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OF THE

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NATIVE STATES.

STATISTICAL ACCOUNT OF CAMBAY.



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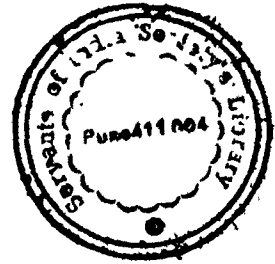
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PREFACE.

With the exception of Dr. Bahler's contribution and some other portions of the Chapters on Trade and History this account is the work of Mr. G. F. Sheppard, C.S, Collector of Kaira and Political Agent of Cambay.

Bombay, 30th December 1876.



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CAMBAY (KHAMBHAT).

CHAPTER I.

DESCRIPTION, PRODUCTS, AND POPULATION

The State of Cambay, lying at the head of the gulf of that name on the western shore of the province of Gujarát, is situated between 22° 9' and 22° 41' North Latitude and 72° 20' and 73° 5' East Longitude. As the lands of Cambay have never been surveyed, the area of this territory is not accurately known. It is supposed to include about 350 square miles, with a population, according to the census of 1872, of 88,494 souls.

Chapter I

Description

Position and Area.

The territory is bounded on the north by the Mátar sub-division of the British district of Kaira; on the south by the gulf of Cambay; on the east by the lands of Borsad in Kaira and Pitiál under His Highness the Gáekwár of Baroda; and on the west by the Sábarmati river. Politically the boundaries of the state are most irregular. In some places Cambay villages are left isolated, surrounded by portions of the district of Kaira, while in other parts detached fragments of the Kaira district lie in the very heart of the Cambay territory. Inland from the city the possessions of the Nawáb stretch about fifteen miles to the west, eighteen to the north-west, ten to the north, and twelve to the east.

Boundaries.

Except in the neighbourhood of the river Mahi, where the surface is cut up by the lines of water-courses and where the banks of the river rise in cliffs from thirty to eighty feet high, the country is generally flat and open. Though in parts, especially along the banks of the Sábarmati river, rather bare of trees, the whole territory during the rains and cold season presents a beautifully rich and verdant appearance.

Aspect.

Two of the large rivers of Gujarát enter the sea within the limits of Cambay. Of these the Sábarmati, after a straight course to the southward of about 200¹ miles, falls into the gulf twelve miles to the west of the city, while a few miles to the east of Cambay an estuary five miles broad receives the waters of the river Mahi after a course estimated at 350² miles in length. Though in times of flood they bring down a great volume of water, neither of these rivers, on account of the large deposits of mud near their

Rivers and Water-supply.

¹ and ². Saunder's Sketch of the Mountains and Rivers of India 31 (1870).

- Chapter I.**
Description. mouths, can be navigated by vessels of any size, while at the same time the presence of the salt tidal waters and the height of their banks prevent these rivers from being used for purposes of irrigation. Of the other local streams none has a sufficient supply of water to continue flowing throughout the year.
- Lakes and Reservoirs.** Within the limits of the Cambay state there is no fresh-water lake of any size, but, as in the Kaira district, almost all the villages are provided with ponds, or reservoirs, in which water is to be found throughout the greater part of the year. During the months of April and May, and from that time till the rains set in, the supplies from these ponds are generally exhausted, and cattle have to be watered from wells.
- Wells.** From its position between the beds of two large tidal rivers the soil of Cambay is so saturated with salt that the water obtained by digging soon becomes brackish, and in many places fresh wells have to be sunk every five years. Nor is the water of these wells wholesome—its incautious use, at least by strangers, generally producing a painful form of boil.
- Drainage.** A considerable portion of the Cambay territory is, during the season of heavy rain, liable to be flooded. The rulers of Cambay in the time of its prosperity (1400-1700)¹ guarded against this evil by constructing drainage canals. These drains, originally works of much labour and cost, have now fallen into a very neglected state. But as the cultivators appear to complain little of the present condition of the drains, it would seem that either the ordinary rain-fall is not so heavy as it once was, or that the surplus water is more carefully stored in the village reservoirs than was formerly the case.
- Geology.** The lands of Cambay form an alluvial plain gently undulating in some parts, but with no inequality that rises to the height of a hill. Of rocks there are none, and even pebbles are seldom met with. Nodular limestone, or *kankar*, mixed with sand or clay is found in large quantities from ten to fifteen feet below the surface of the soil. Though not of the best quality the lime obtained from this stone is what is chiefly used by the people of the country for house-building and other purposes.
- Soil.** Towards the north and west the soil is generally black, well suited for the culture of wheat and cotton. To the east it is of a poorer description, fit only for the growth of the inferior sorts of grain. Near the city of Cambay, skirting the shore of the gulf, and along the banks of the Mahi and Sábarmati rivers, stretch vast tracts of salt marsh land submerged at high spring tides. For agricultural purposes, as in other parts of Gujarát, the soil of Cambay is divided into three classes, garden land, rice land, and dry-crop land.
- Climata.** Compared with the more inland districts of the province the climate of Cambay is good and the temperature equable. Thermometric readings kept regularly during three years ending

¹ Unless special mention to the contrary is made, all dates are A.D.

with 1847 show a mean minimum of 53° in the month of January and a mean maximum of 76° in the month of May. The average yearly fall of rain during the same period was 29 inches 30 cents.

Chapter I.
Production.

Before communication with the sea was made easy by rail, Cambay was the only coast station within the reach of invalids suffering from the fevers and heat of northern Gujarát. Such was its value as a sanitarium that in the year 1837 a hospital was established at Cambay for the use of European officers and troops stationed in Ahmadábád, Baroda, and Kaira. The following instances of the recovery of large numbers of sick troops are from the records of the medical officer in charge of the hospital. On the 12th March 1837, 98 invalids of the 17th Regiment of Native Infantry arrived at Cambay from Harsol, about 34 miles from Ahmadábád. Of the whole number 83 were suffering from fever and disease of the spleen, and the rest from rheumatic affections and cutaneous diseases. At the end of March, 14 more cases were admitted, making a total of 112 patients. One death occurred in April, but of the rest all, except five, were discharged cured by the end of May. By the close of the rains (October) the remaining five were able to return in good health to their regiment. Another remarkable instance is the case of 77 invalids of the 2nd Grenadier Regiment of Native Infantry who were sent to Cambay from Baroda in the month of January 1847. Of the whole number 68 were suffering from fever, 1 was a case of consumption, and 8 were cases of ulcers contracted in Sind. The case of consumption proved fatal; but of the rest 31 were discharged cured in February, 25 in March, and the remaining 20 in April. The Cambay hospital was closed about the year 1863, and there is at present no medical institution in the town. Vaccination is said to be much practised; and to meet with little opposition, but no detailed returns are available. No bad out-break of cholera has occurred in Cambay for many years. The only disease mentioned as peculiar to Cambay is the troublesome ulcer mentioned above, called *askraji* by natives, and by Europeans known as the Cambay or Broach boil.

Cambay as a Sanitarium.

Within the limits of the state there are no natural forests; nor, except occasional groves of fruit-trees, are there any lands specially set apart for the growth of timber. But in different places, generally near villages, fine trees are to be found; among the largest and most common are the tamarind, *ámli*, *Tamarindus indica*; *nim* or *limbado*, *Azadirachta indica*; *pipal*, *Ficus religiosa*; banyan tree, *wad*, *Ficus indica*; wood apple, *kothi*, *Feronia elephantum*; and mango, *ámbo*, *Mangifera indica*, which here as in other parts of Gujarát grow luxuriantly.

Forests and Trees.

The crops are the same as those cultivated in the adjoining subdivisions of the Kaira district, the ordinary varieties of millet and pulse, rice, wheat, and tobacco, with the addition of a little opium. In Cambay, as in Gujarát generally, the cultivation of indigo has of late years greatly fallen off. Hindu peasants object to the culture of this plant, because in the preparation of

Chapter I
Production.

the dye much insect life is necessarily sacrificed; while the Muhamadans, with whom this objection would have less force, do not cultivate a sufficient area of land to raise any large quantity. Indigo when grown, is sown towards the end of the hot season, and is harvested in August before coming to flower. After being cut, the crop is stowed away in large vats, generally set in the corner of the field, and is covered with water. In these vats the plants are left to soak for one night, and, to extract any juice that may still remain, the leaves are in the morning beaten with wooden clubs. The water is then drained off, the dye remaining at the bottom of the vat. In appearance the sediment is a green-looking paste, but on exposure to the air this rapidly acquires the true indigo hue. Mordants are sometimes used to assist the precipitation of the dye.

Mode of cultivation The mode of cultivation does not differ from that practised in the neighbouring British districts. After the monsoon rains (June—October) are over, water for irrigation is ordinarily obtained by drawing it up in leather buckets from reservoirs, water-courses, or pools in the beds of rivers. During the hot weather very few crops are grown, and at this time of the year, except from wells, there is but little irrigation.

Domestic Animals As they are the same in character and breed with those met with in the neighbouring district of Kaira, the domestic animals of the Cambay state do not call for any special mention.

Wild Animals In the days of the early settlements in the country near the mouth of the Man wild animals were so numerous that a city on or near the site of the present city of Cambay once bore the title of *Bághwati* or the Tiger city. Even as late as the end of the last century tigers and lions were found in the neighbourhood of Cambay. Sir Charles Malet when Resident at Cambay in 1781 killed a lion near the village of Kurá on the banks of the *Sábarmati*, about 20 miles from Cambay. "This beast," he says, "was called by the country people *untá wágh* or camel tiger, and is by them esteemed to be the fiercest and most powerful of that race. His colour was that of a camel verging to yellow, but without spots or stripes, not high in stature, but powerfully massive, with a head and foreparts of admirable size and strength." Mr. Forbes in his *Oriental Memoirs* notices that about that time so great was the dread of beasts of prey in the villages on the *Sábarmati* river that, at the close of each day, the inhabitants carefully collected all their cattle within the mud-walls, with which every village was encircled¹. Of these large beasts of prey no trace now remains. The only game at present left in the territory are *nilgái* (*Portax pictus*), wild hog, and large herds of antelope (*Antelope lervi-*

¹Forbes' *Oriental Memoirs* III 90, 91. Nicolo Conti (1420—1444) says, in Cambay wild cattle are found in great abundance with a mane like the mane of a horse, and horns so long that when the head is turned back they touch the tail. These horns, he adds, are used like barrels for carrying water. Major, *India in the XV. Century*, II 20.

capra) that feed on the short herbage on salt marsh lands near the sea-coast. During the cold weather every pond is alive with duck, teal, and snipe

Chapter I.
Population.

The census of 1872 gives a total population of 83,494 souls, or 238 persons to the square mile, a density of population greater than, with the exception of Baroda, is to be found in any native state of Gujarát. Of the total population, 71,505, or 86 per cent., were Hindus; 11,882, or 14 per cent., Musalmans; and 107 Parsis. There were no Christians. The number of males was 44,283, or 53 per cent of the total population, and that of females 39,211, or 47 per cent. The average proportion of males to females was 113 to 100. The whole number of insanes and infirm persons was given at 112, or 0.13 per cent. of the total population. Of these 2 are returned as insane; 15 as idiots; 25 as deaf and dumb; 67 as blind; and 3 as lepers. No details are available to show the comparative strength of the different tribes and castes included above under the general term Hindu. There is, however, as compared with the other Native States of Gujarát, a very small proportion of the element commonly included under the term "aboriginal tribes." The Hindu population belongs to the following sects:—

Religion.

Hindu Religious Divisions.

Vaishnavas.					Shaivas		Mixed		Jainas or Shrávatas.	Total
Rámánújas	Vallabhacháryas	Kábr Páthís.	Medhacháryas	Swámi Náráyanas.	Shankara Smártas.	Lingáyats.	Ascetics or religious sects.	All who worship simply some god or goddess without knowing anything of theology		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
16,457	8,200	1,480	712	8,643	4,013	16,134 ^a	525	14,461	3,858	71,695

Of the 11,882 Musalmáns, 10,765 are Sunnis and 1,117 Shiás. The Parsis are all Shensháhi.

According to occupation, the census returns for 1872 divided the whole population into seven classes:—(i) persons employed under Government or municipal or other local authorities, 2,227 souls, or 2.66 per cent.; (ii) professional persons, 1,274, or 1.52

(a) There has apparently been a mistake in the census report. There are no Lingáyats etc. in the Kaira district or in the Cambay state. This number (16,134) would appear to belong to the miscellaneous class (column 9).

Chapter I.
Population.
Occupation.

per cent.; (iii) persons in service or performing personal offices, 1,604, or 1·92 per cent; (iv) persons engaged in agriculture and with animals, 13,670, or 16·87 per cent.; (v) persons engaged in commerce and trade, 1,138, or 1·36 per cent.; (vi) persons employed in mechanical arts, manufactures, and engineering operations, and engaged in the sale of articles manufactured or otherwise prepared for consumption, 9,855, or 11·80 per cent.; (vii) miscellaneous persons not classed otherwise, (a) wives (26,316) and children (26,687) in all 53,003, or 63·48 per cent, and (b) miscellaneous persons 723 or 0·86 per cent.; total 53,726 or 64·34 per cent. According to the returns only 547 persons registered themselves as beggars and paupers. In regard to the occupation of the different classes of the population, Kanbis, besides the regular work of cultivation, are engaged in the carnelian trade, a branch of business that at one time was carried on chiefly by Musalmáns. Owing to the decline of trade Bráhmans, Wániás, and other high-class Hindus, have, in many instances, removed to Bombay. Those of this class who are left, though with little of the wealth they formerly owned in the days of Cambay's prosperity, are still on the whole well off; but so small is the present demand for labour among craftsmen and artisans either skilled or unskilled, that numbers of goldsmiths, blacksmiths, barbers, seamen, and fishermen seek employment in Surat, Broach, Ahmadábád and other districts of Gujarát, and in Bombay. These men remain absent for about seven or eight months in the year, returning with their earnings during the rains. Very few of the seamen, or *Khárwás*, now act as sailors. Their chief occupation is the manufacture of salt. *Besides this they have in many towns of Gujarát, and to some extent even in Bombay, monopolized the work of turning roof-tiles. Among the Cambay Bráhmans and Wániás a large number of the educated youth find work in Gujarát, Bombay, and in other places as accountants and clerks; men of this class seldom revisit their native country except on occasions of marriage or other great family events. Among the Musalmáns of the Shiá sect in Cambay a few are merchants, and others live by service. Of the Sunis some are cultivators, but the greater number are either in trade or are carpet-weavers, shoe-makers, book-binders, potters, or private servants. One class of Musalmáns, known by the name of *Sadiá*, are professional carriers; these men have carts and bullocks of their own; which they use to bring from the landing place to the town articles of merchandise imported by sea. As a rule the Muzalmán section of the population* is badly off, and has little energy and less enterprise. An exception must, however, be made in favour of the class of Bohorás, commonly called "*lotiá*" Bohorás¹. These men, as a rule well-to-do and enterprising, travel for purposes of trade as far as China, Japan, and Zanzibar. There they settle for a time, living as long as ten years, and after amassing sufficient wealth return to Cambay. The Pársis who, as noticed below, at one time exercised great influence in Cambay, are now reduced to the insignificant num-

¹ These men are Shiás in religion, and followers of the Mullá Sáheb of Surat.

ber of 107 souls. They are engaged in trade, distilling spirits, and weaving.

Chapter I.

Population.

Previous to the accession of the present Nawáb (1841) all offices of the state were bestowed on Musalmáns. This rule has, however, of late years been broken through, and, except that a few posts in the army and household are reserved for members of the Nawáb's family, Hindus and Pársis are allowed to hold almost any office under the government.

Occupation

Nothing in the ordinary mode of living, nor in the character of the expenditure of the different classes of the people, would seem to call for a more detailed account than will be found under these heads in the general chapter for the whole of Gujarát.

Mode of living

The Gujaráti dialect is the ordinary language of the Hindu population; Musalmáns employ Hindustáni, but many of them, the descendants of the Persian refugees of the 18th century, still speak the language of that country with considerable purity.

Language.

According to the census returns of 1872 the 87 villages, together with the city of Cambay included, in that year, 29,505 houses, or on an average 84 houses to each square mile. Of these 7,741, or about 26 per cent. of the whole, were built of stone or fire-baked brick; the rest had walls of mud, or unburnt brick, with roofs of thatch or palm leaves. Dwellings of the better sort lodged 21,049 persons, or 25 per cent. of the entire population, at the rate of 2.72 souls to each house. In the 21,764 houses of the inferior sort, 62,445 persons, or 75 per cent. of the entire population, were accommodated, with a pressure per house of 2.87 souls.

Houses.

Of the total number of 87 villages within the limits of Cambay 27 have a population of less than 200 souls; 22 have from 200 to 500; 25 from 500 to 1,000; 9 from 1,000 to 2,000; 2 from 3,000 to 5,000; one from 5,000 to 10,000; and one above 10,000. These 87 villages belong to two main classes, coast and inland villages. The coast villages, of which there are thirty, include the culturable lands along the shore of the gulf of Cambay and the banks of the Sábarmati river. From the character of the soil, well suited for the growth of wheat, these are known as the *báriá* villages, and yield a yearly revenue estimated at about £13,852-16s.¹ The 57 inland villages situated in the rich tract of reddish loam known as the *charotar* yield, like the British districts in the same part of the province, heavy crops of tobacco, millet, cotton, opium, and indigo.

Number of Villages.

¹ Cambay currency Rs. 1,60,000; Imperial Rs. 1,38,528. These conversions have been made on the basis of the current (1876) rates of exchange, according to which the Cambay coin is 15½ per cent. less in value than the imperial rupee. The imperial rupee is calculated as equal to 2s.

CHAPTER II.

TRADE.

Means of communication.

Before railways were introduced into Gujarát, merchandise and passengers were conveyed by boats to Bombay and other ports. Now the passenger traffic is almost entirely by rail from the A'nand station, about thirty miles east of Cambay. Though Cambay is without made-roads, the country is level enough to allow of the passage of carts. For sea trade the Cambay harbour offers few facilities. The deposits brought down by the rivers in the rainy season, or thrown up by the force of the tide, are constantly changing the bed of the gulf. Passages deep enough for coasting craft of from 25 to 30 tons are sometimes in the course of a single rainy season closed, and fresh channels cut through high banks of mud. Some account of the navigation of the port will be found in the article on the Gulf of Cambay. At present (1876) boats are forced to moor at a distance from the city, and their cargoes have to be carried in carts across a mud bank about a mile broad. During the last three years the largest vessel that visited Cambay was one of fifty-seven tons from Calicut.

Ferry.

Across the mouth of the estuary of the Mahi from Cambay to the village of Kávi in Broach, a ferry-boat plies at all seasons of the year. Especially at the springs, when the tide rushes with extreme violence, this passage across the Mahi is one of some risk.

History of Cambay trade.

The history of the trade of Cambay may be divided into three periods: (1) under Hindus, 900-1300; (2) under Musalmáns 1300-1500; and (3) under Europeans, 1500-1875.

I.—Under Hindus (900-1300). Tenth Century.

The travellers of the tenth century found Cambay one of the chief seats of trade in Gujarát. Among its products are mentioned mangoes, cocoanuts, lemons, rice in great abundance, and great quantities of honey. Leather was largely manufactured, and Cambay is said to have been famous for the sandals which bore its name¹. Many of its merchants were foreign Musalmáns who had mosques of their own, and were well taken care of by the Hindu governor of the city². The trade of Cambay was at this time harassed by the pirates known as *Bawárij* from the boats, *baira*, in which they made their excursions. These men scoured the whole Arabian Sea as far as the island of Socotra, chasing the

¹ Másudi (913) in Reinaud's *Memoir Sur l'Inde* 221, and Ibn Haukal (943) in Elliot I., 38.

² Ibn Haukal (943) in Elliot I., 34.

Arab ships bound for India or China, 'just as the Greek galleys chased the Musalmáns in the sea of Ram (the Mediterranean)'.¹

Chapter II.
Trade.

During the eleventh century Cambay would seem to have maintained its position as one of the chief centres of Gujarāt trade. Its markets were supplied with the ginger and cotton of the surrounding country, with the produce of northern India brought overland from Multán either by a direct route or by way of the sea-coast, with balm from Cutch, and sugar from Málwá. By sea Cambay was connected in trade with all countries and cities.² During this time the *Bawárij* pirates, from their headquarters at Cutch and Somnáth, would seem to have continued their depredations unchecked.³

Eleventh century.

In the twelfth century, wheat, rice, indigo, and Indian cane⁴ are mentioned as the chief exports, though merchandise of every country was to be found and was sent from Cambay to all parts. Pirates still infested the Gujarāt seas; but at Cambay itself traders had gained some security, as a fine fortress had been erected by the 'Government of India'.⁵

Twelfth century.

At the close of the thirteenth century Cambay is described as one of the two chief ocean ports of India.⁶ Its exports are said to have been indigo in great abundance, cotton exported to many quarters, much fine cotton cloth or buckram, and a great trade in hides.⁷ The chief imports were gold, silver, copper, *tufia* (the inferior oxide of zinc used as an eye-salve), madder from the

Thirteenth century.

¹ Másudi (913) quoted in Yule's Marco Polo II., 344. These pirates would seem to have belonged to three tribes. *Jíts*, *Meyds*, and *Kurks*, divisions of the Indo-Seythians who were paramount in Sind about the first century of the Christian era. According to Col. Wilford (As. Res. IX. 224), these pirates, under the name of *Dinai*, or men of Diu, on the south coast of Káthiáwár, by their interference with trade, so enraged the Romans that they were forced to send hostages to Constantinople. The early Arab writers (800-1000) mention cases of the *Játs* (834-835) making a descent on the Tigris with so powerful a fleet that the whole strength of the Kálfhate had to be sent against it, (Ibn Alatyr 834, in Ren. Frag. 201); of the Kurks carrying their raids as far as Jiddá in the Red Sea (Ell. Hist. I. 509, and II. 246-248); and of the Meyds of Sauráshtrá being at war with the men of Busra (Ell. Hist. I., 521).

² Al Biruni (970-1039) in Ell. Hist. I. 67. From other passages in Al Biruni (Ell. Hist. I., 69, and Yule's Marco Polo II., 334.) the expression 'all countries' would seem to include a trade westwards with Sofála in Africa, the Arabian coast, and the Persian Gulf; and eastwards with the ports of Malábar, Coromandel then the centre of Indian commerce, and in great ships, called *junks*, with China.

³ Al Biruni, Ell. Hist. I., 69.

⁴ Jaubert's *Idrisi* (1090-1153) 172. As the Indian cane is in this passage said to grow on hills, the reeds, which so late as the eighteenth century were exported for arrows to Hindustán, Persia, and other countries, are probably meant. *Birds Mirat-u-A'hmadi* (1745-1762) 104.

⁵ *Idrisi* in Ell. Hist. I., 84, 85.

⁶ Marino Sanuto (1300-1320) quoted in Yule's Marco Polo II., 333.

⁷ According to Marco Polo (1254-1324, and in India probably about 1290) the curing of hides and the manufacture of leather were at that time two of the most important of Gujarāt industries. Every year a number of ships went to Arabia laden with the skins of goats, of oxen, of buffaloes, of wild oxen, of unicorns, and other animals. The leather was used for sandals, and was also cleverly worked up into sleeping mats in red and blue, exquisitely inlaid with figures of birds and beasts, and skillfully embroidered with gold and silver wue. Yule's Marco Polo, II., 328-329.

Chapter II.

Trade.

Red Sea, and horses from the Persian Gulf.¹ Among its merchants were many foreign Musalmáns and a large community of Pársis, the interests of both carefully watched by the Hindu kings of Anhilwára.² The seamen were many of them Hindus, Kulis by caste, fostered by the kings of Anhilwára, to whom an entire square in that capital was assigned.³ Though Cambay itself is said at this time to have been free from pirates, the Arabian Sea would seem to have still been overrun by the robbers of Cutch and Somnáth, whom Marco Polo calls the most atrocious pirates in existence, and again near Tanna ships ran the risk of being waylaid by corsairs in league with the ruler of that place.⁴

II. Under Musal-
máns (1300-1500)
Fourteenth century.

For the two hundred years (1300-1500,) when the control of the sea trade of Cambay was in the hands of the Musalmán governors of Gujarát, few details have been obtained. Except Ibn Batuta's (1345) statement of the prosperity of the city, and the knowledge that at the beginning of this century the old trade route between Asia and Europe by way of the Red Sea was re-opened, nothing regarding the trade of Cambay in the fourteenth century has been traced.

Fifteenth century.

The chief articles of Cambay trade mentioned by the travellers of the fifteenth century are sardonix, spikenard, lac, indigo, myrobalans, silks, and paper.⁵ During this period the Musalmán rulers of Gujarát paid more attention than at any other time to naval matters, and on five occasions Cambay shared in the work of equipping fleets. One of these expeditions, in 1430, was purely political, directed against the Báhmáni king of the Deccan. But the object of the remaining four was the suppression of piracy.⁶

III. Under Euro-
peans (1500-1875.)
Sixteenth century.

Shortly after the beginning of the sixteenth century the control of the sea trade of Cambay passed from the king of Gujarát to the Portuguese. Much more information is available for this than for any former period, and it is, perhaps, because of the possession

¹ Yule's Marco Polo II., 333.

² See the story of Sidh Ráj (1094-1143) in EIL Hist. II., 164.

³ Rás Malá I. 318. The Kulis of the north of Gujarát are said to have come from the lands near the Indus. They were at the time of their settlement in Gujarát called *mairs* (Rás Malá I. 103). This would seem to support the theory that the Kulis of Gujarát, who, since the days of the Anhilwára kings, have continued to furnish seamen willing to sail into all parts of the Indian ocean, are of the stock of the famous pirates, the Meyds. See note 1 at page 9 and EIL Hist. I., 516-531.

⁴ Yule's Marco Polo II., 328, 330, 333.

⁵ See Major's India in the XV. Cent. II. 6-13 and 20; III. 8, and IV. 9. Among these articles paper is noticed by Nicolo Conti (1420-1444) as being used in Cambay and nowhere else throughout India. Indigo is mentioned by Nicolo, by Athanasius Nikotin (1468-1474), and by Hieronimo (1499).

