PORT OF GOGHA IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY: <u>A Case of English East India Company</u>

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During the medieval period Gogha had been an important port on the east coast of Kathiawar in Gujarat. Other ports of much consequence were those of Cambay (Khambyat/Khambat), Surat, and Gandhar- the former two being the wealthiest seaports and towns of Gujarat during the Sultanate and the Mughal period. Wassaf (in *Tajziyatul Amsar*) has described Cambay as the most celebrated of the cities in Hind in terms of wealth and population. In the fourteenth century, Ibn Batuta visited these ports in the Gulf of Cambay some time in 1342. He was much impressed by the life style of people inhabiting the ports of Gujarat, especially Cambay.

His observations about the port of Gogha are worth noting. He describes it as a large town with bazaars, its ruler being a 'heathen' (*kafir*) who owed allegiance to Sultan Mohammad bin Tughlaq. Here he saw Muslims inhabiting the town having mosques as well. A.K.Forbes in his Ras Mala (which is a regional history on Gujarat) gives details how Muhammad bin Tughlaq turned against the Gohel Rajput ruler Mokhraji of Gogha in the last years of his reign. Mokhraji had occupied the neighbouring island of Piram in the Gulf of Cambay and plundered merchant ships there. Immediate cause was ascribed to Sultan's anger was that he had captured fourteen vessels of a merchant of Delhi (perhaps a Muslim) laden with gold dust. He died fighting at the gates of Gogha. Tughlaq armies captured the said towns. Since then Gogha remained a part of the Sultanate of Delhi and subsequently of the independent Muzaffar Shahi kingdom of Gujarat.

. Duarte Barbosa who visited Diu in 1515 says that the place gives such a large sum of revenues to the king of Gujarat and that *'it is a subject of marvel and amazement'*. With the rise of Portuguese power on the western coast of India, all the port- towns were put under threat and Portuguese plundered them frequently. Same was the case of Gogha. In 1529, Nuno da Cunha became the governor of Portuguese settlements in India and till the end of his career (1538) he adopted a very aggressive policy as he was to secure the possession of Diu. His general Antonio da Silveria did the needful. All important ports of Gujarat were burnt and plundered, like Surat, Daman, Agashi, Diu, Mahua , Tarapur Bulsar , Mahim ,Kelva and, of course, Gogha in 1531. Gogha was a flourishing and populous town and port at this time (after Surat and Cambay). Finally the Portuguese managed to retain the island of Diu which was considered a great loss by the Sultans of Gujarat.

In 1546, Gujarat's Sultan Mahmood III made the last attempt on Diu. Diu was saved, though with much difficulty, by the then Portuguese Viceroy Dom Joao de Castro. Again a policy of ruthless plunder and massacre followed. As a result many a neighbouring port -towns were burnt and looted by Captain Manuel de Lima who was commanding thirty ships, as he was ordered to burn all the towns and villages within his reach. Details indicate that the port of Gogha had regained its glory since it was first plundered in 1531. Viceroy Dom Castro's biographer Diogo de Couto records the sack of two prosperous ports- Gogha and Gandhar in the following words-

"The slaughter differentiated not cause from cause, person from person, natives and strangers; guilty and innocent with their lives paid for their own or another's offence. From person the affront passed to religion: he caused many to be hanged up in the temple of their idols, an outrage in the superstition in their religion inexpiable. He cut the throats of all the cattle, sprinkling the mosques (? Temples) with cow's blood, an animal as the depositary of souls they adore with abominable worship".**1**.

