. It was famous for coffee, which made it a major market from the 15th century until the beginning of second half of 18th century. The European companies such as the English, the Dutch, the French, the Danish and Portuguese had their own settlements and agents at Mocha to procure coffee. Remedius Prutky, who visited Mocha in the beginning of 1750s, mentioned that, he saw at Mocha Port large number of European ships including four of English, three of French, two of Dutch and one of Portuguese.⁵² There was ample evidence of flourishing export and import between Mocha and Tellicherry. The principal export items to Mocha were pepper, cardamom, sandalwood, ginger, turmeric,

⁴⁶ TC, XIV, Exact of the Letter from the Bombay Presidency, 30 January 1743.

⁴⁷ TC, XIV, Diary, 1 February 1743.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 26 February 1743; TC, XIV, Consultation, 11 July 1743.

⁴⁹ TC, XV, Diary, 5 November 1743.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ LTT, I, William Phipps, BC to Robert Adams, TF, 29 April 1727.

⁵² See for more details, J.H. Arrowsmith Brown (ed.), *Prutky's Travels to Ethiopia and Other Countries*, London, 1991, p. 363.

sapanwood, cinnamon, clove, nutmeg, mace, coir and copra. In December 1745, the Bombay Council directed the Tellicherry factory to provide them 200 candies of pepper, 30 candies second sort of cardamom, 20 candies of sapanwood, 50 candies of ginger, 50 candies of turmeric, 25 candies second sort of sandalwood, cloves amounting Rs. 6000, nutmegs amounting Rs. 1500, cinnamon amounting Rs. 1000 and mace amounting Rs. 1000.⁵³ In January 1746, the ship Essex dispatched from Tellicherry to Mocha with above mentioned merchandises.⁵⁴ The year 1749 showed considerable increase in the export of commodities to Mocha.⁵⁵ In addition to the Company export, the private traders also procured merchandises from Tellicherry and exchanged it to the Persian Gulf markets.⁵⁶

Mocha coffee was the principal import item from Mocha to Tellicherry and other European factories in the East.⁵⁷ The English East India Company also imported coffee saplings to India to plant them in their settlements. The Company first attempted to plant them at Tellicherry. Then in July 1728, Anjengo Chief wrote to Tellicherry factory requesting to send them a number of coffee saplings along with directions about their culture and the soil which best agree with them.⁵⁸ The Tellicherry factory accepted the request of Anjengo factory and decided to send a number of coffee saplings in chests.⁵⁹ Therefore, on 24 January, the Tellicherry factory sent 8 chests with about 250 coffee saplings and advising them to supply plentifully with water and keep

⁵³ TC, XVI, Diary, 1 January 1746.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 21 January 1746.

⁵⁵ TC, XVIII, Diary, 13 January 1749.

⁵⁶ LTT, I, William Phipps, BC to Robert Adams, TF, 26 February 1728.

⁵⁷ TC, III, Diary, 10 July 1728. The coffee tree was native of Arabia, which was not known until 16th century. In the last decades of 17th century and first half of 18th the European companies make some attempt to plant this tree in their settlements of Eastern world. About 1690, Van Hoorn, the Governor of Batavia, procured some coffee plants from Mocha, which he caused to be planted at Java. See for more details, William Milburn, *Oriental Commerce: Containing a Geographical Description of the Principal Places in the East Indies, China and Japan*, London, 1813, pp. 104-105.

⁵⁸ LTT, I, Alexander Orme, AF to Robert Adams, TF, 5 January 1728; TC, III, Diary, 12 January 1728.

⁵⁹ TC, III, Consultation, 17 January 1728.

them away from the scorching of the sun while they are young and tender and now and then to enrich the soil with dung.⁶⁰ Another important import item from Mocha to Tellicherry was animal skins. One of the Tellicherry factory records dated 4 October 1726, stated that factory procured 23 Mocha goat skins at 1½ fanam each.⁶¹ The other goods returned from Mocha to Tellicherry were oils, rose water and horses.

Persia

In Persia, the English East India Company had three factories in Gombroon, Shiraz and Ispahan affiliated under Bombay Presidency.⁶² Among this, Gombroon or Bandar Abba which was the chief factory of the English, was a major shipping point, and had a long history of trade with Surat and Bombay ports. The Company records give ample evidence of trade connection between Tellicherry and Gombroon. Pepper, cardamom and other commodities were exported from Tellicherry directly or through Bombay.⁶³ The principal exported goods from Tellicherry to Gombroon were pepper, cardamom, timber, planks, mats and masts. One letter dated 5 November 1733 from Stephen Law, the Chief of Tellicherry factory to William Cockell, the Company agent at Gombroon, provided information of 612 teak planks (which consisted about 18000 feet) and teak mast dispatched to Gombroon in Company ship Newcastle.⁶⁴ Another record of September 1735 mentioned the arrival of the English ship Queen Carolina at Tellicherry, with a letter of Gombroon factory that requested for timber and plank to be provided for

⁶⁰ TC, III, Diary, 24 January 1728.

⁶¹ TC, II, Consultation, 4 October 1726.

⁶² Philip Anderson A.M, *The English in Western India; Being the History of the Factory at Surat of Bombay, and the Subordinate Factories on the Western Coast*, London, 1856, p. 333.

⁶³ LTT, I, William Phipps, BC to Robert Adams, TF, 29 April 1727.

⁶⁴ LFT, III, Stephen Law, TF to William Cockell, Gombroon, 5 November 1733; *Ibid.*, Stephen Law to Josiah Lewes, the Commander of Ship Newcastle, 5 November 1733; *Ibid.*, Stephen Law, TF to Robert Cowan, BC, 6 December 1733.

Gombroon factory.⁶⁵ The aforesaid ship sailed for Gombroon the next day, with quantity of timber and plank put aboard her for the use of Gombroon factory.⁶⁶ In the beginning of 1737, the Tellicherry factory exported 255 pieces of timber and 5500 feet of 1 inch thick planks to Gombroon.⁶⁷

The exported timber and planks from Malabar to Gomroon were mainly used to build warehouses, repair Company factory, and build houses of Company officials. In January 1738, William Cockell, the agent of English Company at Gombroon, wrote to Bombay Council that the repairs of their factory couldn't be finished. Therefore, he requested more planks and timber for the completion of factory repairing and then the Bombay Council directed the Tellicherry factory to send required timber and planks directly to Gombroon.⁶⁸ Again in April 1738, the Bombay Council directed the Tellicherry factory for sending about 2400 feet of planks for Gombroon in the first convenience after the rains.⁶⁹ Similar records of the succeeding years also showed export of timber and other goods to Gombroon.

Surat

Surat was a major trade centre of western coast of India at the time of the establishment of first English factory in India. In the earlier days, Tellicherry factory was under Surat Council.⁷⁰ The major export goods from Tellicherry to Surat were pepper, cardamom, sandal, timber, planks, mat, mast etc. Merchandises such as cotton, indigo and piece-goods were returned from there. We have got information on exported pepper, timber etc. to Surat

⁶⁵ TC, VIII, Diary, 25 September 1735; See also, LFT, II, John Braddyle, TF to John Home, Gombroon, 8 November 1732.

⁶⁶ LFT, IV, Stephen Law, TF to William Cockell, Gombroon, 25 September 1735; TC, VIII, Diary, 26 September 1735.

⁶⁷ LTT, II, John Horn, BC to Stephen Law, TF, 23 March 1737.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 22 February 1738.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 8 April 1738.

⁷⁰ John Bruce, *Annals of the Honorable East India Company*, London, 1810, Vol. II, p. 511.

factory. A letter sent by William Phips to John Braddylle on September 1728, mentioned that Capt. James Forbes exported 10 candies of pepper from Tellicherry to Surat factory.⁷¹ In addition to this, with the direction from the Bombay Council, the Surat factory sent skilled labours like carpenters and masons to Tellicherry factory.⁷²

Bombay

When the English East India Company Council was shifting to Bombay, which was a much less important place than Surat, its trade was growing. Gradually it became the flourishing commercial entrepot and one of the chief centers of the English trade. Bombay had complex commercial network encompassing the Persian Gulf, the Red Sea, the East African coast, the Europe, South East Asia and China. Bombay was the focal point on the western coast of India for commodities from all parts of the Indian Ocean region and even from Europe.⁷³ Pepper and cardamom were the principal exported items to Bombay; most of this was transshipped to England. J.H. Parry emphasized that “Tellicherry the subordinate factory of Bombay provided major part of the pepper exported to England.”⁷⁴ The major part of the purchased commodities from Tellicherry was dispatched to Bombay. The imported merchandises from Tellicherry were transhipped to Europe, Persia and other Western markets.

Timber, planks and mast were largely exported to Bombay every year. We have data to prove that as per the direction of Bombay Council timber and planks were exported to Bombay to build gun carriages meant for Bombay fort. In September 1737, about 820 planks and 30 pieces of timber were

⁷¹ LTT, I, William Phipps, BC to John Braddyll, TF, 20 September 1728.

⁷² LTT, IV, James Hope, Surat to William Wake, TF, 30 October 1739; *Ibid.*, Stephen Law, BC to William Wake, TF, 4 September 1739.

⁷³ Celsa Pinto, *Op. cit.*, p. 38.

⁷⁴ See for details, J.H. Parry, *Trade and Dominion: The European Overseas Empires in the Eighteenth Century*, London, 1971, p. 69.

exported to Bombay.⁷⁵ In November 1738, the Bombay Council directed the Tellicherry factory to send a mast for the flagstaff which they desired would be provided at Calicut and would be approved when a proper conveyance was offered. They also directed that it must be of 66 feet long, two feet diameter at bottom and 12 inches under the cross trees.⁷⁶ In addition to this, the Tellicherry factory exported mat, top mast⁷⁷ and poon mast⁷⁸ to Bombay.

The other important exported merchandises from Tellicherry to Bombay were sandal, ginger, turmeric, coconuts, coir,⁷⁹ oils, ghee,⁸⁰ arrack,⁸¹ amber grease,⁸² cotton, cowries,⁸³ beetle-nut, candles,⁸⁴ putchuck,⁸⁵ myrrh,⁸⁶ rhubarb,⁸⁷ medicinal plants, bark,⁸⁸ wood oyle, wax, rosin, bark, Malabar physic⁸⁹ etc. Some parts of these exported merchandises were taken for the requirements of Bombay. They were pepper, cardamom, copra, sandalwood, sapanwood, arrack, turmeric, ginger, betel-nut, coir, piece goods, grain, candles, cua, jaggery and seeds. In addition to this, the factory transshipped the goods coming from China, Bengal, Madras and Anjengo.

In every ship dispatched from England procured large number of packets for their trading centres of the Eastern world. The major part of the

⁷⁵ LTT, II, John Horn, BC to Stephen Law, TF, 22 October 1737; See also, LTT, V, William Jeynson, English agent at Calicut to William Wake, TF, 15 October 1740.

⁷⁶ LTT, III, John Horn, BC to Stephen Law, TF, 30 November 1738; See also, LTT, V, Stephen Law, BC to William Wake, TF, 3 October 1740.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 3 October 1740.

⁷⁸ LTT, I, William Phipps, BC to William Wake, TF, 13 January 1727.

⁷⁹ LTT, V, Stephen Law, BC to William Wake, TF, 14 August 1740.

⁸⁰ TC, IX, Consultation, 29 March 1737; TC, IX, Diary, 31 May 1737.

⁸¹ LTT, VII, George Jenkinson, Beypore to John Geekie, TF, 16 February 1744.

⁸² LTT, X, William Wake, BC to Thomas Byfeld, TF, 6 December 1748.

⁸³ LFT, I, John Braddyll, TF to Robert Cowan, BC, 21 November 1730.

⁸⁴ LTT, V, Stephen Law, BC to William Wake, TF, 25 January 1741.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 17 April 1741.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ In April 1741, the Bombay Council directed the Tellicherry factory to procure and send rhubarb for their hospital. LTT, V, Stephen Law, BC to William Wake, TF, 27 April 1741.

⁸⁸ LTT, I, William Phipps, BC to Robert Adam, TF, 18 November 1726.

⁸⁹ TC, XVI, Diary, 17 March 1746.

import goods from Bombay were necessary materials for their servants, which were imported from Europe. The treasures were the principal import item from Bombay to Tellicherry, which included the minted coins from Europe and minted Company coins from Bombay Castle.⁹⁰ Consignments containing coins were repeatedly sent to Tellicherry from Bombay.⁹¹ The Tellicherry factory records also speak that the metals like foreign silver, gold, copper, tin and lead were sent to Tellicherry in large scale.⁹² The other imported goods from Bombay were medicine,⁹³ cloths, leather, sugar, grain, piece-goods, gunpowder⁹⁴ and salt peter.⁹⁵ On 20 April 1744, the Bombay Council sent 280 bales of cotton to Tellicherry.⁹⁶ Most of the imported commodities were also transhipped to Anjengo, Madras, Bengal and China.⁹⁷

Goa

The Portuguese settlement of Goa had trade links with English East India Company settlements of Bombay and Tellicherry. The Tellicherry factory brought paper, arrack, medicine and rice from Goa. As per the records of 13 March 1735, the factory bought 55 hogsheads of Goa arrack at the rate of Rs. 16 per hogsheads.⁹⁸ In March 1736, they bought 61 hogsheads of arrack at the rate of Rs. 14 per hogsheads.⁹⁹ The Tellicherry factory and other

⁹⁰ TC, VII, Consultation, 11 February 1735.

⁹¹ LTT, VII, William Wake, BC to John Geekie, TF, 23 January 1744; *Ibid.*, 20 April 1744.

⁹² LTT, IX, William Wake, BC to William West, TF, 28 April 1747.

⁹³ LTT, I, William Phipps, BC to Robert Adams, TF, 10 September 1727.

⁹⁴ LTT, V, Stephen Law, BC to William Wake, TF, 1 November 1740.

⁹⁵ LTT, IX, William Wake, BC to William West, TF, 28 April 1747.

⁹⁶ LTT, VII, William Wake, BC to John Geekie, TF, 20 April 1744; LTT, IX, William Wake, BC to William West, TF, 28 April 1747.

⁹⁷ In February 1746, the Bombay Council sent 300 bales of cotton to Tellicherry as transhipped cargo of China. See for details, TC, XVI, Diary, 14 February 1746.

⁹⁸ TC, VII, Diary, 13 March 1735; TC, VII, General Paymaster Account of March 1735.

⁹⁹ TC, VIII, General Paymaster Account of March 1736.

European factories in the western coasts mainly purchased paper from Goa.¹⁰⁰ Medicine was another major import item from Goa.¹⁰¹

Canara Ports

The European factories of Malabar depended for rice on the port of Canara coast. From the very beginning of the establishment of settlements in the Malabar Coast, the English Company procured rice from Canara ports like Mangalore, Honovar etc. They had one factory at Honovar till the time of Canarese invasions in Malabar. Every year the factory purchased large quantity of rice from there. There were different varieties of rice such as champsall, mulky, jerrisall and black rice were imported from Canara to Tellicherry.¹⁰² This imported rice was mainly used for the Company garrison. The hinterlands of Canara also produced large quantity of pepper. In the early years, the Honovar factory of the English procured pepper and exported it to Bombay. In the 1740s, the Tellicherry factory secured right to purchase pepper from the Canara ports.¹⁰³ Therefore, the factory sent their representatives to Honovar, Mangalore, Manjeswer and other ports in Canara for procuring pepper from local merchants. The major commodity to Mangalore from Tellicherry was salt.¹⁰⁴

Calicut

Calicut was the most depended and nearest market of the Tellicherry factory. The Tellicherry factory had one subordinate factory at Calicut and there the Company had one Linguist for manage to procure the merchandises

¹⁰⁰ As per the records, in January 1738 factory bought 7 reams of Goa paper at Rs. 28. (1 Ream is 20 Quire), TC, X, General Paymaster Account of January 1738.

¹⁰¹ TC, X, Consultation, 10 May 1738.

¹⁰² In November 1730 the rate of Mangalore rice was at 17 Ikkeri pagodas per corge. TC, IV, Consultation, 18 November 1730. In March 1732, the rate of Mangalore rice at 15 Ikkeri pagodas per corge. TC, VI, Diary, 8 March 1733.

¹⁰³ TC, XI, Consultation, 8 March 1740.

¹⁰⁴ In February 1742, the factory sent 61266 dungoys of salt to Mangalore for sale. TC, XIII, Diary, 18 February 1742; *Ibid.*, Diary, 3 June 1742.

from Calicut, Beypore, Tannore and Ponnani. With the direction of Bombay Council in 1741, the Tellicherry factory appointed a permanent agent at Calicut. Pepper, rice, coconut, oils, coir, turmeric, ginger, timber, planks, bamboo, mat, mast, ghee, arrack, toddy, wax, candles, scales, cloths etc. were the imported items from Calicut and its other nearby areas to Tellicherry. The factory transshipped most of these to London, Bombay and other markets.

Cochin

Cochin was one of the principal European settlements in south western coasts of India. The Tellicherry factory had maintained commercial relation with Cochin. They bought pepper, Batavian arrack and Japanese copper from the Cochin merchant Ezekieal Raby.¹⁰⁵ Batavian arrack was considered as better than the Goan arrack. Hence, the Bombay Council authority instructed the Tellicherry factory to procure it. A letter dated 8 April 1738 by John Horne, the President of Bombay Council to Stephen Law, the Chief of Tellicherry, states that “the arrack made at Goa not being so good, though dearer than usual, and Batavian arrack being difficult to be procured here. We would have you annually secure 40 or 50 leaguers of the best and cheapest you can get, and send it up as conveyances may offer.”¹⁰⁶

Anjengo

It was the most southerly settlement of English Company on the Malabar Coast. The Anjengo factory was established in the same ages of Tellicherry factory. Hence both remained as twin trade centres of Company in the Malabar Coast. The factors of both settlements had always contacts with each other for securing commodities and its exports.¹⁰⁷ Pepper, rice,¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ TC, XI, Consultation, 10 December 1739; TC, XV, Diary, 19 November 1743; See also, Ashin Das Gupta, *Malabar in Asian Trade 1740-1800*, Cambridge, 1967, p. 178.

¹⁰⁶ LTT, II, John Horne, BC to Stephen Law, TF, 8 April 1738.

¹⁰⁷ See for example, LTT, I, Alexander Orme, AF to Robert Adams, TF, 19 December 1726; LFT, I, John Braddyll, TF to Hezekiah, AF, 1 October 1729.

¹⁰⁸ LTT, I, Alexander Orme, AF to Robert Adams, TF, 8 September 1727.

cotton,¹⁰⁹ copra, coir, cowries,¹¹⁰ piece goods¹¹¹ and gun powder¹¹² were the principal export commodities from Anjengo.

Lakshadweep

Lakshadweep or Laccadive, the nearest Island group of the Malabar Coast, was under the jurisdiction of Arrakal family of Cannanore.¹¹³ The principal export of this Island was copra, coir and vinegar. Lakshadweep coir has been at all times esteemed the best in India.¹¹⁴ The Tellicherry factory had trade relations with Islands and the major import item was coir. The factory records speak of the Company buying coir from Lakshadweep and returning rice in the form of barter system. One record, dated 29 March 1737, speaks about 40 candies of Lakshadweep coir received in barter for Bengal rice by the Tellicherry factory. The said record speaks that Lakshadweep coir was very acceptable at Bombay.¹¹⁵ The import item from Lakshadweep usually arrived at Calicut and then it was sent to Tellicherry. One of the letters from Alexander Douglas, the Company agent at Calicut to Tellicherry factory, mentioned that they sent some quantities of Lakshadweep coir to Tellicherry in manchuas.¹¹⁶ The factory records show that in the year 1749, the factory bought more than 100 candies of Lakshadweep coir at the rate of Rs. 42 per candy.¹¹⁷

¹⁰⁹ LTT, V, Stephen Law, BC to William Wake, TF, 9 January 1741.

¹¹⁰ LTT, I, Alexander Orme, AF to Robert Adams, TF, 1 June 1727.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹¹² LTT, VII, Charles Whitehill, AF to John Geekie, TF, 4 February 1744.

¹¹³ LTT, II, William Wake, AF to Stephen Law, TF, 9 February 1737.

¹¹⁴ See for details, William Milburn, *Op. cit.*, p. 321.

¹¹⁵ LTT, V, Stephen Law, BC to William Wake, TF, 14 August 1740; TC, IX, Consultation, 29 March 1737.

¹¹⁶ LTT, X, Alexander Douglas, Calicut to TF, 17 March 1749.

¹¹⁷ TC, XVIII, Consultation, 2 November 1730.

Maldives

Maldives are the chain of numerous Islands, historically linked with the Indian subcontinent, which were discovered by the Portuguese in 1507.¹¹⁸ From the mid-sixteenth century, it was dominated by European powers such as the Portuguese, the Dutch and the English. The Tellicherry, Madras and Bengal factories purchased coconut, cowries, coir and jaggey from Maldives Island.¹¹⁹ The Tellicherry factory had trade relation with Maldives from the early years of the factory. Charls Lockter, when he visited Tellicherry in January 1706, mentioned that “amber grease, coir, cowries and chank were imported from Maldives.”¹²⁰ In November 1730, the Sultan of Maldives informed his great desire, and willingness to correspond with Tellicherry factory. He had also sent by boat to factory about 70 cottas of cowries at 15 Calicut fanam per cota.¹²¹ Then, the factory dispatched these cowries to Bombay by the ship Lethieulier.¹²² The articles like rice, sugar, cloths etc. were carried to the Islands.