⁶ These expeditions against pirates, all of which were undertaken by Máhmud Begará (1459-1511), were as follows:—1475, against the Malábárs; 1480, against Jigat and Beyt; 1482, against Balsar; 1494, against a revolted officer of the Deccan Government, who had captured some Gujarát trading ships. Active measures would seem to have been much required, as, according to Athanasius Nikotin (1468-1474), the sea infested with pirates, all of them Káfars (Hindus), neither Christians nor Musalmáns. "They pray to stone idols, and know not Christ." Major III. II. *

of these fuller details that the sixteenth century has generally been considered the time of Cambay's chief prosperity. Still it seems doubtful if the trade of Cambay was ever again so great as it was during the reign of Mūhmad Bagarā (1159-1511).¹ In spite of the successes of the early years (1526-1530) of Bāhādūr's reign, the sixteenth century was, on the whole, a time of decline in Gujarāt; and though the Portuguese may have increased the demand for Cambay products, and to some extent introduced an improved system of navigation, they for several years (1529-1534) spared no effort to injure the harbours and shipping of Gujarāt; and, even when they became the acknowledged rulers of the Cambay seas, it was their interest to reduce the commerce of Cambay to a local traffic centering in their own ports of Chaul and Goa. With the decline of the Portuguese power, the former trade between Cambay and the Red Sea revived, and before the English (1608) came to Gujarāt, was again of considerable consequence.²

Of the marts with which Cambay was connected by trade at the beginning of the sixteenth century there were, of inland towns in Gujarāt itself, Ahmedābād, Pātan, and Chāmpāner, and, in Upper India, Delhi and Lāhor. Of sea-ports, Gogo and Diu in Gujarāt, to a great extent the ports of Cambay, Diul in Sind, and Cabcut and Cochin on the Malābār coast; and of foreign ports westward, Ormus in the Persian Gulf, Sheher, Aden, and Jidda on the Arabian coast; Magadoxa, Melinda, and ~~Mombaza~~ on the east coast of Africa.³ To the east the Cambay merchants were in direct communication with Ceylon, with Chittagong across the bay of Bengal, with Martaban, Tenasserim, and Malacca. Early in the century, under the influence of the Portuguese, in India Chaul and Goa became the chief places of trade with Cambay, Ormus remained the head-quarters of the trade to Persia, the traffic with the Red Sea was for a time nearly destroyed, and, when it again revived, Mocha, and not Aden, was the chief trading station. The dealings with the east coast of Africa

¹ During Mūhmad's reign, according to Varthema (1508), Cambay and another city (apparently in Bengal) supplied all Africa, Arabia, Ethiopia, and India, including Persia, Tartary, Turkey, and Syria, and a multitude of inhabited islands, with silk and cotton stuffs. Badger's Ed. 111.

² Three voyages of Vasco de Gama, LVI., and compare Capt. Paris and Sir H. Middleton (1611-1612) in Kerr's Voyages, VIII. 185-193. Finch (1608) speaks of the 'topping trade of Cambay in all sorts of cloth and rich druggs' Har. I. 89. The decline of the Portuguese interest in trade dates from 1580, the year of the absorption of the kingdom of Portugal in the Spanish empire. Besides the opposing interests of Chaul and Goa, Gujarāt at this time had a powerful rival in Tatta in Sind, from which spices were sent up the Indus and distributed through Lāhor, and by the same route the goods of Upper India were brought down to the sea. Steel (1614) in Kerr, IX. 209.

³ From Mombaza (S. Lat. 4°) southwards as far as Sofala (S. Lat. 26°15'), and from Sofala by land 200 miles beyond towards the Cape of Good Hope, the goods brought to Mombaza by the Carabay ships were distributed by Arab merchants settled in Africa. These settlers made large profits, exchanging Cambay coloured stuffs and beads with the people from the interior for unweighed gold, so much in quantity that they generally gained 100 per cent. Here, too, they collected large quantities of ivory.—Barbosa (1501-1517) Stan. Trans. 7.

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fell almost entirely into the hands of the Portuguese, who managed them from Chaul in the Konkan. In the east Satgong to some extent took the place of Chittagong, but Malacca, after 1511 in the power of the Portuguese, remained the centre of that great trade.

I. Gujarát products. The articles of trade at Cambay in the beginning of the sixteenth century were among Gujarát products :—Of MINERALS, the different varieties of agate, carnelian, and crystal, known as Cambay stones ;—of VEGETABLE PRODUCTS, rice sent to Sind, to the Konkan, and the Malábár coasts, to Arabia and Africa ; millet sent to the Malábár coast and to Africa ; wheat² to the Malábár coast, Arabia and Africa ; pulse and sesame to the Malábár coast ; cotton to the Malábár coast and Arabia ; ginger and pepper³ sent to Persia ; and *turbith* (convol. turbethum) to the Malábár coast ;—of PREPARED VEGETABLE PRODUCTS, opium, though held inferior to the opium of Aden, was sent westward to Persia, south to the Malábár coast, and east to Pegu and Malacca ; and indigo,⁴ though of less value than Agra indigo, was one of the chief exports to the Persian Gulf and Red Sea, and afterwards to the Portuguese ports of the Konkan ;—of ANIMALS,⁵ horses were sent to the Konkan and Malábár coast ;—of MANUFACTURED ARTICLES, from minerals, agate ornaments were sent to the Malábár coast, the Arab coast, the Red Sea, and East African ports ; from plants, cotton thread, cotton cloth,⁶ coarse camlets,⁷ and thick carpets ; from timber, inlaid work-boxes and bedsteads ;⁸ from animal products, lac⁹ and lacquered ware,

¹ Cæsar Frederic, Hak. Voy. II. 536.

² WHEAT.—It seems doubtful whether this wheat was the produce of Gujarát and not rather Málwá and Ajmir wheat imported by land. See Glad. A. A. (1590) II. 62. The author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* (Burd's Trans. 102) says though in his time (1750) much wheat was produced in Gujarát, formerly the better kinds had to be imported. The authority for the production of wheat in Gujarát is Barbosa, Stanley's Trans. 57-59 and 60.

³ PEPPER.—This seems doubtful : pepper is said to grow in all parts of India. Cæs. Fred (1563-1585) Hak. Voy. II. 372. But Barbosa (1501-1516) says of Mangalor on the Malábár coast, henceforward, *i.e.*, south, the earth begins to produce pepper. This, however, is the vine pepper (*Chavica Betel*.)

⁴ INDIGO.—'A great quantity of indigo' (Cæs. Fred. 1563-1585, Hak. Voy. II. 343) ; some of this indigo, and the best, probably, came by land from Láhor and Agra. But much was grown in Gujarát, chiefly at Sarkhej and Nariád, Glad. A. A. (1590) II. 64.

⁵ ANIMALS.—'A wonderful quantity of horses' Barb. (1501-1516) 55. Oxen and camels were famous ; but no mention is made of their being exported. Glad. A. A. II. 64.

⁶ COTTON CLOTH was the staple export. Vart. (1508) 'every year 40 or 50 vessels are laden with cotton and silk stuffs' p. 107. Barb. (1501-1516) 'many cloths of white cotton, fine and coarse' p. 65 ; Cæs. Fred. (1563-1585) 'an infinite quantity of cloth made of bombast of all sorts—white, stamped and painted' H. V. II. 343.

⁷ CAMLET is a plain stuff of goat's hair, of wool, or half wool half cotton.

⁸ WOODWORK.—Great artists with the turning lathe, says Barb. (1501-1516) 66. One of their 'works of art' was a bedstead of Cambay work, wrought with gold and mother-of-pearl, very beautiful, given by the king of Melinda in Africa to Vasco de Gama in 1502, Gama's 3 Voyages, p. 306.

⁹ LAC is doubtful. It was at this time chiefly grown in Pegu (Barb. 184). But may also have come from the hills of eastern Gujarát as was the case early in the seventeenth century.

silk,¹ articles of ivory well-known in commerce, like inlaid works of gold.² These manufactures were sent to all countries with which the merchants of Cambay traded³.

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The articles imported by land were diamonds from the Deccan, wheat and barley from Málwá, spices from Sind,⁴ indigo and spices from Láhor, and silk, horses, myrobalans, and spices from Cábul. Imported products
(c) by land;

Of articles imported into Cambay by sea there were,—of MINERAL ^(b) by sea. SUBSTANCES, copper; lead; quick-silver; vermilion; and alum from Aden⁵ in the Red Sea, and from Goa and Chaul; gold, uncoined, came from the east coast of Africa and Abyssinia, and both coined and uncoined from Mecca and Ormuz; silver from the ports of the Red Sea and Persian Gulf; iron came from the Malábár coast; tin from Siam; and salt and sulphur from the Persian Gulf. There was a large trade in precious stones: rubies came from Pegu and Ceylon, topasses and cat's eyes from Ceylon; and turquoises, emeralds, and lapis-lazuli from Persia;—of GRAINS, FRUITS, and VEGETABLE DYES; rice, cardamums, betel-leaves, areca nuts, and coconuts came from the Malábár coast; from Arabia, opium, betel-leaf,⁶ madder, ginger, and galls; ⁷ from Persia raisins, dates, the

1 SILK is doubtful. It was grown in Bengal, Glad. A. A. II. 9. But came chiefly from Cabul and China. The trade in silk stuffs was almost as great as in cotton cloth.

2 IVORY.—Barb. 65. Compare Cæs. Fred. II. V. 344. 'An infinite number of artificers that made bracelets of elephant's teeth.'

3 LEATHER.—One of the chief changes in the trade of Cambay in the sixteenth century as compared with its trade in the previous century, would seem to have been the decay of the leather trade. Barbosa (1501-1516) though he notices the embroidered shoes of very good leather worn by the Hindus of Gujarát, (52) the stout leather leggings of the Muhammadan soldiery (56), and the stamped kid skins with which the Cambay carriages were lined (65), nowhere speaks of leather as one of the manufactures of Gujarát. In Cæsar Frederick's list (1685) sandals appear among the imports, while Mandelslo (1638) expressly mentions the shoes as being of red Spanish leather (Harris II. 122), and somewhat later (1651) Tavernier notices shoes made of Maroquin or Turkey leather (Harris II. 357.)

4 SIND SPICES.—The chief Sind spice was *COSTUS*—*kuth*, or *putchock*—also called *radix dulcis* or *lignum dulce*. This went to China where it was much burned as incense. So 'the Portuguese ship that goes every year from Malacca to China, is called the ship of drugs, because she carries divers drugs of Cambay.' Cæs. Fred. (1563-1580), Hak. Voy. II. 356. Gugal or balsamodendron, probably *bdellium*, was also found in Sind, Káthiáwar, and Cutch. Yule's Marco Polo II. 331, 332.

5 Most of these articles reached Aden from Europe by way of Suez and Jidda. A curious account of the manufacture of alum in Asia Minor is given in Yule's *Jordanus* 57. It was the trade in these articles that was most affected by the opening of the new route by the Cape of Good Hope. Throughout the greater part of the century, probably the chief import of these articles into Cambay was by way of Goa and Chaul. But, as noticed above, towards its close, the trade between Gujarát and the Red Sea had considerably revived.

6 BETEL-LEAF is doubtful. Cæs. Fred. (II. V.) 343. 'Great quantity of PANNINA which cometh from Mecca.' This may be PAN which in Ibn Batuta's time (1342) was reared in Arabia and much esteemed by the people of India. Lee's Ibn Batuta, 59.

7 GALLS.—These were brought from the Levant through Mecca to Cambay and from Cambay distributed to China and Java where 'they were worth a great deal.' Barb. 191.

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root rinas for dyeing, and musk and rhubarb¹ —; of PERFUMES and SPICES—cloves from the Moluccas, nutmeg and mace from Pegu and Banda, white sandal-wood from Timor, camphor from Borneo and Sumatra, benjamin or benzoin from Siam, Malacca, and Sumatra, cassia from the Malábár coast, cinnamon from Ceylon and Java, eagle-wood or lign-aloes from Cochiu-China, pepper from Malábár, Ceylon, Bengal, Sumatra, and Java, and ginger from Quilon;—of ANIMALS—horses were brought from Persia and Arabia, and elephants from Ceylon and the Malábár coast; and of ANIMAL PRODUCTS, coral came from the Red Sea, pearls from the Persian Gulf and Ceylon, ivory from Africa, tortoise-shell and cowries from the Maldives; pigeon's dung, used as a dye, from Africa, lac from Pegu and Martaban, musk from Ava, and ambergris from Africa, Socotra, and the Maldivé Islands;—of MANUFACTURED ARTICLES—velvets, brocades, and woollen cloth came from the Red Sea, fine muslins from Bengal and the Konkan coast, and porcelain from Martaban and China².

Articles of trade,
1563-1585.

These details describe the trade of Cambay as it was in the early part of the sixteenth century. Towards the close of the century Cæsar Frederick (1563-1585) has left the following summary of the Cambay trade:—Barks came in laden with all sorts of spices, with silk of China, with sandals, with elephant's teeth, velvets of Vercini, great quantity of *pannina* from Mecca, with gold pieces and money, and divers sorts of other merchandize. Barks went out laden, as it were, with an infinite quantity of cloth made of bombast of all sorts—as white, stamped and painted, with great quantity of indigo, with ginger and myrobalans dried and conserved, with borax in paste, great store of sugar, great quantity of cotton, abundance of opium, assafoetida, puchio, with many other sorts of drugs, turbans made in Diu, and great stones like to carnelians, granates, agates, and bloodstone.³

Merchants.
I. Residents.

The merchants by whom the trade of Cambay was carried on in the sixteenth century were of two classes—residents and strangers. Of the resident merchants, some were Musalmáns and some were Hindus. Of the Hindu trading houses some had branches, or correspondents, in many ports both Indian and foreign. Among Indian ports, mention is made of colonies of Cambay merchants settled in Dábul,⁴ Cochin, and still more in Calicut where

¹ This musk and rhubarb came by land from Tartary; other supplies of these articles were brought by sea from China.

² In the sixteenth century European velvet, scarlet cloth, and cloth of gold, chiefly of Venetian manufacture, would seem to have been more prized than cloths of the same kind made in the east. Thus the Gujarát weavers are praised (Glad. A. A. II. 63) for imitating the silk manufactures of Turkey and Europe, and the velvets imported from the Red Sea were esteemed over the whole of the east, (Barb. 186 and 188). Terry (1616-1618) says expressly, the Indian velvets, satins, and taffetas are not so rich as those of Italy. Kerr. IX. 392.

³ Cæsar Frederick (1563-1585) Hak. Voy. II. 343.

⁴ Dábul (N. Lat. 17° 34', E. Long. 73° 16') in the British district of Ratnágri, in the 15th century a great Musalman, and in the 16th century a great Portuguese, place of trade.

they were much honoured by the king, living in good houses, in separate streets, and following their own customs¹. Eastwards beyond Cochin, during the sixteenth century, Hindu merchants from Gujarát do not seem to have settled, but westwards they were found living at Ormuz, and in great numbers at Melinda and Mombaza on the east coast of Africa.²

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The resident Musalmán traders of Cambay were many of them foreigners, descendants of the merchants mentioned by the early Arab travellers.³

Of the stranger merchants, the greater number were in the early part of the century Musalmáns from Western Asia,⁴ and later on Portuguese and other Europeans.⁵

II. Stranger merchants.

Regarding the land trade that centred in Cambay in the sixteenth century, little has been traced: The chief lines of communication were through Ahmedábád northwards to Agra, Delhi, and Láhor, and westwards through Rádhanpur to Tathá in Sind.⁶ Within the limits of Gujarát almost all merchandise was conveyed in

Means of communication.

I. By land.

¹ Barb. 146. The early European travellers differed much in their estimate of the character of the Hindu merchants. Both Marco Polo (1290) and Jordanus (1323) describe the Gujarát Hindu traders of Calicut as the best merchants in the world, and the most truthful. (Yule's Marco Polo II. 299 and Yule's Jordanus 22). This agrees with Cæsar Frederick's description of the perfect trust stranger merchants of his time placed in the Hindu brokers of Cambay (Hak. Voy. II. 343). On the other hand Barbosa (1501-1516) found the Hindus of Gujarát 'great usurers and falsifiers of weights and measures and merchandize and coin, and liars and cheats' (52); Peyton (1615) calls the Surat brokers 'subtle, and, unless well looked after, ready to deceive both the buyer and the seller.' Kerr, IX. 230.

² Ormuz—Abd-er-Razzak (1442) mentions idolaters in great numbers. (Major's XV. Cent I. 7), and Newberry (1583) found gentiles there (Hak. Voy. II. 379). Vasco-de Gama (1498) found many gentile merchants from Cambay in Melinda and Mombaza (Kerr's Voy. II. 337, and Correa's Three Voyages of De Gama 137, note 1) compare Barb. 13.

³ See above page 8.

⁴ Hieronimo (about 1490) found at Cambay some Moorish merchants of Alexandria and Damascus (Major IV. 9). So many Turks, says Varthema (1508), resided constantly at Diu that it was known as Diu-bandar-rumí or the Turk's Diu, as distinguished from Diu or Diul Sindh, whose westward trade was almost entirely with the Persian Gulf, Badg. Varth. 92.

⁵ Cæsar Frederick (about 1585) gives an account of the relations between the European merchants and the class of Hindu traders who, under the name of brokers, have played so important a part in the establishment of European trade settlements in India. 'On arriving at Cambay the merchant chooses his agent from among the brokers, gentiles and men of authority, every one of them with from 15 to 20 servants. Leaving a list of his goods in the broker's hands, and taking on land the furniture he brought with him in the ship—for household provision all merchants coming to the East India must bring with them,—the merchant drives off to an empty house in the city where bedsteads, tables, chairs, and empty jars of water have been made ready by the broker against the arrival of some stranger. While the merchant rests, the broker is clearing the goods and brings them to the house, the merchant not knowing anything thereof, neither custom nor charge. Then the broker tells the merchant the ruling rates both of the goods he has to sell and those he may wish to buy, asking whether he will sell at once or wait. The merchant makes his choice, but, after he has once fixed, the whole work of bartering or selling, and of buying, rests with the broker, for 'tarry as long as he will the merchant's goods cannot be sold by any man but by the broker that had taken them on land and paid the custom' Cæs. Fred. Hak. Voy. II. 313, 344.

⁶ Sidhi Ali Kapodhan (1554) Trans. By. Lit. Soc. II. 9, 10.

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carts drawn by bullocks,¹ and westwards from Gujarát on camels. Throughout the greater part of the century, the country was unsettled, and the merchants were liable to be robbed by bands of Rájputs and Kolis. Generally the traders went in caravans, trusting for safety to the guidance of some one of the Bhát caste of Hindus².

II. By sea.

Throughout the whole of this period, the harbour of Cambay would seem to have been unserviceable for trading vessels of any great size. At the beginning of the century, Barbosa notices the difficulty and danger of the navigation at the head of the Gulf, advising no one to venture as far as Gandhár, between Cambay and Broach, without the help of a native pilot. It would seem, therefore, that at that time (1501-1516) the larger vessels did occasionally pass to the head of the Gulf.³ At the same time Barbosa's account of the general commerce of the Gulf would seem to show that, as a rule, ships trading to distant ports loaded and unloaded in Diu, Gogo, and Gandhár, the goods finding their way to and from Cambay in small boats.⁴ In the latter part of the century, the harbour would seem to have become even more unserviceable. No craft, but small vessels or barks went to Cambay, and these only twice in the month at the time of every new moon and every full moon.⁵ In the early part of the century (1507) a fleet was equipped from Cambay and acted with the Turkish fleet against the Portuguese. Though many vessels were lost at Diu in 1509, a Gujarát fleet was maintained, till in 1529 it was destroyed by the Portuguese in Bombay harbour. A few years later (1534) the Gujarát king agreed, in acknowledgment of the Portuguese supremacy at sea that no Gujarát ships should trade without a Portuguese pass.⁶ In return for this concession the Portuguese would seem to have occasionally sent their fleets to act against pirates in Cambay waters.⁷ But these expeditions would seem to have had no lasting effect. Towards the close of the century (1585) so many robbers and pirates went robbing and spoiling along the coast, that, except with ships very well appointed and armed, or else with the fleet of the Portugals, there was no safe sailing in those seas.⁸

¹ Gladwin's Ain Akbari II. 63.

² If the Rájputs meet the caravan with the intention of robbing them, the Bháts draw their daggers and threaten to kill themselves if the least harm should happen to the caravan. If their charge is molested, the Bháts kill themselves, and the Rájputs are judged guilty of death by their raja's. When camels were hired at Radhanpur the Bháts were dismissed (Sidhi Ali in By. Lit. Soc. Trans. II. 9, 10). Barbosa seems to refer to the Bháts (though translated *PARAR* p. 54) calling them Brahmans of a lower rank, who, even if there should be war or thieves, always pass safely.

³ Compare Varth. (1508), who says you cannot go to Cambay either with large or middle sized ships except at high water, p. 105.

⁴ These boats were of a peculiar build, and were called *tahveri*, Glad. A. A. II. 84.

⁵ Caesar. Fred. Hak. Voy. II. 343.

⁶ For these dates see Faria, in Kerr. VI. 114, 117, 209, 227.

⁷ Attacks are mentioned on Seal Beyt. in 1530, and in 1568 against pirates who were infesting the Portuguese trade. Faria in Kerr. VI. 222 and 422.

⁸ Frederick (1563-1585) Hak. Voy. II. 344.

Towards the close of the sixteenth century the importance of Surat as a place of trade was on the increase; and when in the early part of the seventeenth century the Gujarāt head-quarters of the Dutch and English trading companies were established in Surat, the importance of Cambay continued to decline¹. The general historical sketch given below contains some notice of the Dutch and English factories in Cambay. Here it seems enough to state that though during the greater part of the seventeenth century the cotton and silk manufactures of Cambay maintained their position among the most valued exports of Western India, the general trade of the city became more and more limited. The more important articles of trade at this time were, of exports, silk and cotton stuffs of all kinds; of imports, money, dates, and other merchandize². Besides the home trade to Diu and Goa, Cambay goods went westwards to the Persian Gulf and to Mocha, and eastwards to Achin in Sumatra.

Chapter II.

Trade

English period,
1600-1875

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, Cambay, though 1700 subordinate to Surat, was still inferior in products and manufactures to few towns in India. The staples of its trade at that time were carnelians and agates, grain, cotton, silk, and embroidery, the last said to be the best of any in India, perhaps in the world³.

Half a century later, among the exports of Cambay, the author 1746-1762. of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* (1746-1762) mentions, salt like coarse sand but with a special virtue for the weak, carnelian, and ivory articles, and cloths like those of Persia, Arabia, Abyssinia, Constantinople, and Europe⁴.

Towards the close of the century, great quantities of coarse 1774-1779 coloured cotton were still manufactured in the city and exported for the African markets. But so much had disorder and oppression injured the city, that the weavers were few and poor, and, except the English broker, there was no merchant of emmence⁵.

To illustrate the trade of Cambay during the present century, Nineteenth century, two sets of figures are available, one for 1839-40 and the other 1839 and 1874 for 1874-75. Of these the returns for 1839 show a total import

¹ The chief local cause of the transfer of trade from Cambay to Surat was the silting up of the head of the gulf. In the beginning of the sixteenth century large ships would seem to have been able to go up to Cambay. Vart (1503-1508) p. 105. Later on this became possible only to small vessels, and towards the close of the century to small vessels only at times of spring tides. Cas Fried (1563-1585) *Hak. Voy.* II. 344. In the beginning of the seventeenth century (1608) there was still a topping trade for all sorts of cloth and rich drugs. (Finch in *Har.* I. 89), and about this time the ships, 'only small vessels as ships of burden had to lie a good distance from the shore, at high water might anchor close by the city but lay dry at low water'. Ogilby's *Atlas* V. 212 (published 1660-1685). By the middle of the seventeenth century Tavernier (1642-1666) says the trade was almost lost because the sea that once came so close up to the town that little vessels could anchor by it, is now become half a league distant from it, and near the coast is so shallow that great ships can come no nearer than three or four leagues. Harris II. 353.

² Mandelsic (1638) p. 101-108; Baldeus (1660) *Churchill* III. p. 506

³ Hamilton's *New Account* I. 145.

⁴ Bird's *Gujarāt* 104-105.

⁵ Forbes' *O. M.* II. 19 and III. 70.

Chapter II.
Trade.
1839 and 1874.

trade estimated at £34,903-16 (Rs. 3,49,038) and a total export trade of £33,713-12 (Rs. 3,37,136). The corresponding figures for 1874 are imports £37,830-8 (Rs. 3,78,304) and exports £77,816-6 (Rs. 7,78,163). The result of the comparison would therefore seem to show that, during the last thirty-five years, Cambay trade has especially in the matter of exports considerably increased.

Imports Increase.

Among the imports, the articles that have shown the most marked increase in value, are molasses from £5,221 (Rs. 52,210) in 1839 to £14,021-10 (Rs. 1,40,215) in 1874; timber from £3,223-6 (Rs. 32,233) to £4,563-12 (Rs. 45,636); cocoanuts (with and without the shell) from £3,105-16 (Rs. 31,058) to £3,808-4 (Rs. 38,082); and sugar from £2,070 (Rs. 20,700) to £3,541-16 (Rs. 35,418).

Decrease.

In certain articles, on the other hand, there is a falling off in value, the decline being most marked in cotton thread, the imports of which have been reduced from £3,397 (Rs. 33,970) in 1839 to £1,293 (Rs. 12,930) in 1874; in grains from £3,277-2 (Rs. 32,771) to £1,960-6 (Rs. 19,603) to £1,130-4 (Rs. 11,302); in carnelians from £1,735 (Rs. 17,350) to £817-18 (Rs. 8,179); in piece-goods from £1,565-6 (Rs. 15,653) to £712-2 (Rs. 7,121); in ivory and tortoise shell from £408 (Rs. 4,080) to £39-12 (Rs. 396); and in silk from £283-10 (Rs. 2,835) to £4-18 (Rs. 49).

Exports Increase.

Among the exports the changes of most importance are of increase, in tobacco from £11,105-2 (Rs. 1,11,051) in 1839 to £54,034-18 (Rs. 5,40,849) in 1874; in carnelian-works from £369-10 (Rs. 3,695) to £8,436-18 (Rs. 84,369)¹; and in wooden bracelets, or *churi*, from £24 (Rs. 240) to £286-14 (Rs. 2,867); and of decrease, in piece-goods from £15,826-18 (Rs. 1,58,269) to £13,227-2 (Rs. 1,32,271); in dyes from £500-12 (Rs. 5,006) to £73-14 (Rs. 737); in grains from £448-8 (Rs. 4,484) to £95-2 (Rs. 951); in clarified butter, *ghi*, from £353 (Rs. 3,530) to £72 (Rs. 720); and in cotton thread, from £89-16 (Rs. 898) to £6 (Rs. 60).

Decrease.