From sixteenth century onwards, Surat was emerging as an important sea-port outdoing Cambay, Gogha and other ports in the Gulf of Cambay in terms of volume of trade and commercial activities. Portuguese had established their monopoly in the region by capturing the island of Diu and started threatening Indian merchants having overseas interests. For the safe conduct of the ships of other nations they started issuing 'cartaze' (passes) in turn of money to ships trading in the Indian Ocean, Red Sea, Malaya Archipelago and China Sea, Etc. When Dutch East India Company and English East India Company entered the region to establish direct trade with the Asian countries, they faced stiff resistance from the Portuguese. The Englishmen were harassed most and they were barred from the Gulf and a series of conflict ensued. It resulted into an armed conflict and both the parties decided to outdo each other. The role of the Mughal rulers and their officers/nobles appointed there was dubious as they avoided taking any action in the light of their own precarious position in the sea. They themselves had to obtain Portuguese passes for the safe journey of their own and other Indian merchants' ships plying in these seas for trade or carrying pilgrims to Arabia. Apart from that, since the days of Akbar Portuguese fathers had been regular at the Mughal court, enjoying privileges and exercising influence over them. They were successful in poisoning the ears of Emperor Jahangir and his favorite nobles like Aitamad-ud Daulah, Asaf Khan including Prince Khurram (Shahjahan) against other Europeans who had recently entered the race.

Merchants of English East India Company were desperately looking for a foothold on the coast of Gujarat which could facilitate their trade to vent out goods and provide space for warehouses cum residential places. Since Surat was the most popular destination on the west coast of India, well populated, connected with centers of productions, able brokers around and rich bankers to support the trade, Englishmen were not in a mood to let the Portuguese enjoy the monopoly over the seaborne trade of Asia alone. On the one side they initiated the series of direct attacks on Portuguese ships, simultaneously they employed their energies to get a grant from the Mughal court to establish themselves, preferably in Surat. In this context Thomas Roe also visited the Mughal court as the ambassador of the King of England on behalf of the Company and remained with the Emperor for a considerable period. Here he realized the degree of influence their rivals, (including the Dutch, who had just joined the race), exercising on the person of the Emperor and his confidants. He blamed them all for the difficulties being faced by the merchants of the English East India Company. In the meantime, he remained in touch of his own people directing them on important matters and trade prospects. However, his attempts failed and his embassy to the Mughal court failed to achieve desired results. Somehow, he managed to get assurance from the court for the grant of a suitable place for anchorage and factory on the west coast. One of the options was Gogha.2.

A series of letters based on real situation in the area and Thomas Roe's observations and speculations were exchanged between him and the Chief and his Council at Surat who were stationed there temporarily- facing humiliations and threats at

the hands of Mughal officials and the Portuguese alike. They were discussing the possibilities of shifting to some other nearby place to avoid further conflict.

By 1611 situation became grave and English were seriously deliberating upon shifting their base elsewhere. A long series of correspondence discussing the prospects of trade at two important towns Gogha and Broach began. Thomas roe left the matter to his factors at Surat to decide in favour of either. Gogha was found a better place as compared to Broach. Arguments in favour of the former were stronger. Although they had picked a fight with Prince Khurram (Shahjahan), who in the light of 'false' reports about them from the Portuguese had adopted stern attitude towards the English, Mughal officers in Gujarat were happy that English merchants had given a fitting answer to the Portuguese by defeating them in the sea and capturing their ships in 1611. Muqarrab Khan (*subahdar* of Gujarat) especially, rejoiced the news and contemplated on accommodating the English. However, merchants of the English Company had realized their difficulties. In a letter from a Captain of one of the English ships, named Sharpleigh and John Jourdain informed Henry Middleton (who was stationed at Mocha), that Mughal governor at Surat (perhaps *mutasaddi*) was serious on the matter, but 'durst not displease the Portingals" (by doing this favour). Fed up of assurances and delays, English threatened to withdraw from India and concentrate on Mocha. Mughal subahdars of Gujarat having envisaged benefits of trade with the Europeans, and hoping that presence of English merchants could be an answer to the arrogance of Portuguese, made offer of a place which they could fortify too - 'They told me if they were assured of us to trade with them and to have our friendship firm, there should be a Castle built near where now you ride(?), or at Gogo (Gogha), for our defense ashore....', informed Sharpleigh and John Jourdain.3.