Cuddalore and Fort St. David

Fort St. David was the principal seat of English Company, situated about a mile north of Cuddalore. The major export items to Cuddalore were pepper, sandalwood, cardamom, timber and planks. When the Madras Council was shifting to Fort St. David, they brought planks and timber from Tellicherry. As per the records the period between 1745 and 1748, the Fort St.

¹¹⁸ William Milburn, *Op. cit.*, p. 335.

¹¹⁹ Cowries are small shells found in the shores of Maldives, being the principal wealth of Islands, which was used as a kind of money in Bengal and West Indies. See for details, Jacob Canter Visscher, *Op. cit.*, Letter No. XII, pp. 83-84. Captain Vincente Sodre noted in the beginning of 16th century Maldives cowries was brought to Cannanore. See for details, Joy Varkey, “Port-Hinterland Relations of Cannanore” in K.S. Mathew and Joy Varkey (eds.), *Winds of Spices*, Thalasserry, 2006, p. 128.

¹²⁰ Charles Lockter, *An Account of the Trade in India*, London, 1711, p. 274.

¹²¹ TC, IV, Consultation, 20 June 1749.

¹²² LFT, I, John Braddyll, TF to Robert Cowan, BC, 21 November 1730.

David brought 378 planks from Tellicherry factory.¹²³ On 1 November 1748, the Chief received a letter from Fort St. David that the Ship Delawar would be dispatched to Tellicherry to take sandalwood and pepper.¹²⁴ On 19 November, the ship Delaware reached at Tellicherry and few days later returned with required quantities of goods.¹²⁵ In April 1749, the Tellicherry factory loaded on ship Elizabeth 395 bags of peas, 168 planks and 400 candies of pepper for Fort St. David.¹²⁶ The rice and sugar were imported from Fort St. David to Tellicherry. One letter of Charles Floyer, the President of Fort St. David, dated 25 January 1749, mentioned that as per the request of Thomas Byfeld, the Chief of Tellicherry factory, they sent two tons of rice and two tons of sugar to Tellicherry.¹²⁷

Madras

The Fort St. George at Madras was the English East India Company's southern presidency. Pepper, cardamom, sandalwood, timber, plank and cotton were principal exported merchandises from Tellicherry to Madras. Pepper of Malabar had great demand in the eastern coast of India. The Company records show that in every year nearly 1000 candies of pepper exported to Madras and Bengal. On 22 April 1733, the factory exported 997 candies of pepper to Madras by ship Compton.¹²⁸ In April 1737, the factory loaded 1186 candies of pepper on ship Decker. Half of the shipment was meant for Madras and Bengal and the other half was intended for China.¹²⁹ The other important export items to Madras were planks, betel-nut, oils,

¹²³ LTT, X, Alexander Douglas, Calicut to Robert Rawdon, TF, 29 September 1748.

¹²⁴ TC, XVIII, Diary, 1 November 1748.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 19 November 1748.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, Letter, John Robinson to Ambrose Lawrence, the Commander of ship Elizabeth, 25 April 1749.

¹²⁷ LTT, X, Charles Floyer, Fort St. David to Thomas Byfeld, TF, 25 January 1749.

¹²⁸ LFT, II, Stephen Law, TF to the Court of Directors, 23 February 1734.

¹²⁹ TC, IX, Diary, 17 and 23 April 1737; LTT, II, Richard Benyon, Fort St. George to Stephen Law, TF, 2 July 1737; TC, X, Diary, 6 August 1737.

liquor, grains, tobacco, piece-goods and drugs. The major return goods from Madras were rice, sugar, woolen and liquor.

Bengal

The English Company's eastern Indian trade was carried out by the Bengal Council. Pepper, cardamom, sandalwood, cotton, gunpowder, coir, timber, and liquor were major export merchandise from Tellicherry to Bengal. In addition, the European and Bombay goods like copper, tin, led, gun powder, clothes, wines and some other items were transshipped to Bengal.¹³⁰ The large number of factory records revealed about the export of pepper to Bengal. In August 1738, the Bombay Council directed to load sufficient quantities of pepper on ships Nassau and Anglesea and dispatched these to Bengal.¹³¹ Another record mentions that in May 1741, the ship Hallifax dispatched to Bengal with 339 candies of pepper.¹³² In May 1748, with the direction of Bombay Council the Tellicherry factory loaded 76 candies of pepper on Bombay sloop and dispatched to Bengal.¹³³ The Tellicherry factory also exported good quantity of cotton to Bengal. The factory records of April 1741 evidenced that the factory dispatched 100 bales of Malabar cotton to Fort William at Bengal.¹³⁴ In September 1747, the Bombay Council approved the proposal of Bengal to barter the Bengal cotton for pepper.¹³⁵ Timber, plank, mat and mast were also sent to Bengal. As per the request of Bengal Council on 22 February 1737, the Bombay Council directed to Tellicherry factory to sent mast for a flagstaff to Bengal.¹³⁶

¹³⁰ See for details, LTT, II, Court of Directors to Stephen Law, TF, 2 July 1736.

¹³¹ LTT, II, John Horn, BC to Stephen Law, TF, 5 August 1738.

¹³² LTT, V, William West, Calicut to William Wake, TF, 8 May 1741.

¹³³ TC, XVII-B, Diary, 21 May 1748.

¹³⁴ LTT, V, Stephen Law, BC to William Wake, TF, 17 April 1741.

¹³⁵ TC, XVII-B, Diary, 2 September 1747.

¹³⁶ LTT, II, John Horn, BC to Stephen Law, TF, 22 February 1737; TC, IX, Diary, 17 June 1737.

The major import items from Bengal were rice, gunny bags, twine, iron, opium, indigo, raw silk, grain, Bengal rum, wood oil, Madeira wine,¹³⁷ saltpeter, piece goods and seeds. Some imported merchandises were exported again to London, Bombay, and other centers like liquor, Madeira wine, rice, saltpeter, woolens, and raw silk.¹³⁸ In January 1746, by ship Essex the Bengal Council sent 2650 bags of saltpeter to Bombay through Tellicherry factory.¹³⁹ The Bengal rice was principal import items to Tellicherry.¹⁴⁰ In the 1730s, the English Company's rice import from Bombay and Canara ports were affected due to the Canrarese wars. Therefore, the Company decided to bring rice from Bengal and Madras.¹⁴¹ In January 1737, the Bombay Council directed to Tellicherry factors that, "as you will be so amply supplied with rice from Bengal, we shall send you none, till you desire, though we had a quantity ready provided. It must be your care to prevent our Honorable masters suffering, by getting off the rice as speedily as possible, and on the best terms you can, without giving room for complaint to your garrison people."¹⁴²

Another important item from Bengal was gunny bags for packing pepper and other commodities.¹⁴³ The factory records speak that thousands of gunny bags were purchased by Tellicherry factory every year. In July 1736, the Chief of Tellicherry factory wrote to Bengal Council for 5000 bags, ascertaining the price to Rs. 3½ per bags.¹⁴⁴ On 29 April 1746, the Chief wrote to the Bengal Council desiring them to send for the use of Tellicherry

¹³⁷ In October 1747, the Bengal Council sends 50 pipes of Madeira wine by ship Princes of Wales to Tellicherry. TC, XVII-B, Diary, 14 October 1747.

¹³⁸ As per the factory record dated 18 February 1740 imported at Tellicherry about 8 bales of raw silk from Fort William, to be delivered at Bombay. TC, XI, Diary, 18 February 1740.

¹³⁹ TC, XVI, Diary, 20 January 1746.

¹⁴⁰ The imported rice was also transhipped to Lakshadweep from Tellicherry. TC, IX, Consultation, 29 March 1737.

¹⁴¹ TC, IX, Consultation, 28 September 1736; LTT, II, John Stackhouse, Fort William to Stephen Law, TF, 21 October 1736.

¹⁴² LTT, II, John Horn, BC to Stephen Law, TF, 21 January 1737.

¹⁴³ The Dutch Company records mentioned that they were collected gunny and gunny bags from Porcca (Porakkad), and Calicoilan (Kayamkulam). But they couldn't procure sufficient quantity for export trade. See for details, Adriaan Moens, *Op. cit.*, p. 216.

¹⁴⁴ LFT, III, Stephen Law, TF to John Horn, BC, 30 June 1736.

factory, 1000 gunny bags and a Jar of wood oyle.¹⁴⁵ Opium seems to be one of the most sought after item in Malabar, which was also imported from Bengal.¹⁴⁶ In the early decades of 18th Century, Bengal opium had great demand in the Malabar Coast. Alexander Hamilton mentioned that Robert Adams, the first Chief of Tellicherry factory, personally imported opium from Bengal. He wrote that “Adams organized a large and profitable trade in opium which was widely used in the region. These immoral activities very seriously affected the stand of the Company in front of Zamorin and other powers.”¹⁴⁷

China

From the early time onwards the Chinese aristocrats were fascinated by the spices from Malabar. Therefore, Malabar had trade relations with the Chinese ports. In the mercantile period most of the all major European companies had their own settlements in Chinese port towns Canton or Guangzhou and Macao. Since the decline of Gujarati merchant trade with China, which was in 18th century taken over by the English sponsored and Bombay based China trade. It led to the trade link of Tellicherry with Canton and Macao. The Tellicherry factory records show that there was a flourishing export and import trade relations between Tellicherry and Chinese markets.

The principal exported items from Tellicherry to China were sandal wood and pepper. Madhavi Thampi stated that “the items exported from India to China were mainly silver, pepper and sandalwood.”¹⁴⁸ Every year more than five of Company ships were dispatched to Chinese markets with cargos chiefly of pepper and sandalwood.¹⁴⁹ The factory records speak that the major

¹⁴⁵ TC, XVI, Diary, 29 April 1746.

¹⁴⁶ The renowned traveller Charles Lockter mentioned on opium of Tellicherry that made hereabouts of Tellicherry was a deep purple, the best in India; it bears double the price of Bengal opium. See for details, Charles Lockter, *Op. cit.*, p. 275.

¹⁴⁷ Alexander Hamilton, *A New Account of East Indies*, Vol. I, London, 1744, p. 99; John Pinkerton (ed.), *A General Collection of the East and Most Interesting Voyages and Travels in All Parts of the World*, Vol. VIII, London, 1881, p. 372.

¹⁴⁸ Madhavi Thampi, *Indians in China 1800-1949*, New Delhi, 2005, p. 50.

¹⁴⁹ LFT, VII, Thomas Byfeld, TF to Benjamin Mason, the Commander of ship Doddington, 4 May 1749.

part of factory's sandalwood and large quantity of pepper were exported to Chinese markets. As per the records since 1736 more than 600 candies of first sort of sandalwood per year was exported to China. On 24 April 1736, ship Richmond was dispatched for Chinese markets with 716 candies of pepper for Canton and 200 candies of sandalwood for Macao.¹⁵⁰ In April 1739, the Bombay Council directed to the factory to make ready 400 candies of pepper and 200 candies of sandalwood for Company ship Harrington and dispatched it to Canton.¹⁵¹ In January 1740, the Company dispatched 300 candies of sandalwood to China.¹⁵² In January 1741, with the direction of Company authorities the Bombay Council ordered to send 300 candies of sandalwood and some quantities of pepper to China.¹⁵³ On 28 March 1741, the Tellicherry factory received the letter of Court of Directors of London, dated 23 July 1740, directed them to secure all the sandalwood procurable from Tellicherry and load in ship Godolphin for her way to China.¹⁵⁴ Therefore, in April 1741, the Company ship Godolphin dispatched with 300 candies of sandal, 400 candies of pepper a parcel of cotton and some olibanum for Chinese markets.¹⁵⁵

Again in September 1741, the Bombay Council directed to provide 300 candies of sandalwood to ship Onslow, which was newly dispatched to China.¹⁵⁶ On 30 April 1742, the Captain Bachen of ship Onslow requested 300 candies of sandalwood for export to Canton.¹⁵⁷ At the same time the Macao ships enquired the availability of sandalwood at Tellicherry as they purchased about 400 candies of sandalwood earlier at Mangalore and other

¹⁵⁰ TC, VIII, Diary, 26 April 1736; LFT, IV, Stephen Law, TF to John Horn, BC, 30 June 1736.

¹⁵¹ LTT, III, Stephen Law, BC to William Wake, TF, 23 April 1739.

¹⁵² LTT, IV, Stephen Law, BC to William Wake, TF, 30 January 1740.

¹⁵³ LTT, V, Stephen Law, BC to William Wake, TF, 9 January 1741.

¹⁵⁴ TC, XII, Letter, Court of Directors to William Wake, TF, 23 July 1740.

¹⁵⁵ LTT, V, Stephen Law, BC to William Wake, TF, 17 April 1741; TC, XII, Consultation, 30 April 1741.

¹⁵⁶ LTT, VI, Stephen Law, BC to William Wake, TF, 22 September 1741.

¹⁵⁷ TC, XIII, Consultation, 30 April 1742.

ports at a very high price.¹⁵⁸ In April 1743, the quantity of 300 candies of sandalwood, amounting Rs. 24154 and with two chests of dollars were laden on ship Harrington for export to Canton.¹⁵⁹

In April 1744, the Bombay Council directed to load 600 candies of pepper, sufficient quantity of sandal and dispatched to China.¹⁶⁰ In November 1745, the Tellicherry factory exported 500 candies of pepper and 300 candies of sandalwood to China.¹⁶¹ In July 1748, the Chief received an order from Bombay Superiors to dispatch Company ship Delaware for taking in sandalwood for China, she being designed for that place.¹⁶² On 29 August 1748, the Bombay Council ordered the factory to keep sandalwood in readiness for shipping.¹⁶³ In February 1749, Charles Flayer, the President of Fort St. George requested Tellicherry factory for 300 candies of sandalwood for loading in China ship.¹⁶⁴ Again in April 1749, the Bombay Council directed 200 candies sandalwood to be exported to China.¹⁶⁵ The cardamom, olibunnam,¹⁶⁶ putchuch,¹⁶⁷ myrrh,¹⁶⁸ mast, planks etc. were also exported to Chinese markets.

The major part of the import items from China were also transshipped to Europe. It also carried goods to markets of Indian Ocean markets. Most of the China ships went through Tellicherry. At Tellicherry these ships completed the remaining parts of the tonnage. The return goods to Tellicherry

¹⁵⁸ TC, XIII, Letter, William Wake, TF, to Bachen, the Captain of Supercargo Onslow, 30 April 1742.

¹⁵⁹ TC, XIV, Letter, John Geekie, TF to Foulis, the Captain of Supercargo Harrington, 30 April 1743; Among this 300 candies sandalwood the factory received 100 candies first sort at Rs. 87 for per candy and 200 candies of second sort at Rs. 75 for per candy. TC, XIV, Consultation, 30 April 1743.

¹⁶⁰ LTT, VII, William Wake, BC to John Geekie, TF, 20 April 1744.

¹⁶¹ LFT, VI, John Geekie, TF to the Court of Directors, 24 November 1745.

¹⁶² TC, XVII-B, Diary, 5 July 1748.

¹⁶³ TC, XVIII, Diary, 29 August 1748.

¹⁶⁴ LTT, X, Charles Flayer, Fort St. David to Thomas Byfeld, TF, 25 February 1749.

¹⁶⁵ LTT, X, William Wake, BC to Thomas Byfeld, TF, 4 April 1749.

¹⁶⁶ LTT, V, Edward Page, Canton to William Wake, TF, 28 March 1741.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

were opium, gold, tea, scarlet cloth, China damask, Russian sail cloth, glass pictures, porcelain, China ware etc. The Tellicherry factory records revealed that large quantity of gold was imported from China.¹⁶⁹ On 27 December 1739, the Company ship Harrington imported gold being weighed the whole being 16 parcels containing 74 bars and seven small bits, for which and Rs. 20000 factory gave the commander of ship.¹⁷⁰ The Chinese silks and other precious goods had great demand in Tellicherry markets. It was the main item presented by the English at the time of agreements and other occasions to rajas of Malabar.

A lot of information is available from the Tellicherry factory records on the Portuguese merchants ships, based at Macao, visiting at Tellicherry for the purchase of Malabar goods. These ships were also called at Bengal, Madras, Nagapattinam, Cochin, Anjengo and Surat. They exchanged some commodities for procuring pepper, cardamom and sandal.¹⁷¹ Every year, four or five Portuguese ships called at Tellicherry and exported more than hundreds candies of pepper.¹⁷²

In addition to the Company ships, the private ships of Europe purchased pepper and other merchandise from Company factories.¹⁷³ The Company received duty of three rupees on every candy of pepper purchased from their factories. As per the direction of Bombay Council, on 20 March 1727, the Tellicherry factory sent a letter to Captain William Shotbolt, commander of the ship Gloster Brigantine, that every purchase of pepper at

¹⁶⁹ TC, VIII, Diary, 14 May 1736.

¹⁷⁰ TC, XI, Diary, 26 & 28 December 1739.

¹⁷¹ Om Prakash, "International Consortiums, Merchant Networks and Portuguese Trade with Asia in the Early Modern Period", Paper presented at Session 37 of the XIV International Economic History Congress, Helsinki, 21 and 25 August 2006, p. 23.

¹⁷² See for details, LTT, IX, William Wake, BC to George Dudley, TF, 2 January 1747; TC, XVII-A, Diary, 8 January 1747. These Portuguese ships also collected merchandise from Mahe. In April 1746 one Portuguese ship of Macao names St. Luis collected five candies of first sort cardamom and 600 candies of pepper from Mahe for China market. See for details, TC, XVI, Diary, 22 April 1746.

¹⁷³ There were many of Europeans, without banner of Company's participated in intra-Asian trade from the time of Portuguese. It was increased in 17th and first half of 18th century. See for details, Adriaan Moens, *Op. cit.*, p. 234.

any of the adjacent places hereabouts for three rupees on every candy of 560 Ib. and accordingly demanded his paying a duty of three rupees per a candy of 560 Ib.¹⁷⁴ In May, the Company authorities directed to “avoid disputes in collecting the duty additional on pepper they had thought fit to include that of any kind, and wherever purchased in the pepper countries on the coast, and agreeable to the orders they have received from the English Company.” They intended to write to the Presidencies of Bengal and Madras to collect the said duty on whatever brought under their jurisdiction.¹⁷⁵ In February 1728, the Bombay Council once again strictly ordered to Tellicherry to collect the duty of Rs. 3 per candy on all pepper exported on private account by those under English protection from the pepper settlement.¹⁷⁶

Summary

This chapter tried to explain theoretically the relation between the port and its overseas markets. The chapter elaborated the overseas markets with which Tellicherry had conducted import- export business. The study has showed that Tellicherry had trade relations with most of the important overseas markets of the period. The business of the European markets was carried out through London. Trade with the other markets was carried out independently by the Bombay Council in the small vessels maintained by them for the purpose and also in the vessels coming from London bound for the Indian Ocean markets. Contacts with the overseas world brought many new things to the Malabar Coast including slaves. Many unique items of Malabar found their way to the overseas world through these contacts.

¹⁷⁴ TC, II, Diary, 20 March 1727; TC, II, Letter, Robert Adam, TF to Captain William Shotbolt, the Commander of ship Gloster Brigantine, 20 March 1727.

¹⁷⁵ TC, II, Diary, 15 My 1727.

¹⁷⁶ LTT, I, BC to Robert Adams, TF, 26 February 1728.

CHAPTER 6

TELLICHERRY FACTORY AT ITS HEIGHT

Arun Thomas M. “Merchants, markets and merchandise: Strategy of english east India company trade in tellicherry 1725-1750” Thesis. Department of History, University of Calicut, 2015

CHAPTER VI

TELLICHERRY FACTORY AT ITS HEIGHT

The growth of Tellicherry began with the arrival of the French East India Company. Unfortunately, the French failed to develop Tellicherry into a prosperous and permanent trading centre. The English made it one of the renowned trade centers of the eastern world. With the establishment of European settlement, large number of merchants migrated to Tellicherry from other parts of Malabar and opened warehouses and shops. This resulted in the development of a market, which grew into one of the major colonial markets of western India. Increased interactions with the European and Indian Ocean world brought prosperity, cultural exchanges and new commodities to Tellicherry and adjacent areas. The growth of a city is brought about through the export and imports, warehouses, shops, sale of goods, presence of different communities, arrival of ships, presence of the merchant community, modern facilities like hospital, circulation of different varieties of currencies, money exchange, money lending, unique weights-measure systems and effective administrative system.