Among fresh articles of trade there are of imports, matches valued at £349-16 (Rs. 3,498) and cotton-seed at £124-4 (Rs. 1,242). Of exports, are oil-seeds valued at £246-10 (Rs. 2,465), and cotton at £11 (Rs. 110).

Contrasted trade
returns,
1839 and 1874.

On the other hand, of imports oil-seeds formerly imported to the value of £1,142-16 (Rs. 11,428), and ivory weighing 14 cwt. and valued at £66-6 (Rs. 663) and of exports soap formerly valued at £2,835 (Rs. 28,350), *mahudá* the flower of the *Bassia latifolia* at £488-6 (Rs. 4,883), stone at £168 (Rs. 1,680), and salt at £75-10 (Rs. 755) no longer appear in the Cambay trade returns.

The following statement gives in tabular form a summary of the changes that have taken place in the trade of Cambay during the course of the past thirty-five years:—

¹ Reference is made below to the great fluctuations in the carnelian trade. In 1840-41 the export is returned at £6,290 (Rs. 62,900).

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT showing the Trade at the Port of Cambay during

ARTICLES	1839-40.						1874-75.					
	Import.			Export.			Import.			Export.		
	Quantity.	Value.		Quantity.	Value.		Quantity.	Value.		Quantity.	Value.	
	Cwt.	Rs.	£. s.	Cwt.	Rs.	£. s.	Cwt.	Rs.	£. s.	Cwt.	Rs.	£. s.
Clarified butter	.....	..	..	129	3,530	353 0	.....	..	..	24	720	72 0
Cocoanuts (with and without the shell)	.....	21,058	3,105 16	.....	.....	.....	.....	38,082	3,808 4	.....	.....	.....
Carnelians...	.....	17,850	1,785 0	.....	3,695	369 10	.....	8,179	817 18	.....	84,369	8,436 18
Cotton	19	323	32 6	.....	.....	.....	102	555	55 10	11	110	11 0
Cotton seed	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	357	1,242	124 4	.....	.....	.....
Cotton tape, twist, thread & yarn.	191	33,970	3,397 0	.....	398	89 16	236	12,930	1,293 0	.....	60	6 0
Dried fruits	2,183	15,698	1,569 16	.....	.....	.....	3,837	18,954	1,895 8	.....	.....	.....
Dyes— <i>Sorangi</i> or <i>Morinda</i> root, <i>Kusumbo</i> or <i>safflower</i> , and Indigo	195	4,430	443 0	1,199	5,006	500 12	479	4,947	494 14	71	737	73 14
Grain of all sorts	.....	32,771	3,277 2	.....	4,484	448 8	.....	13,600	1,360 0	.....	951	95 2
Grocery	376	4,222	422 4	312	5,166	516 12	693	6,055	608 10	1,582	5,430	543 0
Ivory and tortoise shell <i>Kachukdj</i>	30	4,080	408 0	.....	.....	.....	23	396	39 12	.....	.....	.....
Mahurá flower (<i>Bassia latifolia</i>)..	.....	.....	.....	1,743	4,883	488 6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Matches	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3,498	349 16	.....	.....	.....
Metal	1,733	19,603	1,960 6	.....	.....	.....	1,269	11,302	1,130 4	.....	.....	.....
Molasses	5,331	52,210	5,221 0	.....	.....	.....	31,621	1,40,215	14,021 10	.....	.....	.....
Oil	147	2,120	212 0	.....	.....	.....	150	2,860	286 0	.....	.....	.....
Oil-seeds	1,482	11,428	1,142 16	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,224	2,465	246 10
Piece-goods (cloth)	.....	15,653	1,565 6	.....	1,58,269	15,826 18	.....	7,121	712 2	.....	1,32,271	13,227 2
Salt...	172	1,218	121 16	237	755	75 10	355	2,304	230 8	.....	.....	.....
Silk	10	2,835	283 10	.....	.....	.....	.....	49	4 18	.....	.....	.....
Soap	.....	.....	.....	.....	28,350	2,835 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Stone	.....	1,043	104 6	412	1,680	168 0	.....	1,961	196 2	.....	.....	.....
Sugar	1,081	20,700	2,070 0	.....	.....	.....	2,874	35,418	3,541 16	.....	.....	.....
Sundries	.....	45,599	4,559 6	.....	9,129	912 18	.....	22,970	2,297 0	.....	7,334	733 8
Timber	.....	32,283	3,223 6	.....	.....	.....	.....	45,636	4,563 12	.....	.....	.....
Tobacco	.....	.....	.....	43,195	1,11,051	11,105 2	.....	.....	.....	54,653	5,40,849	54,084 18
Wooden-bracelets	.....	.....	.....	.....	240	24 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	2,867	286 14
Total		3,49,038	34,903 16		3,37,136	33,713 12		3,78,304	37,830 8		7,78,163	77,816 6

CAMBAY.

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Chapter II.
Trade.
Comparative
Statement,
1839-1874.

Chapter II.

Trade

Articles of export.

From this statement and other Custom House returns, some further details regarding the chief articles of export and import and the general course of the present trade of Cambay are available.

- Tobacco.** In the list of exports tobacco holds the first place in point of value, the export of 54,653 cwts. of tobacco being valued at £54,084-18 (Rs. 5,40,819) as compared with 43,195 cwts. 32 lbs. valued at £11,105-2 (Rs. 1,11,051) in 1839-40. From Cambay tobacco goes southward as far as the district of Colába and chiefly to the ports of Daman and Bombay; westward to Káthiáwár; and northward to Cutch.
- Black cloth.** Of black cloth—the article next in value—the export was in 1874-75 estimated at £13,227-2 (Rs. 1,32,271) as compared with £15,826-18 (Rs. 1,58,269) in 1839-40.
- Carnelian works.** Of carnelian and agate ornaments, the export in 1874-75 was valued at £8,436-18 (Rs. 84,369) as compared with £6,290 (Rs. 62,900) in 1840-41. Cambay-stone ornaments go chiefly, as mentioned below, to Bombay. Of drugs and spices 1,582 cwts. valued in 1874-75 at £543 (Rs. 5,430) were exported as compared with 312 cwts. 30 lbs. valued at £516-12 (Rs. 5,166) in 1839-40. Articles of this class go chiefly to Bombay.
- Grocery.**
- Wooden bracelets.** Of wooden bracelets, the export was in 1874-75 estimated at £286-14 (Rs. 2,867) as compared with £24 (Rs. 240) in 1839-40. Wooden bracelets are sent chiefly to Bombay.
- Oil-seed.** Oil-seed, which in 1839-40 was imported to the value of £1,142-16 (Rs. 11,428), in 1874-75 appears among the exports with an estimated value of £246-10 (Rs. 2,465). Oil-seed is exported chiefly southwards to the ports of Basscin and Agási in the Tanna District, and westwards to Bhaunagar and Gogo in Káthiáwár.
- Grain and pulse.** — On the other hand, the exports of grain and pulse would seem to have fallen off, their value in 1874-75 being returned at £95-2 (Rs. 951) as compared with £448-8 (Rs. 4,484) in 1839-40: Under the head of grain and pulse, *guwár*, *Dolichos fabæformis*, is exported to Bilimorá in Surat, and *chuni* (small pieces of *turcr*) and husks of *turcr*, *Cajanus Indicus*; *juwár*, *Sorghum vulgare*; *wat* *Dolichos lablab*; *mag*, *Phaseolus radiatus*; and *math*, *Phaseolus aconitifolius* go to Bombay. In 1839-40, 1,467 cwts. and 30 lbs. of *turcr* valued at £338-8 (Rs. 3,384) were exported; while there was no export under this head in 1874-75.
- Dyes.** Under the head of dyes, 1874-75, 71 cwts. of indigo and safflower, valued at £73-14 (Rs. 737) were exported as compared with 1,199 cwts. 7 lbs. valued at £500-12 (Rs. 5,006) in 1839-40. These articles go to Bombay.
- Cotton.** Under the head of cotton in 1874-75, 11 cwts. of cotton valued at £11 (Rs. 110) were exported. No cotton would seem to have been exported in 1839-40.

Among imported articles, molasses holds the first place with 3,162 cwts. valued at £14,021-10 (Rs. 1,40,215) in 1874-75 as compared with 5,331 cwts., 17 lbs valued at £5,221 (Rs. 52,210) in 1839-40. Molasses is imported chiefly from Balsár and Bilimorá in Surat. Chapter II.
Trade.
Articles of import.
Molasses

Next in order comes timber with an import in 1874-75 of Timber. £4,563-12 (Rs 45,636) as compared with £3,223-6 (Rs. 32,233). Timber is imported chiefly from Balsár, Bilimorá, and Daman.

Cocoanuts, which were in 1874-75 imported to the value of £3,808-4 (Rs. 38,082) as compared with £3,105-16 (Rs 31,058) in 1839-40, are imported chiefly from Bombay and the ports of the Konkan coast. Cocoanuts.

Of sugar, the article fourth in the list in 1874-75, 2,874 cwts. valued at £3,541-16 (Rs. 35,418) were imported as compared with 1,081 cwts., 38 lbs. valued at £2,070 (Rs. 20,700) in 1839-40. Sugar comes chiefly from Bombay. Sugar

Of the articles included under the head of dried fruits, the chief are almonds, betel-nuts, and dates. Of these 3,837 cwts. valued at £1,895-8 (Rs. 18,954) were imported in 1874-75 as compared with 2,183 cwts., 40 lbs. valued at £1,569-16 (Rs. 15,698) in 1839-40. Betel-nuts are imported from Bombay and dates from Bombay and Veráwal in Kátnáwár. Preserved fruits.

Under the head of gram come rice clean and unhusked, wheat, peas, *ratáná*, and maize or Indian corn, *bávo*. Unhusked rice, *dángar*, comes from the Konkan ports, and cleaned rice, *chokha*, and wheat, *ghuu*, from Bombay, peas from Bilimorá in Surat, and *bávo* from Balsár. These to the value of £1,360 (Rs. 13,600) were imported in 1874-75 as compared with £3,277-2 (Rs. 32,771) in 1839-40. Gram.

In 1874-75, 236 cwts., of cotton thread, *sutar*, valued at £1,293 (Rs. 12,930) were imported from Bombay as compared with 181 cwts., 45 lbs. valued at £3,397 (Rs. 33,970) in 1839-40. Cotton thread.

Under the head of metal 1,269 cwts., 19 lbs. valued at £1,130-4 (Rs. 11,302) were imported in 1874-75 as compared with 1,733 cwts., 87 lbs. valued at £1,960-6 (Rs. 19,603) in 1839-40. Metal.

Of rough carnelians the import in 1874-75 was valued at £817-18 (Rs. 8,179) as compared with £1,785 (Rs. 17,850) in 1839-40. These carnelian stones come to Cambay from Broach. Carnelians.

Of unbleached cloth the import was in 1874-75 valued at £712-2 (Rs. 7,121) as compared with £1,565-6 (Rs. 15,653) in 1839-40. This cloth comes from Bombay. Unbleached cloth.

Under the head of dyes, morinda root, or *sorangí*, weighing 479 cwts and valued at £494-14 (Rs. 4,947) was imported in 1874-75 as compared with 132 cwts., 22 lbs. valued at £314-10 (Rs. 3,145) in 1839-40. Dyes.

Chapter II.

Trade.
Building Stones.

Of building stones the import was in 1874-75 valued at £196-2 (Rs. 1,961) as compared with £104-6 (Rs. 1,043) in 1839-40. Stones are imported from Porbandar in Káthiáwár.

Tortoise shell.

Under this head 23 cwts. of *kachakrá*, tortoise shell, valued at £39-12 (Rs. 396) were exported in 1874-75 as compared with 16 cwts. valued at £341-14 (Rs. 3,417) in 1839-40.

Silk.

Silk weighing 28 lbs. valued at £4-18 (Rs. 49) was imported in 1874 as compared with 9 cwts., 102 lbs. valued at £283-10 (Rs. 2,835) in 1839-40.

Shipping.

With regard to the shipping of the port it will be seen from the following statement that during the year 1874-75, 384 vessels visited the port of Cambay, of an average burden of 18·3 tons :—

Statement showing the number and tonnage of the Vessels trading to Cambay, 1874-75.

Ports.		Vessels arrived at Cambay.			Vessels departed from Cambay.		
		No.	Tonnage.	Average size.	No.	Tonnage.	Average size.
4	Kutch ports . . .	3	46	15·33	15	319	21·26
4	Káthiáwár ports . . .	45	726	16·13	48	924	19·25
2	Foreign ports (Diu and Daman.)	26	489	18·80	16	253	15·81
15	Gujarát ports... . .	201	3,340	16·61	222	3,741	16·85
1	Bombay	74	1,718	23·21	69	1,611	23·34
13	Konkan ports... . .	32	628	19·62	27	457	16·92
1	Calicut...	3	82	27·33	...	.....	.....
40	Total...	384	7,029	18·30	397	7,305	18·40

These vessels are all coasting craft, chiefly *batelás*. Boats of six tons and under can make the port of Cambay at all ordinary high tides. Vessels of from 7 to 50 tons can reach Cambay but only at spring tides. Ships of more than 50 tons never visit the Cambay port.

Course of trade.

The trade with the inland parts of Gujarát and of Central India that formerly passed through the port of Cambay has since the opening of the Bombay, Baroda, and Central India Railway to Ahmedábád (1863) almost entirely deserted its former route. At present (1875) Cambay trade is entirely local. The collection of exports and the distribution of imports is confined to a district within a radius of about forty miles from the city walls.

MANUFACTURES.

Chapter II
Manufactures

Some account of Cambay manufactures in former times has been given above under the head of trade. The fame of Cambay as a manufacturing centre has long passed away; there remain only the preparation of agate ornaments, and the manufacture of cloth.

CAMBAY STONES.

From its special character as well as from its importance the working in precious stones is the most interesting of Cambay industries. Under the general name of Cambay stones two classes of gems are included; I. Varieties¹ of the agate family found in different parts of Gujarát within a radius of about 120 miles from Cambay; II. Miscellaneous stones the produce of foreign countries brought to Cambay to be worked up by its lapidaries. Of the first class the most important is the variety of agate, from its fleshy colour, known as carnelian. In its natural state, of a dull cloudy brown or yellow of various shades, the carnelian is in Gujaráti called *ghár*—a name which, when the stone is worked up, is changed to *ahik*. Carnelians are found within the limits of the Rájputlá state, on the left bank of the Narbadá, about fourteen miles above the town of Broach. The neighbourhood is one of hills and forests, and the carnelian mines are on the sloping side of a small sand-stone hill known as the Báuá Ghori or the Báuá Abás hill. The borings in the mines show a superficial bed of gravel with red and yellow ochre below. Under these, fuller's earth and red ochre, then a thin seam of rock containing a large proportion of iron, and last of all the clay in which the carnelians be imbedded². The shafts of the mines are about four feet in diameter, and on an average about thirty feet deep. At the foot of each shaft, galleries, five feet high and four feet wide, branch off on all sides. These passages are seldom more than one hundred yards long, but in many cases they join the galleries of

Cambay Stones.

1. Rájputlá carnelians.
Gujarat agates.
Mining process.

¹ Agate is a stone of the quartz family usually containing from seventy to ninety-six per cent of silica, with various proportions of alumina coloured by oxide of iron or manganese. It is generally found in round nodules or in veins in trap rock. The number of agate balls it contains often gives a rock the character of amygdaloid, and when such a rock is decomposed by the elements, the agates drop out and are found in the beds of streams. The chief varieties of agates are calcedony with the colours in parallel bars; (2) carnelian or red calcedony; (3) Mocha stones; (4) moss agates; (5) blood-stone; (6) plasma, a grass-green stone, probably a calcedony coloured by chlorite, and (7) chrysoptase, an apple-green stone coloured by oxide of nickel. The English word agate is generally derived, through the Latin, from the Greek ἀγάτης said to be the name of a stream in Sicily, once famous for its agates. But it seems more natural to derive the Greek as well as the English from the Arabic word *ahik* - 1, because the Arabic word *ahik* meaning a river-bed would naturally be applied to the agate which, as noticed above, is a river-bed stone; 2, because Arabia was famous for its agates. They were imported, (a) into Rome (A. D. 180) (Vincent II, 751) and (b) into Gujarát.

² The formation containing carnelian, stretching over a space of about four miles, is a deep bed of red gravel, very like London gravel. In it are found pebbles of various form and size of the different species or varieties of calcedony, irregularly imbedded and not in layers like flints in chalk. 'As far as I could observe there is no sign of organic remains in the gravel beds,' Dr. Lush 1836. Jour. As. Soc. Bl. V. 2, p. 766. In 1842 Mr. Orlebar found that the mines had been given up, and the excavations filled in, so that he could not examine the strata. This was because the trade had of late been so unprofitable. Jour. Bo. As. Soc. I. 195.

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Cambay Stones.

other mines. To each of the mines a band of thirteen men is attached. Each of these miners is furnished with a small iron pickaxe, a few bamboo baskets, and a rope. They work in turns, and before he is relieved each must prepare a certain number of baskets of earth and stones. The baskets are drawn up the shafts by a rude roller or pulley supported by four pieces of wood. When they reach the mouth of the mine the stones are tested by chipping. At the close of each day the miners carry such stones as seem likely to prove of value to the village of Ratanpur, the village of gems, and there hand them over to the contractor or his agent. The average out-turn of two men working for a day of from eight to ten hours is estimated at from ten to forty pounds weight of stones.

Colouring process.

So far the process of collecting the different sorts of carnelians is the same. But by the contractor the stones are now divided into two classes, those which to bring out their colour have to be subjected to heat, and those for which this process is not required. The stones that are kept unbaked are three in number: an onyx called *morá* or *báwá ghorí*, the cat's eye called *cheshamúár* or *delá*, and a yellow, semi-transparent pebble called *róri*, or *lasaniá* (the garlic like). Of these the *morá* or *báwá ghorí* onyx¹ has two varieties, one dark in colour with white veins, the other a greyish white with dark veins. These stones are found in different shapes, but generally not more than one pound in weight. With these exceptions all pebbles found in the Ratanpur mines are, with the object of bringing out their colour, subjected to fire. For this purpose during the hot season, generally for the two months of March and April, the stones are in the first instance exposed to the sun in an open field. After this, as a rule in the month of May, a trench, two feet deep by three feet wide, is dug round the field. The pebbles are then gathered into earthen pots, which with their mouths downwards and a hole broken in their bottoms are set in a row in the trench. Fuel of goat's dung and cow-dung cakes are then piled round the pots, and the whole is kept burning from sunset to sunrise. The earthen pots are then taken out, the stones re-examined, and the good ones stowed away into bags. About the end of May the bags are carted to the Narbadá, and then in canoes floated down to Broach. Here they are shipped in large vessels for Cambay, where they are offered for sale to the carnelian dealers. The right of working the Rájpiplá mines is every year put up to auction. It would of late seem to have become more valuable as the average for the last four years (1873 to 1876) has been £ 322 (Rs. 3,227) as compared with £ 189 (Rs. 1,890) in the twenty previous years. The contractors are generally merchants of Barodá and Cambay, Wániás and Vohorás by caste. Their interest in the produce of the mines ceases when they have disposed of the rough stones in Cambay.

The effect of the exposure to the sun and to fire is that among browns the light shades brighten into white, and the darker hues deepen into chestnut. Of yellows, maize gains a rosy tint, orange,

¹ The true or Sulimáni onyx comes to Cambay from Jabalpur.

is intensified into red, and an intermediate shade of yellow assumes a pinkish purple. Pebbles in which cloudy browns and yellows were at first mixed, are now marked by clear bands of white and red. The hue of the red carnelian varies from the palest flesh colour to the deepest blood red. Those carnelians should be chosen that are of a red colour, deep, clear, and even, free from cracks, flaws, and veins. The larger and thicker the stone is, the more it is esteemed. White carnelians are scarce. When large, thick, of an even colour, and free from flaws, they are valuable. Yellow and variegated stones are held in but little estimation¹.

Among Cambay stones those next in importance to the Ráj-Ober Gujrat piplá carnelians are four varieties of agate: the common agate, the moss agate, the Kaparwanj agate, and the veined agate.

The common agate is of two kinds, a white, semi-transparent stone called *dolá* or *cheshandár*, and a cloudy or streaked stone called *jámo*. The shade of colour varies somewhat in different specimens, but it is generally of a greyish white. Both of these varieties come from the north-east of Káthnawár within the limits of the estate of the chief of Morvi, near the village of Mahedpur, three miles from Tankará. The stones lie in massive blocks near the surface of the soil. Of these the most perfect do not exceed five pounds in weight, while those of inferior quality, in many cases cracked, weigh as much as sixty pounds. These stones are brought for sale to the agate dealers of Cambay by merchants who have paid a certain sum to the chief of Morvi and employ labourers, generally Kolis, to collect the stones. When worked up the common agate is generally of a greyish white, and being hard, brittle, and massive, it takes a high polish.

Like the common agate the moss agate, or *sudá bhúji*, comes from a place called Bud Kotrá, three miles distant from the village of Tankará, in the territory of the Morvi chief. This stone is found in the plain about two feet under the surface in massive layers often cracked in various ways, and from half a pound to forty pounds in weight. The arrangements for collecting a supply of moss agates are similar to those described in the case of the common agate. When worked up the moss agate takes a fine polish, showing, on a basis of crystal sometimes clear, sometimes clouded, tracings as of a dark-green or a red-brown moss.

Besides from the town of Kaparwanj in the Kaurá district where as its name shows the Kaparwanj agate is chiefly found, this stone is brought from the bed of the river Májam between the villages of A'miyará and Mándwá, about fifteen miles from Kaparwanj. It is found on the banks and in the beds of rivers in rolled balls of spheroidal, reniform, and amygdaloidal figures in pebbles or rolled masses from half a pound to ten pounds in weight. Agates of this sort are collected by Bhils and sold to a Vohorá in Mándwá near Kaparwanj. From this dealer again the Cambay stone-mer-

¹ This account is compiled from Mr. Summers, By Gov. Sel IV; Captain Fulljames (1832), Trans. Geog. Soc. II. 76-77; and Milburn's Or. Com. I. 278.

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chants buy them at rates varying according to quality from 6s. to 24s. for forty pounds (Rs. 3 to Rs. 12 per *man*). They are brought to Cambay in carts or on donkeys. When worked up this agate takes a high degree of polish, and on a clear or semi-transparent basis shows the forms of delicately preserved plants. These stones vary much in colour and in pattern—in some cases of variegated shades, in others with forms grouped into landscape and other views. In the language of the trade they are known as *khāriyu*, *āgiyu*, and *rātadiv*.

Veined agate.

But though these stones are sometimes marked with much beauty, the most valued of the Cambay agates is that known as the veined agate, the *darādār* of the stone-cutters. This stone comes from Rānpur in the Ahmedābād district. It is there found imbedded under the surface strata of soil, in pebbles of various shapes, but not more than half a pound in weight. The arrangements for collecting stones of this class are similar to those described above. When worked up it takes a high polish, and is of two varieties, showing either a dark ground with white streaks, or dark veins on a light back ground.

Miscellaneous
stones.

Of other Cambay stones those requiring mention are seven in number: the jasper or blood-stone; the chocolate stone; a variegated pebble known as *māimariām*; crystal; the lapis-lazuli or azuro stone; the obsidian or jet stone, and the blue stone or *piṇjā*. Of these the first four are found within the limits of the province of Gujarāt. The rest are imported through Bombay from foreign countries.

Jasper.

The jasper, heliotrope, or blood-stone comes from the village of Tankará in the estate of the Morvi chief, about twenty miles north of Rājkot. It is found on and near the foot of a hill named Bhang in massive layers of from half a pound to forty pounds in weight. The arrangements for procuring blood-stones are similar to those adopted for collecting agates. When worked up the blood-stone takes a high polish. In appearance the surface varies considerably from a green variety with streaks or spots of red known as the *lilā chhāntdār*, to the finer specimens where the basis of green is more equally mixed with red and yellow tints, a kind of blood-stone known by the name of *patolū*.

Chocolate stone.

The stone called chocolate from its colour, and known among stone-cutters by the name of *rāthiā*, comes from Tankará within the estate of the Morvi chief. This stone is found on the surface of the ground or imbedded a few feet deep in the soil in masses of from one to eight pounds in weight. From its soft, earthy basis the chocolate stone does not take a very high polish.

Māimariām.

The next variety known in the trade by the name of *māimariām*, is in colour of a liver brown, with yellowish impressions of shells and animalculæ which give it a marbled appearance. At Dhokowará on the Ran of Cutch, about sixty miles north of Disá, this stone is dug up in blocks of considerable size. This is a soft stone, and fails to take a high polish.

The crystal, or *phatak*, of the Cambay market comes from the village of Tankará in the territory of the chief of Morvi, where it is found under the surface of the soil in masses of from one to twenty pounds in weight. It is a clear, transparent stone like glass, and takes a high polish. The best crystal worked up in Cambay is foreign, from Madras, Ceylon, and China.

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Cambay Stones.

The lapis-lazuli or azure stone, known at Cambay by the name of *rájáwarat*, is of a deep blue colour with a sprinkling of silvery or golden spots. This is a foreign stone coming to Cambay through Bombay. It is said to be found in Persia and Bucharia in the beds of rivers in rounded balls. As it is of a soft, earthy basis the blue-stone does not take a high polish.

Lapis-lazuli or azure stone.

Jet, known at Cambay as the *kálá fatar* or black stone, is also foreign coming through Bombay from the hills of Bassora and Adeu, where it is found in large blocks. Jet resembles glass in fracture, is not very heavy, and takes a high polish. The trade in articles of jet has almost entirely ceased in Cambay.

Jet or Obsidian.

The blue-stone sold at Cambay is not the true pirojá, but a composition imported through Bombay from China from which it comes in flat pieces of not more than half a pound in weight. In appearance this composition resembles glass of various shades of blue, and, though soft, takes a good polish.

Blue stone or Pirojá.

AGATE ORNAMENTS HOW PREPARED.

In the process of reducing the original rough block of stone to its final form as a polished ornament there are generally three stages: I, the sawing into size; II, the chiselling into shape; and, III, the smoothing and polishing.

Process of manufacture.