In 1615, relations between the Portuguese and the Mughals turned sour as the former committed the crime of plundering a royal ship (Rumi?) in September 1614. Also the Portuguese took to sinister and violent means. They ran amok upon the coast of Gujarat, burning and destroying all they could get hold of .They also threatened the merchants-'banyans' who had lost their goods on the said ship, including burning the town of Broach and Goga (Gogha). Portuguese also invited further forces on ships from Goa which were anchoring at Gogha in the same year. Somehow, the English were not worried as they had defeated the enemy in the recent past. 4. Situation had become so grave that the Mughal subahdar Muqarrab Khan had to take position in Gogha 'making a great show of their elephants and preparations and persons than of their valours'. (Ibid. p.264). Hence, a feeling of insecurity and uneasiness prevailed. For the English merchants it became difficult to decide in favour of Gogha as their base of commercial activities as they were fearful of Khurram/Shahjahan.. A detailed draft in the form of a 'memorandum' on the proposed transfer of English headquarters to Gogha or about the pros and cons of choosing between Surat and Gogha (or Broach, which was also under consideration), was prepared by them. One of the objections was that shifting from Surat would invite the wrath of the Prince; and that Gogha being a 'poor town, unfrequented and in danger of the Porttingulls nation, having been by them in the last breach burned and spoiled', was not suitable. The list of these observations was sent to Thomas Roe who was in the imperial camp. Somehow, Roe, not much convinced with this explaination of The English merchants, answered 'but if we be drawn that residence (i.e. Gogha), all traffic will follow us, and the merchant will follow his profit'. Roe had visualized the limitations and declining power of the Portuguese, and wrote to merchants and factors in Surat, that since they (Portuguese) have many enemies, they would not be able to pose threats for long, or oppose others. He also tried to convince his men that he would make his best efforts to gain permission from the 'governor' to build their own fortifications or surety of protection from the Mughal authorities. As far as the safety of goods was concerned, Roe suggested that instead of storing the goods at Gogha, they would immediately take it to Cambay, Ahmadabad and Agra. Expressing his views about the port of Gogha that it was not fit to vend three basic commodities imported by the English, i.e., 'coral (to be sold in Deccan), lead and teeth (ivory)', Roe answered that 'the odds between that port and Suratt to go or fetch goods by water, which the Decan and strangers do, is nothing, and if they shall find that their usage is better at the port of Goga than at Suratt (where they are subject to as many injuries as we)their own case and profit will soon teach them the way.' 5. Roe further tried to rationalize his opinion that lead was in little demand in the Malabar, and Malabari merchants could buy it in Gogha itself by coming thither. For coral and 'teeth', he was of view that it was in great demand all over and was usually transported northward from Surat. To him Indian merchants will be able to buy it at Cambay or Ahmadabad where it could directly be vended, thus gaining more profit. Moreover if merchants could travel from Cambay to Surat to pick these commodities, Surat vendors could travel to Cambay for the same. Moreover, Deccani merchants very well could come unto Surat and thence to Gogha by boats to fetch English commodities as they did in case of others'. By opting for this course, they could also avoid the greedy port official of Surat. For the doubts about the attitude of 'banyans' (Indian merchants, sarraf and brokers) and their supposed refusal

or hesitation in coming to Gogha and settle there, Roe seemed sure that they would follow them i.e., the English.6. Roe further tried to convince that 'semians' (a variety of cotton cloth) could easily be procured from Cambay and 'new cloth' from Broach and 'they may be sent over to Goga in a night by frigate without danger, it being impossible or improbable that the Portugall will keep frigates always watching so poor a thing (like a frigate); from March to October they cannot brook the seas, and it is well known at Cambaya which times their (Portuguese) frigates are on the coast and when not, there being many months in the year when they have none, and such a time may be taken that all our goods at once may be brought over to Goga'. In case it was not possible till the arrival of the ships from Englad, opined Roe, they could bring a small ship unto Broach to pick goods there while big ships could wait at Gogha. A year later, Thomas Roe, however, was not satisfied with the developments and with much grief in February 1618 wrote to the factors at Surat about Muqarrab Khan's offer of Gogha and that 'we have this year, for suffering the insolencies of the Prince, made trial of Goga and searched all the Bay, but can find no place fit for your residence but Suratt; so that question is at an end, and we must study to make the best of that place'.7.