Bazaar of Tellicherry

At the time of the arrival of the French, Tellicherry was a small market. The market developed gradually with the establishment of the European settlement. As per the available sources, the first reference to Tellicherry market was made by Gabriel Dellon, who had the major role in the establishment of the French settlement at Tellicherry in 1671.¹ The French Company established all facilities required for trade in their factory. They built a mud fort, suitable houses and storerooms at Tellicherry. It was much more advantageous for obtaining merchandises, accommodation and was easy

¹ Gabriel Dellon, *A Voyage to the East Indies*, London, 1698, p. 121.

to be accessed by ships.² Dellon describes the French house at Tellicherry as, “built according to the Indian fashion, of wood and earth.”³

The bazaar was situated along the shores of Tellicherry. During the time of the English, Tellicherry witnessed remarkable changes. The travellers and the records of European companies referred to the market of Tellicherry as ‘bazaar’.⁴ So the merchants who settled in Tellicherry market were called ‘bazaar merchants.’ The English immediately built a house at the factory, on which six guns were to be mounted, and a regime of ten or twelve soldiers were to be stationed for its protection.⁵ The decision of fortification of Tellicherry led to the establishment of a permanent settlement and also to the development of the bazaar of Tellicherry. Tellicherry bazaar was concentrated mainly at the back of the Tellicherry fort. Alexander Hamilton noted “the market stands at the back of the fort, within land, with a stone wall round it, to keep out enemies.”⁶ In addition to the fort, the Company had built a number of other buildings.

Simultaneously, with the help of merchants, the Company brought commodities from the hinterlands to Tellicherry bazaar, which resulted in the establishment of warehouses and other facilities in the bazaar. The commodities also came through the coastal routes from the other markets of Malabar like Cannanore, Vadakara, Calicut, Baypore, Tannore, Ponnani and Cochin. These commodities were also transhipped to different markets of

² H.K. Kaul (ed.), *Travellers' India an Anthology*, New Delhi, 1979, p. 290.

³ Gabriel Dellon, *Op. cit.*, p. 121; Abbe Carre, *The Travels of Abbe Carre in India and Near East: 1672 to 1674*, Ed. by Charles Fawcett, Vol. III, London, 1948, p. 705.

⁴ According to Encyclopedia of Britannica, the definition of bazaar is: “a denomination among the Turks and Persian, given to a kind of exchange, or places where their fine stuffs and other wares are sold.” See for details, *Encyclopedia Britannica or a Dictionary Arts, Sciences, and Miscellaneous Literature*, Edinburgh, 1797, p. 90.

⁵ John Bruce, *Annals of the Honorable East India Company*, London, 1810, Vol. II, p. 529.

⁶ Alexander Hamilton, *A New Account of East Indies*, Vol. I, Edinburgh, 1727, pp. 297-298.

the world. The Europeans needed Europeanized houses and offices, which led to the establishment of modern tiled houses, offices and shops in the bazaar. The furniture and other goods of interior design were brought from Europe and other places to these houses and offices.⁷ At the same time, imported commodities from the different markets of the world were sold in the bazaar and some of them were moved to the hinterland bazaars. Along with necessary commodities, luxuries like gold, diamonds, different varieties of clothes and gift items were also familiar to the Tellicherry bazaar.⁸

Fort and Factory Administration

In India, the administration of the English East India Company was entrusted with the three Presidencies or Councils in three corners of the Indian subcontinent: Bombay in West, Fort St. George (Madras) in South and Fort William (Bengal) in East. The Councils were trading posts and forts encircled by native states and connected to each other only by sea. Each Council had a Governor or President who corresponded directly to the Court of Directors of English East India Company in London. The Chief or Deputy Governors were placed at the head of the subordinate factories or trading posts of each Council.⁹ In the beginning, Tellicherry factory was under the Surat Council, along with other factories at Carwar, Calicut and Anjengo. Later, the Surat Council came to be known as Bombay Council with the shifting of its headquarters to Bombay. These factories had an administrative body known as 'Factors', which included Chief, Linguist, Senior Merchant, Junior Merchant, Chaplain and Writer.

⁷ Tellicherry Consultation (hereafter TC), XIII, Consultation, 17 November 1741.

⁸ Letters from Tellicherry (hereafter LFT), II, Stephen Law, Tellicherry Factory (hereafter TF) to Robert Cowan, Bombay Council (hereafter BC), 19 May 1733.

⁹ See for more details, Claude Markovits (ed.), *A History of Modern India 1480-1950*, London, 1994, p. 231.

The Chief was the head of Factors, and he had enormous power and was always depended and corresponded with Council and Presidencies. His programs and policies entirely affected the Company's future developments in those regions. In the beginning of the 18th century, Tellicherry obtained independent position and the Company appointed Robert Adams as its Chief.¹⁰ Adams played a key role in getting permission for building a fort. His personal initiative in securing permission from the Zamorin of Calicut to get necessary materials of construction, free of all customs was helpful in completing the fort.¹¹ John Braddyl, Steephen Law, William Wake, William Jayson, John Geekie, George Dudley, William West, Robert Rawdon, Thomas Byfeld and Thomas Dorril served as Chiefs of Tellicherry factory during the period from 1725 to 1750. The salary of the Chief was 70 pound sterling per annum, which was about Rs. 560.¹²

The English Company appointed Senior and Junior Company merchants for managing the trading activities of the factory. Actually, the senior and junior merchants were the two or three members of 'factors'. In 1730, William Forbes and Hugh Howard were the senior merchants of Tellicherry factory and their salary was 40 pound sterling per annum.¹³ In 1741, William Jayson was in the post of senior merchant and William West was in the post of junior merchant of the Company. Most of these salaried merchants were also appointed as Residents in Calicut, Tannore, Mangalore, Honovar and Valapattanam. Later, they became the Chief of Tellicherry

¹⁰ He was the first permanent Chief, and he had major credit of prominence of Tellicherry. See for details, Arun Thomas M., "Robert Adams: The Real Founder of English Supremacy in Malabar" in *IOSR- Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, Vol. XX, Issue. 5, May 2015, pp. 19-26.

¹¹ A. Galletti, *The Dutch in Malabar*, Madras, 1911, p. 22; K.K.N. Kurup, *History of Tellicherry Factory*, Calicut, 1985, p. 49.

¹² TC, IV, Consultation, 6 January 1731; TC, XIII, Consultation, 1 January 1742; TC, XVI, Diary, 31 December 1745.

¹³ TC, IV, Consultation, 6 January 1731.

factory. The Company sent them to negotiate pepper contract with distant centers like Calicut, Mangalore and Cochin.

All the European powers did business through local compradors or middlemen, as their knowledge of both markets and languages was inadequate.¹⁴ The European companies called them Linguist or ‘Dubashi’, the most inevitable post in European factories in India. At Tellicherry, the Company appointed a number of Linguists as translators and to deal with natives including the rajas, and merchants. At the time of contract with the merchants, they had a crucial role. At Tellicherry, there were one Senior Linguist and a Junior Linguist. The Company also appointed a Linguist at Calicut. Later in 1740 another Linguist was appointed at Mangalore. Pedro Rodriguez and Domingo Rodriguez were the most renowned Linguists of Tellicherry factory. In 1741, John Braddyl, the former Chief of factory, sent a diamond ring valued 120 pound sterling to Domingo Rodriguez. He also wrote, “Domingo Rodriguez, having many years acted as head Linguist with such integrity and attachment to their interest, highly deserves their notice and they were always ready to encourage such behavior in their service.” Domingo replied that, he would return the Company his most dutiful thanks for this great mark of their favour and assured them that he should continue to act with the utmost zeal and friendliness for their service.¹⁵

Warehouses

The warehouses were the important parts of European companies’ settlements, which had to be large enough to store different commodities brought from hinterlands over the course of a year to fill several ships and boats arriving each season from England and other markets. Two principal warehouses existed inside the fort. The first one was in the southeastern

¹⁴ Ruby Maloni, *Surat: Port of the Mughal Empire*, New Delhi, 2003, p. 82.

¹⁵ TC, XII, Consultation, 30 April 1741.

corner of the fort, which was built as part of the establishment of factory in 1708. The second was situated in the north-western corner of the fort, which was built in 1739.¹⁶ The Company appointed warehouse keeper for managing processes like weighing, cleaning, preserving and packing of commodities in the warehouses.¹⁷ These warehouses had the capacity for storing more than 6000 candies (about 15,00,000 Kg.) of pepper at a time.¹⁸ In addition to these warehouses, the Company erected a number of 'Cajan houses' outside the fort for keeping timber, bamboos, chunam, gun carriage and petty stores of several kinds.¹⁹

In 1731, the Company official reported that the pepper warehouses of Tellicherry were in a miserable condition. It was very incommodious, ill-roofed and ill-equipped to store pepper. Hence, the Chief requested the Bombay Council to permit them either to enlarge warehouses or to repair it.²⁰ Again in May 1733, the Chief informed the Bombay Council that increasing losses has led them into an enquiry on the means for preventing it. The country merchants used lined walls and cells with planks, which they found to be of great use. The factory authorities requested to follow the same method. The expense, they believed, would be atoned for in four or five years and it would keep the pepper in much better order. They informed the Bombay Council that if Company's superiors approve this work, they should give directions.²¹

In 1739, Stephen Law, the President of Bombay Council, approved the request of Tellicherry factory for building a new warehouse having a capacity to store 2000 candies of pepper. They directed it to be constructed between

¹⁶ TC, XI, Consultation, 8 August 1739.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 13 May 1740.

¹⁸ TC, XVII-B, Consultation, 19 April 1748.

¹⁹ TC, X, Consultation, 28 April 1738; TC, XI, Consultation, 8 August 1739.

²⁰ LFT, I, John Braddyll, TF to Robert Cowan, BC, 10 February 1731.

²¹ LFT, II, Stephen Law, TF to Robert Cowan, BC, 19 May 1733.

the fort and the sea. It would not admit of a roof, and therefore ought to be covered with 'tarrass', which would require very large beams.²² He also provided the plan of warehouse which was of the following dimensions. It was 118 foot long from outside to outside, 22 foot broad from outside to outside, 12 foot height from the floor and the thickness of the wall was two foot from the foundation. It was divided into four rooms, the two end ones 24 foot long and 18 foot broad in the clear, and the two middle ones 30 foot long, and 18 foot broad in the clear with three partition walls of two foot each in breadth. Commodities other than pepper were stored separately.²³

On May 1740, the warehouse keeper found that the greatest part of the loss proceeds from the dampness of the walls in the wet season, to which the pepper sticks and rots. It might be prevented by lining or casing the rooms with plank, which is the method adopted by the country people.²⁴ The native merchants also had a large number of warehouses in the bazaar, its walls and cells made with planks and thatch was used for its roofs.²⁵ In some occasions, the Company purchased shops and warehouses from natives to keep merchandises. One of the factory records mentioned the purchase of a shop to store paddy and the remittance of 172 fanam to its owner.²⁶

The imported merchandises from the hinterland and foreign markets were stored in these warehouses. The cleaning, packing, embalming and weighing of imported and exported goods were done in these warehouses. Usually, the Company brought cleaned pepper from the merchants. But if it was kept in warehouse weight got reduced and had low weight based on its quality. Therefore, pepper and cardamoms were kept in packets and chests. The factory record speaks of the method of packing followed in the

²² TC, XI, Consultation, 8 August 1739.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 18 May 1740.

²⁵ LFT, II, Stephen Law, TF to Robert Cowan, BC, 19 May 1733.

²⁶ TC, X, Accounts of Rents and Revenue by Manoel Rodriguez, 24 July 1738.

warehouses. Pepper was packed in gunny bags. Two types of gunny bags were used for packing pepper: the single and double bags, which were imported from Bengal. The usual weight of double gunny bag pepper was 12 maunds or about 336 lb.²⁷ The cultivators and inland merchants used mat buckets for carrying goods to the hinterland markets.

The cleaned cardamoms were covered first with clothes and then embalmed with mats. Then it was packed in chests and the Company always ensured that the chest was air-tight. For this purpose, factory bought large quantities of clothes, mats, and chests from Calicut.²⁸ In May 1727, the Bombay Council informed the Tellicherry factory to be ready to load cardamom chests for England. They insisted to keep it in chests as the exported cardamom was found damaged the previous year.²⁹ Therefore, the factory authorities decided to keep cardamom in about 100 chests.³⁰ Planks of teak and mango tree were usually used for making chests for cardamoms, which were mainly brought from Calicut.³¹

On 15 January 1728, the Tellicherry factory informed the Bombay Council that they had procured 20 candies of cardamom and decided to sent it to Bombay.³² The Bombay authority replied them to take good care to pack it well chested.³³ Then, the Company directed the Calicut Linguist to procure some large teak trees to be sawed into planks to make cardamom chests each

²⁷ See for details, John Fryer, *A New Account of East India and Persia, in Eight Letters, Being Nine Years Travel*, London, 1698, p. 207.

²⁸ For example, As per the factory diary dated 25 November 1732, the factory bought 50 pieces of long cloth to pack cardamom at the rate of Rs. 9½ per pieces. See for details, TC, VI, Diary, 25 November 1732.

²⁹ TC, II, Diary, 15 May 1727.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 22 May 1727.

³¹ In December 1727, the Tellicherry factory bought 743 covets of mango plank costing 309 Tellicherry fanams to make chests of cardamom. See, TC, III, Consultation, 5 January 1728.

³² TC, III, Diary, 15 January 1728; Letters to Tellicherry (hereafter LTT), I, BC to Robert Adams, TF, 26 February 1728.

³³ *Ibid.*

to contain 10 maunds. Two or three trees were sawed into sundry pieces of different nature for use at Tellicherry for they were not having any in store of any sort.³⁴ Then, regarding the cardamom chests, he informed that he had made estimation for good teak planks which would cost about 20 fanams.³⁵ The Company advised him that the cardamom chests be ordered to be made forthwith and to take care that the chests were well wrought and closely joined to keep out the air.³⁶ On 1 June, the Company directed Calicut Linguist to procure as much plank as would be sufficient to make 40 chests more to contain each 10 maund of cardamoms and to have the same wrought up so as to be ready to be send after the rain with the rest.³⁷ The Bombay Council approved of Tellicherry factory's method of packing "...them in neat teak chests well joined and close to preserve them from the air."³⁸

Shops

The establishment of a permanent European settlement encouraged the merchants to migrate to Tellicherry and to open a number of shops in the market. The shops of the native merchants in Tellicherry bazaar were under the jurisdiction of the factory. These shops were made of earth, timber, planks and were covered with the thatch.³⁹ There were two types of shops, private merchant's shops, who paid rent to the factory and the Company shops. As per the factory records of 1738, there were 134 shops in Tellicherry bazaar and the Company collected rent from these shops.⁴⁰ The factory collected 4 fanam from each of the shops.⁴¹ The factory also collected rent from 14 shops

³⁴ TC, III, Diary, 1 May 1728.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 7 May 1728.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 8 May 1728.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 1 May 1728.

³⁸ LTT, I, William Phipps, BC to John Braddyll, TF, 20 September 1728.

³⁹ Gabriel Dellon mentions that houses were made of earth, timber and planks and they were covered with the coconut leaves. See for details, Gabriel Dellon, *Op. cit.*, p. 107.

⁴⁰ As per the factory records of 1740 there were 116 shops. In 1741 there were 117 shops in Tellicherry bazaar. TC, XI, Consultation, 30 July 1740; TC, XII, 31 July 1741.

⁴¹ TC, X, Accounts of Rents and Revenue by Manoel Rodriguez, 24 July 1738.

at Moylan bazaar and six shops at Dharmapattanam bazaar.⁴² At the same time, the French collected rent from bazaars of Mahe and Peringattur, a market a few miles up the Mahe River, at the rate of two rupees per shop.⁴³

The Malabar commodities and imported commodities from different markets of the world were sold in the bazaar. The important sales items in the private shops in bazaars were rice, sugar, oils, lamps, wax candle, coir, kitchen items, food items, ghee, kerosene and clothes. The Company shops sold iron, led, twine, glasses, parapets, kettles, carpets, European pictures, plush cushions, beds, pillows, pillow sheets, tables, carpets, European carpets, buckets, mats, broad clothes, other different varieties of clothes etc.⁴⁴

In the bazaar, separate shops for grain, cloth, fish, kitchen items, wood, smiths, carpenter, liquor and money exchange existed. A smith shop existed in the fort near the magazine. However, in March 1742, it was removed out of the fort due to the risk of fire.⁴⁵ In the same occasion, the factory agreed to rebuild the shop of carpenters and warehouse, which were in a ruinous condition and tiled, for which permission was formerly given by the Presidency.⁴⁶ The shops of skilled labourers like weavers, carpenters and smiths were the important parts of Tellicherry bazaar. The carpenters and masons from other parts of India were engaged in the building process of Tellicherry. In July, the Tellicherry factory requested the Bombay Council to send a master carpenter and mason for carrying on the building of the warehouses.⁴⁷ The Bombay Council, in turn, wrote to the Surat factory for

⁴² As per the records of July 1738, the number of shops at Moylan was 12. TC, X, Accounts of Rents and Revenue by Manoel Rodriguez, 24 July 1738.

⁴³ See for details, Alfred Martineau, *Les Origines de Mahe de Malabar*, Paris, 1917, p. 310. Ibrahim Kunju stated that this payment was in the nature of 'Rakshabhogam' (protection money). A.P. Ibrahim Kunju, *Mappila Muslims of Kerala: their History and Culture*, Trivandrum, 1989, p. 72.

⁴⁴ See for details, TC, I- XX, 1725-50.

⁴⁵ TC, XIV, Consultation, 1 March 1743.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ LTT, IV, Stephen Law, BC to William Wake, TF, 10 August 1739.

supplying carpenter and bricklayer to Tellicherry factory.⁴⁸ Subsequently, in December 1739, the Surat factory sent two carpenters and a bricklayer to Tellicherry.⁴⁹

Hospital

Medicine was the most required item for the European settlements in the East. The factory records noted that hospital facilities were available in Tellicherry. The Company spent, as charges of the hospital, 742 fanam (Rs.148) in the month of July 1726 and 1346 fanam (Rs.269) in July 1737.⁵⁰ The hospital charge of October 1748 was Rs. 222.⁵¹ The Company appointed surgeons and assistant Surgeons in this hospital. Medicines were imported from England, Bombay and Goa. Some Malabar commodities like wood oyle, wax, rosin and Malabar Physic were bought by Company for hospital purposes.⁵² In some occasions, the rajas of Malabar accepted the treatment of Company surgeons. In March 1738, Stephen Law the chief factor and John Rose, the assistant surgeon visited the bedridden Kolathiri Prince at his palace. He welcomed the visitors with the most remarkable expression of satisfaction and wished that the surgeon might remain with him, which was granted.⁵³ Another instance of treating the local people occurred in September 1745, when the Moors plundered and burnt the Muckuvas' houses at Aggar. The Company surgeon treated about 30 Muckuvas who were dangerously wounded by the Moor attacks. For that treatment, the Company surgeon

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 4 September 1739.

⁴⁹ TC, XI, Diary, 26 December 1739.

⁵⁰ TC, II, Abstract of the General Paymaster Account for Disbursement for the Month of July 1726; TC, X, Abstract of the General Paymaster Account for Disbursement for the Month of July 1737.

⁵¹ TC, XVIII, Abstract of the General Paymaster Account for Disbursement for the Month of October 1748.

⁵² TC, XVI, Diary, 17 March 1746.

⁵³ TC, X, Diary, 21 March 1738; *Ibid.*, 23 May 1738.

received no gratuity from Muckuvas. However, the Company gave him Rs. 100 for his great humanitarian act.⁵⁴

Punch House and Arrack Farm

‘Punch’ was the English word for a fruit drink. The Tellicherry factory had one punch house situated near the fort. It was mentioned by traveller Alexander Hamilton that, “a punch house that stands on the sea shore a short pistol shot from the garrison.”⁵⁵ The important sales items in the punch house were toddy and country arrack. The later factory records noted an ‘arrack farm’, which was an important part of Tellicherry bazaar under the supervision of factory.

In 1735, the Company understood that the large scale importing of liquor by the Company officials created many problems in Tellicherry, especially, as the generality of the Company people were exceedingly addicted to the vice of drunkenness. Therefore, the Chief proposed the Company officers and their subordinates to be exempted from making any gain in the sale of liquors. They decided to invite proposals through public notice and issued a license to the highest bidder. It was also decided that no person should be admitted to sell country arrack or any other liquor items in Tellicherry without having a previous license from the Company.⁵⁶ Henceforth the factory gave arrack farm to private individuals on the basis of agreement for one year. The factory got much money from the arrack farm. At the end of the annual contract, the Company announced it by the beating of drums together with a published notice for inviting a new proposal from bidders.⁵⁷ In September 1746, following their request, the ‘tivees’ (tiveys/thiyya), who were the bearers of the Company arms were permitted to

⁵⁴ TC, XVI, Diary, 29 January 1746.

⁵⁵ Alexander Hamilton, *Op. cit.*, p. 2; John Pinkerton, *A General Collection of the East and Most Interesting Voyages and Travels in All Parts of the World*, Vol. VIII, London, 1881, p. 370.

⁵⁶ TC, VIII, Consultation, 8 October 1735.

⁵⁷ TC, XVII-B, Diary, 27 July 1748.

sell country arrack, not the Calicut arrack or any other spirituous liquor.⁵⁸ No other persons had the right to sell liquor in Tellicherry.