When a stone is to be divided it is brought to a strong framework fixed in the ground. This frame consists of two wooden uprights, connected at the foot by a cross board of wood, and, at the top, by a strong rope doubled and tightened by a stick. The stone to be cut is then laid on the cross board of wood, and fixed firmly to it by means of a cement composed of a coarse description of bee's wax, mixed with the fine fibres of new cloth. The saw, a slight, toothless plate of iron in a light wooden frame, is then brought up, and, according to the size of the stone to be cut, is worked by one man or by two. To remove any roughness from the freshly-cut faces of the stone, a mixture of ground emery, fine sand, and water, is kept dropping into the cleft in the stone in which the saw works. To chisel into shape the stone thus sawn off it is taken to an iron spike, named *khondiá*, driven in an inclined direction into the ground till the point only is left above the surface. Laying the part of the stone to be broken off against the edge of this spike, the workman strikes with a horn-headed hammer till all roughnesses of surface have been removed and the stone is chiselled into the required shape. The article is now ready to be handed over to the polisher. This workman takes it to a platform sixteen

Sawing.

Chiselling.

Polishing.

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Manufactures.
Cambay Stones.
Polishing.

inches long by six broad, and three inches thick. In this platform are two strong wooden uprights, and between the uprights a wooden roller, eight inches long and three in diameter, fastened into a head at the one end. This roller works on an iron spindle or axle at each end. On the one end the axle is screwed and fitted with a nut to which certain plates or discs can be made fast. These grinding or polishing plates are made of emery mixed with seed lac. The emery, called *karanj*, of greyish black colour, is carefully powdered and of glistening lustre. The preparation of emery varies in fineness according to the nature of the work to be done. For rough work the proportion is three parts of ground emery to one of lac; for medium work the proportion is two-and-a-half pounds of finely-powdered emery to one of lac; and for the finest work lac and carnelian dust, called *wari*, are used in equal quantities. Besides the composition plates, a copper dish is occasionally used for polishing very hard stone, such as Ceylon cat's eyes and other precious stones, and for the softer sort of pebbles, a plate of teak or other close-grained wood is used. Fastening in its place on the roller the disc best suited to the stone to be polished, the workman, squatting on his hams, steadies the machine with his foot. A bow with its string passed round the wooden roller is held in his right hand, and by moving the bow backwards and forwards the roller and with it the polishing plate is wheeled round, while the article to be polished is held in the workman's left hand and pressed against the outer face of the polishing disc as it revolves.

Special processes.

Besides these three regular stages in the working up of Cambay stones, in the case of certain articles some special processes are required. The manner of polishing beads, for example, is somewhat curious. After they have been chiselled into shape to smooth the surface, a number of beads are fixed in a pair of wooden or bamboo clams; and rubbed on a coarse and hard smoothing stone called *dholiá*. Next they are grasped in a grooved clam, and rubbed along a wooden polishing board called *patimár*. The surface of this board is cut into grooves, and roughened by a composition of emery and seed lac. To give beads their final brilliancy, from one to several thousands of them are, along with emery dust and fine carnelian powder, thrown into a strong leathern bag about two feet in length and from ten to twelve inches in diameter. The mouth of this bag is then tied up, and a flat leathern thong passed round its centre. Two men, each holding one end of this leathern thong, seated at opposite ends of a room, drag the bag backwards and forwards from one to the other. This rolling lasts from ten to fifteen days, and during the whole time the bag is kept moistened with water. When the work of polishing is complete, the beads are handed over to have holes bored through them. This is done by a diamond-tipped steel drill, and as the drill works, water is dropped through a thin narrow reed or metallic tube into the hole. Cut beads are polished on the wheel as well as rubbed on the smoothing stone, and knife-handles are prepared in the same way as cut beads. In making cups, saucers, and other hollow

articles, the outside is first chiselled into shape and ground on the smoothing stone. To hollow the inside the diamond-tipped drill is worked to the depth of the fourth of an inch all over the space till the surface is honey-combed with drill holes. The prominent places round these holes are then chipped away till a hollow of the desired depth has been formed. The inside is then polished on a convex mould of the same composition as the polishing plates mentioned above, and like them is fastened to the polishing wheel. Miniature cannons are bored by diamond-tipped drills. A small-headed drill is first worked, and then the number of diamonds on the head is gradually increased from two to a circle of twelve. Flat ornaments, such as paper-cutters, paper-weights, and ornamental slabs are cut in layers of the required thickness by the toothless saw¹.

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—
Manufactures.
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AGATE ORNAMENTS HOW DISPOSED OF.

The agate ornaments manufactured at Cambay may be divided into three classes: those suited for the Chinese, for the Arab, and for the European markets. For the Chinese market, carnelian ornaments only are in demand. Of these there are two kinds, flat stones named *mugláigul*, and beads called *dol*. The flat stones, oval and square in shape and formed like watch-seals, are worn in China as armlets and dress ornaments. Plain, polished, round beads, named *áol*, in Cambay are made up into necklaces of fifty stones each. For the Arab markets the description of stones most in demand are the veined agates from Ránpor, carnelians from Ratanpor, cat's eyes, and blood-stone². These are wrought into both plain and ornamental ring stones, necklaces, wristlets, and armlets. Of necklaces there are the following varieties.—Necklaces made of cut beads, *peludár dol*; of diamond-cut beads, *gokharudár dol*; of almond-shaped heads, *badámi dol*; of spear-head-shaped beads, *chamakli dol*. Again, there are necklaces of three stones—*máda-liá*, *táxut*, and plain round beads used as a rozary as well as a necklace³. Of armlets and wristlets there are those composed of two stones, and worn either on the arm or wrist, called *motá mádaliá*; wristlets of seven round flat stones, *pátiá*; wristlets of several flat stones, *ponchi*; armlets of one stone cut into different fanciful devices, *báju*; and single stones in the shape of large flat seals, *nimgol*. Rings called *anguthi*, and stones for setting as rings, called *naginá*, are also made of carnelian and cat's eye. For the European markets the ornaments most in demand are models of cannon with carriage and trappings, slabs for boxes, slabs to form square tables, cups and saucers, chess-men, flower-vases, pen-racks, card and letter-racks, watch-stands, ink-stands, knife-handles, rulers, paper-cutters, pen-holders, sets of necklaces, bracelets,

Manufactured
articles sent.

I. To China.

II. To Arabia.

III. To Europe.

¹ This description is compiled from Mr. Sumner's account—By Govt. Sel. No. 4 new series; from a paper by Captain Falljames—Trans. By. Geo. Soc. 278 (1838); and from personal enquiries.

² Jet ornaments were formerly (1851) exported to Arabia, but of late years the trade in articles of jet has ceased.

³ The demand for the necklaces of oblong flat beads called *katáli*, formerly (1851) exported, is said now to have ceased.

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Cambay Stones.
Course of trade.

brooches of a variety of patterns, paper-weights, crochet-needles, silk-winders, marbles, brace and shirt studs, seals, and rough specimens of stones polished only on one side.

Within the last thirty years (1851) part of the trade with Arabia lay through the port of Veráwal in the south-west of Káthnár. But at present (1876), with the exception of a small supply for the Sind and Kábul markets taken away by the horse-dealers and other Afgháns who visit Cambay, the whole of the produce of the factories is purchased by Bombay merchants, chiefly of the Vohará caste, and by them distributed from that port to China, Arabia, and Europe.

INNER WORKING OF THE AGATE TRADE.

Body of workers
how divided.

According to the latest details, the trade in Cambay stones at present supports about six hundred families of skilled workmen and from five hundred to six hundred unskilled labourers. The skilled workmen are all Kanbis; the labourers, Musalmáns and Kolis. The whole body of skilled workmen includes four distinct classes, each engaged on one and on only one of the processes by which the rough stones are made ready for the market. As compared with the returns of 1850, the figures for the present year show a falling off in the numbers engaged in two of the four branches of the trade. The two classes that have declined are the *doliás*, or polishers on the rough stone, whose strength has fallen from two hundred in 1850 to one hundred in 1876, and the *patimárs*, or polishers on the wooden frame, who, as compared with fifty in 1850, now number only thirty-five; on the other hand the total of the *ghásiás*, or workers on the lapidaries' wheel, has remained steady at three hundred, and that of the *windhárs*, or drillers, at one hundred¹.

Constitution of
factories.

Each of these four processes is carried on separately and in distinct workshops. At the head of each workshop, or *kárkhná*, is a well-to-do Kanbi known as the *Kárkhnáwólá*, or head of the factory. This headman, though generally not above working with his own hands, has under him from two to ten skilled workers, besides a varying number of labourers. The skilled workers, all grown men, as women and children do not help, receive monthly wages each according to the work he has done; the unskilled labourers, many of whom are boys, are paid by the day or as their services may be required. From the richest of the heads of work-

¹ Within the last thirty years about one hundred and sixty-seven families of agate-workers are said to have abandoned their craft. Of these, seven have gone to Ahmedábád; ten to Barodá; twenty-five to Bombay; and one hundred and twenty-five have become cultivators in Cambay. The Ahmedábád families have taken to silk-weaving; the Baroda detachment is about equally divided between the business of tobacco-selling, polishing precious stones, and weaving; the colony in Bombay polish precious stones and mend articles of glass. The Bombay settlers still keep up their connection with Cambay, going there to be married and to perform ceremonies in honour of the dead. They have also both publicly and in their houses shrines representing the tomb of the founder of their craft. (These and some of the particulars about the trade-unions have been obtained from one of the Kanbis settled in Bombay.)

slopes the highest class of agate-workers, the *akikiás*, or agate-dealers, are recruited. The *akikiá*, who must be a man of some capital, buys the stones as they come rough into the Cambay market. In his own factory the rough stones are sawn and chiselled, and then according to the nature of the stone and the use to which it is to be put, he hands it over to the headman of one of the polishing factories. When the work is completed the Cambay dealer disposes of the finished articles to the agate merchants of Bombay, or send them through Bombay to Calcutta, China or Jidda. According to the returns, the number of *akikiás* or agate-dealers in Cambay has, during the last twenty-five years, fallen from one hundred to fifty.

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Manufactures.
Cambay Stones.

In each of the four classes of workers the heads of factories form for trade purposes a distinct guild or *pancháyat*¹. Thus there is the guild of polishers on stone, *dolá pancháyat*; the guild of polishers on wood, *patimár pancháyat*; the guild of workers on the lapidaries' wheel, *ghásiá pancháyat*; and the guild of drillers, *windhár pancháyat*. Above them all is the guild of dealers, the *akikiá pancháyat* in whose factories the work of sawing and chiselling is carried on. Over each of these guilds a headman, chosen by the votes of the members, presides. There is no combination among workers in the different factories, and there would seem to be no record of any dispute between the workers and their employers. Any skilled worker who raises himself to be head of a factory may become a member of the guild of the branch of the craft to which he belongs. On joining a guild the new comer is expected to give a feast to the members, the expense varying from £ 17-10 to £ 80 (Rs. 175 to 800). He is at the same time required to pay a fee to the Nawáb, the amount ranging from £1-10 to £10 (Rs. 15 to 100)². From time to time the members of a guild come together to hold a feast, paying the charges out of the common funds. In any factory if one of the skilled workers wishes to have a son taught the craft, or if a new hand is anxious to join, he gives a dinner to the head of the workshop to which the other skilled workers in the factory are invited.

Except in making arrangements for the unpaid service due to the Nawáb, the trade funds would seem to be applied to no purpose but that of entertaining the members. If, when a guild feast is held, one of its members chances to be sick, his share of the dinner is sent to him. But, with this exception, the practice of using trade funds to support the sick or those out of work, or to provide for widows and orphans would seem to be unknown.

¹ Unlike most of the Gujarát guilds the members of the agate guilds are all *Kanbis*; none of them belong to the Jain merchant class, *Shrávak Wanis*. It is perhaps for this reason that the associations are called *panchayat* and not *madhajan*.

² Some years ago the details were, to join the *dolá* guild £19 (£17-10 in dinners and £1-10 to the Nawáb); to join the *ghásiá* guild £37 (£35 in dinners and £2 for the Nawáb); to join the *patimár* guild £15 (£12-10 in dinners and £2-10 for the Nawáb); and to join the *akikiá* guild £90 (£80 in dinners and £10 for the Nawáb). At present (1876) a fee is paid to the Nawáb only in the case of joining the *akikiá* guild.

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Cambay Stones

On paying a fee to His Excellency the Nawáb, and agreeing to meet the customary charges, including a yearly subscription of £1-4 (Rs. 12), any member of one of the subordinate guilds may become a dealer or *akikiá*. About four years ago the heavy cost incurred in joining the *akikiá* guild was the cause of a dispute among the agate-workers of Cambay. Certain of the polishers, *ghasiás*, claimed the right to deal in stones without becoming members of the *akikiá* guild. But the regular dealers were too strong for the innovators, who failed to get any business, and were forced to leave Cambay. Inducing some families of *windháras* or drillers to go with them, they retired to Ahmedábád. But here finding themselves no better off they have again returned to Cambay.

Use of the guilds.

This organization of the agate-workers of Cambay is useful in one respect. By means of it, regular arrangements are made for performing the service due, according to the custom of the state, by the craft to His Excellency the Nawáb. When the Nawáb requires a lapidary's service he supplies the guild of dealers with particulars of the work he desires to be done. The chief of the dealers then sends to the master of each workshop in each of the branches of the craft, telling him what is required, and asking him if he will undertake the duty. If he agrees, and there is generally in each class one master worker who undertakes the Nawáb's orders, he receives from £5 to £6 (Rs. 50 to 60) from the funds of his own guild. Among the rules laid down by the guilds for the management of the different branches of the trade, one forbids master-workers from engaging the services of any workmen belonging to another factory. Another rule lays down certain days, amounting in all to about two months in the year, to be observed as holidays by all the members of the craft. Any breach of these rules is punished by fine, the amount varying from 2s. 6d. to 5s. (Rs. 1-4 to Rs. 2-8.)

HISTORY OF THE AGATE TRADE.

Perhaps the murrha
of the Romans,
100-200.

With regard to the history of the Cambay agate trade, the following details have been collected. According to some authorities the murrhine cups so highly prized by the Romans were the moss agate cups still made in Cambay¹. But this is doubtful, and at the time when the author of the Periplus (60-150) visited Gujarát, agates and onyx stones would seem to have come to Broach from a distance, from Ujain in Málwá and from Plitháná in the Deccan².

So far as has been traced, no mention of the agate trade at Cambay occurs in the accounts of the Musalmán travellers of the ninth and tenth centuries. Marco Polo (1290) says nothing of a special

¹ Vincent, Commerce of the Ancients. II. 407, 412, thinks, on the whole, murrha was porcelain. Riddell's Latin Dec. calls it fluor spar. Liddell and Scott seem to incline to agate. The emperor Nero paid £58,125 (300 talents) for a murrhine cup. Vincent II. 727.

² Ujain in Málwa (North Lat. 23° 10' East Long. 74° 47'). Plithana, probably Paithan on the Godávari (North Lat. 19° 29' East Long. 75° 28'). A trace of this manufacture of agates in the Deccan is preserved by the Russian traveller Athanasius Nikotin (1468-1474), who says at Kurula, apparently near Kuldarga, the *akik* is produced and worked and exported to all parts of the world. Major III. 30, †

trade in agates, either in his description of Cambay or in the notices of the Arabian and African ports then connected by commerce with Gujarát. And the travellers of the fifteenth century make only a casual reference to the agate as one of the products of Cambay. Early in the sixteenth century, however, the agate trade would seem to have become more important, as Varthema (1503-1508) tells of two mountains, one of carnelians about seventy and the other of diamonds about one hundred miles from Cambay.¹ About this time, according to a tradition of the Cambay agate-workers, an Abyssinian merchant came to Gujarát, and established an agate factory at Nádod in Rájpipla. At first the stones were prepared by Musalmáns, but the Kanbis were not long in learning the craft. The merchant died at Nádod, and his tomb is near the well-known Bábá Ghor at the ford of that name across the river Narbadá. After some time, according to the same account, the Kanbi agate-workers left Nádod and came to settle in Broach, and from Broach went to Cambay.² A few years later at the different ports along the east coast of Africa northwards from Sofala³ and Mozambique, and along the Arabian coast eastwards from Aden, the Portuguese traveller Barbosa (1501-1517) mentions the agates and carnelians, and the grey, yellow, and red beads of Cambay as among the chief articles of trade.⁴ At Cambay itself, besides some Moorish women who worked in coral, agate, and other stones, this traveller found skilled artists with the lathe turning beads of great size, brown, yellow, and blue, and cunning lapidaries and imitators of precious stones of all kinds. But at this time a few only of the agate-workers were settled in Cambay. The head-quarters of the manufacture were at Limadura, a town inland from Cambay, where the agates were found. To this town came Cambay merchants and, buying the manufactured articles, sent them to the ports of the Red Sea, to Persia, and Nubia, besides supplying the Portuguese, whose recent arrival in India is said to have increased the demand

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Rises to importance,
1500.

Notices of the trade,
1500-1800.

¹ Badger's Varthema 107 and note. The diamonds were perhaps the crystals still found in Káthiáwár. So Cæsar Frederick (1563-1581) among the products of Cambay talks of several varieties of natural diamonds. Hakluyt's Voyages II. 343 (1810).

² The Sidhi merchant is still held in remembrance by the Hindu agate-workers of Cambay. Each year on the day of his death (*Shrāvan Shukla purnimá*, July-August full-moon) they offer flowers and cocoanuts at his tomb. As it is far to go from Cambay to Bábá Ghor, they have in Cambay a cenotaph or *takya* in his honour, and those of them who are settled in Bombay have brought with them this memorial of the founder of their craft. The Cambay agate-workers assert that it was in honour of their patron that the well-known shrine of Bábá Ghor or the Bábá's, or beggars, tomb was raised. According to their story, while wandering from place to place as a religious beggar, the Bábá did a little business in precious stones, and becoming skilled in agates, set up a factory at Nimodá. Here he prospered and died a rich merchant. The local legend of the saint of Bábá Ghor makes no mention of his success as a dealer in agates. The colony of Sulhá found by Capt. Fulljames in 1832 is, perhaps, a remnant of the original band of Abyssinian agate-workers. Trans. By. Geo. Soc. 2-76.

³ Sofala, South Lat. 10° 15', East Long. 34° 45'.

⁴ Stanley's Barbosa 5, 27, 31. Barbosa's word for the agate is in Stanley's translation printed *alaqueña*, probably from the Arabic *al akik*.

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Cambay Stones.

for agate ornaments.¹ Two other notices of its agate trade occur in accounts of Cambay during the sixteenth century. One in 1554 speaks of a profusion of carnelians or *bábághor*, the other about twenty years later mentions great stones like to carnelians, granates, agates, diaspry, calcedony, hematists, and some kinds of natural diamonds.² In the middle of the seventeenth century (1651) Tavernier speaks of Cambay as the place where the agate cups are hollowed out, and during the eighteenth century there is more than one notice of the agate trade as one of the most important of Cambay industries.³

State of the trade,
1800-1875.

For a few years, at intervals since the beginning of the present century, details showing the estimated value of the out-turn of the agate factories are available. Those for 1805 give an export of manufactured carnelians, estimated to be worth £6,223 (Rs. 62,230); those for 1843, £9,490 (Rs. 94,900); while the returns for the five years ending with 1875 give an average of £8,550 (Rs. 85,500)⁴.

¹ Stanley's Barbosa 65-67. The Limadura is Nimodra, a village close to the agate mines. Barbosa supplies the following details of the preparation of the agates.—Here after being dug up in large blocks, and exposed to fire to bring out the colour, the carnelians were handed over to great artists who worked them up into rings, buttons, knife-handles, and beads of various shapes. Here, too, beads made of chalcedony, which he adds they call *bábághor*, were worn touching the skin, as their influence was thought to preserve the chastity of the wearer.

² Sidi Ali Capudhan (1554). J. As. Soc. Bl. V-2. 463. Cæsar Frederick (1563-1581). Hakluyt's Voyages, II. 343 (1810).

³ Tavernier in Harris II. Besides Tavernier, other travellers of the seventeenth century notice the agate trade of Cambay; Finch (1608) mentions the mine of agates near Broach in Har. I. 90; Herbert (1626) notices agates as one of the chief articles offered for sale at Swáli; Har. I. 411; Mandelslo (1638) speaks of them as 'so famous in Europe.' Har. II. 113; and in 1690, Ovington mentions them as one of the chief articles of export at Surat, Voyage 218. Of eighteenth century travellers, Hamilton (1700-1720) mentions among the articles made at Cambay stones for signets and rings, some of them worth double their weight in gold. Cabinets of stone, in some cases 14 or 15 inches long and 8 or 9 deep, worth from £30 to £40, bowls and spoons of several sizes, handles of swords, daggers, and knives, buttons and stones to set in snuff boxes of great value. New Account I. 140, 145. Half a century later the author of the Mirat-i-Ahmadi (1748-1762) mentions rings like those of Yemen, necklaces, cups, handles for knives, and daggers (Bird 104), and towards the close of the same century Mr. Forbes found the agate manufacture a valuable part of Cambay trade. Or. Mem. II. 20. (1773-1783.)

⁴ These figures would seem to show that during the present century the agate trade has not declined—a result at variance with the fact that the numbers engaged in the trade have meanwhile considerably fallen off. It is to be noticed that the beginning of the century was a period of depression, as, in addition to the regular duty of £53-16-3 per cent, a special war cess of £17-8-9 was for some years imposed, making a total charge on manufactured agate stones of £71-5-0 per cent. The trade fluctuates so greatly from year to year that without returns for a series of years no certain results can be obtained. The variations during the five years ending with 1875 of which the average is given in the text, are as follows:—1871, £7,508 (Rs. 75,080); 1872, £7,849 (Rs. 78,490); 1873, £9,884 (Rs. 98,840); 1874, £8,437 (Rs. 84,370); 1875, £9,072 (Rs. 90,720). Again figures taken from the Honourable East India Company's yearly sales show that at the beginning of the century, under the influence of the heavy taxation, the fluctuations were even greater. 1804, £4,914 (Rs. 49,140); 1805, £5,990 (Rs. 59,900); 1806, £1,747 (Rs. 17,470); 1807, £11,187 (Rs. 111,870); 1808, £5,424 (Rs. 54,240). Milburn Oriental Commerce, Vol. I. p. 279.

A certain quantity of the once famous black cloth, *hálá káprá*, is still made for export to Zanzibar on the African coast and to Mocha, Jedda, and other ports of the Red Sea. Of black cloth, there are three varieties known in the trade as *balámi*, *gurbhi*, and *min judi*, costing from six shillings to £1-4 (Rs. 3 to 12) the piece of five yards in length and one-and-a-half yards wide. There is also a blue variety called *gulkhár*. Several kinds of sheets, or *chídár*, are made in pieces about two-and-a-quarter yards long by one broad, and varying in price from 4s. to 16s. (Rs. 2 to 8) the piece. Scarfs or *lungis* (sometimes called *namíánu*) are also made. The pieces are the same size as *chídars*, and are sold at prices varying according to quality. Those with silk and tinsel worked in, fetch £1 (Rs. 10).

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Manufactures.
Cloth.

The only cloth for which Cambay is still famous is that used for *dhotis* and *saris*. This is woven almost entirely by Hindus of the Kanbi and Sávi castes, and is still in considerable request. The prices vary according to quality and breadth of cloth.

The carpets of Cambay had formerly a great name. Among the articles mentioned in the proclamation of 1630, "for restraining the excess of private trade to the East Indies" are "rich carpets of Cambaya." Later on, a recognized part of the Senior Factor's duty at Cambay was to purchase carpets "valuable in Europe," and in another place Cambay carpets are spoken of as equal to any of Turkey or Persia. Though this trade has greatly fallen off, there are still four factories in which carpets are produced. Each of these pays £1-10 (Rs. 15) per annum to the Nawáb.

Carpet manufacture.

Some of the Muhammadan women still earn a little money by embroidering caps for children, but the brocade and *kínkháb* trade is no longer carried on.

The Cambay salt work contributes about one-sixth part of the entire state revenue. It is situated inland, immediately beyond the city walls, about two-and-a-half miles from the head of the gulf. The area set apart for the manufacture of salt is about two miles long, with an average breadth of a quarter of a mile, and is surrounded by a row of earthen mounds. This embankment has been formed gradually by throwing up the earth scraped every year from the hollow plots used as salt pans. A few years ago, at all spring tides, the sea water came up to this embankment, and by suitable cuttings as much water as was needed to flood the salt pans was easily obtained. Of late, however, owing to the gradual silting up of the gulf, the spring tides have failed to reach the embankment; and to procure water it has become neces-

¹ The dyes made use of in the manufacture of these carpets, are *Kusamba*, or safflower, *Carthamus tinctorius*, *Sorangi*, or Indian madder and indigo, imported from Malwá, and parts of Gujarát. The cotton thread is washed in cold water, and then dipped several times in boiling castor oil. It is next soaked in water in which the *sorangi* powder has been steeped. The cost of dyeing red is £1-4 (Rs. 12) per one *man* (50 lbs.) of thread. The cost of dyeing with indigo is about 16s. (Rs. 8) per *man*. The weavers are paid by piece-work at the rate of 2s. (Rs. 1) per 16 square feet (4 square *gaz*)—(a *gaz* is about 2 feet) and the carpets, when completed, sell for 1s. 3d. to 2s. (10 to 16 annas) the square *gaz*, 2 square feet.

Chapter II.
Manufactures.
Salt.

sary to dig trenches varying from a quarter to one mile in length. But little care has been given to these arrangements, and the work which, with a small outlay and a proper system of leading channels, might, it is estimated, yield a yearly supply of 3,571½ tons (a lakh of Indian *mans*) of salt, produced in 1874 but little more than half of this quantity.

The British Government have a half share in the profits of the Cambay salt works.¹ Previous to the imposition of the excise duty on salt in 1837 the following method of division was in force:—When the salt was ready for removal, the quantity in each pan was divided into two equal heaps, one of which was the property of the manufacturers, and of the other, half belonged to the Nawáb and half to the British Government. The manufacturers removed their share, and the remainder was sold under the superintendence of officers appointed by each Government. When an imperial duty on salt was first levied, the Nawáb, after raising some objection, agreed to introduce into his territory the rates obtaining in the neighbouring British districts. Under a special arrangement the Nawáb is allowed 17½ tons (five hundred Indian *mans*) of free salt for the use of his court.

Salt Revenue
1874-75.

The following tabular statement shows the amount of the salt revenue of the Cambay state at different periods during the last thirty years;—

Cambay Salt Revenue, 1844 to 1875.