English were being offered a small town 'Urpal' (Olpad) also, about twelve miles north-west of Suali (which English identified as Swally) by a Mughal officer Khwaja Abul Hasan, who posed as a noble close to Jahangir. Kerridge wrote to Roe about the offer that if we brought our goods to 'Urpall' and 'the direct way from the ships to Broach, we shall have the town at our service (as per the assurance of Khwaja Abul Hasan) and as secure in Suratt: that we shall make our own conditions, and have convoy for the transport of our goods to Broach'. As compared to other places it was found 'more commodious for the landing and transporting of commodities'. **8.** Council at Surat, however, did not show much enthusiasm about Olpad / Urpal for the port was in the *jagir* of Mahabat Khan but controlled from Cambay ('*Baroch..a limb of Cambaya*') by the officers of the Emperor, as was usual in the case of all the ports which were put under the direct control of the Emperor. They were doubtful of any help from the side of Khwaja Abul Hasan as he could not dare oppose Prince Khurram/Shahjahan. They suggested that if he (Roe) could get an order favourable to them through Mahabat Khan or Khwaja Abul Hasan directly from the Emperor, only then the Prince would not be in a position to oppose his father Jahangir.

Early in 1616, Thomas Roe realized the futility of his efforts at the Mughal court where the atmosphere was not in their favour. He asked the English Chief and the Council at Surat to consider Broach and make a survey of possibilities of trade there. Thomas Roe remained in correspondence with the English factors and on October 15, 1616, he responded to their request of reconsidering the transfer of their headquarters to Broach (although considered not a fit place to shift to) and that he still had been trying to procure favourable letters (to be allowed to stay back in Surat) through different sources like Khwaja Hasan, Muqarrab Khan and Mahabat Khan for the same. **9.** In fact, this letter was in response to the reservations expressed by the Chief of the English Company at Surat William Kerridge who had narrated his journey to Broach for the examination of the 'river' (i.e.estuary of Narbada) in view of the proposed transfer of the English Factory to that town. Kerridge found the anchorage there very shallow and '*treacherous*, *and much exposed to unfavourable winds, while the surrounding country was poor and sparsely inhabited.*' **10.** It clearly indicates that Englishmen were looking for a place

densely populated where they could vend their goods easily, store them safely and acquire the services of merchants and brokers as well as of porters and carters etc., to the level of their own satisfaction. Somehow their arguments about the location and population of Broach do not seem plausible in the light of their transactions there in the subsequent period. Broach soon found a place in the correspondence of the English merchants and accounts of other European travellers, where it is dentified as the centre of production of fine cotton textiles and great trade. During his stay at the Mughal court, Thomas Roe also came across some other options and from Mandu he instructed his men at Surat - 'you may try Goga, Sindhu (Diul Sind/ Lahiri Bandar), Bengala,..'. He himself was not convinced and repeated the same desire '...but no port so fitt as Suratt,..'.11. To win the trust of the authorities, they also tried their hand at acts of kindness, as in September, 1617, they rescued a ship of Gogha which was attacked by the Portuguese and restored the looted goods much to the content of the Emperor and the merchants.12. Somehow, its very strange that the very same year in the month of December the English ships gave a chase to an Indian ship – '*junk of Goga*', which was pretty heavy (1400 tons) and contained '35 tons of silver, besides gold, and full of goods of great value'. It is an indication that port of Gogha was quite suitable for anchoring of heavy ships, much heavier than the European. (In the first half of the seventeenth century we do not hear European ships heavier than 1000 tons or so.) It also points towards their resolution that they are going to stay in Indian waters either by hook or crook. Their quest for acquiring a suitable place did not end here and the captains of ships were also assigned the job of evaluating the port of Gogha once again. One such observation is worth noting. Captain Martin Pring on board a ship *Royal James* briefed the Company on the matter in March