In September 1737, the factory raised small revenue from the farm of arrack, but no person offered to take it. Then, the factory proposed that from 20 September 1737, an excise of Rs. 5 to be laid on every hogshead.⁵⁹ In 1746, arrack farm was put up to public sale, John Frazer appeared to be the highest bidder and he took it for one year.⁶⁰ In 1747, it was taken over by William Gill and he took it for Rs. 1200.⁶¹ In 1748, when the Company invited the proposal for the farm, they got offers from three bidders: William Gill offered Rs. 1500, James Hog offered Rs. 1350 and Thomas Mostyn offered Rs. 1550.⁶² In 1749, the Company got only one proposal by Robert Adams. He offered to give Rs. 1500 per annum. The Company accepted his offer and signed a bond with him.⁶³

The entry into the arrack farm was restricted to the Company military officials, garrison and other Indian and European servants. The working time of arrack farm was up to 10 at night.⁶⁴ The Tellicherry factory records noted that different varieties of liquor were imported to Tellicherry from other markets, meant to be used at the arrack farm. Along with the European liquor like European wine, port wine, Madeira wine, red cape, white cape, brandy, strong beer, and small beer, the arrack of Batavia, Goa, Beypore, Calicut and Tellicherry were important items of sale in the arrack farm. In addition to these items, toddy known as punch in European records was also sold in the arrack farm.⁶⁵ These items, except punch which was sold in bowl, were sold

⁵⁸ TC, XVII-A, Diary, 8 September 1746.

⁵⁹ TC, X, Diary, 20 September 1737.

⁶⁰ TC, XVII-A, Diary, 8 September 1746.

⁶¹ TC, XVII-B, Consultation, 6 October 1747.

⁶² TC, XVIII, Letter, William Gill, Tellicherry to Robert Rawdon, TF, 8 August 1748; Letter, James Hog, Tellicherry to Robert Rawdon, TF, 7 August 1748; Thomas Mostyn, Tellicherry to Robert Rawdon, TF, 8 August 1748.

⁶³ TC, XVIII, Diary, 26 July 1749.

⁶⁴ TC, XVII-B, Consultation, 30 July 1748.

⁶⁵ TC, XVII-A, Diary, 8 September 1746.

in bottles. The port wine was the most expensive and country arrack was the cheapest priced items.⁶⁶

Monetary System

Foreign notices state the existence of an advanced monetary system in Malabar. Charles Lockter, who visited Tellicherry in January 1706, mentioned different coins circulated in Tellicherry such as Ibraims, Muggerbee, German Ducat, Venetian Sequin (Venetian Ducat), Gold Rupee, Silver Rupee and Malabar Fanam.⁶⁷ In the European mercantile period, there was no common monetary system in Malabar or south India, but a number of native and foreign coins were circulated in Malabar. The records of factory inform that the Bombay Council sent required coins consisting of Company minted coins and others to Tellicherry factory.⁶⁸ During this period, more than 30 currencies consisted gold, silver and copper were circulated in Tellicherry and other markets of Malabar.⁶⁹

The standard coin of English East India Company in India was Silver Rupee, which was minted earlier at Surat and then at Bombay.⁷⁰ In 1672, the Company established a mint at Bombay and minted European style coins. However, these coins were not popular outside Bombay and the Company settlements. In 1716-1717, the Company obtained rights from Mughal emperor Farrukhsiyar to mint Indian style of coins, in the name of Mughal

⁶⁶ TC, XVII-B, Consultation, 30 July 1748.

⁶⁷ Charles Lockter, *An Account of the Trade in India*, London, 1711, p. 274.

⁶⁸ See, LFT, I, John Braddyll, TF to Robert Cowan, BC, 26 November 1729; TC, XIV, Letter, John Geekie, TF to Foulis, the Captain of Supercargo's Harrington, 30 April 1743; *Ibid.*, Consultation, 30 April 1743.

⁶⁹ See for details, Appendix No. 1, p. 253. As regards of Mint Master of Fort St. George in 1807, there were 29 gold, 10 silver and 2 copper coins used in Malabar district. Letter from the Mint Master, Fort St. George to Principal Collector of Malabar, 29 June 1807, M. Vol. No. 2179, p. 87.

⁷⁰ Thomas Williamson, *East India Vade -Mecum; or, Complete Guide Gentlemen Intended for the Civil, Military, or Naval Service of the Hon. East India Company*, Vol. I, London, 1810, p. 155.

emperor, from Bombay.⁷¹ In Bombay, the Company minted the Gold Mohur and silver rupee on the same model and standard of Mughal coins. From 1717 to 1778, the Bombay rupee was the principal currency of Western Indian trade.⁷² At the same time, the Mughal rupee known as Surat rupee were also circulated in Tellicherry and other European settlements.

The Bombay Mohur was about 13 to 16 silver rupees as per the records. One Mohur was equal to 8 pound sterling.⁷³ According to the factory records of 1727, the silver rupee of Bombay was about 5¼ fanam.⁷⁴ One silver rupee was equal to two shilling.⁷⁵ The accounts of Bombay and Tellicherry factory were kept in silver rupee, quarter silver rupee and 'raes' (rees).⁷⁶ Raes was made of lead, with a stamp. Four hundred raes was equal to one rupee. The Company had another small coin made of tothenague called 'Pice', 80 pieces of which together make rupee. Ten reas was equal to one pice.⁷⁷

The principal indigenous coins circulated in Malabar were Fanam, Taram, Narrody and Ibrahim. The fanam and tar were mostly circulated coins in Malabar, which were necessary for European business in the markets of Malabar. Thomas Thornton stated that there were two kinds of fanams: one was a small gold coin with a considerable alloy of silver and copper and the

⁷¹ See for details, K.N. Choudhary, *The Trading World of Asia and the English East India Company- 1600-1760*, Cambridge, 1978, p. 189; Parmeshwari Lal Gupta, *Coins*, Patna, 1969, p. 155.

⁷² George Cuhaj, (ed.), *Standard Catalogue of World Gold Coins*, USA, 2009, p. 815.

⁷³ A. Galletti, *Op. cit.*, p. 41; LFT, I, John Braddyll, TF to the Court of Directors for the United Companies of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies, London, (hereafter 'the Court of Directors'), 23 September 1729.

⁷⁴ TC, III, Consultation, 18 February 1727.

⁷⁵ The pound sterling was reckoned at 20 to the shilling. LTT, IV, Stephen Law, BC to William Wake, TF, 20 September 1740.

⁷⁶ P. Kelly, *The Universal Cambist and Commercial Instructor: Being A Full and Accurate Treatise on the Exchanges, Coins, Weights, and Measures of the Trading Nations and their Colonies*, 2nd Edition, Vol. I, London, 1835, p. 120.

⁷⁷ See for details, Thomas Brooks, *An Authentic Account of all Different Coins*, London, 1766, pp. 30-31; See also, John Fryer, *Op. cit.*, p. 207.

second one was a silver coin.⁷⁸ The oldest coin in Malabar was known as ‘rasi fanam’, the oldest form of which is ‘kali’, properly called the ‘kaliyugan rajen fanam’ or money of the ‘kaliyuga’. Walter Elliot states that one of ‘rasi fanam’ was issued by the Kolathiri Raja, which was afterwards imitated by the Zamorin, and called ‘vira rayen putiya fanam’ or Zamorin’s new coin, to distinguish it from that of Kolathunad, which then became the pazhaya or old fanam.⁷⁹ In 1730, the English Company also minted ‘velli fanam’ (silver fanam) from Bombay mint and imported it to Tellicherry, which had the same value and weight of vira rayen fanam. It was first issued with the value of one fifth of a rupee as an experiment. Finding it readily accepted by the people of Tellicherry and other towns, a new supply was ordered. Later, it was known as ‘old velli fanam’, which had generally the numeral 5 in English or Malayalam, on one side.⁸⁰ As per the Tellicherry factory records of 1730, 4¾ to 5¾ fanam was equal to silver rupee.⁸¹

Tar or taram was a small copper coin issued from Calicut circulated all over the western coast. In addition to fanam, the Company also minted copper tar from Bombay on the same weight of Calicut tar, which was brought to Tellicherry.⁸² Like fanam, the tar also had been circulating in Malabar from the early medieval time onwards. Abdur Razzaq, who visited the Vijayanagara court in A.D. 1443, mentions a silver coin called ‘tar’ worth one

⁷⁸ Thomas Thornton, *The East Indian Calculator*, London, 1823, p. 493. Holden Furber wrote that the fanam of 17th and 18th centuries were originally gold coin of about 6 grains it was 1/7 of pagodas. See for more details, Holden Furber, *Rival Empires of Trade in the Orient 1600- 1800*, Delhi, 1990, p. 389.

⁷⁹ Walter Elliot, *Coins of Southern India*, Delhi, 1975, p. 137.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ TC, IV, Consultation, 4 September 1730.

⁸² The Tellicherry factory records denote tar as ‘copper pice’, which was kept in bags. One bag of tar valued about Rs. 50. See for details, TC, IV, Consultation, 4 September 1730. Francis Buchanan states tar to be equal to half paise. See for more details, Francis Buchanan, *A Journey from Madras through the Countries of Mysore, Canara, and Malabar*, Vol. II, London, 1807, p. 540.

sixth of fanam.⁸³ John Frayer states, “Tars are the peculiar coins, which are common to India. At Dharmapattanam, where the English settled, 16 tarrs make one fanams.”⁸⁴ Alexander Hamilton noted that 10 tar was equal to a fanam and 4½ fanam was equal to a silver rupee.⁸⁵ While in the 18th century, 36 tars were equal to a fanam.⁸⁶ Probably, the difference in the value occurred due to the change in the metal used and the change in the weight of the coin. Tar played an important role in the Tellicherry factory in its exchange process and in disbursing salary of Company garrison.⁸⁷

The factory records give details of two peculiar coins circulated in Calicut and adjacent areas. The first one was ‘Narrody’ which was equal to Rs. 2.83 and 13 fanam.⁸⁸ ‘Ibrahim’ was another coin circulated in Calicut and Ponnani, which had the value of Rs. 2.8. A letter by Stephen Law, the Chief of Tellicherry factory, to the Court of Directors mentioned that the brokers of Calicut offered pepper at 30 ibrahims or Rs. 84 per candy of pepper.⁸⁹ The factory records mention that the Company contracted with Calicut, Ponnani and Tannore merchants in narody.⁹⁰

In addition to this, South Indian coins known as ‘Pagoda’ were circulated in Tellicherry and other markets of Malabar. Pagodas were gold coins of south India, called so by Europeans because of the effigies of Hindu deities on one side and pagodas (temples) on the other side.⁹¹ They were well known by the name of the states like Travancore, Ikkeri, Nagapattanam and

⁸³ See for details, Walter Elliot, *Op. cit.*, p. 193.

⁸⁴ John Fryer, *Op. cit.*, p. 207.

⁸⁵ See, Alexander Hamilton, *A New Account of the East Indies*, Vol. II, Edinburgh, 1727, p. 7.

⁸⁶ A.W. Mason and G. H. Brown, *The East India Register and Directory*, London, 1821, p. 375.

⁸⁷ TC, V, Consultation, 4 September 1731; TC, XVII-A, Consultation, 17 December 1746.

⁸⁸ LFT, II, John Braddyll, TF to the Court of Directors, 23 September 1729.

⁸⁹ LFT, II, Stephen Law, TF to the Court of Directors, 28 February 1733.

⁹⁰ TC, IV, Diary, 11 September 1730; TC, V, Consultation, 28 January 1732; TC, VII, Consultation, 7 December 1734; TC, VIII, Diary, 10 February 1736.

⁹¹ Holden Furber, *Op. cit.*, p. 389.

Sonoree. Ikkeri pagoda was issued by the Bednur (Ikkeri) rulers and was mainly circulated in Mangalore, Honovar and Coorge. The Tellicherry factory always needed Ikkeri pagoda for purchasing rice and pepper from Canarese ports. As per the Tellicherry factory diary dated 24 February 1744, 27 Ikkeri pagodas were equal to Rs. 96.⁹² The exchange rate of one Ikkeri pagoda was Rs. 3.73. Sonoree pagoda was the currency of Sunda country, which lay in further north of Bednur.⁹³ As per the records of 1743, the value of one Sonoree pagoda was about Rs. 2½.⁹⁴

With the presence of the French Company trade, coins like Pondicherry Rupee, Mahe Fanam, Biche (paisas) were circulated in Malabar. These coins were minted at Pondicherry and brought to Mahe. P.L. Gupta emphasised that some copper 'biche' and half- biche were perhaps issued from Mahe.⁹⁵ Five Mahe fanams make one rupee and 15 biches in copper formed the value of each fanam.⁹⁶ Half and quarter rupees as in Pondicherry were also minted for Mahe.⁹⁷ In addition to these coins, some indigenous coins like Ikkeri fanam, Cochin fanam, Anjengo fanam and Gallion (kaliyan) of Travancore were also circulated in Malabar Coast.⁹⁸

The European factory records and travel accounts state that different foreign currencies were also circulated in Malabar. They were St. Thomas (St. Thome), Chequeen, Venetian sequin, Gubbers, Pound Sterling, Spanish Dollar, Rix Dollar, Dutch Guilder, Mexico Dollar, German Ducat and Moorish Ducat. The St. Thomas, the Portuguese coin in India, was circulated

⁹² TC, XV, Diary, 24 February 1744. It was about Rs. 3.5, which was increased to Rs. 3.73 in 1748. See for details, TC, XVII-B, Consultation, 24 June 1748.

⁹³ A. Galletti, *Op. cit.*, p. 69.

⁹⁴ It was in 1743, one candy of pepper of Carwar 40 Sonoree pagodas. At Honovar, at the same time the price of per candy pepper was RS. 100. TC, XV, Consultation, 6 December 1743.

⁹⁵ Parmeshwari Lal Gupta, *Op. cit.*, p. 153.

⁹⁶ T. Desikachari, *South Indian Coins*, New Delhi, 1984, p. 110.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸ See for further details, Thomas Brooks, *Op. cit.*; A. Galletti, *Op. cit.*, p. 41.

throughout the markets of Malabar Coast.⁹⁹ Abbe Carre noted that the English Company bought pepper at Dharmapattanam at 12 St. Thomases per candy.¹⁰⁰ Chequeen was the money usually paid for presents to the rulers and other reputed persons.¹⁰¹ Rix dollar, Spanish dollar, Mexico dollar and Malabar dollar were, generally, the major dollars circulated in Malabar. The dollars were, in general, large silver coins, mainly used in Dutch settlements of Cochin and Cannanore. At Tellicherry, the English Company merchants took dollars as part of their contract with Company at 10.75 fanams.¹⁰² At Mahe, Mexico dollars and Spanish dollars were used for advancing money to their principal merchants and the merchants gave these dollars to local merchants and cultivators.¹⁰³

The ducat, the major European currency, had several varieties namely Venetian sequins, Gubber (Dutch ducat), German ducat and Moorish ducat. The Venetian sequins and gubber formed a large proportion of the gold currency on the western coast in 18th century. R.P. Jackson points out, “the free circulation of Venetian and ducats were assisted by their being of about the same weight as the Madras star pagoda, and from their long continued currency they came to be considered by the people as of native origin.”¹⁰⁴ The Venetian sequins were brought to Tellicherry from Egypt or Arabia through the Red Sea.¹⁰⁵ The Moorish ducat was a Turkish gold coin which was also

⁹⁹ ‘St. Thomas’ was a gold coin worth about Rs. 3.44 (11.2 fanam). LFT, I, John Braddyll, TF to the Court of Directors, 23 September 1729; See also, John Fryer, *Op. cit.*, p. 207.

¹⁰⁰ Abbe Carre, *Op. cit.*, p. 706

¹⁰¹ See for details, Leena More, *English East India Company and the Local Rulers in Kerala: A Case Study of Attingal and Travancore*, Tellicherry, 2003, p. 97.

¹⁰² TC, II, Consultation, 3 November 1727; TC, V, Consultation, 29 July 1732.

¹⁰³ TC, XI, Diary, 23 October 1739; TC, XI, Consultation, 23 February 1740.

¹⁰⁴ R.P. Jackson, *The Dominions, Emblems, and Coins of the South Indian Dynasties*, p. 320.

¹⁰⁵ See for details, Fra Paolino Da san Bartolomeo, *A Voyage to the East Indies: Containing an Account of the Manners and Customs of the Natives, With a Geographical Description of the Country*, London, 1800, p. 86.

circulated in Malabar.¹⁰⁶ Venetian sequin and other ducats were slightly over 4 rupees, which was equal to 18.12 fanam and the Moorish ducat was slightly less than Rs. 4.¹⁰⁷ The value of gubber was close to a Venetian coin, which was equal to 18.10 fanam, which was equal to Rs. 4.76.¹⁰⁸

On some occasions, the Company contracted with merchants for commodities in Venetians, gubber and other currencies. The Company payment was made in different currencies on the basis of the agreement on the rate of each currency in fanam. In February 1727, the factory made a contract with Chatoo Chetty for pepper at 17 venetians per candy. The merchant agreed to take rupees at 5.25, venetians 20.25, gubbers 20 and dollars at 11 fanams each.¹⁰⁹ In January 1735, as part of the contract with Chatoo Chetty, the Company advanced him 1000 gubbers which was to be reckoned at 19¼ fanams each.¹¹⁰ In some occasions, the merchants demanded ducats for the delivery of merchandises. In October 1735, the factory made a proposal with Cunhiseu, the principal cardamom merchant for weighing cardamom, when he demanded 501 gubbers.¹¹¹ In April 1737, as per the Company's contract of 380.2 candies with Badamalah Putturah, he paid an advance of Rs. 5736.65, 403 venetians, and 3000 gubbers. At the same time, the Company also advanced Rs. 6688.3 and 822 gubbers to Shavarah Putturah as part of his contract of pepper.¹¹² On 9 November 1737, Ticandy Cunially and Areca Shaek, two persons who deal in cardamoms, and of good repute, were soliciting for an advance of 300 gubbers on account of that

¹⁰⁶ Ashin Das Gupta, *Malabar in Asian Trade 1740-1800*, Cambridge, 1967, p. 26.

¹⁰⁷ A. Galletti, *Op. cit.*, p. 41.

¹⁰⁸ Thomas Thornton, *Op. cit.*, p. 417.

¹⁰⁹ TC, II, Consultation, 18 February 1727.

¹¹⁰ TC, VII, Consultation, 13 January 1735.

¹¹¹ TC, VIII, Diary, 4 October 1735.

¹¹² TC, IX, Consultation, 14 April 1737.

commodity.¹¹³ These are some examples of acceptance of different currencies in the trading activities in Malabar.

Money Changers

The circulation of large number of coins of different countries necessitated the service of shroffs. They had the power to assay each coin, which enabled them to fix the rate of exchange in the markets.¹¹⁴ The money changers or shroffs were settled in every medieval markets of India. The medieval travellers noted the presence of money exchangers in the markets of Malabar. The 16th century Portuguese traveller Varthema had referred to the money changers, brokers and bankers in Calicut market.¹¹⁵ Another traveller John Fryer spoke about the double row cottages occupied by Shroffs, or money changers in Tannore town.¹¹⁶ Alexander Hamilton mentioned that “most sorts of foreign money passed through Malabar in payments as the bankers valued them.”¹¹⁷ The European companies used currencies of other companies and local currencies for exchanging merchandises. The use of indigenous currency was inevitable as they purchased merchandise from the local people.

The Tellicherry factory records indicated that the bazaar had several shroffs engaged in the exchange of money. The shroffs received a fee for exchanging currencies, which was known as ‘vattau’.¹¹⁸ In the markets of Tellicherry and Calicut, it was 2 to 2½ percentage, which was slightly more in

¹¹³ TC, X, Diary, 9 November 1737.

¹¹⁴ See for further details, Celsa Pinto, *Trade and Finance in Portuguese India, A Study on Portuguese Country Trade 1770-1840*, New Delhi, 1994, p. 65.

¹¹⁵ John Winter Johns, *The Hinerary of Ludovicodi Varthema of Bolgana from 1502 to 1508*, New Delhi, 1993, p. 56; See also, Robert Kerr, (ed.), *A General History and Collection of Voyages and Travels*, Vol. VII, Edinburgh, 1812, p. 100.

¹¹⁶ John Fryer, *Op. cit.*, p. 52.

¹¹⁷ Alexander Hamilton, Vol. I, *Op. cit.*, p. 299.

¹¹⁸ TC, II, Diary, 2 January 1727; See also, TC, V, Diary, 2 January 1732.

Canara markets.¹¹⁹ When the money changers made any bargain, it was ratified by an oath before the door of some temple, and in view of the idol and in such cases they seldom deducted anything from the payment.¹²⁰ There are two types of exchange rate, one the factory rate for the payment of wages to the troops, other employees, disbursement of coins to other places and for the bills of exchanges. The other was the merchandise rate or bazaar rate of exchange fixed by the shroffs and traders, who were reluctant to accept the government rate of exchange.

The value of each currency was also different from that of each town. The Tellicherry factory records speak that the exchange rate of Calicut market was less than the exchange rate of Tellicherry market. At Tellicherry, the exchange value of the silver rupee of the Company was 5 fanam and at the same time the rate of merchandise was 5¼ fanam. At Tellicherry, the merchandise rate of gold rupee was 60 fanam. The exchange rate of Venetian and Gubber was 19 to 20 fanam and its merchandise value was 20 to 21.¹²¹ At Calicut, the exchange rate of silver rupee was 4.15 fanam, the exchange rate of gold rupee was 57.¹²² In some occasions, the exchange value of currencies was higher than Tellicherry, when they sent it to those markets. For example, in May 1746 Francois Dias, the Company Linguist at Calicut, informed the factory that venetians had a good exchange price at Calicut market. The Chief and his Council decided to send him to Calicut with the remaining 519 venetians in their treasury. At Calicut factory, Francois Dias sold these venetians at Rs. 440 per 100 venetians.¹²³

At some occasions, the Tellicherry factory exchanged coins with the help of merchants and other wealthy people of Malabar. In November 1734,

¹¹⁹ LFT, I, John Braddyll, TF to Robert Cowan, BC, 26 November 1729.