Year.	Quantity of Salt sold.		Rate of duty.	Amount of Nawáb's share.		
	Tons.	Indian <i>mans</i> .		per Indian <i>man</i> of 80 lbs.	£.	s.	Rs.
1844-45 ...	738	20,685	1 0	507	14	5,077
1854-55 . . .	2,515	70,428	1 6	2,609	8	26,090
1865-66 . . .	2,770	77,561	3 0	5,782	0	57,820
1871-72 .. .	2,877	80,561	3 7½	7,264	0	72,640
1872-73 . . .	2,623	73,451	3 7½	6,623	8	66,230
1875-76 .. .	2,408	67,428	3 7½	6,080	8	60,800

No large quantities of salt are exported by sea. Inland the markets of Kaira, of the Panch Máhals, and of the neighbouring parts of the Baroda territory were formerly supplied by Cambay

¹ Besides the common salt, which is said to have had the virtue of recruiting the strength of invalids, in the eighteenth century the medicinal salt called *Sanchal* is said to have been made at Cambay by boiling a grass called *Morund* in the manner usually followed in procuring the oxide of lead known as *murchirang*. Mirat Ahmadi (1748-1762) p. 105. *Sanchal* or *hit taban* is generally said to be made of *sampur*, an impure muriate of soda and embleic myrobalsam. Balfour Subvoce,

salt, and as the people of these districts are accustomed to use their salt in this form, the Cambay manufacture is still to some extent able to compete with the cheaper and stronger produce of the Khárághora work.¹

Chapter II
Trade.

The process of manufacturing salt is carried on by a special section of the *khárcá* or sailor class. These men, of whom there are about five hundred families, are known as *Agris*, or *Agariás*, a name derived from the word *Ayar*, a salt pan. These *Agris* hold the lands set apart for the produce of salt, paying a rent to the state, and according to fixed rates, dividing among themselves the proceeds of the salt crop. Except the digging of the larger trenches, the work of collecting and stacking the salt is light, and is carried on almost entirely by women and children.

Manufacturers
of Salt.

MONEY-LENDING.

The business of money-lending is in the hands chiefly of *Vániás* and *Shrávaks*. A few *Bráhmans* and *Kanbis* of Cambay also employ their capital in this way. Among merchants the rate of interest is usually from six to twelve per cent. per annum, and among cultivators is nominally pretty nearly the same, with a premium of from one to two per cent. in addition. If ornaments or other property is pledged in security of the debt, the rate of interest is lower.

Money-lending.

When the Nawáb is in want of money he obtains funds from the respectable bankers of the town, who, provided the loan is required only for a short time, do not, as a rule, insist upon the payment of interest. If, however, the loan is not paid for a long time, a low rate of interest, in no case exceeding nine per cent. per annum, is charged. The custom of presenting the lender with a sum of money or other articles of value at the time of repaying the loan makes up to the banker for the low rates of interest nominally charged. Large sums are sometimes raised on the occasion of a marriage or funeral in the Nawáb's family. These loans are generally repaid by an assignment of the revenues of certain villages.

The Nawáb possesses a mint, at which both silver and copper coins are manufactured. The silver coins are rupees, half rupees, and quarter rupees. The copper coins are pice, half pice, and quarter pice. Both the silver and copper currency are of the rudest workmanship. The Cambay rupee is $\frac{2}{3}$ of the imperial coin, the present (1876) rate of exchange being $15\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in favour of the British currency.

Currency.

It will be seen from the following comparative statement of prices, that, in spite of the general fall that has taken place within the last ten years, with the exception of rice, the chief varieties

Prices.

¹ Khárághora, about 56 miles north-west of Ahmedábád, is the head-quarters of the salt manufacture of Western India. A notice of the Khárághora works will be found in the Ahmedábád Statistical Account.

Chapter II.
Trade.

of agricultural produce still fetch a considerably greater money value than was the case twenty years ago:—

Prices.

Price Statement, 1846 and 1876.

Name of Produce.	Number of lbs. sold in 1846 for one rupee (2 shillings).	Number of lbs. sold in 1876 for one rupee (2 shillings).
Millet, <i>bdjri</i>	70	39
Rice	20	18
Pulse, <i>ddl</i>	60	40
Wheat	60	35
Gram	50	48
Cotton cleaned	8 to 10	6
Tobacco	40	21
Indigo	50 to 100 Rs. per 40 lbs.	34 per 40 lbs.
Opium	2 to 3 Rs. per lb.	6 Rs. per lb.

Wages.

There is, as shown in the margin, a fixed scale of wages for skilled and unskilled labour. With the view of equalising the burden of the state demand for free labour the following arrangements have been

- | | |
|-----------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Masons. | } 1s. 6d. (annas 12) a day. |
| 2. Sawyers. | |
| 3. Bricklayers. | |
| 4. Plasterers | 1s. 3d. (annas 10) a day. |
| 5. Carpenters | 1s. 6d. (annas 12) a day. |
| 6. Labourers | 4½d. (annas 3 & pies 3 a day. |

adopted by the different classes of workmen. The first four of the classes (No. 1 to 4) noted in the margin bring their wages every evening to the headman of their caste, and the amount thus collected is equally divided among all who have been employed either on private paid labour, or on unpaid work for the state. The practice with the carpenters is somewhat different. Out of his day's earnings one anna (1½d.) is paid by each carpenter in the city, and from this sum ten annas (1s. 3d.) a day are made over to each carpenter working for the Nawáb. The balance is devoted to the repairs of rest-houses and to caste feasts. In the case of unskilled labourers (No. 6) other arrangements are in force. The rate quoted above is only nominal. Each unskilled labourer really receives 4½d. (annas 2 and pies 9). The other ½d. (6 pies) is paid by the employer to an officer of the state appointed for the purpose, who collects this amount from all employers of labour, and from it pays 4½d. (annas 2 and pies 9) to every unskilled worker engaged by the Nawáb. This system appears to have been in force for a very long time.

Weights and measures.

The Cambay weights are the same as those in use in the neighbouring district of Kairá. These are the *ser*, equal to one English pound avoirdupois; the *mán*, equal to 40 pounds; and the *khándi*, equal to 20 *mans*, or 800 lbs. avoirdupois.

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY.

The history of the state of Cambay, which throughout is little more than the record of the main events connected with its chief town, divides itself into three parts. The early period lasting as late as 1297, the year of the final Musalmán conquest of the Rájput kingdom of Anhilwárá (Pátan)¹; the second, a period of about four hundred and thirty years (1297-1730), when Cambay formed part of the Musalmán kingdom and province of Gujarat; and the third, from 1730 to the present time (1876), the record of Cambay as a distinct, though dependent state.

Chapter III.

History.

Three periods of
Cambay history.

The following account of the origin of the name Khambhát has been contributed by Dr. Buhler:—“The ancient Sanskrit name of Cambay is *Stambhatirika*, which may be translated literally ‘the shrine of the pillar.’ The modern Gujaráti name Khambháyat or Khambhát is a corruption of *Stambhatirika*, which has the same meaning, since *stambha* and *skambha* in Sanskrit both mean ‘pillar.’ According to the phonetic laws of the Prákrit languages, initial *sk* is always changed to *kh*; *rik* becomes by assimilation *tik*², and medial *t* between vowels may be dropped. Thus the older Prákrit form was *Khambhátirika*, whence through the loss³ of the final syllable, and the change of *i* to *ya* the Gujaráti *Khambháyat* and, by a further contraction of the last two syllables, *Khambhát* have been derived. What is meant by *stambha*, the first part of the name, is somewhat doubtful. There is a local legend which declares that in olden times a copper pillar stood not far from the town gate. This story has probably grown out of the legend given in the *Kumáriká Khanda*⁴, *Kumáresá máhátmya*, (*adhyáya* XXX.) where it is stated that after Kumára’s victory over *Tárákásura* the grateful gods erected a golden pillar of victory near the town. As the passage, in my opinion, furnishes a clue to the real meaning of the name of the town, I will quote it in full:—

Origin of the name
Khambhát.

“1. The *Kumáresá* was thus established there by *Kumára*.
“Then the gods, admiring *Guha* with tilded hands, spoke to him.

¹ Anhilpur, Anhilwára or Nehrwalá, the modern Pátan, north latitude 23° 48'; east longitude 72° 2'; on the south bank of the Saraswati River, 65 miles north-east of Ahmedábád

² Compare, e.g. the Jain *tithoyara* = *tirthankara*. (G. B.)

³ Compare also *Bharukachchha* = *Bhárunchchha* = *Bharúchh*. (G. B.)

⁴ This *Kumáriká Khanda* is a very bulky *máhátmya*, or legend, which professes to be a part of the *Skanda-purána*, and to give the origin and history of the *Kumárika* Kshetra in general and of *Stambha-tirika* in particular. It has no historical value whatever, and has been written by persons who knew very little of Sanskrit. It may be from 400 to 500 years old. (G. B.)

Chapter III.

History.

Origin of the name
Khaumbhat.

" 2. We wish to tell thee something, listen. Forsooth it is reported since olden times as a well-known custom of conquerors

" 3. That those who vanquish their foes, place on the (field of battle) a sign of their victory. Hence a most excellent pillar *stambha*, to celebrate thy victory (over Tárakásura)

" 4. We wish to fix; thou shouldst permit us to do that and the third excellent *linga* which *Viśvakarman* wrought

" 5. Do, thou, a son of *S'iva*, place that in front of the pillar. When the gods had thus spoken, high-minded *Skanda* gave his consent.

" 6. Then the crowds of the gods, chief of whom is *S'akra*, placed on the field of battle an excellent, brilliant pillar of pure gold.

" 7. Around it they raised an altar of earth, adorned with all precious substances. Joyfully the *Apsaras* danced there.

" 8. The *mothers*, full of gladness, sang songs of auspicious omen for *Kumára*. *Indra* and others danced there, and *Vishnu* himself played (the drum).

" 9. From the sky fell showers of flowers, and the drums of the gods resounded. When thus the pillar called that of victory, which gladdened the world, had been erected,

" 10. The son of three-eyed *S'iva* established the (linga of the) divine *Stambhes'vara*

" 11-13. In company with the rejoicing gods, *Brahma*, *Hari Hara*, and *Indra*, and with crowds of sages.

" To the west of that, high-minded *Guha* dug, with the point of his spear, a well. Thence *Gangá* rises from the ground. The man, O son of *Páñdu*, who there performs a *Pitritarpana* on the eighth day of the dark half of *Mágha* (January-February) and bathes in that well, will surely obtain the reward attending the performance of a *Sráddha* at *Gayá*.

" 14. If he then worships the divine *Stambhes'vara* with perfumes and flowers, he will obtain the reward of a *Vájapeya* sacrifice, and rejoice in *Rudrá's* seat."

" I am not inclined to attach much weight to the reason by which the legend explains the fact that *S'iva* was worshipped at *Cam-bay* as *Stambhes'vara* or 'lord of the pillar.' But it seems to me that the fact itself, which is also mentioned in other passages of the *Kumáriká Khanda* (III. 40,) furnishes a simple explanation for the name of the town. I believe that *Stambha* must be taken as one of the many names of *S'iva*, and that *Stambhatirtha* means etymologically 'the shrine of pillar-shaped *S'iva*.' Though I am not in a position to prove that *S'iva* received elsewhere the surname *Stambha* there are two circumstances which afford countenance to

Chapter III.
HistoryOrigin of the name
Khambbat

“ my conjecture. First, the usual symbol of S’iva, the linga, is in the
 “ older temples, such as those of Walla, nothing but a simple hexa-
 “ gonal or round pillar, and might not inappropriately be called a
 “ *stambha*. Second, there is another very common name of S’iva
 “ *sthānu*, the etymological import of which is likewise ‘ a post or pillar.’
 “ These two points, coupled with the fact that S’iva was and is wor-
 “ shipped in Cambay as ‘ lord of the pillar,’ incline me to translate
 “ the ancient name of the town as ‘ the shrine of pillar-shaped S’iva,
 “ or S’iva Stambhes’vara.’ The other names of the town,—
 “ *Stambhāvati* and *Trambhāvati* are, in my opinion, merely modern
 “ attempts to make a Sanskrit word out of the Prākṛit form ¹. Neither
 “ name occurs in Jain or Brāhman writings of any antiquity. The
 “ *Kumārīkā māhātmya* professes also to fix the date of the foundation
 “ of the *Tīrtha*. It informs us, in the third *Addyāya*, that the sage
 “ Nārada received from a king of Saurāshṭra or Sorath, called
 “ *Dharmavarman*, a considerable present in money and a piece of land
 “ at the mouth of the Mahi extending over seven (*ṭarvūtis*, i. e., taking
 “ the *Ṭarvūtī* at four thousand *hustas*, about twenty square miles. The
 “ Rishi earned this magnificent grant by the explanation of a verse,
 “ which king *Dharmavarman* had heard recited by a *Khavāni*, ‘ a voice
 “ which did not proceed from a body,’ and which had baffled all native
 “ and foreign Pandits. In order to please his newly-acquired terri-
 “ tory, Nārada went to *Katapagrāma*, a locality stated to be situated
 “ in Northern India near Kedāranāth, and where a large colony of
 “ particularly learned and saintly Brāhmins dwelt. He persuaded a
 “ number of them to emigrate to his *Kshetra* on the Malisāgara, and
 “ miraculously carried them through the air on the top of his
 “ staff.” ²

The following legends are connected with the names *Trambhāvati* - Legend of the name
rati, the city of copper, and *Stambhāvati*, the city of the pillar.³ Trambhāvati.
 The story of the origin of the name *Trambhāvati* connects the city

¹ They are, however, not real Sanskrit. The long *ā* in *Stambhāvati* is in-
 appropriate, and is due to the desire of its inventor to preserve the long vowel which
 occurs in *Khambbāt*. *Trambhāvati* is a monster consisting of the Gujarātī *trāmbhen*
 ‘copper,’ to which the Sanskrit affix ‘*vat*’ has been added. It has probably been
 manufactured by a *lepulum caput*, that required a support for the copper walls or
 copper pillar attributed by some legends to the ancient town. (G. B.)

² Kum. VI. 46. This is, no doubt, a reminiscence of the settlement of
 Brāhmins at Cambay during the reign of Mulrāj of Anhilwārā (942-997) of which
 an account is given below, page 43. The drawback to the account in the *māhātmya*
 is that king *Dharmavarman* of Sorath is not mentioned elsewhere. Sorath has
 during the last two thousand years rarely been under independent princes. It
 was first a dependency of the Maurya kingdom (B. C. 315-178), ruled by a Gov-
 ernor residing at Girnār. Next it belonged to the Kshatrapas or S’akas (about
 150) and between the second and eighth centuries, first to the Guptas and then to
 the kings of Valabhi. For the eighth, ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries only,
 it had kings of its own, who, according to the Jainas, were Abhiras, and accord-
 ing to their own account Yādavas. Next in the twelfth century the province
 passed to the Chālukyas of Anhilwārā, and, lastly, about the close of the
 thirteenth century, again to the Yadavas. (G. B.)

³ Under the Walabhi kings (319-658) mention is made of a city at the
 mouth of the Māhi called Gajni. This, a place of consequence and one of the chief
 ports of the kingdom, is said to have been destroyed at the time of the final sack of
 Walabhi, an event whose date is still undetermined, though it probably took place
 during the course of the seventh century A. D. Rās Mālā I. 21.

Chapter III.
History.

with the *Garddhabins* or *Gardhabas*, a peculiar dynasty supposed to have ruled in Western India in the early centuries of the Christian era.¹ According to this legend, Gadhisingh, a king of this dynasty, a son of the god Indra, and one of the Gandharvas or heavenly choristers, incurred his father's displeasure, and in punishment was condemned during the hours of day-light to wear the form of an ass. Wandering in this shape, he visited the country between the Mahi and the Sábarmati, and falling in love with the daughter of the ruler of this territory, sought her in marriage. The chief agreed on one condition, that the suitor should surround the city with a wall of brass in a single night. This task the stranger accomplished, and ever after the capital was known as Trambávati, or the abode of brass. From the marriage of the Gandharva with the chief's daughter was born Vikram, the third king of that name, who ruled at Ujain in Málwá about the middle of the fifth century A. D.²

Legend of the name
Khambávati.

Another legend relating to the destruction of *Trambávati* and the foundation of *Khambávati* runs as follows:—Rájá Abhi Kumár, the ruler of *Trambávati*, was warned by an idol that his town would be destroyed by a shower of dust and sand. Acting on this warning the king, taking with him the idol and its pedestal, left his town and put to sea. A storm arose, but by the help of the pillar the king's ship came safe to land. He then set the idol on its pedestal and began to build a city. As a pillar is called Khamb in Hindi, the city was called *Khambávati*.³

Arab references to
Cambay,
913.

The first special references to the city of Cambay are furnished by the early Musalmán writers. At the beginning of the tenth century the Arab traveller Másudi (913) describes the shores of the Gulf of Cambay as covered with towns, villages, and farms.⁴ The territory of Cambay, he says, is governed by a Bráhma who

¹ Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua*, 410.

² Wilford (*As. Res.* IX. 147-155. See also Prinsep's *Ant.* I. 341.) was inclined to trace in this legend a reference to the visit said to have been paid to India by Bahram V. called Gor, or the wild-ass king of Persia (420-440). This prince is supposed to have come to India with the object of gaining allies in his struggles with the Scythian tribe, known as Enthalites or White Huns, and is said to have connected himself by marriage with the house of the king of Kanouj, or, as related in another version, with a chief whose territories lay near the mouth of the Mahi. According to the latter account, Bahram Gor, when in India, founded a city near the capital of his father-in-law. This town was called *Gadhendrapuri*, and from its name and position, 'one day's march north of Broach,' the legend may perhaps have some connection with the ruined city of Gandhár on the south bank of the Mahi.

³ *Ell. Hist.* VI. 354. Colonel Tod (*Western India* 247) relates the same legend under a slightly different form. A prince, finding the ancient city no longer fit for a residence, probably from the silting up of the head of the gulf, determined to change its site. On this occasion he erected a pillar (*Sthamba* vulgo *Khamb*) to the goddess, *devi*, on the sea-shore, inscribing on the pillar a grant of the ancient town, with eighty-four villages, whose resources were to be applied to the maintenance of *Devi's* shrine.

⁴ Reinand's *Memoir Sur l'Inde* 221. Al. Istakhiri (951) and Ibn Haukal (1193) also mention Cambay. *Ell. Hist.* I. 27 and 39.

holds under the Bahārāī, and is full of care for Musalmān traders and other strangers.

Chapter III.

History.

About the middle of the tenth century (942) the Chalukya dynasty succeeded to the throne of Anhilwārā. The power of this dynasty extended over Broach and the lands at the mouth of the Mahi, and the town of Cambay is mentioned in their chronicles as one of the ports of the kingdom. Shortly before the close of the reign of Alu Rāj (942-997), the first of the Chalukya kings of Anhilwārā, the importance of Cambay, or *Stambhatirka*, was increased by the settlement of a colony of Brāhmins. The story² is that one company of the Brāhmins brought by the king from Upper India refused to settle in Gujarāt, longing to return to the sacred banks of the Ganges. But, on consulting the holy books, it was found that the spot where the Mahi entered the ocean was inferior in sanctity to no place upon earth. Here, therefore, they agreed to settle, and the lands known as the *Kumarikā Kshetra*, the field of Devi, stretching for eight miles round a temple sacred to that goddess, were assigned to them. On the site of this temple the old English factory in Cambay is said to stand³.

Settlement of a
Brāhmin colony,
990-997.

Cambay, however, still remained second in importance to Somnāth, and it would seem that it was not until after the destruction of that famous shrine in 1024 that Cambay rose to the position of the chief port of Gujarāt. With the fall of Somnāth and the increased importance of Anhilwārā, Cambay rapidly advanced in wealth and prosperity. By the middle of the twelfth century Cambay is described⁵ 'as a well-known naval station, fertile, and with good trade, well supplied with water and protected by a fine

Condition of Cambay
990-1024.

¹ Bahārāī was a general kingly title assumed at different periods by various Hindu dynasties in Gujarāt. The Bahārāī at Cambay, when Māsudi wrote (913), is called by him the king of Mānkir (EIL Hist. I. 23). This prince is now generally supposed to have been the Rāhtor ruler of Mālkhet in the Nizām's dominions (N. Lat. 17° : E. Long. 77°.)

² Forbes' Rās Mālā I. 40.

³ Forbes' Rās Mālā I. 66.

⁴ By Gov. Sel. New Series XXVI. 76, note. This settlement of Brāhmins in 'the field of Devi' would seem to have been accompanied, or at least followed, by the transfer of the city from its former site three miles further inland to its present site near the shore of the gulf. The legends of the transfer given in the text are, at least so far as the fact of a change of site goes, supported by later accounts of Cambay. Two of the European writers of the beginning of the seventeenth century (De la Valle 1623, and Ogilby 1680-1685) notice that at the distance of a league from the city of Cambay there were at that time ruins of an older town 'the ancient royal seat and chief city of Sorath.' This town De la Valle names *Ambara* (Letters p. 108) and Ogilby names *Agra* (Atlas V. 213). So, too, the author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadī* (1748-762), Vol. III, writes, they say that in ancient times there was a great city where the village of Nagrah now is, 3 miles (1½ Kos) from Cambay. This city was called *Tambanagri*, and its walls were of copper, and in support of this it is said that once digging for a well the workers found a brick of copper (J. W. W.). With regard to the date of the transfer, it seems worthy of note, that while Ibn Haukal (943-968), who wrote before Sidh Rāj's grant, places the town of Kambaya 6 miles (one parasang) inland (EIL Hist. I. 39), Edrisi (1153), who writes after the date of the grant, places it only 3 miles from the sea (Jaubert's Edrisi 171)—a difference agreeing with the distance between the old and the new cities. Nagrah is mentioned by Briggs (1839) as a hamlet 5 miles to the north-west of the city. Cities of Guj. 166.

⁵ Jaubert's Edrisi (1153) 172, and EIL Hist. Vol. I., p. 84.

Chapter III
History.

fortress.' About the same time mention is made of quarrels arising between the Pársis and Musalmáns of Cambay. One of the Musalmáns, whose faction would seem to have had the worst of the contest, made his way to Anhilwára, and meeting the king Sidh Ráj Jaisingh (1094-1143) hunting near his capital, complained to him that in Cambay the Pársis and Hindus had attacked the Musalmáns, killed eighty of them, and destroyed their mosque and minaret. The king, anxious to satisfy himself of the truth of this charge, set off secretly on a camel to Cambay, and under a disguise, moving about the town, heard enough to convince him that the Musalmáns had been badly used. On his return to Anhilwára he summoned two leading men from each class of the people of Cambay—Bráhmans, Fireworshippers and others (Jains) and ordered them to be punished. At the same time he made over to the Musalmáns money enough to rebuild their mosque and towers. The same writer also notices that, about the end of the twelfth century, the mosques built by Jaisingh's money were destroyed when the Bálá army invaded the dominions of Anhilwára. They were again rebuilt by a certain Syad Sharaf Tamin, who erected four towers with golden cupolas.¹

Jaina connection
with Cambay.
1241-1242.

With regard to the Jaina connection with Cambay, we learn that during the reign of Bhimadeva II., in the year 1241-42, Vastupála, the famous Jaina minister of Bhima's steward Lavanasáda and of his son Ráná Viradhavala, was for some time Governor of Cambay.² He founded the religious institutions of the Jainas, the Poshátás, and libraries of Cambay. This is distinctly stated by his friend, the Purobita Somes'vara, in the Kirti Kaumudi (IV. 30 seqq.) and is confirmed by the fact that the oldest MSS. of the Jaina Bhandárs date from the first half of the thirteenth century. He also built the original Jaina temples of the town. The present buildings, however, date according to their inscriptions from much later times.

Cambay during the
thirteenth century.

Under the Wághelás, the last of the Anhilwára dynasties, Cambay continued to increase in importance. At the close of the thirteenth century the Musalmán invaders are said to have known of it by reputation as the first city in Hind. Nor would they seem to have been disappointed with the actual appearance of the city. The writers are full of the beauty of the neighbourhood of Cambay and the wealth of the city itself. The air they found pure, the water clear, and the surrounding country charming both in scenery and buildings. The plunder was abundant and rich—gold, silver, precious stones, clothes, both silk and cotton, stamped, embroidered, and coloured.³ These praises of Cambay are borne out by the account given by the Venetian traveller Marco Polo (1254-1324), who visited Cambay about the year 1290. Then it was still untouched by the Musalmáns, and was the seat of much trade.⁴

¹ Muhammad Ufi (1211-1236) in *Ell. Hist.*, II. 162-164, where Bálá is supposed to mean Málwá.

² *Kirti Kaumudi* III., and *Girnár and Abu* inscriptions. (G. B.)

³ *Ell. Hist.* III. 43 and 163.

⁴ Yule's *Marco Polo*, II. 332. The details of its commerce are given above.

SECOND PERIOD—1297-1730

Chapter III.

History.

The term of about four hundred and thirty years, during which the city and lands of Cambay formed a district subordinate to the Musalmán rulers of Gujarāt, includes three periods. The first of about a hundred years (1297-1400) of active trade, but of much insecurity and disorder; the second of slightly more than a century and a quarter (1400-1530), when the wealth and importance of Cambay were at their height; and the third stretching over the remaining two hundred years (1530-1730)—a time, on the whole, of decline, growing disorder, and failing resources.

In 1297, only a few years after Marco Polo's (1290) visit, Cambay was captured by the generals of the Emperor Alá-ud-din Khiljy (1295-1315), and a local governor was appointed. On that occasion the city was plundered, the Hindu temples were broken down¹, and the inhabitants slaughtered on the right hand and on the left hand unmercifully.² Before many years were over Cambay would seem to have recovered much of its former prosperity. The traveller Ibn Batuta (1324-1354), who visited Gujarāt on his way to China about 1345, speaks of it as a very fine city, remarkable for the elegance and solidity of its mosques and houses built by foreign merchants, who, he adds, form the chief part of its population.³ In 1346, soon after Ibn Batuta's

H. Mus. Man. Sec-
tion,
1297-1730

I. Early Musalmán
period
1297-1400.

Captured by the
Musalmáns,
1297.