1618 that 'I have also discovered the coast on the western side of the Gulfe of Cambaia from Goga unto Jungee [possibly Janjmer near Gopnath point], with many of the sandes and shoals that lye in the entrance of the said baie, ... We finde a fayre channell over from Swally unto Goga, and a bould coast from thence unto Jungee. All that came short of my expectations was the shoulds of the bay of Goga ...'. Somehow, It was not the real problem as heavy Indian ships could easily negotiate the bay and the port. The real problem, as Captain Pring admitted, was that English ships were 'not floaty enough to ride near the shore to land any goods in safety'.13. Nevertheless, trading from the port of Gogha had its own advantages. It was close to the port town of Cambay- within three days' journey, which itself was a great centre of trade. Route was safer for conveying treasures/money to different parts, especially Ahmadabad, as compared to Surat route which was infested with robbers.14. One more advantage lay in the fact that money/ bullion unloaded at the port of Surat was chargeable, while at Gogha it was not. Conveyance charges (like carts) were also cheaper than elsewhere. The question, however, was of safety as the port was prone to piracy and attacks from the side of the Malabaris and the Portuguese respectively. It could be sorted out by keeping a 'small vessel of good defence to ride within the great shippes', advised Captain Pringle.15.

Relations between the Mughals and the Portuguese met another setback as the latter started attacking the Mughal ships again. After much deliberation the English also resolved upon staying in India as Thomas Roe and Prince Khurram/Shahjahan entered into in an agreement in August, 1618 and one of the articles proposed to the Prince by Thomas Roe was that 'I would soon contract our people, or settle them in Goga and Cambaya, vnder the Protection of the Kyng, whose gracious grants were to us sufficient

securitie and vnder whom wee were assured to liue in safety'. 16. Soon after the English settled in Swally (Swali) bar and took a house of one Khwaja Arab on rent in Surat and established a 'factory' (warehouse cum residential complex) there. However, their problems did not end there and they had been continuously threatened by the Portuguese in the sea. Thomas Kerridge who had assumed the designation of 'President' of the English factory in Surat and became the incharge of all activities of the English Company on the west coast and the Red Sea and Persia, informed his men in Mocha that the Portuguese had been demanding money from the (Indian) ships coming out of Gogha (amounting 65000 *mahmudis*). Amount demanded on a single ship indicates that it was a big ship. Interestingly, this ship belonged to Noorjahan, 17. and they were keen on taking Swally also. This event conveys that Gogha was a busy port, although it failed to attract the Europeans including the English. However, Indian merchants and princes did not abandon it and many ships of theirs plied from Gogha every year. **18.** In 1619, English in Surat resolved upon to obtain favours from the Mughal court, hence chalked the policy of detaining the ships of Khurram/Shahjahan. It greatly annoyed the Prince who imposed prohibition on Englishmen dealing in certain commodities. Englishmen took the same recourse, i.e., detaining his ships at their coming out of Gogha or elsewhere.19. (they wanted to 'export' their 'rials of eight' without the permission of the Mughal authorities, of which Shahjahan took a serious notice of . Thomas Roe had to face the brunt of the Prince when the former was at the Mughal court in Mandu. He wrote a letter to the President of English Company at Surat to release the ship and send the proof of it. Shahjahan had also declined the demand of Thomas Roe for the grant of the port of Gogha. 20. It was a suitable port for anchoring heavy junks. as well as small ones like

'*tari*'. **21**. Another impression is that perhaps the Portuguese also had a foothold in Gogha as passes were procured from them too, at this port.**22**. 'Great junks' were yearly sent from Gogha **23**. and Thomas Roe calls it as 'the Great Mogulls port of Goga' where royal and other merchants' ships were all through the year fitted out from. It was a centre of shipbuilding also. Huge size ships (junks) were built here.**24**. Ships were repaired at this port as well. All the Indian ships including those of princesses or princes, however, required protection from the English or the Portuguese in the form of passes. **25**. Even Prince Khurram's ships were detained by the English in the sea. They released them after much negotiation only when they themselves stopped doing any trade in the Mughal territories. Both the parties reached an agreement and for the first time English were granted free trade in the ports of 'Surratt, Cambaya, Goga Sinde and bengala,.....'