¹²⁰ Fra Paolino Da san Bartolomeo, *Op. cit.*, p. 88.

¹²¹ LFT, I, John Braddyll, TF to the Court of Directors, 23 September 1729.

¹²² *Ibid.*

¹²³ TC, XVI, Consultation, 31 May 1746.

the factory required Venetian coins to procure cardamom. Then they sent Rs. 16000 to Ezekiel Raby at Cochin and exchanged it for Venetian coins.¹²⁴ At another occasion, the factory needed Ikkeri pagodas for purchasing rice from Mangalore for the garrison. Then Domingo Rodriguez offered to exchange 874 pagodas at the rate of Rs. 348 per 100 pagodas Ikkeri, which was a reasonable rate.¹²⁵

Money Lenders

The increase in the volume of European trade led to the growth of a flourishing money lending system throughout the Eastern world. The rates of interest borrowed by the money lenders varied in different cities in India. In Goa and other Portuguese settlements, the rate of interest varied between 9 and 10 percent.¹²⁶ The interest rate in Madras was between 8 and 9 percent.¹²⁷ At Surat, the interest rate ranged between 12 and 24 percent per year.¹²⁸ In Bengal, it ranged from 1.38 to 1.5 percent per month. At Patna it was 12 to 15 percent per year.¹²⁹ In Malabar, the English Company followed the existing practice of charging 10 to 12 percent per annum,¹³⁰ whereas the Tellicherry factory also followed the monthly interest system, which was one percent per month.¹³¹

The Company records speaks about large number of money lending transactions made by the Tellicherry factory, the native rulers, the Company merchants, the Company Linguists etc. In the initial years of the Company activity, it lent large sums of money to the various rulers of Malabar. Later it

¹²⁴ TC, VII, Consultation, 18 November 1734.

¹²⁵ TC, XII, Consultation, 19 December 1740.

¹²⁶ See for details, Celsa Pinto, *Op. cit.*, p. 65.

¹²⁷ Kanakalatha Mukund, *The Trading World of the Tamil Merchant: Evolution of Merchant Capitalism in the Coromandel*, Chennai, 1999, p. 174.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*; Irfan Habib pointed out that it was at 1.5 to 2.5 per month. See Irfan Habib, "The Eighteenth Century in Indian Economic History" in P.J. Marshal, (ed.), *The Eighteenth Century in Indian History*, New Delhi, 2003, pp. 104.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 104-105.

¹³⁰ TC, VII, Consultation, 8 May 1735.

¹³¹ TC, II, Consultation, 16 June 1727; TC, III, Consultation, 16 October 1727.

accumulated into a big debt in the Company accounts.¹³² The rulers Ali Raja, Zamorin of Calicut, Vazhunnavaar of Kadathanad, Kottayam Raja, Randathara Achamars and other rulers borrowed money from the Company. In 1676, Ali Raja bought some money from the English factory at Calicut. In 1725, it grew into a huge debt (as per records it was 649664 fanams). The Company insisted the repayment.¹³³ In June 1747, Ali Raja agreed to return the said amount to the Company treasury.¹³⁴ As part of repayment of his debt in 1728, the Kadathanad Raja delivered pepper to the factory.¹³⁵ In March 1740, Randathara Achanmar had taken 60000 fanams from the Tellicherry factory.¹³⁶

In the early years of the Tellicherry factory the merchants borrowed money from the English Company.¹³⁷ The merchants returned that amount with interest to the Company's treasury. For the purchase of commodities, the Company followed advanced booking system. Similarly, the merchants also lent money to the Company on a number of occasions. On such occasions the Company signed bonds with them and returned these debts on due dates. For example, they took loans from Suamy Putturah,¹³⁸ Badamalah Putturah,¹³⁹ Ayopa Putturah,¹⁴⁰ Eyta Achem Chetty¹⁴¹ and Eyta Chetty,¹⁴² and repaid it on due date.¹⁴³

¹³² TC, I, Consultation, 20 November 1725.

¹³³ TC, I, Diary, 20 November 1725.

¹³⁴ TC, XVII-A, Consultation, 4 June 1747.

¹³⁵ TC, III, Diary, 7 February 1728.

¹³⁶ Every March, the Achanmars remitted 6000 fanams to the Company treasury as its interest. See, TC, XV, Consultation, 12 March 1744.

¹³⁷ TC, I, Consultation, 20 November 1725.

¹³⁸ TC, III, Consultation, 21 October, 1727.

¹³⁹ TC, VII, Consultation, 25 April 1735.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 6 May 1735.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 7 May 1735.

¹⁴² TC, IX, Consultation, 6 September 1736; TC, IX, Diary, 6 September 1736.

¹⁴³ TC, VIII, Consultation, 22 September 1735; TC, IX, Diary, 13 November 1736; *Ibid.*, 15 November 1736.

They also practised the system of buying commodities in loan from the merchants and making the payment later with interest.¹⁴⁴ In 1727, the Tellicherry factory faced extreme insufficiency of money and decided to depend on the principal merchants of Tellicherry and Calicut. On 15 June 1727, on the request of the Company, Chattoo Chetty offered 400 candies of pepper at 17 venetians per candy in loan to the Company. The Company agreed the contract and obliged to pay the whole amount of it by the last of October or otherwise from that time to allow interest of one percent per month.¹⁴⁵ In 1736, Badamalah Putturah had weighed a considerable quantity of pepper that season. Instead of cash payment, the Company gave him a bond for Rs. 30000 along with an interest at the rate of 10 percent per annum.¹⁴⁶ There also existed a system of depositing a pawan gold in Company treasury when the Company advance money to merchants to procure commodities. The Company returned it, at the time when the merchants delivered the commodities to Company account.¹⁴⁷

The Company also borrowed money from the Factors and other Company officers like Surgeons, Linguist etc. In May 1736, the factory decided to take loan from Company two Factors, Rs. 6000 from William Forbes and Rs. 8000 from Hugh Howard at the rate 10% per annum.¹⁴⁸ In August 1736, the Company borrowed money from their Surgeon Alexander Christie and another person by name Susannah Christie.¹⁴⁹ In July 1740, Francois Dias, the Company agent at Calicut, bought about 46 candies of old pepper, and since he had no money he wrote to the factory to advance the money quickly. In this circumstance, Domingo Rodriguez, the Company Linguist at Tellicherry, arranged a sum of Rs. 16400 at the rate of 10 percent

¹⁴⁴ TC, II, Consultation, 16 June 1727; TC, III, Consultation, 16 October 1727.

¹⁴⁵ TC, II, Consultation, 16 June 1727; TC, III, Consultation, 16 October 1727.

¹⁴⁶ TC, VIII, Consultation, 16 April 1736.

¹⁴⁷ TC, XVI, Consultation, 17 January 1746.

¹⁴⁸ TC, VIII, Consultation, 24 May 1736; TC, VIII, Diary, 1 June 1736.

¹⁴⁹ TC, IX, Consultation, 31 August 1736; LFT, V, Stephen Law, TF to John Horne, BC, 16 October 1736.

per annum and 15000 at 12 percent payable at Calicut.¹⁵⁰ Again in February 1744, the Company borrowed money from Domingo Rodriguez, this time Rs. 30000 at the rate of 10 percent per annum.¹⁵¹ In addition to this, the Company borrowed money from wealthy people of Malabar like Anna Putturah, Mani Sabiam,¹⁵² Raman Subeyan and Cutty Narana Putturah.¹⁵³

Weights and Measures

At the time of arrival of European companies, the people of Malabar had their own system of weights and measures. With the emergence of Company trade in Malabar, a mixed mensural system combining both the indigenous and the foreign came into existence. Nevertheless, different kinds of weighing systems existed in each of the Indian towns. The candy, maund and pound were the most acceptable weighing unit in Tellicherry and other European settlements in India. At Tellicherry, one candy was 20 maunds or 600 Ib. and one maund was 30 Ib.¹⁵⁴ At Calicut and Bombay one candy was 560 Ib.¹⁵⁵ At Cochin, one candy was 540 Ib.¹⁵⁶ The weight of Canara markets were different from Malabar; it was 510 to 520 Ib.¹⁵⁷ The candy was the same weight as that of 'bharam' or 'barom'. Maund was same as 'tulam' which weighed from 30 to 32.5 Ib.¹⁵⁸ The 'aratel' or 'ratal' was another weighing unit, which signifies a pound, merchant's weight, of sixteen ounces. Twenty four aratel or pounds make a maund or 'manna', which is also called 'mao'.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁰ TC, XII, Consultation, 1 August 1740.

¹⁵¹ TC, XV, Consultation, 27 February 1744.

¹⁵² TC, VII, Consultation, 8 May 1735.

¹⁵³ TC, XI, Consultation, 30 April 1740.

¹⁵⁴ See for further details, J.N. Maillard, *An Account of the Monies, Weights, and Measures in the General Use in Persia, Arabia, East India and China*, London, 1789, p. 28.

¹⁵⁵ Celsa Pinto, *Op. cit.*, p. 28; J.N. Maillard, *Op. cit.*, p. 2, 20.

¹⁵⁶ TC, XIV, Consultation, 8 January 1743.

¹⁵⁷ TC, XI, Consultation, 8 March 1740; TC, XIII, Diary, 29 August 1741.

¹⁵⁸ See for details, William Logan, *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and other Papers of Importance*, Calicut, 1879, Part II, No. CCXXV, 7 February 1802, p. 349.

¹⁵⁹ See for details, Fra Paolino Da san Bartolomeo, *Op. cit.*, p. 78.

The seer, pollam, pool and pice were also used for weighing units in Malabar. Forty seers were one maund and 800 seers were a candy. One seer had two pollams and two seers made a pound.¹⁶⁰ The eight pollam made one seer, one maund had 320 pollam and 6400 pollams made one candy.¹⁶¹ The 100 pool made a maund and 2000 pools made a candy.¹⁶² The pice was a subdivision of seer; one seer had 30 pice. One maund was 1200 pice and one candy was 24000 pice.¹⁶³ The measure units in the hinterland markets were pothi, para, edagali, nali, uri, olaku, alaku and narayam. These measure units were mainly used for measuring grains. One pothi was 30 edagali or three paras. One para consisted of 10 edangalis or 21 nalis. One para varied from 6½ to 10 seers.¹⁶⁴ One edangali was two nalis and four uri. One nali had two uri, four olaku, and eight alaku. Therefore, one uri was equal to two olaku and four alakua. One olaku was two alaku.¹⁶⁵ Narayam was another measure unit used mainly to measure rice.¹⁶⁶ The gallon, hogshead, leaguer, cask, and jar were used for measuring units of liquid items like arrack, oils, and ghee.¹⁶⁷ The one hogshead was 50 gallon. The 27 Beypore casks contained 2000 gallon arrack.¹⁶⁸ The ‘covid’ and foot were used for measuring units of timber and planks. In addition to the candy, the ‘coil’ was used to measure coir.¹⁶⁹ The dangoys and para were used to measure salt.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁰ Kelly, *Op. cit.*, p. 374.

¹⁶¹ J.N. Mainland, F. Walsh etc. (eds.), *An Account of the Monies, Weights, and Measures in General use in Persia, Arabia, East India and China*, London, 1819, p. 19.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

¹⁶⁴ Fra Paolino Da San Bartolommeo, *Op. cit.*, p. 167; See for further details, William Logan, *Op. cit.*, Part II, No. XX, 29 October 1792, p. 170.

¹⁶⁵ See for details, M.G.S. Narayanan, (ed.), *Vanjheri Grandavari*, (mal.), Calicut University Historical Series, Calicut University, 1987.

¹⁶⁶ N.M. Namboothiri, *Malabar Padanagal: Samoothiri Nadu*, (mal.), Thiruvananthapuram, 2013, p. 240.

¹⁶⁷ TC, XV, Diary, 23 December 1743; *Ibid.*, 2 February 1744.

¹⁶⁸ Arrack and Oils were kept in jars and casks. See for details, TC, XV, Diary, 15 November 1743.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 3 April 1744.

¹⁷⁰ TC, XV, Consultation, 12 March 1744.

In addition to these, in Tellicherry bazaar different scales were used including indigenous scales and European scales for weighing the commodities. Among these the pepper scales were extensively used in Tellicherry. For the use of the Company, pepper scales were collected from Calicut. The Company records dated 5 September 1743, states that the Chief of Tellicherry ordered the Linguist at Calicut to send two pairs of scales to weigh pepper.¹⁷¹ On 10 September, the Linguist answered that he has ordered for two pairs of pepper scales to be made and would send them by the first opportunity.¹⁷² Therefore, on 3 October, Tellicherry factory received by a manchua from Calicut two pairs of country scales to weigh pepper. The Company paid 25.8 Calicut fanams for these two pairs of scales.¹⁷³ In Malabar, English Company also used European scales.¹⁷⁴

Emergence of a New Middle Class

The continued relations with the European Company gave Indians an opportunity to consolidate themselves and to become powerful wealthy individuals transacting with the Company. The Tellicherry factory records showed the financial strength and mobilizational potential of such indigenous groups. K.M. Panikkar stated that “with the establishment of European trading centers in the main coastal areas of India, there had developed a powerful Indian capitalist class closely associated with the foreign merchants, and deriving great profits from the trade with them.”¹⁷⁵ However, K.K.N. Kurup argued that “such a form of capitalist class never existed in Tellicherry. Only a few individual traders emerged under the canopy of the English protection.”¹⁷⁶ The Tellicherry factory records provided ample evidence relating to the emergence of indigenous middle class including merchants, money lenders, money exchangers, owners of boats, linguists and writers. The

¹⁷¹ TC, XV, Diary, 5 September 1743.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, 3 October 1743.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 10 October 1743; *Ibid.*, 17 October 1743.

¹⁷⁵ K.M. Panikkar, *Asia and Western World Dominance*, London, 1972, p. 77.

¹⁷⁶ K.K.N. Kurup, *History of Tellicherry Factory*, Calicut, 1985, p. 281.

travellers noted that the end of 18th century and the beginning of 19th century showed a new civilized capitalist class in Tellicherry.¹⁷⁷

The native merchants competed with the English East India Company trade. The Company's principal merchants Chattoo Chetty, Suamy Puttarah, Hur Comoty and bazaar merchants were the wealthy merchants in Malabar. They contracted with the Company for large quantity of pepper and other merchandises. In some years, the Company bought more than 3000 candies of pepper from Chattoo Chetty.¹⁷⁸ In the later period, the same quantity was delivered by bazaar merchants.¹⁷⁹ On a number of occasions, the Company borrowed money from the Chattoo Chetty, Suamy Putturah and other merchants. The Company also gave valuable presents to their principal merchants mainly at the time of contracts. For example, on 7 December 1734, Cunhiseu, the cardamom merchant, came to the factory to enter into a contract for the new season. After signing the agreement, the Company presented him with a piece of China silk.¹⁸⁰

The rulers and newly emerged middle classes purchased large number of precious commodities from the Company like diamonds, gold, cloths items etc. In November 1732, the King of Kottayam invited John Braddyll, the Chief to participate in the ceremony of adoption of his adopted heir. Therefore, the Chief sent a Commissioned officer and 30 men attended by some of Company's Nairs and Moors, and a present of Rs. 120 and a piece of China Damsak with them.¹⁸¹ In May 1733, the Tellicherry factory sent their

¹⁷⁷ In 1800 M. Malte Brun noticed that, "The richest natives still reside here, and the inhabitants are far more civilized than in the rest of the province." M. Malte Brun, *Universal Geography, or A Description of All the World, on a New Plan, According to the Great Natural Divisions of the Globe; Accompanied With Analytical, Synoptical, and Elementary Tables*, Vol. II, Philadelphia, 1829, p. 205.

¹⁷⁸ In 1733, Chattoo Chetty contracted with the Company for 3000 candies of pepper bought at the rate of Rs. 69 to 71 per candy. TC, VI, Consultation, 14 February 1733; LFT, II, John Braddyll, TF to Robert Cowan, BC, 19 May 1733.

¹⁷⁹ In January 1744, six bazaar merchants contracted with Company for 1500 candies of pepper. TC, XV, Diary, 24 January 1744.

¹⁸⁰ TC, VII, Consultation, 7 December 1734.

¹⁸¹ TC, VI, Consultation, 15 November 1732.

representatives under the leadership of Hugh Howard, the head Linguist at Tellicherry factory, to Bednur to meet Canarese General Ragonath. They presented a carpet, six yards of scarlet cloth, one piece of flowered damask, and a silver rose water bottle, costing Rs. 150 to Ragonath.¹⁸² On 13 June 1740, the 3rd King of Kottayam and his ministers visited the Company Chief for signing a mutual agreement with the Company and the King presented the Chief with a 'gold manila' worth 6 venetians.¹⁸³ This gold manila was also noted by traveller Charles Lockter as: "a gold chain called as Manilla. It was a solid piece of gold, of two or three ounces weight, worn as a ring round the wrist. They were presented by rajas, or princes of the coast, as a mark of favour to men of merit, like gold chain in England. These were of pure gold."¹⁸⁴

Other important wealthy classes in Tellicherry were money lenders and money changers. With the accumulation of profit from the exchange of currencies, the money exchangers or shroffs became the wealthy class in society. The Company records states that the shroffs had bought precious metals, clothes and China gold from the Company. To examine the purity of the gold the shroffs used touchstones.¹⁸⁵ The usual China gold had 9¼ matt and some of it contained less. As per the record of February 1740, the shroff of Tellicherry bazaar bought 73 bars of China gold at the rate of Rs. 378 per bar which was imported by ship named Harrington from China.¹⁸⁶ In addition, the Company officers like Linguists, Surgeons, Company agents, salaried

¹⁸² LFT, II, Stephen Law, TF to Robert Cowan, BC, 19 May 1733. In February 1737, after signing the peace treaty with Bednur, the Company sent Francois D' Sousa with suitable presents to Bednur King. The presented items were a scarlet cloth, gold, dovias, China velvet, flowered silk, glass ware, glass calioun, damask, convex glass, screens, lampasas, looking glass and diamond rings. See for details, TC, IX, Consultation, 22 February 1737.

¹⁸³ TC, XI, Consultation, 13 June 1740.

¹⁸⁴ Charles Lockter, *Op. cit.*, 276.

¹⁸⁵ TC, XI, Consultation, 20 February 1740; The traveller Varthema gave a description of purity test method of gold at Calicut market. See for further details, John Winter Johns, *Op. cit.*, p. 56; Robert Kerr, *Op. cit.*, p. 100.

¹⁸⁶ TC, XI, Consultation, 20 February 1740.

European merchants and other officers of the Company were very wealthy people of the Tellicherry bazaar.

Summary

This chapter tried to understand the changes that the city of Tellicherry underwent with the establishment of the factory. It dealt in detail with the issues related to the development of bazaar of Tellicherry including the fort, factory, shops, warehouses, hospital facilities, arrack farm and all other matters. It also discussed the monetary system that existed in Tellicherry, including the indigenous and European currencies that enjoyed legal tender in Tellicherry. Exchanging of currencies became an urgent matter due to the circulation of various currencies in the city. Thus, the city witnessed the emergence of shroff and their growth into an influential social class along with other newly emerged wealthy groups. The Money lending business also registered substantial progress. Extensive growth of trade made a uniform system of measuring indispensable. The study discussed various measuring systems in operation and a scale of equalization practiced in the city.

CONCLUSION

Arun Thomas M. “Merchants, markets and merchandise: Strategy of english east India company trade in tellicherry 1725-1750” Thesis.
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CONCLUSION

The study entitled “Merchants, Markets and Merchandise: Strategy of English East India Company Trade in Tellicherry 1725- 1750” has touched comprehensively upon the activities of the Company at Tellicherry based on documents maintained at the factory. The main documents consulted to facilitate the study were Consultations of Tellicherry factory, Diaries of Tellicherry factory, Letters from Tellicherry and Letters to Tellicherry. The consultation of the documents brought to light various aspects relating to the steady development of the English trade at Tellicherry. The available data relevant to the theme of the study was divided into six sub areas which helped to have a comprehensive discussion of the theme under study. This has brought out the possibility of making certain general observations by way of concluding remarks on themes like indigenous merchants, markets, merchandise, monetary system, Anglo- French relations etc.