Description of the
city,
1345.

under the head of trade. From the story given above, p. 44, from Muhammad Uth, it would seem that, about the beginning of the twelfth century, the Pársis were one of the most important classes of the people of Cambay. Captain Robertson (1813) in his account of Cambay (see Bombay Gov. Sel. N. S. XXVI.) supplies some local details of the Pársis in Cambay as well as of the improvements in the city introduced by one Kahanrái. Captain Robertson gives no dates, and, as nothing further has been found regarding the period to which his narrative refers, it seems best to give the particulars in a foot note. Some of the Pársis, who since their arrival in India, about 636, had remained in the south of Gujarāt, were attracted to the settlement (912-997) near the temple of the *Kumārka Kshetra* at the mouth of the Mahi. The first comers succeeding in trade, others followed, and in time the Pársi element became so strong that by their overbearing conduct they forced the Hindus to leave the city. Among those who fled was a man of the Dasá Lár caste of Wániás, Kahanrái by name. He took refuge in Surat^a where in a short time, by trading in pearls, he acquired a large fortune. His wealth gave him consequence, and he had the address to bring together a numerous band of Rájputs and Kolis, who in the night attacked the Pársis, putting many to the sword, and setting fire to their houses. The rest took to flight, and not a Pársi was to be seen in *Kumārka Kshetra*. Kahanrái then formed the design of building a city on the ruins of the Pársi town. By the excellence of his police, by constructing reservoirs of water, by improving the defences of the town, and by granting immunities to merchants, Kahanrái induced many wealthy men to settle at Cambay. So successful was his management that, according to the story, Kahanrái received the voluntary homage of a district of eighty-four villages, the Cambay *Choráisi*.

^a If this is Surat and not Sorath, Kahanrái's date can hardly have been before the fourteenth century.

¹ The chief mosque of Cambay, the Juma Mosque, constructed from the remains of Jain temple, is said to bear the date 1308.

² El. Hist. III. 43. An account of the booty found in Cambay is given under the head trade.

³ About this time it would seem that there was in Cambay a Musalmán of considerable power and note, named Sheikh Ali Haidari, who made many predictions for merchants and seafaring men, and they in return made him many votive offerings. See Ibn Batuta, 146 and 164. Yule's Marco Polo. II. 333.

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Joint rebellion,
1346-1349.

Complaints of op-
pression,
1391.

Disputed succession,
1411.

2. Time of prosperity,
1400-1530.

3. Period of decline,
1530-1730.

visit, Gujarát rose in rebellion against Muhammad Toglak (1325-1351) and in suppressing this revolt the town of Cambay was plundered by the Emperor's troops (1347). Again, in the second rebellion of 1349, the city was sacked by the insurgents and afterwards besieged by the Emperor. Towards the close of the fourteenth century Cambay suffered so much from the tyranny of Farat-ul-Mulk Rásti Khán, Governor of Gujarát, 1376-1391, that in 1391, when Zufar Khán was sent to supersede Rásti Khán, he was met at Nájor in Jodhpur by a deputation of the people of Cambay, praying for his help and protection. On the death of Zufar Khán in 1411, a party of the nobles leagued together to oppose the succession of Ahmad I. (1411-1443), and took possession of Cambay. Failing to collect a force sufficient for the defence of the city, they retired upon Broach. Here they met with no better success, and shortly after, by the submission of its leaders, the revolt came to an end. By the increased care and attention paid by King Ahmad to trade and naval affairs, Cambay would seem to have profited in a special degree. About the close of his reign it is described by a European traveller as a very noble city, twelve miles in circumference.¹

During the succeeding eighty years of strong and successful rule, especially in the reign of Máhmud Begará (1459-1511), who, even more than Ahmad I., was distinguished by the attention he paid to the naval affairs of his kingdom, the city of Cambay would seem to have reached its greatest glory. Though Diu was then the chief emporium of trade, Barbosa's description of Cambay shows how great a centre of wealth and industry that city was in the early part of the sixteenth century. Its houses were of stone and white-wash, handsome, and very lofty. The streets and squares were large, and the country round, rich, fertile, and full of provisions. There were many craftsmen and mechanics of subtle workmanship after the fashion of Flanders: weavers of cotton, plain and dyed, fine and coarse; weavers of silk and velvet; makers of delicate articles in ivory; skilled embroiderers, silversmiths, and workers in coral and precious stones. Its people, very well fed and very well dressed, led luxurious lives, giving much of their time to pleasure and amusement. Drawn by oxen and horses, in carts with rich mattresses, cushions and pillows of silk and stamped kid skins, and accompanied by bands of musicians with various instruments and songs, festive parties were continually passing through the streets on their way to the rich gardens and orchards outside of the city walls.²

Though from 1530-1730 the fortunes of Cambay were, on the whole, falling into decay, this long term of two hundred years includes several subordinate periods differing from one another in the causes as well as in the extent of the decline.

¹ The traveller was Nicolo de Conti (1420-1444). Major's *India* in the fifteenth Cent., II. 5 and 20.

² Stanley's Barbosa 60. Barbosa's travels probably lasted from about 1501 to 1517. He visited Cambay only a short time after the death of Máhmud Begará (1511) 57.

These sub-divisions are three in number. The first extends over about forty years from the decay of the Gujarát monarchy in the latter years of Bahádur's reign (1525-1536) to the annexation of Gujarát as a province of the Moghal empire in 1573, the second of about one hundred and thirty years (1573-1700), when, under viceroys chosen by the early Moghal Emperors, the country was, on the whole, prosperous and well governed; and the third of about thirty years, when, in proportion as authority passed from the hands of the Moghal viceroys, the distracted state of the province stimulated the more ambitious of the nobles to assume the position of independent rulers.

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Period of decline
how sub divided.

During the first of these subordinate periods two influences were at work hostile to the prosperity of Cambay. Of these the first was the establishment of the Portuguese as the supreme naval power in the Gulf of Cambay. From the beginning of the sixteenth century the trade of Cambay suffered, at the hands of the Portuguese, by the destruction of many of its former marts on the coasts of Africa and Arabia as well as by the loss of much of the traffic with the south coast of India and the islands of the Eastern Archipelago. But it was not till the defeat of the Gujarát navy (1528-29), the plunder of the sea-ports along the shores of the Gulf of Cambay (1530-31), and the loss of Diu (1536), that the chief profits of the great commerce of Gujarát were taken from the hands of local merchants and monopolized by strangers. The second cause of decline is to be found in the disasters that overtook the last years (1533-1536) of Bahádur's reign, and the discord that prevailed from Bahádur's death till the year 1573, when the line of Ahmedábád kings ceased to rule. In 1535 the emperor Humayun, in his pursuit of Bahádur arriving at Cambay too late by only a few hours, rested there for some days. During this delay his camp was attacked and robbed by a body of Kolis, and in revenge the emperor gave up the city to his followers to be pillaged.

Decay of the Guja-
rát monarchy,
1530-1573.

Cambay pillaged,
1535.

In the general disorder of the next forty years the city and lands of Cambay were from time to time handed over from one to the other of the almost independent nobles. In the partition of Gujarát during the minority of King Ahmad II. (1554-1561) Cambay, along with Pátan, Chorási, Dholká, Gogo, and Dhánduká, was assigned to Syad Mubarak and his party. But shortly afterwards (1560), on the defeat and death of the Syad, his estates were seized by the regent Itimád Khán. Again in 1571, in consequence of his victory over the party of Itimád Khán, Cambay fell into the hands of Changez Khán, son of Imád-ul-Mulk Rumi, and was by him granted to his mother for her support. This gift was the cause of Changez Khán's death. An Abyssinian commander, named Bijli Khán, claiming a previous promise of Cambay, in anger slew Changez Khán (1572), and Cambay again became a part of Itimád Khán's possessions.

Though Cambay shared in the general prosperity that prevailed under the early Moghal Emperors, the chief cause of its decay—the change in the course of trade—was still at work, and by the end of

Under Moghal
Viceroys,
1573-1700.

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the seventeenth century Surat as well as Diu surpassed Cambay as seats of commerce.

Akbar improves
Cambay,
1573.

In 1573, with the rest of Gujarát, Cambay passed under the power of the emperor Akbar. On this occasion Akbar is said to have visited Cambay, and to have amused himself by sailing on the waters of the gulf.¹ He would seem to have taken a special interest in the welfare of the city. He induced weavers and other skilled workmen to settle there, and, outside of the city walls, founded two suburbs, calling one of them after himself and the other Sikandar or Shakkarpura.² But though during the reign of Akbar, by the reduction of taxation and transit dues, efforts were made to increase the prosperity of the province, the neighbourhood of Cambay was from time to time unsettled by the movements of bands of insurgents, and on three occasions the city itself was attacked and taken. Of these disturbances the first took place in 1573, when Mirzá Muhammad Husain,³ advancing suddenly from the Khándesh frontier, surprised Broach and Cambay. This was only a passing gleam of success; for he was quickly forced to abandon these cities, and before the end of the same year (1573) was defeated and slain. The second capture of Cambay was ten years later (1583), when, during the rebellion of Musafar, the last of the dynasty of Ahmadábád kings, Said-ud-daulat, the servant of one Kalianrái of Cambay, in the interest of Musafar,⁴ collected troops, seized Cambay, and held the city for some time (1583-84). The third occasion was in 1606, when Musafar's son Bahádúr, 'proclaiming liberty and laws of good fellowship,' sacked Cambay, and retained possession of the city for fourteen days.⁵

Cambay thrice
pillaged.
1573 1606.

First English
traders,
1583.

In 1583 the English made their first attempt to open a separate trade of their own with India. Three merchants—Fitch, Coedes, and Newberry—provided with letters from Queen Elizabeth to Akbar, 'King of Cambay,' started for Gujarát by way of the Persian Gulf. They reached Ormuz safely, and their efforts to trade were at first successful. Soon, however, they were seized and imprisoned by the Portuguese, and carried off to Goa. They succeeded in escaping from Goa. But though Fitch traded in India for some time, and finally reached England in safety, none of them seem to have carried out the original scheme of visiting Cambay.⁶

Condition of Cambay,
1563-1585.

Towards the close of the sixteenth century (1563-1585) Cambay was visited by a European traveller, who calls it a fair city, and was so much impressed with its trade and prosperity, that, he says,

¹ Bird's History of Gujarát 312.

² Robertson's Hist. of Cambay (By. Gov. Sel. New Series XXVI).

³ This was one of the Mirzás, consins of Akbar, whose revolt from 1571-1573 caused the Emperor so much trouble. The details, so far as they concern Gujarát, will be found in the Musalman section of the general history of the province.

⁴ Bird's Gujarát 366.

⁵ Finch (1608-1612) in Kerr VIII. 275 and 302.

⁶ Fitch in Hak. Voy. II. 375-402. Thanks chiefly to the fame of Mahmud Begará, Cambay was in the sixteenth century used by European writers as equal, not only to Gujarát, but even to the whole of Hindustán.

'If I had not seen it I could not have believed there was such a trade'¹. On one occasion, when this merchant was in Cambay, perhaps in 1590, the city, though so rich in trade, was in so great calamity and scarceness that the people of the country, who were Gentiles, took their sons and their daughters, and asked the Portuguese to buy them, selling them for eight or ten laines a piece, which may be, he adds, of our money from ten to thirteen shillings².

With regard to the resources and revenue derived from Cambay in the latter part of the sixteenth century, according to a statement in the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*³ at the time of its transfer to Akbar (1573), Cambay yielded from collections in the city, taxes on supplies and port duties, a yearly revenue of £40,000 (Rs. 4,00,000).

During the whole of the seventeenth century, except the first few years, Cambay would seem to have been free from attacks from without or from internal disturbances. At the same time, though its manufactures maintained much of their importance, the honour of being the chief Musalmán port of Gujarát was gradually passing to its younger rival Surat. Four causes would seem to have been at work to produce this change: I.—The former trade route to the chief cities of Hindustán through Cambay and Ahmedábád northwards by Mount Abu was for the time closed by the disturbed state of the Rajput country. II.—By the increasing importance of the Maráthá revolt the imperial head-quarters were more and more constantly stationed in the south of Hindustán, in Khándesh, and in the Deccan. III.—With the development of European commerce the use of larger ships became more general. These vessels shunned the shoals and rapids of the Gulf of Cambay, finding a more convenient anchorage in the Swáli roads near the mouth of the Tápti. IV.—The silting up of the head of the gulf. From the combination of these causes, Surat, and not Cambay, became for Indian Musalmáns the gate of Meccá.

In the early years of the seventeenth century Cambay had still (1608) a topping trade for all sorts of cloth and rich drugs, and was so frequented by Portuguese that there were often as many as two hundred of their small vessels, grabs and frigates, riding there.⁴ The Dutch, who had established themselves in 1617, were in 1623 many in number and managing a prosperous factory,⁵ and the English, who in 1613 had gained leave to

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Revenue of Cambay,
1573.

Causes of Cambay
decline,
1600-1700.

¹ This traveller was the Venetian merchant Cæsar Frederick, who is generally said to have been in India between 1563-1581. He must, however, have remained later, as he was in Cambay twelve years after Akbar's conquest, *i. e.*, 1585. Hakluyt's *Voy.* II. 344 (Ed. of 1809). No other notice of the famine to which he refers has been traced, unless it was in 1590, when at the siege of Junágarh it was found difficult to supply the troops with grain.

² Hakluyt's *Voyages* II. 344.

³ *Purd's Gujarát* 114. In the *Ain-i-Akbari* Gladwin I. 233, the revenue is returned at about £50,000 (dams 2,01,47,986.)

⁴ Finch (1608-1612). Kerr's *Voyages* VIII., 308.

⁵ De La Vallee's Letters, 64-68. According to some accounts the Dutch had a factory at Cambay as early as 1604, but Stavormus (III., 107) gives 1617. The Dutch would seem to have closed their factory before 1670.

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start a factory in Cambay, were in 1616 strong enough, in a quarrel with the Portuguese, to have their adversaries for the time dismissed from the town¹.

Condition of Cambay,
1611-1695.

Of Cambay in the seventeenth century several European travellers have left descriptions. Shortly after the beginning of the century, in the year 1611, the English traveller Finch describes the city as encompassed by a strong brick² wall, with high and handsome houses forming straight paved streets, each with a gate at either end. De la Valle, who was in Cambay in 1623, though he says little of the trade of the city or of the wealth of its people, gives the impression of considerable prosperity. The suburbs stretching far beyond the town were adorned by reservoirs of water, especially by one beautifully built with a flight of marble steps. Here, too, was a hospital with wards not only for aged and infirm animals, but rooms where men and women suffering from incurable diseases were lodged³. But by the middle of the century (1612-1666) so much had the head of the gulf silted up, that a bank, about a mile and-a-half broad, had formed between the town walls and the water, and great ships could come no nearer than from nine to twelve miles⁴. Towards the close of the century (1695) the Italian traveller Gemelli Careri, though he says it had lost much of its splendour and magnificence, found Cambay a large and rich city⁵.

Eighteenth century.

Cambay was not immediately concerned in the disturbances that marked the last years of Aurangzeb's reign, nor was it directly affected by the earliest inroads of the Maráthás. At the same time how much its wealth and prosperity had suffered from the general disorder and laxness of government, appears from an account of the city written about the year 1720. It is described as still a place of good trade, contributing much to the wealth and grandeur of Surat, to which it is subordinate. But it

Cambay about 1720.

¹ Sir T. Roe in Kerr's Voyages IX., 315.

² This is probably correct, as Forbes (O. M., II. 18, 19) speaks of it as a brick wall. Mandelslo (1638) talks of a handsome wall of cut stone (Mandelslo 101-108), and Baldaus about 1680 (Churchill III., 506) of a triple wall. Tavernot (about 1666, Voyages V., 36), a more careful observer, gives some further details. The town walls were beautifully built of brick about four yards high and with towers at intervals. The governor had a castle large, but not beautiful. The houses were built of sun-burnt bricks. Outside of the town were many fine public gardens and a marble tomb built by a king of Gujarát in the memory of a governor of Cambay. Mandelslo (1638) and Baldaus (1680) both speak of Cambay as twice the size of Surat.

³ De la Valle's letters, 63. This part of the instructions contained in the second of Asoka's edicts is not at present carried out in any of the animal hospitals in Gujarát.

⁴ Tavernier in Harris II. 353.

⁵ Gemelli Careri in Churchill IV. 188. The cause of its decline was, according to this traveller, twofold: I, the disorders that had overtaken the city since the Portuguese ceased to govern it, and, II., the silting up of the gulf. Gemelli Careri would seem to be mistaken about the Portuguese, even though he speaks of the 'gate that people made for the protection of the city.' The Portuguese seem never to have held Cambay, and the account of its being sacked in 1548 by Don Juan de Castro (Hiem Viagem de duas Mil Legoas, 1848) does not seem to be mentioned in the ordinary histories.

“was harassed by the Pátaners,¹ mostly horsemen and bold fellows who borrowed round sums from the city by way of compulsion. The Rajputs and Kohs also made inroads into the province, and plundered even to the gates of the city, and sometimes surprised the city itself, for which neglect the governors' heads answered. In 1716 they were very bold and presumptuous, so that a stop was put to the trade of Ahmedábád and Cambay. The governor of Surat² got an army of 20,000 men to chastise and restrain them. But they laid so many ambuscades that in two months the army was reduced to less than half, and the rest obliged to get home with sorrowful hearts to Surat.”³

The only Europeans who continued to maintain a factory at Cambay after the close of the seventeenth century were the English⁴. The history of English trade at Cambay in the beginning of the eighteenth century runs in most respects parallel with the history of the larger establishment at Surat. At both places there were the same causes of annoyance and obstruction in the way of business. Both places were subject to the oppression of Moghal governors, were harassed on land by lawless parties of Maráthás, and at sea by no less lawless cruisers of Kohs and other robbers. In 1720 Mr. Wyard, the resident of Cambay, was much distressed by the extortions of the Muhammadan governor, and in 1725 the whole city was threatened with destruction by two rival armies of Maráthás, the one led by Piláji, the other by Kantáji. Piláji appeared first, and at his approach the country people in alarm flocked to Cambay for refuge. Thither he followed them, demanding £50,000 (Rs. 5,00,000) from the inhabitants, and when they refused to pay he set fire to the suburbs of the town. Soon after came Kantáji, asserting that he alone had authority to levy contributions, and offering Piláji £2,000 if he would only depart with his army. Piláji refused, and a fight ensued, in which Piláji was defeated. Then the victor Kantáji demanded a contribution of £11,000 (Rs. 1,10,000), of which the share of the English residency was to be £500. Mr. Daniel Innes, the resident, remonstrated against this extortion, very earnestly pleading the privileges of trade and the exemption from all payments which had been conceded to the English by Sabo Rájá; but, as he wrote in mortification of spirit, ‘the armed villains only laughed.’ However, the Maráthás at last compounded with the resident for a sum of £200; and as Kantáji was obliged to leave after a first instalment of £50, Innes would not consider the promise extorted by force binding, or send another penny, the President and Council of Bombay fully

¹ These are probably the Káthas, called Pátaners, from the city of Dev or Mungi Patan (N. Lat. 20° 55', E. Long 70° 21') on the S. W. coast of the peninsula of Káthiáwár, Pátan stood on the southern point of the present harbour of Verával, and had within its walls the famous temple of Somnáth.

² This was Haidar Kuli Khán who governed Surat 1716-1717, and was afterwards 51st Viceroy (1721-1722). In 1716 he was appointed both to Cambay and Surat. He showed that he considered Surat the more important charge by going there himself, and choosing a deputy for Cambay.

³ Hamilton's New Account of Hindustán. I. 145.

⁴ It seems doubtful whether the English factory was maintained between 1660 and 1700. See list of factories in Macpherson's Commerce 163.

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English in Cambay,
1720-1730.

approving his philosophy. The followers of Hamid Khan, the Musalmán governor of Ahmedábád, next appeared before Cambay levying £3,500 on the town, and demanding £100 from the residency. 'The first time they went back with a put-off,' writes Mr. Innes, 'and the next with a flat denial, and I have not heard from them since, further than that the governor and the *gecnim*¹ fellow here has advised them to desist, the latter adding that the English even would not pay them. They are but two hundred men, and I am under no manner of apprehension of danger.' The governor then locked, and affixed seals to the English broker's warehouses. This measure Mr. Innes counteracted by menaces and two cases of drams, which were more effectual than money in subduing the rapacity of Musalmáns. The seals were removed, and the eccentric resident, a month later, replies to the congratulations of his superiors with this counter-hint—'I shall have regard to your hint of the governor being dry: though I have quenched his thirst at my own charge too often for my pocket.'² After Hamid Khán's followers had gone away almost empty, a new deputy governor was appointed on condition that he should send to Ahmedábád £3,000. This sum had to be extorted from the people of Cambay, and no sooner did the unhappy merchants and shopkeepers hear of his approach than they hid themselves, or made their escape to the neighbouring villages. For six days not a man was to be seen in the streets of Cambay, although the governor threatened that, unless the people made their appearance, he would deliver over the city to indiscriminate pillage.

Cambay as a distinct
state,
1730-1876.Mirzá Jáfir (Momin
Khán II.) Governor
of Cambay,
1730-1743.

The controlling power of the Moghal Viceroy declined so gradually in Gujarát that it is difficult to fix any one date for the establishment of Cambay as a distinct state. This change, though not fully developed for several years later, may perhaps most correctly be said to date from the year 1730, when a certain Mirzá Jáfir Najam-ud-daulah was appointed paymaster to the troops, reporter on the state of Gujarát, and Governor of Cambay. This Mirzá Jáfir Najam-ud-daulah was by birth a Persian of the Najam-i-Sáni family, a descendant of one of the seven ministers of state to Sháh Ismal Sufai, king of Persia. Mirzá Jáfir came into Gujarát a poor man under the patronage of Mubáriz-ul-Mulk Sarbuland Khán, Viceroy of Gujarát (1723-1730). In the year 1725 the Viceroy conferred on Mirzá Jáfir the title of Najam-ud-daulah, and placed him in the command of the district of Pitlád, about sixteen miles north of Cambay. In consequence of this promotion, Mirzá Jáfir Najam-ud-daulah received in marriage the daughter of Momin Khán Dehlami, at that time minister of Gujarát and agent for the ports of Cambay and Surat.³

¹ *Oecnim* or robber used of the Maráthá agent.

² Letters from Daniel Innes in the Surat Diaries, 1720-1726. The whole paragraph is extracted from the By Quar. Rev. III. 73-75.

³ This Momin Khán Dehlami or Momin Khán I. a descendant of the Dehlemite Kings of Persia (932) is said, like his son-in-law Mirzá Jáfir, to have owed his advance to the patronage of Mubáriz-ul-Mulk Sarbuland Khán. Through the influence of that nobleman, Momin Khán was in 1714 appointed from Delhi to be

In 1730, Chimnáji Appá, afterwards the conqueror of Bassein, demanded from Cambay a contribution of £30,000 (Rs. 3,00,000), and on departing with the main body of his army, left behind him roving companies which after exacting nearly £20,000 (Rs 2,00,000) from the town of Pítlád, ruthlessly plundered Dholká. The trade and city of Cambay were threatened with extinction. 'The present prospect is nothing but ruin,' writes Mr. Innes at that time the English resident at Cambay, 'not only to trade, but to the inhabitants of Gujarát.' The Musalmán rulers of the province tried to extract from the people what the Maráthás had left; and when Saibuland Khán was appointed Viceroy, Chimnáji again appeared, offered him battle, and defeated him.¹ In 1733 the Viceroy oppressed the Cambay bankers and merchants to such a degree, that they closed their shops and left the city. In 1735 the Maráthás demanded half of the customs revenue, and threatened, in case of refusal, to destroy the city with fire and sword.

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The Maráthás pil-
lage round Cambay,
1730.

Till the time of his father-in-law's death and for two years after (1730), Mirzá Jáfir Najam-ud-daulah would seem to have remained in charge of Pítlád. But in the year 1730, in consequence of some misunderstanding with the Viceroy, Mirzá Jáfir leaving Gujarát, repaired to the court of Delhi. Here he would seem to have been well received, and in the same year (1730) returned to Gujarát with the Mahárájá Abheysingh, who had been appointed to succeed Mubáriz-ul-Mulk as Viceroy. Mirzá Jáfir was able to do good service to the Mahárájá, inducing Mubáriz-ul-Mulk to retire from Gujarát. In reward, he was in 1730 made paymaster of the troops, reporter on the state of Gujarát, and Governor of Cambay. At the same time, the management of the lands near that city was entrusted to Mirzá Jáfir's cousin, Fidá-ud-din Khán. Mirzá Jáfir also, for a time, held the district of Pítlád in farm. But owing to a dispute with the Viceroy, he was not long after deprived of this source of revenue.

Mirzá Jáfir goes to
Delhi,
1730.

agent of Surat and Cambay, and at the same time was put in charge of the districts of Baroda, Broach, Dholká, Pítlád, and Nariád. Momin Khán, placing deputies in the other districts, reserved for himself the charge of Surat. In the following year (1715) in consequence of the changes that accompanied the appointment of the Mahárája Ajitsingh to be Viceroy (48th Viceroy 1715-1716) Momin Khán for a time lost his command. He would seem to have regained his former charge on the second appointment of Ajitsingh as 50th Viceroy in 1719, and for the three following years Momin Khán was in a position of so much power that, in the disorders caused by the Maráthá inroads, he is said to have made efforts to become independent. On the removal of Ajitsingh (1721) Momin Khán again lost his command. But in 1722 was for a third time chosen governor of Surat by Asaph Ján Nizám-ul-Mulk (52nd Viceroy, 1722). In the following year (1723) Momin Khán attempted but without success to resist Pítláji Gáekwár in an attack on Surat. In spite of this reverse Momin Khán was soon after, by the appointment of his patron Mubáriz-ul-Mulk Saibuland Khán to be Viceroy of Gujarát (53rd Viceroy 1723-1730), chosen *darván* or minister of the province. It was in 1725 on the occasion of the arrival of the Viceroy in Gujarat that Mirzá Jáfir, as mentioned in the text, was chosen governor of Pítlád with the title of Najam-ud-daulah, and soon after Momin Khán gave that officer his daughter in marriage. For two years more Momin Khán Dehlami continued to act as minister, and apparently as agent at Cambay and Surat. He died in 1728 (Robertson gives 1726, p. 58), and was buried in Cambay, where his tombstone was in 1812 still to be seen.

¹ Letters from the Resident at Cambay, April 1730-1731.

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Mirzá Jáfir chosen
governor of Surat,
1733.
He fails to gain
possession of the city,
1733.

In 1733, in consequence of disturbances¹ raised in Surat by a merchant named Mulá Muhammad Ali, orders were received from Delhi that Mirzá Jáfir should take charge of Surat. This arrangement was not, however, carried out. Mirzá Jáfir's agent, Syad Nurulláh, failed to take possession of Surat, and that city remained in the hands of Tegbakht Khán. In the same year, on the occasion of the advance of a Maráthá army under Umábái, the widow of Khanderáv Senápati, Mirzá Jáfir is mentioned as having given aid to the Viceroy, Mahárájá Abheysingh. Shortly after this, the Viceroy appointing Ratansingh Bhándári as his deputy, left Gujarát for Delhi.