In 1635, the Company resolved to change its strategy and deliberated upon reducing the number of its factors and factories in Gujarat. Hence President Methowld suggested the Company that from now onwards their ships will anchor at Gogha in place of Surat and goods procured in different towns will be brought here from Cambay involving much lesser cost in the form of transportation as boats could be hired here at cheaper rates as compared to carts.26. President and Council specifically instructed its two agents proceeding to Ahmadabad on September 25, 1635, that they were to convince the local Mughal officer Saif Khan about how beneficial it would be for them too if the English were permitted to trade from Cambay via Gogha. 'You may therefore propose the conveniency , profit and honour, which would ensue unto him if Cambaya , which is the port of that great citty of Amadavad , were restored unto his government, and that we might be privileged as farr as our friends the Portgals to land and lade our goods upon

the same customes and conditions usually taken in that place; whereby it might come to pass that, our great ships rydeing before Goga, we might from Cambaia give convayance unto all merchants which do ordinarily trade unto Gumbroone in Persia, returninge them againe unto the same place; 27. The same agent were also advised to present their case effectively to the extent that the said person would be getting gifts 'tofa' of his choice, and have a chance to see or choose from 'the pearles and all other Persian goods which are ordinarily returned from thence (i.e. Persia)....' 28. In the following many decades Gogha remained an important port of the Gulf of Cambay, but enjoying comparatively a secondary status as compared to Surat. Somehow most of the Indian ships traded from Gogha.29. English Company's merchants too, loaded parts of their merchandise at Gogha which was first accumulated at Cambay and then brought down to Gogha in boats which saved good amount of money – 'six or seven per cent.'30. Late starters, like The French, also had their eyes on Gogha since it was the only port other than Surat to anchor at successfully. Although they were desperate to have a foothold in Surat, but second half of the seventeenth century was not the right time to fulfill this wish. They faced stiff resistance from the merchants of the English Company. By that time Mughal rulers and nobles had also grown discontented of the aggressive behaviour of the English. They were looking for opportunities to dislodge them from Indian soil, or at least curb their growing demands and hostility towards the state. Hence, when the French asked for a suitable place as a base to support their trading activities in Gujarat, Mughal Emperor or his officers had nothing to offer them but Gogha. In October1682, they received an order in this respect from Aurangzeb and they continued their attempts to fit out their fleet from Gogha, '...Gogha, a port which is ...(?) *leagues distant from Surat and inhabited mainly by seafaring folk*, *was choosen as the meeting place for the squadron.*' Governor of Surat also entered in an agreement with the French that they would give a cover to his ship trading, perhaps, in the Red Sea. **31.**Somehow, Gogha was not a safe asylum for the ships trading in near and far-off places. It was quite prone to sea-piracy. Malabar pirates would often attack the ships of Gogha indiscriminately, Indian and others alike. Occasionally local pirates also harassed them.**32.** European pirates also targeted ships of Gogha, especially those of Indian merchants. This often led to discontentment between the merchants of the concerned nation and the Mughal officers/rulers. **33.**