It is observed that the British took over Tellicherry for the establishment of the factory from the French who tried to establish a factory for the first time. It is interesting to note that Tellicherry was not having the natural conditions required for its development as a flourishing port city. It remained almost unknown and insignificant for international commerce in the pre modern history of Malabar. Tellicherry was situated a few miles south of Dharmapattanam but was never mentioned by the travellers or by the traders of the pre modern period. There is evidence to suggest that Tellicherry was a coastal market dominated by the Muslim merchants of the locality and the area fell in the jurisdiction of Kurungoth Nair, a local chieftain loyal to the Kolathiri. Earlier the English were given the right to trade by the Kolathiri at Dharmapattanam and Valapattanam. On hearing the news of French withdrawal from Tellicherry the English preferred to settle down there

winding up their operations at Valapattanam and Dharmapattanam. From the status of comparative anonymity Tellicherry shot up in to the status of a busy international trade centre under the English Company. This transformation depended largely on the systematic and tactical steps followed by the English factory. Tellicherry was free from the political turmoil that frightened the English and which arrested the growth of Dharmapattanam. They were able to divert trade routes through the land to reach Tellicherry instead of Dharmapattanam. The Anjerakkandi River which formed the Island of Dharmapattanam was near to Tellicherry on the northern border. It facilitated the transportation of goods from the interior regions of Kottayam kingdom. Thus, the hinterlands of Dharmapattanam now became the hinterlands of Tellicherry which ensured the regular supply of the required commodities to the Tellicherry factory.

The political condition of Kolathunad was encouraging to the mercantile ambitions of the Company. The region had been so much ruined by internal dissensions and wars that the situation enabled the English Company to emerge as a decisive force in Malabar politics. However, the Company preferred not to directly enter into the wars between the local rulers and the French. But they supported the local rajas to wage wars against the French as well as the enemies of the English in Malabar. In addition to this, the Company provided money, arms and gunpowder to the rajas. During the time of the Canarese war, the Company formed a grand alliance against the invaders, which helped them to rise to a dominant position in Malabar. At the same time, it is observed that the Company always tried to maintain friendly relations with the French and signed treaties in different occasions for deciding the prices of commodities, and to avoid direct political clashes between them. This well thought out strategy enabled them to emerge as a major power in the region.

The Company strategy of providing money and material to the local rajas against their enemies was beneficial to them. They were able to make them loyal to the Company. This becomes more significant when we understand that the French were forced to leave Tellicherry as they have antagonized the local trading community. At the same time, the wars ruined the rajas and they were unable to repay the loan took from the Company. The loan along with its interest got fattened to a huge amount that rendered its repayment difficult. Thus, the land of the Randathara Achanmar was surrendered to the Company. The other rajas requested the Company to accept commodities such as pepper in place of repayment of the debt in cash. The company accepted the offer and the rajas of Kadathanad, Arakkal and Kottayam were allowed to payback the debt in commodities.

Another striking feature of the English strategy was the similarity one can find in the establishment of settlements. It is observed that in the selection of Tellicherry for settlement, they followed the same strategy as in the case of other English settlements in the western coast of India like Bombay and Anjengo. These settlements were established in the second half of the 17th century, which were insignificant coastal territories. This shows that the English followed the tactics of selecting comparatively insignificant places for their settlements. It is also observed that the omission of medieval port towns and selecting an insignificant town like Tellicherry for settlement was due to the presence of pirates in these medieval towns like Dharmapattanam and Valapattanam. At Dharmapattanam, the English Company ships faced attack from Malabar pirates. In addition to this, due to the dispute over ownership of Dharmapattanam among the rajas of Kolathunadu- Arakkal, Kottayam and Kolathiri surviving there became risky and miserable. This was another reason for the selection of Tellicherry and withdrawal of English settlement from Dharmapattanam.

In the time of choosing one trading centre the European mercantile companies considered a number of factors connected to that spot. Thus the decisive factor for the selection of Malabar settlement was based on the availability of spices. Tellicherry and its hinterlands were, by then, acclaimed as the place that produced good quality pepper. In every year the Company exported large quantities of pepper from Tellicherry. The largest pepper producing places in Malabar were Kottayam, Randathara, Iruvazhinadu, Vengad, Dharmapattanam, Aggar, Koodaly, Valapattanam and Kadathanad. These places form the hinterland regions of Tellicherry. In addition to the hinterlands of Tellicherry, the Company purchased pepper from Calicut, Tannore, Ponnani, Cochin, Honovar, Mangalore and Manjeswer.

The second important hinterland commodity was cardamom, which was grown only in hilly regions of Wayanad, especially, from Peria. It was carried through the Ghat route to the nearest port of Tellicherry. The sandalwood was another important exported item mainly carried from Coorg, Seringapatnam and South Canara. These sandalwood reached Tellicherry mainly through Irikkur, a hinterland market of Tellicherry. Rice, an important import item to Tellicherry, was mainly brought from the Canara ports. The goods like ginger, turmeric, ghee, jagery, bamboo, arrack, planks, coir, timber etc. were mostly brought from Calicut. Moreover, the Company brought various goods from Valapattanam, Cannanore, Dharmapattanam, Vadakara, Kappad, Beypore, Tannore, Ponnani, Cochin, Honovar, Mangalore and Manjeswer through the sea in small indigenous vessels. The coir, coconut, vinegar and cowries etc. were collected from Lakshadweep and Maldives.

The study showed that the most important factor for the development of Tellicherry into a busy trade centre was the existence of the prosperous hinterland, which could be accessed through land and water. This hinterland lies on the slopes of the Wynad hills which was part of the Western Ghats.

Beyond the hills lie the Karnataka regions of Mysore, Seringapattanam, Canara and Coorg. The trade routes- land and water- connected the port and its hinterlands. Two Ghats routes existed in this region, Peria and Perambadi, which connected Tellicherry with Mysore, Seringapattanam, Canara and Coorg. In addition to this main route, the merchants used large number of minor trade routes to carry goods. They used land as well as river routes for the transportation of goods to the markets and ports. In the land routes the goods were carried by head load, oxen and pack-bullocks.

In the absence of convenient land routes to the movement of commodities, river routes were also used by the traders. There are large number of navigable rivers passing through the hinterlands of Tellicherry including Anjarakkandy River, Tellicherry River, Mahe River, Valapattanam River and Taliparamba River. In the case of river routes, goods were transported in local boats like thonies, changadams and manchuas. The rulers of Malabar collected toll taxes from the traders. In the river routes they collected river custom duty which was known as 'kavadda'. In addition to the hinterland trade routes, the Company highly depended on coastal trade for import of merchandises from other Malabar ports like Vada kara, Calicut, Tannore, Ponnani, Manjeswer, Mangalore and Honovar. The thonies and manchuas were also used for brought merchandises from nearby coastal areas to Tellicherry.

The role of the indigenious merchants in transforming the destiny of the region was significant. They acted as intermediaries of trade between the English East India Company and the petty traders of the adjoining hinterlands. They used all their efforts to collect even the insignificant quantity of commodities on payment of comparatively reasonable price. They maintained good relations with the petty traders of the hinterlands which ensured them a regular supply of commodities. The petty traders of the hinterlands managed

to collect every possible quantity of commodities directly from the producers and sold it to the big merchants who contracted with the Company. In their discussions with the Company the merchants ensured rich returns for themselves which allowed them to lead a wealthy luxurious life. Some of them were even able to finance the Company in the moments of crisis. There is no evidence to suggest that they were inferior partners in business. The Company, in turn, extended all possible support to them. Evidences from the factory records speak of the Company providing security to their life and property whenever that was in danger. Their indebtedness never bothered the Company authorities until the Bombay Council took it seriously. Even at that point they showed leniency towards the traders and tried to explain their inability to repay the debt. This attitude of the English Company at Tellicherry ensured sincere and loyal relationship between the indigenous merchants and the Company.

Different indigenous communities were engaged in trading activities with the Tellicherry factory. The Chetties, the Putturahs, the Moors, the Jews etc. were enlisted into the partners of Company. We are unable to trace from the records the status of the whole community in relation to trading activities. But the names of some of the merchants of these communities are available. Among this, Chattoo Chetty remained as the principal merchant in Tellicherry factory till his death in 1739. The records of Company noted him as an honest friend and most favoured merchant of the Company and helped them to procure sufficient quantity of pepper every year. During his lifetime the Company mainly depended upon Chatoo Chetty to collect the major share of pepper from Malabar. Every year he contracted and delivered about 2000 to 3000 candies of pepper to the Company. Once, Chattoo Chetty reported that the country Aggar where he resides most years had produced from 1000 to 1200 candies of pepper. After the death of Chattoo Chetty, his position was taken over by the bazaar merchants, a group of Moor merchants in

Tellicherry. Nelearate Tupee, Mucatu Poratu Paqui, Baunibettu Cunhipi, Batala Paqui and Combem Allippy were the important members in this bazaar merchant group. At the same time, the Company bought pepper from other merchants who settled in Kolathunad boundaries like Ballorate Callandra of Valapattanam, Shaik Abdulla of Madday, Cacat Tupy of Kottayam and Ally Mamy of Kadathanad. In addition to this, the Company purchased pepper from the merchants of Calicut, Tannore, Ponnani, Cochi, Honovar, Mangalore and Manjeswer. Suamy Putturah of Calicut, Isooph of Tannore, Ezekieal Raby of Cochin and Hur Camoty of Honovar were the principal partners of English factory at Tellicherry. It shows the development of Tellicherry as a central port, the major part of commodities of other markets were carried to Tellicherry and then transshipped to the foreign markets.

It is also noticed that similar to the pepper merchants, the Company depended on some indigenous merchants to collect cardamom and sandalwood and acted as the agents of Tellicherry factory. Symoyne, Cunhuseu, Ticandy Cunhially, Cunhi Ahamod, Ekoda Moosa, Paraporem Cunipocra, Toy Cunhially, Areca Shaek and Paraporem Ussem Cutty were the principal cardamom merchants dealing with the Company. The principal sandalwood merchants of Tellicherry factory were Ballipy Cutty Assen, Javarra Canna and Ballapilagata Cutussa. It is also observed that most of the pepper merchants were settled at the coastal towns but, the merchants of cardamom and sandalwood were settled in the hinterland markets like Irikkur and Kottayam.

The significant feature of the trading practice prevailed in Tellicherry was its specialisation in trade of a particular commodity. We have a long list of indigenous traders specialised in pepper trade, cardamom trade etc. Some cases of over lapping are also discernible from this list. Chattoo Chetty was the chief supplier of pepper to the Company which came around majority of

its annual export. He supplied other commodities to the Company only once or twice. Similarly Cunhiseu the cardamom merchant supplied pepper to the Company for once or twice. This suggests the prevalence of the practice of specialisation of trade.

The Company followed different techniques to acquire more and more commodities like advance money system, credit system, loan system etc. The 'advance booking' and 'credit system' had an important role in Tellicherry and adjacent areas in the trade of pepper and cardamom before its harvest. In the case of pepper the contracts were made in the month of June to August. The Company and merchants signed a bond and this bond will be terminated after the delivery of goods and money. The 'advance booking system' existed in Malabar from pre-British period onwards. After the discussions the Company and merchants fixed the price and quantity of goods to be supplied. The merchants had the right for bargaining for higher price and had right to deny the demand of the Company. There was no restriction in the merchants approaching other European companies for entering into better contracts. If both the parties agree on the terms of the contract the Company advanced money to the merchants. In addition to the advance given at the time of the contract, the Company advanced money to the merchants whenever it was demanded. The merchants supplied the goods in installments. After completely weighing the agreed upon commodity at the factory site the merchants were paid the balance amount. The agreement between the Company and merchants for the year gets terminated on full payment of cash due to him. The Company signed agreements with the merchants separately. At the same time, the agents or principal merchants went to the local bazaar and fixed the price of commodities with local merchants. In Malabar this advance booking system was commonly known as 'Pattam'. Usually the Company and merchants fixed the price and quantity of commodities. But, in some cases, especially on the contract of cardamom they entered into contract

without agreeing or stipulating any price till they were delivered. The system of direct purchase of commodities from merchants was also resorted especially when the merchants happened to be of distant areas and also when the supply of commodities was urgently needed.

The credit system was fully developed by the end of 1734, when Chattoo Chetty began to insist for advance money for his new contracts. The Company observed that earlier he was capable of contracting for larger quantity of pepper without expecting any money in advance. The Company enquired the reasons for his inability to supply without going for advance. The problem was identified as the disunion of his family and the consequent partitioning of their wealth, which plunged him in debts. The Company decided to help out an honest and honourable ally of the Company in his evil days. This system has increased considerably in later years and evolved into a conspicuous feature of the Company trade. Again in 1737, Chetty requested for full advance payment of pepper to be purchased. The Company thought that in the early years in such circumstances he was enabled to launch out large sums for securing the said new pepper at the beginning of the year so they advanced him the required money. During the time of bazaar merchants the Company summoned meeting of merchants in the factory for discussion for new season. In this meeting they signed contracts with Company and received advance money.

It is also observed that the modern form of 'loan system' in the case of commodities was also practiced by the merchants. In some occasions the merchants delivered pepper in loan to the Company. Such situations emerged when the Company was running short of money. Such transactions are made on the basis of the contractual agreements. Such contracts specifically showed the price of the commodity as well as the date of possible payment of money to the party. If the Company failed to pay the money on the stipulated date the

Company agreed to pay interest to the merchants at the rate of one percent per mensem. There also existed a system of depositing a pawan gold in Company treasury when the Company advance money to merchants to procure commodities. The Company returned it, at the time when the merchants delivered the commodities to Company account.

One of the major observations of the study is that the English factory at Tellicherry was mainly dependent on pepper trade. The Company trade was based on agreements with local rulers, indigenous merchants and other European companies. As a result, the price of pepper differed in each contracts and it led to the fluctuations in the price. In addition to this, the programs and policies of the Company influenced the prices. In 1725, the Company purchased pepper at the rate of Rs. 64 per candy. In the same year, the French Company established their settlement at Mahe which led to the commercial competition between the two companies. The price of pepper remained comparatively stagnant until the arrival of the French Company in the scene and registered an upward movement after that. Gradually, the companies acknowledged that the increasing prices of pepper had an adverse impact on their commercial interests in Malabar.

Even though, the commercial interests of the companies clashed they were in a bid to move together to protect the common interests. Hence, they thought in terms of moving jointly to hold down the prices through meetings and consultations and signed mutual agreements. The treaties of 1728 and 1741 were significant agreements to keep down the prices of pepper. Moreover, the companies always looked forward to keep the European commercial interest in Malabar trade and they tried to keep the balance of the price of commodities. They agreed to exchange information between two factories instead of hostilities. In 1740, the English and the French agreed on the price of pepper in that season at the rate of Rs. 78 per candy. The English

advised to their merchants in the case the French giving more than Rs. 78 to their merchants they might consider it accordingly. Therefore the merchants agreed and contracted with the Company at the rate of Rs. 78 per candy. But later the merchants complained to the Company that the merchants of Mahe were giving high prices for pepper, and hence they could not procure any at the rate they contracted for with the Company.

By the end of 1743, there was a great fall in the prices of pepper in Tellicherry and other markets of Malabar. The reason for the fall of price was attributed mainly to political conditions, the policies of English and plentiful production of pepper. During this time, the Company took a new step to control prices. The new practice was arbitrarily fixing the price of pepper and informing the merchants about the rate sufficiently early to prevent any pretences of having already brought at a dearer rate. Thus, they fixed the rate of pepper at Rs. 80 per candy and send a notice to the merchants that they were resolved not to give above Rs. 80 per candy for any of the new crop of pepper and forbid them from giving more than that. On the direction of the English, the French also followed the same method at Mahe. Therefore, the companies summoned their merchants at the respective factories and fixed the price at Rs. 80 per candy. Again, in 1747, the Company adopted a new method to bring down the price of pepper. This was a kind of market control measure. As per this method, the Chief directed the merchants of the bazaars not to give above an arbitrarily fixed price coming daily to the market. This was intended to bring down the price to an arbitrarily fixed price which need not have any connection with the existing price of the commodity. Accordingly, the Company directed their merchants and shop-keepers as usual not to give above Rs. 60 per candy for such quantities as are daily brought for sale into the bazaar of Tellicherry. The Company pressed the merchants to reduce the prices and after a series of negotiations the merchants declared their willingness to contract at the rate of Rs. 65 ½ per candy.

In this time pepper and other merchandises of Malabar had great demand in London and other foreign markets. Therefore, there was a vigorous colonial competition to have a share in the Malabar trade and the price of pepper was grown year by year. Thus, Tellicherry became the major centre of European company's trading activities. As a result of this, Tellicherry was connected with most of the coastal cities of the world at that time like London, Aden, Mocha, Gombroon, Bombay, Calcutta, Macao and Canton. In addition to long distance trade, the coastal trade also was entertained by the Tellicherry port. The goods of hinterlands that reached the ports were exported to overseas areas, with which the port had regular contact. The major export items of Tellicherry were pepper, cardamom, sandalwood, timber, planks, sapanwood, ginger, turmeric, cinnamon, coir, coconut, oils, ghee, arrack, olibanum, clove, nutmeg, amber grease, bark, cattle hides, chests, mat, mast, rattan, bamboo, medicine and some plants. Among this, pepper and cardamom were the principal export item mostly send to London. It was also exported to Bombay, Cuddalore, Madras, Bengal and China. The sandalwood was exported to Cuddalore, Madras, Bengal, Canton and Macao. Most of the other items were sent to Bombay and then transshipped to Europe and other markets. The items like plank, mat, mast, timber, bamboo etc. were exported to Persia, Surat, Bombay, Madras, Cuddalore and Bengal. It is also observed that some medicinal items were sent to Europe, Bombay, Bengal, China and other markets. They were putchuck, myrrh, rhubarb, Tellicherry bark, wood oyle, wax, rosin, bark, Malabar physic and some other medicinal items. Another interesting knowledge was the Tellicherry factory sent plants and seeds of mango, Jews ears, pepper, coconut, cassia, coffee, and bamboo to St. Helena, an Island lying in the south western sea of Africa, where the English had plantations.

With the commencement of Company trade at Tellicherry it grew into the status of one of the major colonial markets of western India. Increased

interactions with the European and Indian Ocean world brought prosperity and new commodities to Tellicherry and adjacent areas. The principal returned goods were treasures, rice, sugar, cloth, metals, gold, gunny bags, arrack, wine, liquor, weapons, gunpowder, gift items, furniture, toys and large number of commodities for the use of Company factory. The items like treasures, cloths, furniture, liquor, food items, etc. came from England. The treasures, medicine, piece goods, metals, liquor etc. were imported from Bombay. Rice was the most required items for the region and was brought from the markets of Canara, Calicut, Madras and Bengal. In some occasions the factory sold rice to the rulers of Malabar. The other imported items from Bengal were opium, gunny bags etc.

The records also mentioned that large quantity of gold came from China. Another required item was arrack, brought from Goa, Calicut, Beypore and Cochin. The factory records speaks that different varieties of clothes were imported from England, Bombay, Surat, China and Bengal. The records also refer to the import of slaves from Madagascar. The coffee, coffee plants, rose water, goat skins etc. were imported from the Gulf and Red Sea markets. The factory brought coir, coconut and vinegar from Lakshadweep. The items like coconut, cowries, coir and jaggey came from Maldives Island. The Company also bought some commodities from other European settlements in India. They bought arrack, rice, medicine, paper, ink etc. from the Portuguese factory at Goa. The Batavian arrack and Japanese copper were bought from the Dutch factory at Cochin.

The earliest notes on Tellicherry market was made by Gabriel Dellon. He states it as a small Muslim bazaar. With the establishment of the factory the small Muslim bazaar evolved into an important market of the western coast. Gradually, the market has grown into one of the important markets of Eastern world. During the 1730s, the number of shops in the market was more

than 130, which shows the steady development of this market. The hinterland goods, imported goods from the other markets of Malabar and imported goods from the foreign markets were sold in these shops. It is also observed that there also existed shops of money exchangers, carpenters, masons, smiths, weavers etc. Another important facility in the market was the warehouses belonging to private parties and the Company. These warehouses had enough capacity to store large number of imported and to be exported commodities. A reference in the diary makes it clear that the warehouse in the factory was large enough to contain 6000 candies of pepper. Many a time it was also stated as being full. This allows us to assume that annually at least this much of pepper was exported by the English factory alone in addition to the other valuable merchandises like cardamom, sandalwood etc. The French at Mahe was equally competitively involved in the purchasing and exporting of these commodities. Some other European mercantile companies were also involved in the export business of the region. If we calculate the total procurement of pepper from the region as around 10000 candies annually, it would have been possible only through bringing large stretches of land under pepper cultivation.

The references we get from the Tellicherry factory records compel us to think in terms of the existence of the estate based production of pepper. We are informed that Chattoo Chetty was having a large estate with potential to produce 1200 to 2000 candies pepper annually. The places produce good quality pepper like Vengad, Randathara, Kottayam etc. were habitation sites, not hilly tracts. Symoyne the cardamom merchant and nephew of Cunhiseu had reported about the total production of cardamom from his estate as 50 to 60 candies annually. Another statement of the factory diary speaks of the existence of Company plantation at Dharmapattanam as employing slaves brought from Madagascar. All these references help us to conclude that the people of the region resorted to the practice of estate based production of

pepper to cater to the increasing demand for pepper and also used slave labour in maintaining estates.

There is a reference to the existence of a modernized hospital facility in the market. The medicines were imported from Europe, Bombay and Goa. It is also assumed that indigenous medicine was also administered in this hospital. Arrack farm was another modern facility available in the market. Different varieties of liquor items were sold in the arrack farm. It had worked under the factory. A manual was prepared for regulating the working of arrack farm, which can be considered as the precursor of the liquor policy of modern Governments.