Acts as if independ-
ent,
1734.

In the absence of the Viceroy, Mirzá Jáfir would seem to have paid but little respect to Ratansingh's orders. As examples of his increasing insubordination, it may be noticed that, in 1734, Mirzá Jáfir when ordered to relieve Baroda, then invested by a Maráthá army, retired without making any effort on behalf of the besieged, and in consequence of this the city fell into the Góckwár's hands (1734). In the following year (1735) the Viceroy suspected Mirzá Jáfir of having secretly helped Sohráb Khán in his attempt to gain Viramgám; and so strong was the ill-feeling between them that Mirzá Jáfir, afraid of assassination, withdrew to Cambay. Soon after (1736) near the city he engaged a Maráthá force under Rangoji, but was defeated and compelled to retire within the shelter of the walls, and remained there in spite of Ratansingh's injunctions to come to his aid against the Maráthás. In consequence of this behaviour Ratansingh transferred the management of the districts of Pitlád, Arbar-Mátar, and Nariád from Mirzá Jáfir to Sher Khán, one of the Bábi family. Mirzá Jáfir made preparations to resist this transfer; but, before any steps had been taken in the matter, the position of affairs was changed by the appointment of Mirzá Jáfir to be Viceroy (55th Viceroy 1737) in place of the Mahárájá Abheysingh.

Mirzá Jáfir (Momin
Khán II.) Viceroy,
1737-1743.

Mirzá Jáfir began to act as Viceroy with the title of Najam-ud-daulah Momin Khán Bahádur Firoz Jang. But as his power was opposed by Ratansingh, and Ratansingh's allies the Jháloris, Momin* Khán (II) was forced to seek the help of the Maráthás. Summoning Rangoji to his assistance, Momin Khán promised that if with the help of the Maráthás his cause succeeded, he should make over to them one-half of the produce of Gujarát except the revenue of the cities of Ahmedábád and Cambay. In consequence of the influence of his faction at Court, Abheysingh was in 1737 chosen Viceroy for the third time. At the same time Momin Khán received private intelligence that the appointment of Abheysingh was only nominal, and that it was the Emperor's wish that Momin Khán should persevere in expelling Abheysingh and his adherents. Momin

¹ The details of these disturbances will be found in the Surat District Account.

² This Najam Khán was Zimal Abedin Najam Khán, a descendant of the Najam-i-Sáni family. He governed Cambay for about eleven years, and in 1748 was poisoned by his brother-in-law Muftákhir Khán (Momin Khán III).

Khán accordingly appointing his son-in-law, Najam Khán², governor of Cambay, advanced against Ahmedábád, and with the aid of his Maráthá allies under Damáji Gáekwár, after a siege of nine months, captured the city of Ahmedábád. The events connected with this siege and the details of the government of Momin Khán from 1738 to 1743 belong to the general history of the province¹. During the most of that time Momin Khán's headquarters were in Ahmedábád. But in the year 1741, it is mentioned that he paid a visit to Cambay, and took what steps he could to prevent the decline in the customs revenue of the port. In the year 1743 Momin Khán died. He was, as a temporary measure, succeeded in the government of Gujarát by Fida-ud-din Khán, his reputed brother, and Muftákhír Khán, his own son.

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Najam Khán goes
versus Cambay,
1737-1743.

Momin Khan II. dies,
1743.

In the following year (1743-44) Muftákhír was formally appointed Viceroy. But failing to hold his own against the influence of Jawán Mard Khán and other members of the Bábi family, he was compelled to retire to Cambay. Here, along with Fida-ud-din Khán, Najam Khán his brother-in-law then in charge of Cambay, and the Maráthá leader Rangóji, plans were discussed for an attack on Ahmedábád. In return for his alliance Rangóji, on the Gáekwár's behalf, demanded the one-half share of the revenues of the city of Cambay in addition to those of the rest of Gujarát granted by Momin Khán in 1737 during the course of the siege of Ahmedábád. Muftákhír Khán and his party at first refused to accept these proposals; but Rangóji, bringing an army within one-and-a-half miles of the city of Cambay, compelled them to agree, and, besides, to advance him the sum of £8,000 (Rs. 80,000)². These schemes against the Bábi coming to nothing, for the next five years, Muftákhír Khán remained in Cambay. From time to time he tried to enforce his right to be Viceroy, but all his attempts failing, he instead determined to gain

Muftákhír Khán
(Momin Khán III.)
Viceroy,
1743.

Origin of the Mará-
thá claim on Cambay,
1743.

¹ For a record of these events see Major Watson's chapters on the Musalmán period of Gujarát History, p. 94-102. The help of the Maráthás was dearly bought by Momin Khán. Rangóji in the first instance promised to aid Momin Khán on condition of receiving the one-half of the revenues of Gujarát, except the cities of Ahmedábád and Cambay. But afterwards more tempting offers were made to the Maráthás by Rataasingh, and to bind them to his cause Momin Khán was finally forced in addition to his original concessions to offer to make over to them the whole district of Viramgam.

² According to the account given in the Diary of the Surat Factory, Rangóji sat down before Cambay with twenty thousand Maráthás, and from this time the Maráthás claimed half the revenue of the city, although they were obliged to take less. As a proof that the Musalmáns were at this time humbled by the Maráthás, a story is told of an old Hindu well. This well had been filled in about forty years before by order of Aurangzeb, and this, under the orders of Rangóji, Najam Khán's servants were forced to clear out. On the occasion of the Maráthá advance against Cambay the Nawáb insisted that some of the bastions should be defended by the English resident. He succeeded in mustering a native officer and five peons, but the courage of the little party was not tried. The invaders, unprepared to batter down stone walls, satisfied their revenge by cutting off the ears and noses of all Musalmáns on whom they could lay their hands in the district. Surat Diaries 1743-1746, quoted in Bombay Quarterly Review IV., 231.

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Death of Najám Khán.
1748.

possession of Cambay. With this object he procured the death of his own brother-in-law, Najám Khán, who since 1737, when he had been chosen as governor by his father-in-law Momin Khán II, had continued to manage Cambay.

The English factory,
1737-1748.

In the midst of these troubles the English trade at Cambay was not likely to escape without many exactions. In 1737 Momin Khán, pressed by the Maráthás for the price of their alliance, resorted to Cambay and extracted from it a sum of £15,000 (Rs. 150,000). He attempted to wring a contribution from Mr. Hodges, the English resident. But he was forced to be content with the present of a fowling piece. The Nawáb then said he wanted to purchase from the Company silk, iron, and sugar to the value of £3,000 or £4,000 (Rs. 30,000—40,000). But this device succeeded no better than the others, and the unrelenting resident doggedly told him that his master's terms were cash. But, the resident was not always so successful in evading the Nawáb's demands, and the English trade was subjected to many losses.¹ In addition to these exactions the English Company suffered in 1735 by a contest between Daniel Innes, who had been superseded, and Hugh Bidwell appointed to succeed him as resident. Innes at first raised a mob, and tried to eject Bidwell from the factory by force.² Failing in this, he induced the Nawáb to bring charges of incompetency against Bidwell. These charges would seem to have had a good foundation, as Bidwell was removed and Munro sent in his place. The change does not seem to have benefited Innes, who was forced to retire to Surat. In 1741 the Nawáb forbade the exportation of indigo, and seized some property belonging to Lambton, the Chief of Surat, who had disregarded the prohibition. This act was declared an infringement of the English Company's privileges, and some grabs were ordered to retaliate by seizing Cambay boats. On this the Nawáb was speedily brought to terms. The same process of capturing boats was, in 1743, again adopted by Sewel, the next resident, and with similar results.³

Condition of Cambay
1737-1748.

Though the influences were still at work by which trade was gradually deserting Cambay, the eleven years (1737-1748) of Najám Khán's management would seem, on the whole, to have been a fairly prosperous time. The Viceroy was interested in the prosperity of Cambay; and, as noticed above, in 1741 paid a special visit to the city with the object of enquiring into the causes of the decay of its trade. During the years (1743-1748) that followed Momin Khán's death, though the Cambay revenues were from time to time burdened by Maráthá demands, the city was never actually attacked, nor its neighbourhood laid waste. The suburbs founded by Akbar were still inhabited, and the other nine quarters of the city beyond the walls continued to support a population of skilful and well-to-do

¹ Bo. Quart. Review, IV., 233.

² Diary of Surat Factory, 1741-42.

artizans. At the same time the revenues had fallen off, and in spite of the levy of fresh taxes¹ the total receipts did not amount to more than £40,000 (Rs. 4,00,000).

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On receipt of the news of the death of Najam Khán, the Government at Delhi confirmed Muftákhír Khán in the chiefship of Cambay, dignifying him with the title of Nur-ud-din Muhammad Khán Momin Khán Bahádur, and with the rank of a noble of 6,000. Fidá-ud-din Khán, when he heard of the death of Najam Khán, marched to Cambay on pretence of condoling with the family of the late governor, but he was refused admittance into the town and forced to retire. Momin Khán III. succeeded to the charge of Cambay without opposition. One of his first acts was to put to death by poison his sister Khánúm Begam, the widow of the late governor.² In the year 1751 the Peshwá, by decoying Dámáji Gáekwár into his power, forced him to surrender half of his rights and possessions in Gujarát. In the following year (1752) as soon as the news of this agreement between the Peshwá and the Gáekwár reached Gujarát, Momin Khán, who was always quarrelling with the Gáekwár's agent, begged the Peshwá that Cambay might be included in the Peshwá's share. This was agreed to, and from that time the Peshwá's agent was sent to Cambay. Accordingly, in the course of the year 1752, Pándurang Pandit, the Peshwá's deputy, came to Cambay to collect his master's share of the revenue. Momin Khán was at first inclined to resist the Peshwá's claims, but finally agreed to pay a sum of £700 (Rs. 7,000), and at the same time presented the Maráthá general with four small cannon. In the following year after his capture of Ahmedábád (1753 April) from Jawán Mard Khán, Raghunáthráv, the Peshwá's brother, advancing to within ten miles of Cambay, forced Momin Khán to submit to a yearly payment of £1,000 (Rs. 10,000). This arrangement was not enough to protect Cambay from the demands of the Maráthás. Hearing that during the rainy season many parts of the city wall of Cambay had fallen down, Shripatráv, before the rains were well over, got ready a detachment of troops and sent forward a messenger to examine the state of the fort and garrison at Cambay. To prevent Momin Khán from entertaining any suspicion of the object of these preparations, Shripatráv had a valuable carriage built. Fitting this up with gold and silver hangings, he gave out that it was intended as a present for Raghunáthráv, the Peshwá's brother, and that it would be accompanied through Gujarát by a strong escort. Shripatráv accordingly left Ahmedábád with a body of horsemen and infantry and a party of five hundred Máwalis³. After a few days' march arriving at Pitlád,

Momin Khán III,
Náwab.
1748-1733.

The Peshwá gains
the Maráthá share in
Cambay,
1752.

The Maráthas attack
Cambay,
1753.

¹ Najam Khán was the first ruler of Cambay who laid a tax on the grain brought into the city. Every cart-load of grain was charged 6d. (4 as.) but the cultivators for some time succeeded in averting the weight of this cess by increasing the cart-load from 1,280 lbs. (32 *mans*) to 2,400 lbs. (60 *mans*). When Najam Khán found this out, he changed the tax to one of 3 pice on every 5 *mána*. Robertson, 65.

² Robertson, 65.

³ These Máwalis, the people of the upper Ghát region, Máwal Desh, were Shivájí's favourite troops, and probably the most daring of the Maráthá tribes. Grant Duff.

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The Maráthas
 tack Cambay,
 1758.

about sixteen miles north-east of Cambay, Shripatráv halted and prepared for the attack on the city. At this time it happened that Vrijlál, Momin Khán's steward, on his way back from Bombay hearing that Shripatráv was at Pitlád, went to his camp to pay his respects to the Maráthá chief. From the preparations in the Maráthá camp, Vrijlál suspected Shripatráv's designs, and sent an express to his master to be on his guard against any surprise. On receiving this message, Momin Khán made every effort to repair the city walls. Nor were his preparations thrown away, for Shripatráv taking advantage of the first favourable evening moved from Pitlád. The Maráthás counted on reaching Cambay at the dead of night. But their guide lost his way, and they did not arrive at the city till shortly before daybreak. On

Failure of the attack.

approaching the town, the besiegers met with a second disappointment. Where they expected to find a breach in the city wall, their progress was stopped by a new and strong fortification. One part of the wall seemed undefended, and this the Máwalis scaled. But again fortune declared for the garrison: troops unseen by the besiegers were close at hand and drove back the assailants. By this time Momin Khán was on the spot with reinforcements, and a third attempt on the part of the Maráthás was repulsed with considerable loss. Next day the fighting was resumed. But again the result was in favour of the besieged. After a week spent in fruitless efforts Shripatráv changed his tactics. Letting loose his men among the Cambay villages he plundered and laid them waste. This device was successful, and Momin Khán, anxious

The country laid
 waste,
 1753.

at any cost to be rid of the Maráthá troops, agreed to make a special payment of £700 (Rs. 7,000). The Maráthás then withdrew. But such had been their violence and rapacity that the eleven suburbs of the city, inhabited by respectable men and artificers, were almost entirely deserted. Momin Khán was reduced to the greatest straits from want of funds. For the next year the district round Cambay yielded him almost nothing. All but £6,000 (Rs. 60,000) had been carried off by Shripatráv, and of what was left the whole was given to the Peshwá, half as his ordinary share, and the rest as a special present on condition that no Maráthá should in future collect the revenue at Cambay.

Momin Khán's
 difficulties.

At the same time Momin Khán, seeing that he could not trust to the friendship of the Maráthás, determined to increase the strength of his army. With this object he was forced to resort to many acts of extortion. And though for the time his measures brought him in large sums of money, they did a lasting injury to his state, forcing from it many wealthy and peaceable subjects.

His exactions ruin
 the city.

Fresh Maráthá efforts
 to gain Cambay,
 1755-1757.

Though Shripatráv's expedition had proved a failure, the Peshwá, anxious if possible to obtain possession of the city, determined to make a second attempt on Cambay. With this object he selected, as his agent, an officer named Bhagwantráv. This officer arrived at Cambay without any troops, and as he showed no hostile intentions was well received by Momin Khán. Momin Khán was, however, aware of the object of Bhagwantráv's visit, and

on gaining possession of a letter from Bhagwantráv addressed to Salim Jamádár at Ahmedábád inviting that officer to make an attack on Cambay, Momin Khán surrounded Bhagwantráv's house and made him prisoner. An attempt of the Maráthá garrisons of the neighbouring towns of Jambusar, Virangám, and Dhandhuká to force the surrender of Bhagwantráv, failed; and it was finally agreed that Bhagwantráv should be released, and that the relations between Momin Khán and the Peshwá should remain unaltered. In the following year (1754) Bhagwantráv made another attempt upon Cambay. Several battles were fought with doubtful success, and peace was at last concluded on condition that Momin Khán should pay £1,000 (Rs. 10,000) on account of the Peshwá's tribute which he had withheld. The chief events of the next two years (1755-1757) of Momin Khán's rule, the most successful period of his life, belong to the general history of Gujarát. Some account of how he collected tribute from Káthiáwár; captured Gogo; recovered Ahmedábád from the hands of the Maráthás; defended Ahmedábád, and was finally forced to restore it to the Maráthás in April 1757, is given in the Musalmán section of the general history of the province. The conditions under which, in 1757, Momin Khán surrendered Ahmedábád were, on the whole, favourable to him. He was allowed to retain possession of Cambay, and received from the Peshwá a sum of £10,000 (Rs. 1,00,000). On the other hand, he was forced to agree to the payment of a yearly tribute of £1,000 (Rs. 10,000) to the Maráthás, and to give up all claims on the town of Gogo. On his return from Ahmedábád, Momin Khán was at first much harassed by his troops for arrears of pay. But on the timely arrival of his steward, Vrijlál, with the Peshwá's contribution of £10,000 (Rs. 1,00,000), the demands of the army were satisfied without any actual mutiny.

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Maráthá efforts to
gain Cambay,
1755-1757.

Success of Momin
Khán,
1755-1757.

Agreement with the
Peshwá,
1757.

Momin Khán now began to oppress and extort money from his own subjects; and it is said that, shortly after this in the year 1757, he instigated the murder of his steward Vrijlál. At the same time Momin Khán attempted to evade the payment of his yearly tribute to the Peshwá, and in hopes that the failure on his part might be overlooked, he made arrangements for paying a visit to the Peshwá in Poona. Sadáshiv Rámchandra, the Peshwá's deputy in Gujarát, refused, however, to allow him to leave Cambay until he had made good his arrears of tribute. And advancing against the city continued to besiege it until Momin Khán handed over a sum of £2,000 (Rs. 20,000). Shortly after this Momin Khán set out for Surat, and was there received by Mr. Spencer, the chief of the English factory. From Surat Momin Khán sailed for Bombay, where the Governor, Mr. Bouchier, treating him with much courtesy, informed the Peshwá of his arrival. After a short stay in Bombay, Momin Khán went to Poona, reaching the end of his journey in 1759. At Poona he was received with attention. The Peshwá's cousin, Sadáshivaráv, met him at the gate of the fort and conducted him to Bálájiráv, who, embracing his visitor, seated him in the place of honour

Momin Khán goes
to Poona,
1759.

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Momin Khán visits
Poona. 1759.

next to his own, and after a few days paid him the compliment of a return visit. Momin Khán, from his long intercourse with Maráthás, knew well how best to please them, and distributing presents with a free hand, gained great respect. After staying two months at Poona he returned to Bombay, receiving from the Peshwá the present of an elephant and other valuable parting gifts. Whatever Momin Khán's views were in undertaking this journey, the relations existing between him and the Peshwá were in no way altered by it. A fresh treaty was indeed drawn up; but its conditions were the same as those previously in force. During his stay in Bombay, Momin Khán wrote a letter to the Court of Directors couched in terms of friendship, but at the same time addressing the Court as his superiors. The Honourable Court forwarded a most gracious reply, and their letter was preserved as a record to be spoken of to every English resident, or to any Native power with whom Momin Khán had dealings. From Bombay Momin Khán travelled overland to Surat, and arrived in Cambay before the close of the year 1759.

Communicates with
the Court of
Directors.

Friendship with the
Peshwá,
1759-1761.

After his return to Cambay, Momin Khán was at pains to gain as a friend Ganesh Apáji, the Peshwá's representative in Gujarát, and so successful were his advances that it was arranged that the Peshwá's agent in Cambay should be withdrawn, and that all Maráthá claims should be satisfied by a yearly payment of £8,400 (Rs. 84,000).

Musalmán attempt
to oust the Maráthás,
1761.

In the year 1761, the Delhi Court, taking advantage of the confusion that fell on the Maráthás after their defeat at Pánipat (1761, January 7th), despatched instructions to the chief Musalmán nobles of Gujarát directing them to join together in driving the Maráthás out of the province. In consequence of these orders, Momin Khán and the governor of Broach united their troops and succeeded in wresting Jambusar out of the hands of the Maráthás.

Defeated by Damáji
Gaekwár,
1761.

But here their success ended. Dámaji Gáekwár advanced to the aid of Sadáshiv Rámchandra, the Peshwá's deputy, and together they defeated Momin Khán, laying waste the whole of his territory. Momin Khán now sued for peace, and peace was granted him, but on most unfavourable terms. He was forced, as formerly, to engage to pay the Peshwá half of his revenue, to admit a Maráthá agent into Cambay, and to make good the difference between £8,400 (Rs. 84,000), the amount of tribute paid during the two preceding years, and the half of his revenues.

Momin Khán III. in
difficulties,
1760-1766.

From the year 1760 to 1766 Momin Khán kept on good terms with the Maráthás. But during that time by his exactions and oppressions he half depopulated the city of Cambay. In the year 1766, being at a loss for revenue, his minister, A'gá Rashid Beg, hit upon a plan for obtaining the hidden treasures of the Bráhmans. These men were ordered to assemble in one place and to read prayers and perform incantations for Momin Khán's health. The Bráhmans met, and when the day's service was over, each of them received the present of 6d. This was repeated for six days. But

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on the seventh day the enclosed courtyard, where the service was being conducted, was surrounded by a body of armed men, and all the Bráhmans siezed. Each of them had red-hot nails thrust into the palms of his hands and into the tips of his fingers till he discovered his hidden treasures. Those who asserted they had no money were not believed, and suffered much injury. By this means a sum of £20,000 (Rs. 2,00,000) was in two days collected. But the injury to the state was lasting, and many learned Bráhmans and men of position fled from Cambay and sought safety under the English in Surat. A'gá Rashid Beg, the deviser of this scheme, did not long enjoy his master's favour. Suspected of having kept to himself part of the plunder, he was deprived of his office and cast into prison. He was afterwards set free. But two years later, attempting to escape with his wife to Surat, he was stopped by messengers from the Nawáb, and murdered.

Momin Khán III.
exact's sums from
Bráhmans.
1760-1766.

In consequence of the decay of the Maráthá power, Gujarát was at this time harassed by the forays of hands of Káthi and Koli marauders. To protect his territory from their ravages, Momin Khán in 1766 agreed to pay the Káthi a yearly sum of £400 (Rs. 4,000), and allowed them to pass unchallenged through his lands, provided they did not plunder his own villages.

Ravages of Káthi
and Koli,
1766.

After the death of Dámáji¹ Gáekwár (1768, August), Momin Khán continued to keep on good terms with the Gáekwár government. He would seem at the same time to have succeeded in satisfying the Maráthás with a smaller share of his revenues than they formerly claimed. From about 1766 the Peshwá's share came to be spoken of as a one-fourth, or *chauth*, instead of the one-half. About this time (1771) for a sum of £7,500 (Rs. 75,000) Momin Khán purchased from the British the fort of Tálajá lately won by them from its owners, Koli pirates. The fort² was held by the Nawáb for about two years, and was then with the permission of the British Government made over by him to the chief of Bhaunagar.

Death of Dámáji
Gáekwár,
1768.

In the year 1772 Momin Khán caused the death of his own son Khán Jebán, a youth twenty-two years of age, because, according to one story, of his evil practices, and according to another version through fear of his shining abilities.³ Mirzá Teman, who had a share in the murder of the prince, was promoted to the rank of deputy governor, and had great influence in Momin Khán's councils. In spite of the crime by which he obtained office, Mirzá Teman proved a good governor, and during his ten years of power

Momin Khán
murders his son,
1772.

¹ Dámáji, who was a great chemist, had frequently attempted to discover the philosophers' stone, and it was from inhaling the noxious vapours of some poisonous combination that he met his death in the town of Pátan. Robertson 77.

² This fort lies on the east coast of Káthiáwár a little north of Gopnáth point. It is mentioned in the Ain Akbari (1590) Glad. II. 69, and in Ogleby's Atlas (1660-1685) p. 208 as one of the Káthiáwár ports. The conditions were that the Nawáb should hold the fort as one of the Company's servants, that when necessary he should allow the Company's troops to use it, and unless allowed by the Company permit no one else to hold it. Ait. Treat. VI. 264-266.

³ Summers 2 and Robertson 83.

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Gáekwár affairs,
1768-1782.

the people of Cambay had some respite from the oppression that marked the rest of Momin Khán's long reign. In 1782 Mirzá Teman was thrown into prison, but was afterwards released and dismissed from his office¹.

During the ten years of Mirzá Teman's power some important events had taken place in Gujarát in which the Nawáb of Cambay played a part. On his death in 1768 Dámáji left four sons, Sayáji, Govindráv, Mánájiráv, and Fatesingh. Of these the eldest, Sayáji, being a man of weak intellect the second, Govindráv, claimed the right to succeed, and this claim was in 1768 recognized by the Peshwá. This arrangement continued till in 1772, to the prejudice of Govindráv, Fatesingh induced the Peshwá to recognize Sayáji's claims and to appoint Fatesingh to be Sayáji's deputy. Then there followed the intrigues at Poona, ending in the murder of Náráyanráv, and the succession of his uncle Raghunáthráv or Rághobá to be Peshwá. The new Peshwá siding with Govindráv despatched him to Gujarát with instructions to remove his younger brother Fatesingh from the management of the Baroda state. Momin Khán, who had formerly supported Fatesingh, thus became opposed to the interests of Raghunáthráv, and when, in consequence of the next turn of affairs, Raghunáthráv arrived near Cambay a suppliant for help, Momin Khán refused to admit him into the city, and Raghunáthráv was forced to move on to Bhaunagar and from there reached Bombay.

English expedition
against Fatesingh,
1774.

Two years later (1774) Raghunáthráv returned to Cambay. He was now backed by the strength of a detachment of English troops, and was anxious to be revenged on the ruler of Cambay for his former rudeness to him. 'Strip him of his city' was Raghobá's prayer to the English general. But for this there seemed no sufficient reason, nor was it wise to remove one of the few remaining obstacles to the power of the Maráthás in Gujarát. It was better, if possible, to reconcile their two allies to each other, and Sir Charles Mallet, the English resident, succeeded in inducing Raghunáthráv to forego his grudge against Momin Khán and present him with valuable gifts. Shortly after this, and not more than thirty miles from Cambay, was fought the battle of Arras, in which, though not without some severe loss, Raghunáthráv, by the help of his English allies, defeated Fatesingh and the Maráthá army. But soon after (1779) came the change in the politics of the English which led them to abandon the cause of

¹ How completely her former prosperity had by this time deserted Cambay, appears from the description left by Mr. Forbes, who visited the city both in 1774 and in 1779. The country round the city was badly cultivated, the people poor and degraded, and the villages half inhabited. The grandeur of the city itself was mingled with poverty and desolation, the streets were uninhabited, falling mosques and mouldering palaces were the only remains of its ancient magnificence. The weavers were few and poor, and, except the English broker, there was not a merchant of eminence. The revenues had equally decayed; formerly the duty from tamarinds alone yielded a yearly revenue of £2,000 (Rs. 20,000). But now when he had met the claims of the Maráthás there was left to the Nawáb not more than £20,000 (Rs. 2,00,000). From this he kept up a small establishment, maintaining two thousand Sindhians and Arab infantry, and five hundred cavalry. Orient. Mem. II. 16 and 21, and III. 63 and 79.