Administratively, Gogha was usually controlled from Cambay. Like all other port- cities, independent chief port administrators, known as *mutasaddis*, were appointed to take care of all the commercial activities there. Abul Fazl's statement in the Ain-Akbari in regard of Gogha and its being the dependency of Cambay (Khambayat/Kambhayat) is dubious. While at one place he puts the port of Cambay within the jurisdiction of the *sarkar* of Gogha, (most probably it's a mistake done by the translator), at another place, Gogha is identified as a dependency of Palithana 'district'. Similarly , elsewhere he treats Gogha as a port of *sarkar* of Sorath. Abul Fazl says that small boats called '*tawari*' regularly carry the goods from Cambay to Gogha.**34**. He calls it as one of the significant ports of Kathiawar Coast. However, unlike other ports in the province, he fails to provide us the exact figure of revenues obtained from the port of Gogha. Fortunately, for the last decade of the seventeenth century, a high ranking Mughal officer appointed in Gujarat Ali Mohammad Khan was able to record the approximate amount of revenues collected from these ports. For Cambay-Gogha combined, income being collected annually was Rs. 66,31,578.9 . Annual revenues from Gogha amounted Rs. 40,000, half of what collected at Cambay where revenues accrued from amounted to Rs. 80,000 between 1715-19.**35.** Undoubtedly, it's a clear indication of declining importance of these ports in the early eighteenth century. Income from other Mughal ports of Gujarat had also declined with the decline of Mughal power in the region.

References:-

- 1. M.S.Cmmissariat, History of Gujarat, 2 vols.1938. Vol. 1, p. 449-50.
- 2. Letters Received by East India Company, vol. IV, pp.151-153.
- **3.** William Foster, Letters Received by East India Company, vol. I, (1602-13) p.140.
- **4.** Letters Received by the East India Company, vol. II, pp. 155,229,261.
- 5. Letters Received ..., vol. IV, (1616) pp.151-53.

6. This memorandum does not bear a date, but other papers place it in July, 1616. However, it should be dated a year further, October 1617, as negotiations for a settlement were going on and in a letter to the company on February 14, 1618.

- 7. Ibid, pp. 151-53, n.
- 8. Letters Received.., vol. IV, pp. 329-30.
- **9.** Letters Received.., vol. IV, p.202.
- 10. Ibid. p.202. Also, Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe, vol.I, p.199.
- **11**. Lett. Rec. vol. III, p.150.
- 12. Ibid.
- **13.** Eng. Fac. (1618-21), pp. 29-30.

14. (See the reports of English factors and other European merchants and travelers who visited the region in the same century).

15. Ibid.

16. William Foster, Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe, vol. II, p.512.

17. Embassy of Thomas Roe, vol. II, p.81.

18. Eng.Fact.,vol. I, (1618-21) p.83.

19. Ibid.vol.I,p.260.

20. Eng. F. 1618-21, p.260, (1618-21). Also, Embassy of.., vol. I, p.450.

21. Ibid.p123-124. Mughal noble Safi Khan was obliged to procure a license for such a boat size ship bound from Gogha from the English.Eng.Fact.1618-21, p.278.

22. Letters Rec., vol.III, p.270.

23. Embassy of Thomas Roe.vol. II, p. 429 n.

24. Irfan Habib, An Atlas of the Mughal Empire, sheet 7b.

25. Eng.F. 1618-21, p.2, 4-6; vol.II, pp. 255,261,267-69,271-2,309

26. Eng. Fac.(1634-36), p. 94-95.

27. European ships had a provision for accommodation of passengers , but charges were to be paid for the same.

28. Eng. Fact. , (1634-36), p. 116.

29. English agents asked their President to send twelve passes for one Mirza Ali Amber who intended to invite Malabar vessels to the port. Eng. Fact.(1646-50), p.63. Peter Mundy, vol. II, p.8.

30. Eng. Fact. (1646-50), p. 106. Red Sea.

31. Lotika Vardarajan, India in the Seventeenth Century, vol. II, part I, p.851.

32. Eng. Fact. (1634-36) ,p.234.

33.Eng. Fact. (1634-36), p. 233-34.

34. Ain-Akbari,tr.& ed. Jarret & Sarkar , vol. II, pp. 248, 253, 263.

35. Purchas His Pilgrimes, vol. II, p.2; Mirat- i Ahmadi , vol. I, p. 204; M.P. Singh,

Town, Market , Mint, and Port in the Mughal Empire: 1556-1707, p. 196,216.