Tellicherry had a well regulated monetary system. Large numbers of currencies of indigenous and foreign countries were circulated in the market. The foreign coins flowed through Tellicherry and other markets of Malabar were Venetian, Gubber, St. Thomas, German Ducat, Turkish Ducat, Chequine, Pound Sterling, Rix Dollar, Spanish Dollar, Mexico Dollar etc. The indigenous currencies were Gold Mohur, Surat Silver Rupee, Bombay Rupee of English Company, Bombay Gold Rupee, Raes, Paisa, Pondicherry Rupee, Malabar Dollar etc. were European companies currencies minted in India. The south Indian pagodas like Nagapattanam, Madras, Travancore, Ikkeri, Sonaree and its fanams also played an important role in the monetary system in Tellicherry and other markets from where the Company purchased goods. The Calicut Fanam, Taram, Narrody, Ibrahim etc. were indigenous coins of Malabar used in the Company trade.

The above mentioned list shows that currencies of various nations and principalities within India and abroad enjoyed legal tender in this region. This creates the problem of exchange value of the currency which is to be determined by the shroffs. Being part of maritime exchanges through the ages Malabar was making use of the services of shroffs in the pre-modern era

onwards. The shroffs of Malabar collected 2 to 2.5 percentage of exchange fee from the parties. The exchange fee in this region was known as 'vattau'. The Company utilized the service of the merchants themselves to exchange their currency. It is also noticed that the Company sought the service of the shroffs at Goa, Mangalore, Calicut and Cochin when they failed to exchange it from Tellicherry. We are able to ascertain the value of various currencies from the records of the Company. The value of the coins was also determined on the basis of the metal out of which it was minted. It is noticed that the exchange rate was higher at Tellicherry when compared to the exchange rate existing at Calicut. Sometimes, the exchange rate at Calicut stood high when compared to the rate at Tellicherry. On such occasions, the Company followed the practice of sending currency to the more profitable markets for getting it exchanged.

There are evidences to suggest that the practice of money lending existed at Tellicherry. The Company usually was engaged in money lending business. They lent money to the local chieftains as well as the merchants. The normal rate of interest was 10 percent per annum. When it was computed on monthly basis it was one percent per mensem. At the same time, the Company received money in loan from the merchants which also received interest payment on normal rates. All money transactions were made on bonds. The Tellicherry factory received money for its transactions from the Bombay Council. When there was delay in the receipt of money from Bombay and when there was unexpected demand for advances the Company usually approached the indigenous traders and others for loans. A lot of references suggest this as a normal practice. It also took loans from its officials like Factors, Linguists and Surgeons.

Due to the interactions with the Europeans some indigenous people came to the forefront of the society as a wealthy class which was observed

throughout the markets of Malabar. The traders, money lenders, money exchangers and the Company servants were the principal influential people in the markets. The merchants like Chattoo Chetty, Suamy Putturah, Ezekiel Raby of Cochin, Hur Comoty of Honovar and Mappila merchants of Tellicherry bazaar and others were wealthy merchants. They contracted with the Company for large quantity of commodities. Some of them were wealthy class of Malabar from the pre British period, but they improved their status during the trade contracts with the English.

It is also observed that Chattoo Chetty had his own landed estate and was assisted by local merchants. In some years Chattoo Chetty delivered more than 3000 candies of pepper to the Company. It came nearly around 750,000 Kg. This figure makes it clear that to make it possible to produce such a huge amount of pepper annually he should have maintained enormous areas of land under pepper cultivation. It is also possible that the land was highly fertile. But we are lacking in details relating to the productivity of the soil as well as the areas actually brought under cultivation at that time. Such a study is highly welcomed. During his time the Company bought major part of their exported pepper from him. After his death, his position was taken over by the bazaar merchants, who formed a consortium of seven or more merchants. They also exchanged large quantity of pepper to the Company. It is also observed that the merchants of hinterland markets of Irikkur and Kottayam also emerged as wealthy with the trade contacts with Company. It also shows that not only the merchants of Tellicherry or its hinterland markets emerged into the forefront of the society, but the merchants of Kadathanad, Valapattanam, Calicut, Tannore, Ponnani, Cochin and Canara markets also increased their wealth and social recognition as being part of English factory trade.

Money Changers were another group flourished during the time of Company trade in Tellicherry and other markets of Malabar. Even the Company also depended on these money exchangers to exchange different currencies. The money lenders were another newly emerged wealthy class of society. It is observed that the Company depended on Company's principal merchants and other indigenous people to mobilize money on the basis of interest. For example they took loans from Suamy Putturah, Badamalah Putturah, Ayopa Putturah, Eyta Achem Chetty, Eyta Chetty, Anna Putturah, Mani Sabiam, Raman Subeyan and Cutty Narana Putturah. The Company servants settled at Tellicherry also emerged as wealthy class, who were indigenous and European in origin like Company Factors, Surgeons, Linguists and other servants of Company. The records also showed that these persons lend money to the Company in the different occasions. In addition this, the Company also provided money to the local rulers and merchants on the basis of interest. The rulers Ali Raja, Zamorin of Calicut, Kadathanad Raja, Kottayam Raja, Randattara Achamars and other rulers borrowed money from the Company. Moreover, the merchants in the shops of bazaar also financially improved as a part of the general development of Tellicherry bazaar.

The growth of a city is expressed through the export and imports, warehouses, shops, sales goods, presence of different communities, arrival of ships, presence of merchant community, modern facilities like hospital, circulation of different varieties of currencies, money exchange, money lending, unique weights-measure systems and effective administrative system. The establishment of the English factory in Tellicherry led to the emergence of outstanding changes in the history of Tellicherry. The political structure of Malabar speedily transformed and forces were set in motion for the modernization of this city in general. Monopolistic commercial policies, political strategies based on treaties and the use of force enabled the English to control trade in Tellicherry as elsewhere in Malabar. The selection of

Tellicherry as the site for the factory by the English facilitated its growth as a prominent port city. Above all, the decision of the English to establish a network of traders as agents to supply commodities to the Company determined the course of the development of the port city of Tellicherry into an international centre of trade.

GLOSSARY

Alaku	:	A measure unit
Angadi	:	Market
Aratel/ Ratal	:	A weighing unit
Biche	:	A copper coin
Candy	:	A weight used in India varying much in different parts from 640 Ib. to 500 Ib.
Changadam	:	A local boat made of logs
Chantha	:	Weekly market
Chequin	:	A gold coin
Chetties	:	Tamil speaking indigenous merchant class
Cooles-	:	A laborer of any kind
Ducat	:	A coin
Dungoy	:	A Measure Unit
Edagali/ Edagazhi	:	A measure unit
Factors	:	Administrative body of the European factory
Fanam	:	A south Indian coin
Hogshead	:	A measure unit of liquid
Ibrahim	:	A coin of Malabar
Kadavu	:	River based trade centre
Kavadda	:	Custom duty levied on goods transported through river
Moors	:	Muslims
Maund	:	A variable weight
Muckuva/ Mukkuva	:	A fishermen caste in South India
Nadu	:	Province, a political unit in medieval Kerala
Nali	:	A measure unit of grains
Narayam	:	A measure unit of grains
Narrody	:	A coin of Malabar
Ola	:	Palm leaf document
Paddy	:	Rice in the husk
Pagoda	:	An Indian temple

Pagoda	:	A South Indian coin worth of seven shillings and eight Pence
Pandyala	:	Factory
Para	:	A measure unit of grains
Pathemari/Pattamar-	:	The Pattamars are open boats carrying four or five tons
Pattam	:	Advance booking system
Pool	:	A measure unit
Pollam	:	A measure unit
Pothi	:	A measure unit
Putturah	:	A Brahmin caste of South India
Puzha	:	River
Rajah	:	King
Seer	:	A measure unit of grains
St. Thomas	:	A Portuguese gold coin in India
Tar/ Taram	:	A copper coin
Thoni	:	Country boat
Topasses-	:	Christians of Portuguese Indian origin
Tulam	:	A weighing unit
Umanans	:	Salt traders
Uri	:	A measure unit
Vattau	:	Money exchange fee of Malabar

APPENDICES

Arun Thomas M. “Merchants, markets and merchandise: Strategy of english east India company trade in tellicherry 1725-1750” Thesis.
Department of History, University of Calicut, 2015

APPENDICES

Appendix No. 1

Value of Different Currencies at Tellicherry (1725-50)

Name of Coins	Rate of Coins (in Rupees)	Rate of Coins (in Fanam)
Surat Gold Mohar	Rs. 15	57 Fanam
Bombay Gold Mohar	Rs. 16	56 Fanam
Chequeen	Rs. 3	15.75 Fanam
Muggerbee	Rs. 3	15.75 Fanam
German Ducart	Rs.4	21 Fanam
Venetian Sequin	Rs. 5	20.25 Fanam
Gubber/ Dutch Ducat	Rs. 4	20 Fanam
Ikkeri Pagoda	Rs. 3.48	16.4 Fanam
Sonaree Pagodas	Rs. 2.6	13.12 Fanam
Porto Novo Pagoda	Rs. 3¼	17.06 Fanam
Star Pagoda	Rs. 3½	18.37 Fanam
Spanish Dollar	Rs. 2.88	10.10 Fanam
Mexico Dollar	Rs. 3.23	10.50 Fanam
Rix Dollar	Rs. 1.9	3.2 fanam
Malabar Dollar	Rs. 3.23	10.5 Fanam
Nagapattanam Pagoda	Rs. 4.89	15.9 Fanam
Madras Pagoda	Rs. 4.92	16 Fanam
St. Thomas/ St. Thome	Rs. 3.44	11.2 Fanam
Narrody	Rs. 2.6 - 2.8	10 Fanam
Ibrahim	Rs. 2.5 - 2.8	9.8 Fanam
Moorish Gold (Turkish)	Rs. 4	21 Fanam
Pound Sterling	Rs. 8.27	41 Fanam
Pondicherry Rupee	Rs. 1	5 Fanam
Mangalore Pagoda	Rs. 3	15

Sources: St. George Factory records, Tellicherry Consultations.

Appendix No. 2
Exchange and Merchandise Rate of Different
Currencies at Tellicherry (in 1729)

Name of Coin	Exchange Rate	Merchandize Rate
Silver Rupee	5 Fanam	5¼ Fanam
Gold Rupee	57½ Fanam	60 Fanam
Dollars Malabar Weight	10¾ Fanam	11 Fanam
Venetian Sequin	19½ Fanam	20¼ Fanam
Gubber/ Dutch Ducat	19 Fanam	20 Fanam
Ikkeri Pagoda	16½ Fanam	17½ Fanam
Madras Pagoda	15¼ Fanam	16 Fanam

Sources: Letters From Tellicherry, I, John Braddyll, Tellicherry Factory to the Court of Directors for the United Comp-any of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies, 23 September 1729.

Appendix No. 3
Exchange Rate of Different Currencies at
Tellicherry and Calicut Markets (in 1730)

Name of Coin	Tellicherry	Calicut
Silver Rupee	5 Fanam	4.14 Fanam
Gold Rupee	57 Fanam	55.8 Fanam
Dollars Malabar Weight	10.5 Fanam	10.8 Fanam
Venetian Sequin	19.1/4 Fanam	-
Gubber/ Dutch Ducat	19 Fanam	18.6 Fanam
Ikkeri Pagoda	16.3/4 Fanam	15.12 Fanam
Madras Pagoda	15.5 Fanam	-

Sources: Letters from Tellicherry, I, John Braddyll, Tellicherry Factory to the Court of Directors for the United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies, 6 February 1730.

Appendix No. 4

Variations of Weight Unit Candy in European Settlements of India (1725-50)

Candy	1 Candy in Maunds	1 Candy in Pounds	1 Maunds in Pounds
1 Surat Candy	20 Maunds	740-746 Ib.	37-40 Ib.
1 Bombay Candy	20 Maunds	560 Ib.	28 Ib.
1 Carwar Candy	20 Maunds	520 Ib.	26 Ib.
1 Goa Candy	20 Maunds	480 Ib.	24 Ib.
1 Honovar Candy	20 Maunds	510 Ib.	25-25 Ib
1 Mangalore Candy	20 Maunds	560 Ib.	28 Ib.
1 Cannanore Candy	20 Maunds	500 Ib	25 Ib.
1 Tellicherry Candy	20 Maunds	600 Ib.	30 Ib.
1 Mahe Candy	20 Maunds	560 Ib.	28 Ib.
1 Calicut Candy	20 Maunds	560 Ib.	28 Ib.
1 Cochin Candy	20 Maunds	500-543 Ib.	27 Ib.
1 Anjengo Candy	20 Maunds	560 Ib.	28 Ib.
1 Madras Candy	20 Maunds	500 Ib.	25 Ib.
1 Bengal Factory Candy	20 Maunds	1493 Ib	74 Ib.
1 Bengal Bazaar Candy	20 Maunds	1642 Ib.	82 Ib.
1 English Candy	20 Maunds	545 Ib.	27-28 Ib.
1 Dutch Candy	20 Maunds	500 Ib.	25 Ib.

Sources: Tellicherry Factory Records; Holden Furber, *Rival Empires of Trade in the Indian Orient 1600-1800*, Delhi, 1999; Celsa Pinto, *Trade and Finance in Portuguese India*, New Delhi, 1994; Thomas Brooks, *An Authentic Account of all Different Coins*, London, 1766.

Appendix No. 5

Merchants of Tellicherry and other Adjacent Areas (1725-50)

Sl. No.	Names of Merchants	Item of Trade	Place
1	Baunibeltu Quiomo	Pepper	Tellicherry
2	Ally Mamy	Pepper	Kadathanad
3	Pauly Canddi Cutteally	Pepper, Rice	Dharmapattanam
4	Puddianon Chattoo Chetty	Pepper, Rice, Salt	Aggar
5	Bonny Perettee	Pepper	Dharmapattanam
6	Muckry Callandra	Pepper	Darmapattanam
7	Todan Cawdry	Pepper	-
8	Cauirt Tuper	Pepper	Tellicherry
9	Bonn Perettee Amud	Pepper	Kadathanad
10	Suamy Putturah	Pepper	Calicut
11	Coota Moosa	Cardamom	Kadathanad
12	Symoyne	Cardamom	Kottayam
13	Cunhiseu	Cardamom	Kottayam
14	Chaly Cunhussa	Pepper	Tellicherry
15	Muta Chetty	Rice	Calicut
16	Muccolli Paqui	Pepper	Tellicherry
17	Cana Chetty	Pepper	-
18	Cacart Tupy	Pepper	Kottayam
19	Badamala Putturah	pepper	Kottayam
20	Badamalah Cunipi	Pepper	Tellicherry
21	Nelerate Mamod	Pepper	Tellicherry
22	Changuem Cuniamod	Pepper	Tellicherry
23	Nelerate Tupee	pepper	Tellicherry
24	Mucatu Poratu Paqui	Pepper	Tellicherry
25	Baunibeltu Cunhipi	Pepper	Tellicherry
26	Batala Paqui	Pepper	Tellicherry
27	Ayopa Putturah	Pepper	Calicut
28	Eyta Achem Chetty	Pepper	Aggar
29	Tykan Cutialy	Pepper	Tellicherry
30	Nalerate Assem	Pepper	Tellicherry
31	Surchanda	Pepper	Calicut
32	Ballorte Callandra	Pepper	Valapattanam
33	Assem Cutty	Pepper	Irikkur
34	Shavara Putturah	Pepper	-
35	Comben Nambi	Pepper	Kottayam
35	Palicanda Cutiasem	Pepper	-
37	Palicandi Calandra	Pepper	Valapattanam
38	Procaterm Paqui	Pepper	-

39	Ella Chetty	Pepper	Aggar
40	Annady Cutty	Pepper	Aggar
41	Ballipy Cunhimy	Pepper, Sandal	Kottayam
42	Parraporam Ussem Cutty	Cardamom, pepper	Kottayam
43	Parraporem Cunipocra	Cardamom	Aggar
44	Parraporem Cunhippy	Cardamom	Kottayam
45	Baccadem Chandu	Pepper	Aggar
46	Neyen Ella Chettian	Pepper	Aggar
47	Ponambate Paqui	Pepper	-
48	Tayparee	Pepper	-
49	Anuda Cutty	pepper	-
50	Combem Namby	Pepper	Kottayam
51	Ticandy Cunially	Pepper, Cardamom	Kadathanad
52	Areca Shaek	Cardamom	Kottayam
53	Toy Cunhi Ally	Cardamom	Kottayam
54	Moosa of Kadathanad	Cardamom	Kadathanad
55	Ekoda Moosa	Cardamom	Kottayam
56	Ballipy Cuttiasem	Sandalwood	Irikkur
57	Javarra Canna	Sandalwood	Irikkur
58	Candiotti Paqui	Sandalwood	Pannore
59	Combem Namy	Pepper	Tellicherry
60	Chanquem Cuniamo	Pepper	Tellicherry
61	Nelearate Ahmod	Pepper	Tellicherry
62	Baccadem Chandu	Pepper	Tellicherry
63	Mucatum Mahmod	Pepper	Tellicherry
64	Shaik Abdalla	Pepper	Madday
65	Niratti Cunhi Callandra	Pepper	Tellicherry
66	Chatoo of Aggar	Pepper	Aggar
67	Chettian	Pepper	Aggar
68	Tycandy Cunially	Pepper	Tellicherry
69	Durmet Ponicarry	Pepper	-
70	Bonny Peritty Pocar	Pepper	-
71	Muckree Calandra	Pepper	Valapattanam
72	Jia	Ginger, Turmeric, Pepper	Tannore
73	Amguem Piddie Cunhusa	Pepper , Cardamom	Vadakara
74	Ballipy Cuttiasem	Sandalwood, Pepper	Irikkur
75	Ballipy Cunhimy	Sandalwood, Pepper	Irikkur
76	Cherriandi Cunamed	Pepper	
77	Maddaicarem Callandra	Pepper	North of Valapattanam
78	Ragojee Banyan	Pepper	Manjeswer

79	Ballorte Supy	Pepper	North of Valapattanam
80	Ezekiel Raby	Pepper, Arrack	Cochin
81	Cunimodeen	Pepper	Calicut
82	Russally	Pepper	Calicut
83	Quially	Pepper	Calicut
84	Shakeham	Pepper	Calicut
85	Puckarow	Pepper	Calicut
86	Torry Cutty	Pepper	Calicut
87	Cuneram	Pepper	Calicut
88	Modeen Cutty	Pepper	Calicut
89	Cherriandy Cunhamod	Pepper	Tellicherry
90	Tiringalatu Tarney	Pepper	Eranjoli
91	Cheriandi Checu	Pepper	Tellicherry
92	Chuli Paqui	Pepper	Eranjoli
93	Isoop	Pepper, ginger, Turmeric	Tannore

Sources: St. George Factory Records, Tellicherry Consultation, Vol. I- Vol. XX (1725-1750); Letters from Tellicherry Vol. I- Vol. VIII (1729-1750); Letters to Tellicherry Vol. I- Vol. XII (1726-1750).

Appendix No. 6

Names of Presidents of Bombay Council (1725-50)

No	Names	Duration
1	William Phipps	1724 - 1728
2	Robert Cowan	1728 - 1734
3	John Horn	1734 - 1739
4	Stephen Law	1739 - 1743
5	William Wake	1743 - 1750
6	Richard Bouchier	1750 - 1751

Sources: St. George Factory Records, Tellicherry Consultation, Vol. I- XX; Letters from Tellicherry Vol. I- VIII; Letters to Tellicherry Vol. I- XII.

Appendix No. 7

Names of English East India Company Chiefs at Tellicherry (1725-50)

NO	Names of Chiefs	Duration
1	Robert Adams	1715 -1728
2	John Braddyl	1728 -1732
3	Stephen Law	1732 - 1739
4	William Wake	1739 - 1742
5	William Jayson	1742 - 1743
6	John Geekie	1743 - 1746
7	George Dudley	1746 - 1747
8	William West	1747 - 1748
9	Robert Rawdon	1748 - 1748
10	Thomas Byfeld	1748 - 1750
11	Thomas Dorril	1750 - --

Sources: St. George Factory Records, Tellicherry Consultation, Vol. I- XX; Letters from Tellicherry Vol. I- VIII; Letters to Tellicherry Vol. I- XII.

Appendix No. 8

Names of the French East India Company Chiefs at Mahe (1725-50)

NO	Name of Chiefs	Duration
1	Mollandin	1721-1727
2	Tremisot	1727-1737
3	Burnel (interim)	1737-1739
4	Dirois	1739-1741
5	Signard	1741-1742
6	Duval de Leyril	1742-1747
7	Louet	1747-1761

Sources: Alfred Martineau, *Les Origine De Mahe de Malabar*, Paris, 1917, p.VI.

Appendix No. 9

Import Sundry Merchandises at Tellicherry (1725-50)

Merchandise	Market
Ambergris	Cannanore
Arrack	Batavia, Cochin, Goa, Malabar
Allum	China
Bamboo & Rattans	Malabar
Beetle nut	Canara, Malabar
Beads	Surat
Barley	England, Bombay
Cardamom	Malabar, Coorg, Canara
Coffee & Coffee Plant	Mocha
Chili Pepper	Canara
Cotton	Anjengo, Surat, Bombay, Bengal
Corks	England
Cheese	England
Coconut, Copra, Coir & Coconut Oil	Malabar, Lakshadweep, Maldives
Cowries	Maldives
Cassia	Ceylon
Copper	Surat, Bombay, Japan
Carpet	England, Bombay, Bengal
China Ware	China
Cloves	Batavia
Dammar	China
Dates	Mocha, Gombroon, Surat
Elephant Teeth	Malabar, Canara
Ghee	Malabar
Ginger	Malabar
Glass items	England
Goat Skin	Mocha, Malabar
Gold	China, Manila
Gunpowder	Bombay, Bengal
Gunny Bag	Bengal
Iron & Iron Nails	England
Jaggery	Malabar
Liquor, Wine	England, Bmbay, Bengal
Mat & Mast	Malabar
Medicine	England, Bombay, Goa, Malabar
Medicinal plants	Malabar, Canara, Coorg
Paddy, Rice & Rice Powder	Canara, Malabar, Bengal, Madras, Cuddalore
Pepper	Malabar, Canara, Cochin
Nutmeg	Batavia

Opium	Bengal, Malabar
Olibannum	Mocha, Jedda
Paper& Ink	Goa, Portugal
Plank, Timber etc.	Malabar
Piece Goods	China, Bengal, Madras, Canara, Malabar, Bombay, Surat, Anjengo
Rose Water	Gombroon, Bussorah, Mocha
Slaves	Madagascar
Sugar, Sugar Candi	Bengal, China
Salt	Dharmapatanam, Canara
Salt Fish, Salt meat	Malabar
Sandalwood	Canara, Coorge, Malabar
Tobaco	Surat, Malabar
Tamarind	Malabar
Turmeric	Malabar
Tea	China
Twine	England, Bengal, Madras
Tin	China
Vinegar	Lakshadweep
Wheat	Surat, Bombay
Wax & Wax Candle	Malabar

Sources: St. George Factory Records, Tellicherry Consultation, Vol. I- XX; Letters from Tellicherry Vol. I- VIII; Letters to Tellicherry Vol. I- XII.

Appendix No. 10

Export Sundry Merchandises at Tellicherry (1725-50)

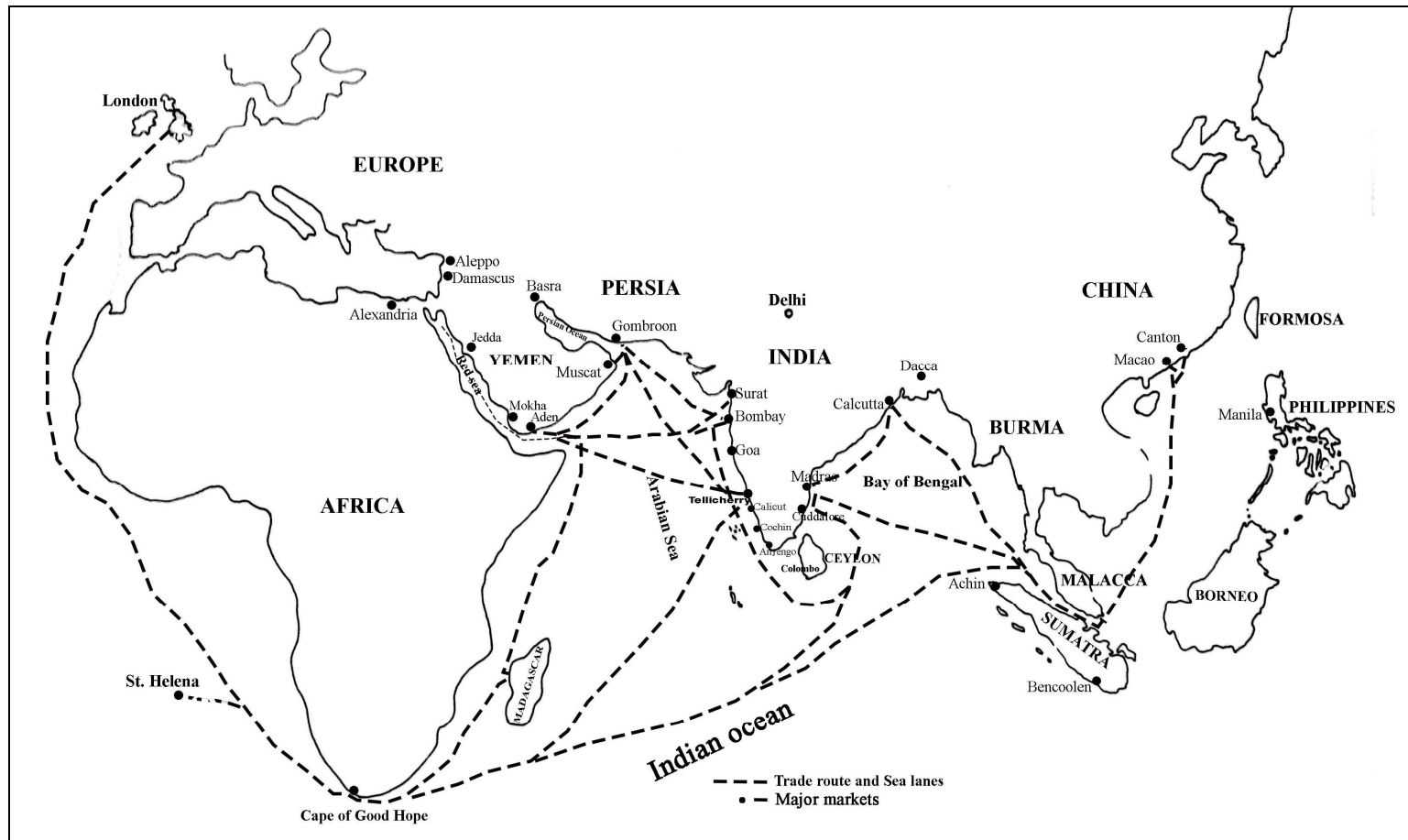
Merchandise	Market
Arrack	Bombay
Betel nut	Bombay, Surat
Cinnamon	Arabia, Persia, Bombay
Clove	Bombay, Mocha, Aden
Cardamom	England, Mocha, Aden, Bombay, Madras, Bengal, China
Coconut, Copra, & Coconut Oil	Bombay, Surat,
Coir	Bombay, Surat, Bengal
Cowries	Bombay
Ginger	Arabia, Persia, Bombay
Mace	Arabia, Persia
Mat, Mast	Persia, Surat, Bombay, Bengal
Medicine, Medicinal plants	England, Bombay, China
Nutmeg	Arabia, Persia
Pepper	England, Mocha, Aden, Gombroon, Bombay, Madras, Cuddalore, Bengal, China
Planks	Bombay, Surat, Gombroon, Madras, Cuddalore, Bengal
Plants	Bengal, Anjengo, China, St. Helena
Rice	Anjengo, St. Helena
Sandalwood	Madras, Bengal, China
Sapanwood	Persia, Arabia, Bombay, Madras, Cuddalore, Bengal
Timber, Wood	Persia, Surat, Bombay, Madras, Cuddalore, Bengal
Turmeric	Arabia, Persia, Bombay

Sources: St. George Factory Records, Tellicherry Consultation, Vol. I- XX; Letters from Tellicherry Vol. I- VIII; Letters to Tellicherry Vol. I- XII.

MAPS

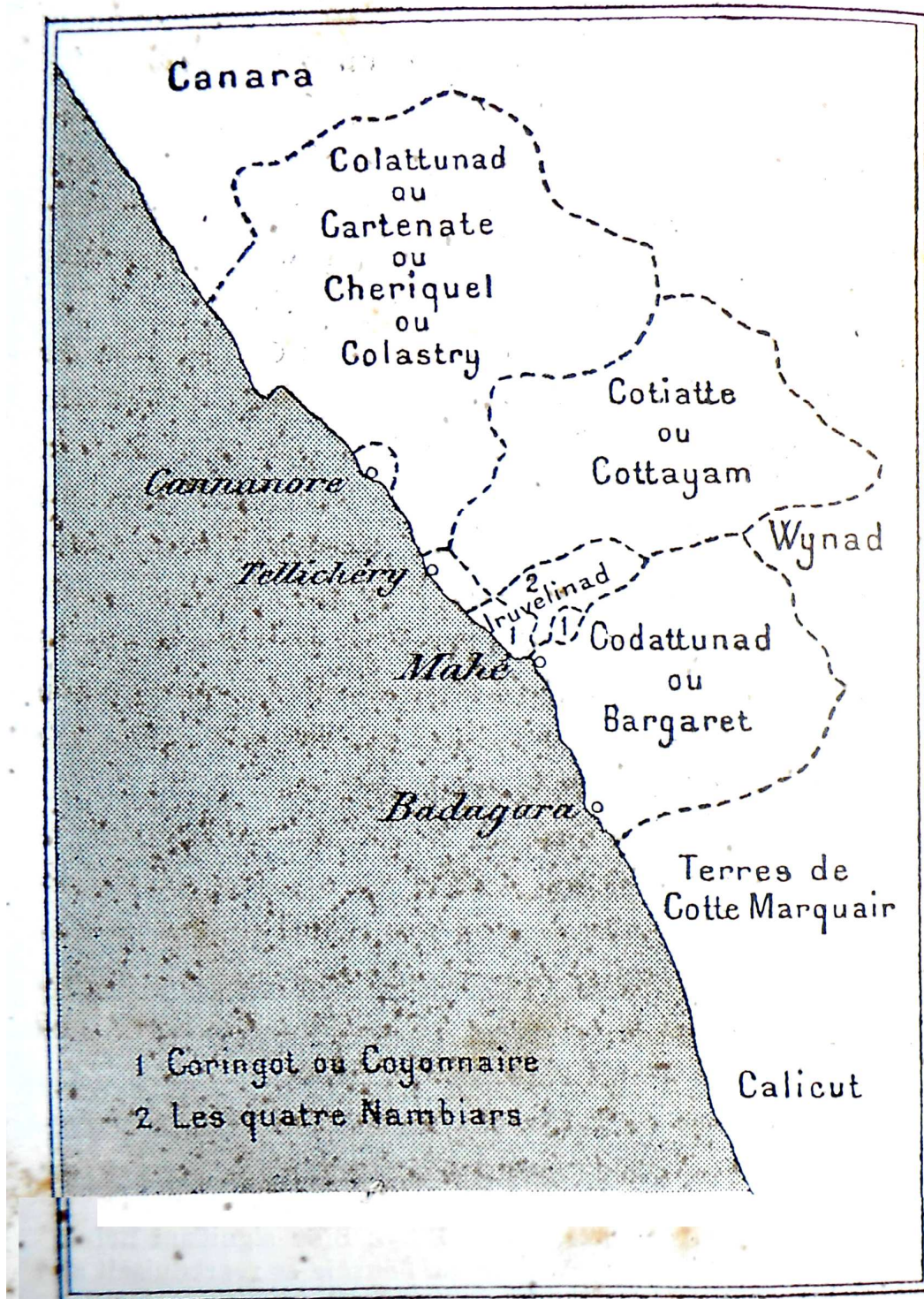


Major port cities of Kerala coast in the 18th C.



Not as per in scale

Trade routes and major markets in the 18th C.



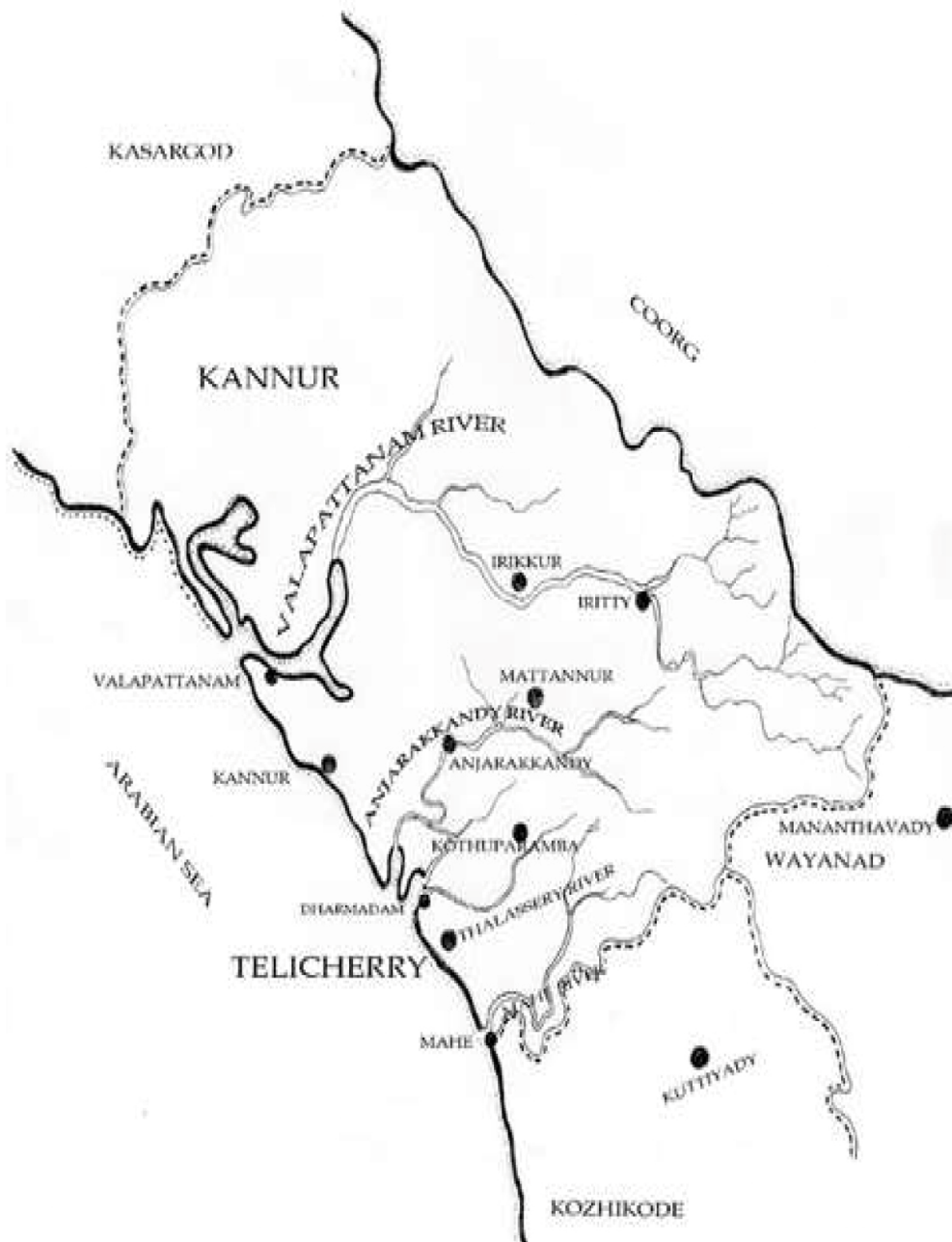
Alfred Martineau, *Les Origines de Mahe* (French), Paris, 1917.

**Alfred Martinuau's sketch on neighbouring states of
Tellicherry Factory (1720)**



Alfred Martineau, *Les Origines de Mahe* (French), Paris, 1917.

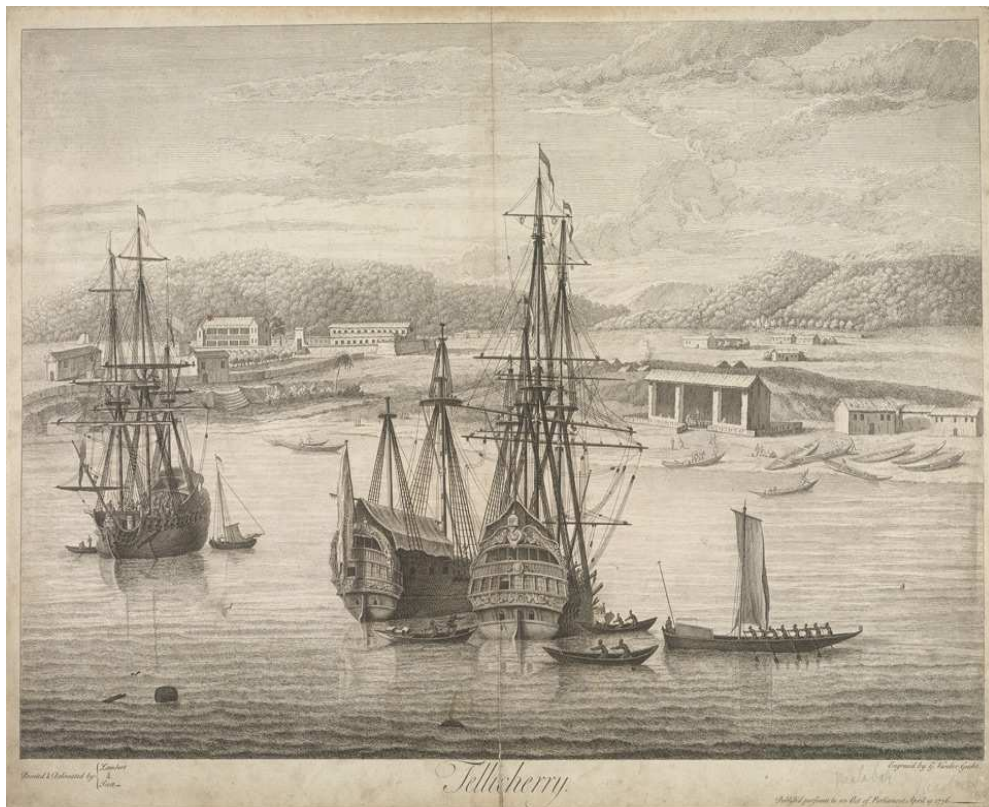
**Alfred Martinuau's sketch on Tellicherry Fort
and its adjacent areas (1720)**



(Not as per scale)

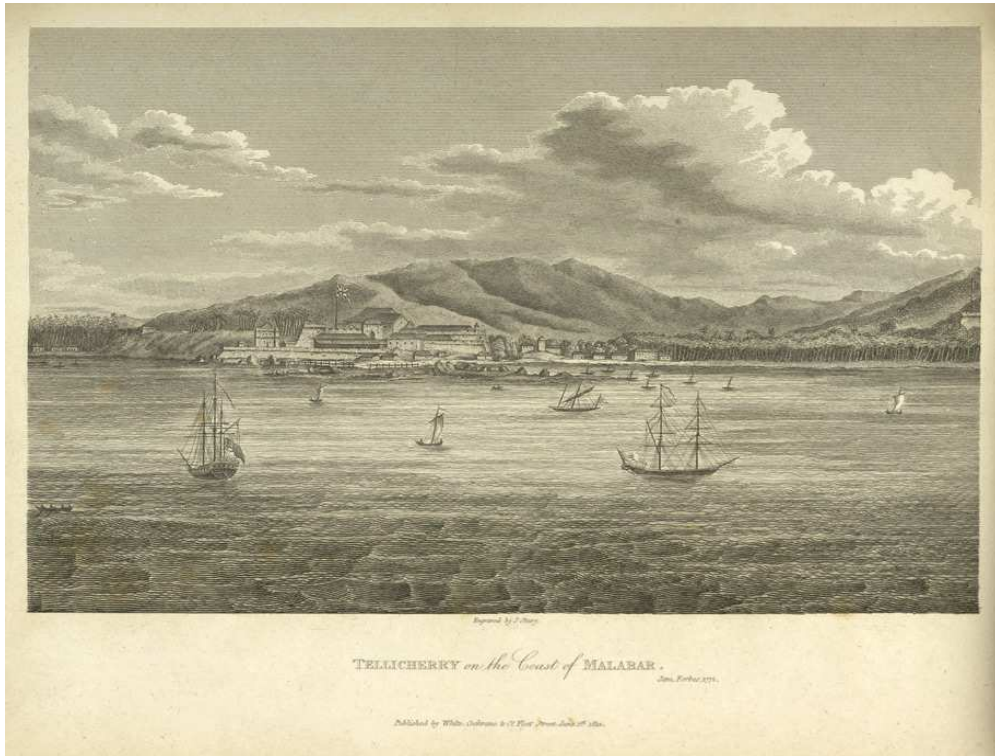
River Routes of Tellicherry

PHOTOS



Curtsy: British Museum

Etching of Tellicherry by G. Van der Gucht published in 1736 after a painting by George Lambert (1710-1765) and Samuel Scott (1703-1772).



Curtsy: British Museum

Painting from the first volume of James Forbes'"Oriental Memoirs"'. Here, Forbes illustrates a view of Tellicherry. In 1772, Forbes (1749-1819) was appointed Warehousekeeper at the factory in Anjengo. His journey to the South of India took him through the coastal towns of Tellicherry, Calicut and Cochin. Forbes noted, 'The drawing was taken from a ship in the road, and gives a view of this pleasant and healthy settlement, extending from Tellicherry to Moylan, a fort about a mile distant.



Tellicherry fort



Warehouse in the fort



2 Pice George III Bombay presidency- 1717-1770



Bombay Rupee - 1677



Gubber, VOC Ducart - 1720



Venetian sequin - 1779



Moorish ducat



Gold Mohur - 1719



Silver Pagoda



Gold Pagoda



St. Thomas - 1781



Tellicherry Fanam - 1805



Gold Mohur of EEIC

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