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Raghunáth and allow Fatesingh to rule in Gujarát. The chief of Cambay, now that English influence was no longer paramount, went back to his alliance with Fatesingh, and in 1777 aided Fatesingh in his contest with his brother Govindráy. About the same time Fatesingh pressed Momin Khán to join him in putting a stop to the forays of the Káthis. Momin Khán agreed, and on his undertaking to maintain a line of posts to prevent the Káthis from passing east of the Sábarmati River, he received from his ally villages yielding a yearly revenue of £900 (Rs. 9,000).¹ In spite of this agreement, Momin Khán attempted to keep up friendly relations with the Káthis. But they, hearing of his league with the Maráthás, entered his territory and plundered great part of his lands. Momin Khán was now (1778) forced to treat them as enemies, and accordingly posted fifteen hundred infantry and five hundred horsemen along the eastern bank of the Sábarmati. As this garrison cost more than the sum allotted by Fatesingh, Momin Khán received from him, in addition to his former grant, sums amounting in all to more than £2,000 (Rs. 20,000). Of these £900 (Rs. 9,000) were from Fatesingh himself; £1,000 (Rs. 10,000) from the Peshwá; and £250 (Rs. 2,500) from the revenues of the Mátar sub-division.

Treaty between
Fatesingh and
Momin Khán,
1777.

After the capture of Ahmedábád by the British in 1780, Fatesingh received the Peshwá's share in the revenue of Gujarát north of the Máhi. But by means of the friendly offices of the English commander (General Goddard) the tribute formerly paid by the chief of Cambay to the Peshwá was remitted. In return for the benefit done him by obtaining this concession, Momin Khán handed over to the charge of the English the custom-house gate of Cambay. Possession of this gate was, restored to the Nawáb in 1783 at the close of Sir Charles Mallet's term as resident, and at the same time, under the provisions of the treaty of Salbye (1783, February 24th), the right of the Peshwá to share in the Cambay revenues was renewed.²

Settlement of affairs,
1780.

It was shortly before this (1782) that the Cambay minister, Mirzá Teman, had been dismissed from office. The Mirzá was succeeded by Kutbi Khánúm, a woman of great beauty, but of irregular life, who had formerly exercised much influence over Momin Khán.³ Her extortions were great, and were all the more keenly

Power of Kutbi
Khánúm.

¹ These villages were in the Pitlād sub-division, four—Kanjat, Kanesá Sath, and Dhubhina, and in the Mátar sub-division, two—Jhikar and Gorár.

² Grant Duff II. 238, 324, and By. Govt. Sel. XXVI. 79.

³ This Kutbi Khánúm was the grand-daughter of Abdul Husain Dehlami, the original Momin Khán who died in 1728, and was also the sister of Budh-ul-jamá, wife of Momin Khán III, the mother of the young Khán Jehán who in 1772 was murdered by the orders of Momin Khán III. Kutbi Khánúm was the wife of Aga Rashid Beg, the minister of Cambay, who devised the scheme for drawing money out of the Cambay Bráhmans by torture. While her husband was minister (1760-1766), Kutbi Khánúm was on terms of intimacy with Momin Khán, to whom she had borne a son, Mirzá Jani by name. This woman, at the time of her husband's death (1768), retired to Surat. Wearying of her life there she asked that she might return. Permission was readily granted, and in 1782 she arrived in Cambay, and succeeded to the power of the disgraced minister, Mirzá Teman.

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Death of Momin
Khán III.
1783.

felt by the people of Cambay after the comparative security of the eleven years of Mirzá Teman's management. But Kutb's term of power was not to last long. Before many months were over, in 1783, Momin Khán died. He had ruled Cambay for thirty-five years (1748-1783) and in spite of his valour, the success which marked several of his more important military operations, and his power of impressing allies in his favour, the result of his reign was that he found Cambay rich and prosperous, and left it waste and deserted. It was no doubt partly Momin Khán's misfortune that he ruled when the country was distracted by the want of any central authority, and desolated by the inroads of Maráthá and Káthi plunderers. Nor was he to blame that trade was deserting its old course through Cambay and Ahmedábád, and was centering in Surat, and by degrees moving further south towards Bombay. At the same time, instead of encouraging trade and lessening the burdens of the city, Momin Khán added to the taxes by levying a cess of six and-a-half per cent on all provisions and articles of wearing apparel sold in the city; and his fierce and forcible exactions from men of wealth had driven from his territory much of the skilled industry and capital that had once made Cambay famous.

Muhammad Kuli,
Nawáb,
1783-1789.

Four months before his death Momin Khán had formally chosen his successor. The object of his choice was Muhammad Kuli, the son of Najam Khán, who ruled Cambay from 1737 to 1748, and who, as mentioned above, was poisoned by Momin Khán to make room for his own succession. This Najam Khán had been married to Nur Jehán, an illegitimate daughter of Momin Khán II. (Viceroy 1737-1743) and so a half-sister of Momin Khán III. By her Najam Khán had no issue. But an intimacy with the wife of one of his door-keepers resulted in the birth of a son. The child was at first brought up secretly at a village some distance from Cambay. But Najam Khán's wife, hearing of the child, sent for him, and changing his name from Miá Manu to Muhammad Kuli saw that he was well taken care of. Besides this family connection, Muhammad Kuli was son-in-law to Momin Khán III, having married Jogni Khánum, the daughter of Momin Khán III, by a slave girl. At the time of his father's death (1748) Muhammad Kuli was only one year old; so that when he succeeded to the throne (1783) he was thirty-four years of age. His succession was not without opposition. Kutbi Khánum, taking advantage of the power which Momin Khán III. had allowed to drift into her hands, won over a strong party among the Moghal population of the city, and proclaimed Mirzá Jani, the son she had borne to Momin Khán III. Muhammad Kuli, however, gained the day, and Kutbi Khánum with her sister Jamilá Begam and a large number of Moghals were expelled from Cambay. After an uneventful reign of six years (1783-1789) Muhammad Kuli died in 1789.

Muhammad's rela-
tions with other
powers.

On only one occasion had Muhammad Kuli any dispute with the neighbouring powers. An offender of the name of Tápidás, flying from punishment from one of the Baroda villages, took shelter in

Cambay. Muhammad was appealed to, but refused to give him up, and allowed him to escape. To enforce his demand, Fatesingh had advanced to Cambay, and finding that Tápídás had been allowed to escape obliged Muhammad to pay a fine of £1,500 (Rs. 15,000). With this exception Muhammad's six years of rule was a time of quiet and of good government. Muhammad left three sons, Fate Ali, Bande Ali, and Yáwar Ah, the eldest of whom succeeded his father in 1789.

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Fate Ali, Nawáb,
1789.

About the same time as this change of rulers took place in Cambay, at Baroda Mánájráv had succeeded his brother Fatesingh. One of Mánáji's first acts was to give orders that the six villages given up by Fatesingh, to pay for the Cambay garrison, against the Káthi inroads, should be restored. Fate Ali resisted this demand, and it was finally arranged that the Baroda state should be allowed to withhold the yearly money payment of £1,000 (Rs. 10,000) on account of the Káthis, and that the six villages in dispute should continue to belong to Cambay. Fate Ali's next act was to remit a considerable present to the Court of Delhi. In return for this act of homage he received the title of Nizam-ud-daulah Momtáz-ul-mulk Momin Khán Bahádur Diláwar Jang, and the rank of a commander of six thousand as Nawáb of Cambay.

Disputes between
Cambay and Baroda.

Fate Ali ennobled by
the Delhi Court.

In the early years of Fate Ali's rule the peace of Cambay was from time to time disturbed by Maráthá demands and encroachments. In 1792 the six disputed villages were again annexed by Barodá, but were a second time restored to Cambay. In the last years (1798-1800) of the management of A'ábá Silukar, the Peshwá's agent Atinárám Bháu entered the Cambay district, and was only bought off by the payment of £3,000 (Rs. 30,000). Again, in the year 1800, Bábáji Apáji, general of Anandráv Gáekwár, in passing to collect their tribute from the Káthiáwár chiefs, demanded a sum from Fate Ali on account of arrears due to the Maráthás. Fate Ali at first gave no attention to the Gáekwár's demands, but was finally obliged to pay him a sum of £5,000 (Rs. 50,000).

Maráthá exactions.

At this time the importance of Cambay had so greatly declined that the British factory is (1797, Aug. 21st) spoken of as 'negative in point of utility and in expense positively burdensome'.¹ The Bombay Board were of opinion that everything could be done through Native brokers. But before this opinion could be acted on, events took a turn which brought the British Government into closer relations with Cambay. Shortly after this, Malhárráv of Kari attempted to take Baroda from his cousin Anandráv. The Bombay Government, appealed to for help by their ally the Gáekwár, sent a detachment of troops which, under the command of Major Walker, arrived in Cambay in 1802. Mr. Duncan, Governor of Bombay, accompanied this force and held interviews with Rávji A'páji, the Gáekwár's minister. The arrangements then made (1802, March and June) did not affect the position of the

British relations with
Cambay.
1802-1807.

British force in Cam-
bay,
1802.

¹ Papers on Indian affairs (1795-1800) p. 16.

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Tribute arrange-
ments,
1803.

Cambay state, but by the Treaty of Bassein passed soon after (1802, December 31st) the tribute of Cambay and all the Peshwá's rights in Cambay were ceded by the Peshwá to the British Government. This tribute, as noted above, dates from the year 1744, when the Gáekwár's commander Rangoji successfully enforced his master's claims to share in the revenue of Cambay. At the request of the Nawáb of Cambay the Bombay Government in the following year (1803, May 24th) agreed that the collection of the tribute should be farmed to the Nawáb for a term of four years; the Nawab engaging to pay yearly to the British Government a sum equal to the amount formerly received by the Peshwá. No subsequent agreement connected with the payment of this tribute has been traced in the Bombay records. ¹

Gáekwár, claims on
Cambay,
1806.

In the following years Bábáji A'páji by the measures he introduced into Káthiáwár put a stop to the forays of the Káthi horse. The Cambay forts along the east bank of the Sábarmati were therefore no longer necessary. Under these circumstances Bápu Káshi, Commander of the Gáekwár's Máhi Kántá force, in 1806 received orders to annex the six villages whose possession had so often been disputed by the Gáekwár and the Cambay chief. At the same time Bápu Káshi took bonds from many of the Cambay villages for the payment of sums of money. Fate Ali complained to the Governor of Bombay of these acts of the Maráthás; and Major Walker, the British resident at Baroda, had the bonds in question restored under a promise that the English Government would put pressure on Fate Ali to make regular payment of all of the Gáekwár's lawful claims.

The Nawáb appeals
to the British.

In 1818, in consequence of the increase of British power in Gujarát, the British commercial resident at Cambay was withdrawn, and in his place the chief executive officer in the newly-constituted district of Kairá was appointed the agent of the British Government.

British connection
with Cambay.
1818.

Bandé Ali, Nawáb,
1823-1841.

In October 1823 the Nawáb, Fate Ali Khán died. As he left no male issue he was succeeded by his brother Bando Ali Khán, who ruled for eighteen years, and dying 15th March 1841 without male issue, the succession descended to his brother Ali Yáwar Khán. This prince, however, waived his own right in favour of his son Husain Yáwar Khán, whose hereditary title is Najam-ud-daulah Mumtáz-ul-mulk Momin Khán Bahádur Diláwar Jang, and who is still (1876) the ruling Nawáb.

Yáwar Khán, Nawáb,
1841-1876.

The Heir-Apparent.

The eldest son of the Nawáb, Jáfir Ali Khán, at present (1876) twenty years of age, is said to be quiet and well conducted. He is married to a relation of his mother's, the daughter of the Mulvi of Masulipatam. From this marriage there is as yet no male issue.

Relations to the Im-
perial Government,
1818-1876.

Since 1818 no change has been made in the relations between the head of the Cambay state and the Imperial Government. No treaty

¹ By. Govt. letter, Pol. Dept., 53 of 1864, Vol. 23 of 1864.

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engagements are in force between the British Government and the Nawáb of Cambay, and, except for the payment by him of a yearly tribute, the Nawáb of Cambay is almost uncontrolled in the internal administration of his state. British subjects excepted, the Nawáb has power to try and convict capital offences. There is no appeal from any of his awards either in civil or criminal matters; and the Political Agent, the Collector of Kairá, exercises no direct authority, and is little more than the recognised medium between the Nawáb and the Government of Bombay. Under the proclamation of 1857 the right of any succession, valid according to Muhammadan law, has been secured to the Nawáb, and he is entitled to a salute of eleven guns.

Power and position
of the Nawáb.

In 1838, three years before the accession of the present Nawáb, in spite of the long term of peace they had enjoyed, the lands round Cambay are described as desolate and ill-cared for, and the city decayed and ruinous, with no signs of any revival of its former trade and prosperity. Since 1838 the prosperity of Northern Gujarát has increased, and, as has been shown above, Cambay trade has to some extent revived. But the improvement is small. No efforts have been made to attract trade to Cambay. The harbour has been left to itself, and no steps have been taken to clear away the silt or make less dangerous the troublesome navigation of the head of the gulf.¹

Condition of Cambay
1838-1876

¹ Except with the English, the rulers of Cambay have had no political relations with the different European nations who have formed settlements on the shores of Western India. Some account of the trade relations with the Portuguese, Dutch, and English has been given above, under the head trade.

CHAPTER IV.

DETAILS OF ADMINISTRATION.

LAND.

- Land tenures.** The lands of Cambay are tilled either by peasant proprietors holding direct from the state, or by cultivators who are the tenants-at-will, of some one responsible to the state for the management of the land. The former system, known as the *khátábandi* or assessment by holdings, is in force in the case of the better class of lands capable of regular cultivation, the latter, called *ganotiá*, is ordinarily adopted only for the poorer varieties of soil.
- Tenant proprietors.** Land held under the *khátábandi* tenure pays a fixed amount to the state. The holder, who to some extent is admitted to have a proprietary right in the land, is liable to ejection only in the event of his failing to pay his assessment. Except with the permission of the Nawáb, he has, however, no power to transfer his holding. When land is transferred, the right of occupancy is not ordinarily sold. But the new comer pays to the former holder such sums for improvement as may be awarded by a committee of villagers, or by arbitrators selected by both parties.
- Tenants-at-will.** Under the *ganotiá* tenure there is not even nominal fixity either of possession or of rent. This system is commonly applied only in the case of the poorer descriptions of land which, entrusted to the head-man of the village, are generally let out by him at low rates to persons who hold the position of tenants-at-will.
- Land how far liable for debt.** No land is liable to be sold by order of the civil courts in payment of the cultivator's private debts. And, though there is no special exemption in favour of any portion of the cultivator's property, the civil courts are expected to use their discretion in the matter of attaching implements of husbandry.
- Land revenue how collected.** Except in the *bárá*, or coast villages, the land assessment is, as a rule, paid in money. In the coast villages the system of crop division prevails. Under this arrangement, after deducting the estimated cost of production, the crop is divided into two equal parts, one for the state, the other for the cultivator. A few large landholders sublet their fields to private tenants; but, except in the case of the poorer soils cultivated, as mentioned above, by tenants-at-will, the lands of the state are generally tilled by the persons in whose name they are held.

As the territory of Cambay has not yet been surveyed, the present method of realizing the land revenue is necessarily somewhat rough and irregular. First-class land capable of producing sugar-cane, opium, and tobacco is confined almost entirely to the two specially fertile villages of Undel and Pachisgám. The rates levied in these villages sometimes rise as high as £5 the acre (Rs. 35 per *bighá*). In other villages the assessment on lands of the best sort varies from 14s. to £2-16 the acre (Rs. 5 to Rs. 20 per *bighá*). The rates on rice land vary from 5s. 6d. to 17s. the acre (Rs. 2 to Rs. 6 per *bighá*), and those on dry-crop land range from 0s. 6d. to 14s. the acre (Rs. 2 to Rs. 5 per *bighá*). These rates, though nominally fixed, are liable to be altered at the pleasure of the Nawáb. Though more moderate than the rates in force in the adjoining Baroda villages, these charges, as compared with the corresponding assessment in the neighbouring British lands, are high. On the other hand remissions are constantly claimed and granted, while the record of the area under cultivation is often so imperfect that many a farmer raises crops on double the area for which he pays assessment. The collection of the state demands from the land is nominally spread over a large part of the year, certain days in the months of November, December, February, and April being set apart for the payment of the different instalments. These rent days are, however, seldom adhered to; the time for collecting the bulk of the land revenue depending chiefly on the pleasure of the manager, or on the needs of the state.

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Administration
Incidence of the
land tax.

In former times the land revenue was realized by a system of farming. But this is now no longer the case, and with the exception of a few villages the land revenue of which is still let out on contract, the state share of the produce is collected by village accountants under the control of a central superintendent, styled *dárogá*, with whom are associated two clerks from the head-quarter establishment, one a Hindu the other a Musalmán.

The state demand
how levied.

Arrears of land revenue are collected with considerable stringency. The plan usually adopted, is to billet a certain number of men upon the defaulter, recovering from him, besides the cost of their keep, a daily money fine of from 3d. to 2s. (2 as. to 1 rupee) In addition to this punishment, should stronger measures seem to be necessary, the old method of setting the debtor in the sun with a block of wood on his head is said to be still occasionally resorted to. When poverty, or the destruction of crops by fire is proved, the revenue superintendent has power to grant special remissions. In the case of the villages whose revenues are still farmed out, the contractor is, in the first instance, allowed to levy their rents from the cultivators. Failing in his attempts he may apply for help to the revenue superintendent, who is authorized to aid the contractor in the recovery of such demands.

The Nawáb pays but little attention to this branch of the administration, and, as a rule, the management of the land revenue is marked by laxity rather than by hardship or oppression. In the

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villages assigned for the maintenance of the Nawáb's sons there may be occasional exceptions to this rule, but in these cases complaints do not reach the Nawáb. On the whole, the land assessment is by no means heavy, or, at any rate, is not sufficiently oppressive to promote emigration from Cambay to the adjoining villages of the British district of Kaira.

JUSTICE.

Civil and Criminal Justice.

Under the Nawáb the chief judicial officers in Cambay are the president, or *munshi*, of the court of justice, and the *kázi*, the religious judge of the Musalmáns. By the president of the court all serious crimes are tried and civil suits decided. In criminal matters severe sentences are passed subject to the confirmation of the Nawáb, to whom in all cases an appeal also lies. To and from him in deciding civil appeals the Nawáb generally selects as assessors the *Nagarsheth* or head of the merchants, and two of the other leading traders of Cambay who perform these duties without payment. Questions under appeal are generally referred in the first instance to the assessors, and their decision, when it has received the Nawáb's sanction, is considered to be final. For the settlement of caste disputes men in an influential position are generally selected as arbitrators. And, as a rule, a similar arrangement is adopted for the disposal of claims for the recovery of debt.

Procedure in cases of debt.

In granting relief to creditors the courts are guided by the following rules.—If the suit is filed within six years of the date at which the loan was contracted, both principal and interest are awarded; if the suit is filed after six and within twelve years, only the principal can be claimed; if between twelve and twenty years have passed, only half the principal may be awarded; if after twenty years, only one-fourth, and no suit may be brought after the expiry of thirty years from the date from which the claim began to run. A fee of five per cent. is taken on all sums of money awarded by the courts. The failure of the defendant to pay the amount decreed by the court is commonly punished by a sentence of imprisonment.

Punishments in cases of crime

In criminal cases severe sentences are unusual. No capital sentence has been awarded for several years past. Fine and confiscation of property are punishments more common than sentences of imprisonment. Indeed, so much is this the case that there is no recognized jail in Cambay for the reception of long-time prisoners. Petty crimes are, in the city of Cambay, investigated by the *kotwál*, or city police magistrate, and in the rural parts of the state by officers who, under the title of *dárojá*, or superintendent, exercise similar powers. All fines in excess of £3 (Rs. 30) and other punishments imposed by these officers require the confirmation of the Nawáb.

Duties of the Kázi.

Besides the president or *munshi*, the only other high judicial officer is the *kázi*. The principal duties of the religious judge or *kázi*,

whose office is hereditary, are the hearing of applications for divorce, and presiding over the registration department. All bonds affecting immovable property require the *kázi's* signature and seal, and the fees levied for registration are shared equally by the Nawáb, the president of the court of justice, and the *kázi* himself.

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Administration.
Duties of the *Kázi*.

In cases of divorce, fees graduated with some care according to the social standing of the person claiming relief, are levied by the *kázi*. The following statement shows the fees charged and the manner in which the amounts recovered are distributed. In cases of certified poverty a portion of these fees is remitted. The fees for the mosque form a fund for the repair of that building:—

Statement of Fees levied in Divorce Suits.

Caste or Class.	Amount of Fee.	Revenue how distributed.							
		Nawáb.	Superintendent (Dewán).	Clerk (Makl).	Messengers of the court.	Kázi.	The Kázi's Deputy.	The Kázi's Messenger.	For the Mosque.
Cultivators. { Lowá Kanbl.	81 8	60	9	2	1 0	7	1 8	0 8	0 8
Gardeners .. { Karwa ..	49 4	35	9	1	1 0	2	0 8	0 4	0 8
Milkmen	39 4	25	9	1	1 0	2	0 8	0 4	0 8
Goldsmiths and blacksmiths.	54 4	40	9	1	1 0	2	0 8	0 4	0 8
Washermen, tailors, and bakers.	44 4	30	9	1	1 0	2	0 8	0 4	0 8
Cotton-cleaners ..	34 4	20	9	1	1 0	2	0 8	0 4	0 8
Fishermen	34 4	20	9	1	1 0	2	0 8	0 4	0 8
Barbers, shoemakers and mechanics of the Kóli tribe.	33 12	20	9	1	0 8	2	0 8	0 4	0 8
Market-garblers, water-carriers, men of the Dhera caste, and Musalman soldiers	29 4	15	9	1	1 0	2	0 8	0 4	0 8
Sweepers	24 4	10	9	1	1 0	2	0 8	0 4	0 8
	17 4	8	9	1	1 0	2	0 8	0 4	0 8

With regard to the working of the different courts of justice, civil and criminal codes have recently been introduced, and the procedure of the courts is supposed to be regulated by their provisions. But the actual practice is irregular and open to much abuse. In the criminal courts neither summons nor warrants are issued, sworn information is seldom required, and persons apprehended on the merest suspicion are frequently detained until evidence is found, or until they can purchase their release.

The system of civil justice is but little less free from abuse. Complaints of bribery and extortion are general, and so little control is exercised over the officers of the court that decrees passed by the Nawáb himself are said sometimes to be set aside or left unexecuted. No appeals lie to the Political Agent; but a complaint preferred to that officer, and after inquiry found by him to be reasonable, can be referred to the Nawáb, and in such cases justice is usually done in the end.

Chapter IV.

POLICE.

Administration
Police.

The ordinary village police system is to a certain extent in force throughout the Cambay State. As in other parts of Gujarát, the headman of the village is called the *mukhi* or chief; the office is occasionally, though not generally, hereditary; and the officiator is remunerated by a grant of rent-free land. He exercises no magisterial powers. The other village officers are the *rávaníá*, a name probably derived from the word *ráv* or complaint, and so originally the officer who communicates the complaints of the subjects to the Government. At present, however, the duty of the *rávaníá* is rather of a revenue than of a police nature. He assists in collecting the state demand from the villagers, guards the amount collected in transit to the treasury, and performs the ordinary duties of a messenger. By caste the *rávaníá* is, as a rule, a Koli, a Musalmán, or a Rájput. He is paid in cash at rates varying from four to six shillings (Rs. 2-3) a month. The next village servant is the tracker, or *pagi*, from *pagla*, a foot-step. His duty is, in company with the headman, to go round the village at night, to watch the village, and to track thieves. The *pagi* is always a Koli. He is paid in land, and is commonly held responsible for stolen property traced within the limits of his village. In large villages there is another servant called *haváldár*, usually either a Koli or a Musalmán. Among other duties the *haváldár* has charge of the village pound. He is paid by the villagers in grain, and also receives twenty per cent of the pound fees. In some villages private watchmen are entertained by the villagers themselves.

REVENUE AND FINANCE.

Yearly revenue of
the state.

In the year 1875 the gross revenue of the state was returned at £38,863-10 (Rs. 3,88,635). This total amount is derived from four chief sources: (1), land assessment; (2), salt-works; (3), land and sea customs; and (4), cesses and miscellaneous items. The details, so far as they can be ascertained, appear from the following statement:—

Abstract of the Revenue of the Cambay State for 1875.

Source of Revenue.	Amount realized.		
	Cambay Rupees, 115½ to 100 Rupees.	Imperial Rupees	£ s.
1. Land Revenue—			
Sea-side villages ...	1,60,000	1,38,523	13,852 16
Inland do. ...	1,15,000	99,567	9,956 14
2. Salt (Nawáb's share) ...	70,221	60,800	6,080 0
3. Land and sea customs... ..	60,600	51,948	5,194 16
4. Cesses	18,000	15,584	1,558 8
5. Miscellaneous	25,650	22,208	2,220 16
Total...	4,48,874	3,88,635	38,863 10

As settled by the treaty of Bassein (1802) the yearly sum paid as cash tribute to the British Government is £2,547-10 (Rs. 25,475-5-1). The British Government also possesses a share in the proceeds of certain cesses, which in 1875 yielded £105-14 (Rs. 1,057). The British share in the salt excise during the same year amounted to £6,171-18 (Rs. 61,719).

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Administration.

Imperial share of revenue.

The cash received from the different branches of revenue is placed in treasuries in the Nawáb's palace. The district land revenue is, under the care of a superintendent or *darogá*, kept in a separate part of the treasury called the country office, or *paraganá kachari*. From this branch of the revenue all charges for establishment, food, and clothing are first met, and the balance transferred to the Nawáb's private treasury. On the other hand, the receipts from the coast villages, collections on account of land and sea customs, and the proceeds of the miscellaneous cesses, are considered to form the private revenue of the Nawáb, and are at once lodged in the private treasury, under the care of a superintendent called the *Toshá Kháná darogá*.¹

Treasury arrangements.

CUSTOMS AND TRANSIT DUES.

In former years the customs and transit duties collected by the Cambay Government were a heavy burden on the trade of the state. In the year 1854 the authorized *ad-valorem* duties were on cotton 4·31 per cent., on carnelians 7·50 per cent., on cotton piece-goods 6·05 per cent., on grain 6·50 per cent., and on tobacco 10·98 per cent. The burden of duties, already heavy, was greatly enhanced by the unauthorized collections extorted from the merchants at each *náká* or toll-bar on the routes by which traffic passed into the interior. The British Government had a certain share, amounting in the case of cotton to about 38½ per cent., or nearly two-fifths of the proceeds of the tax. In the year above-named (1854) the attention of the Bombay Government was drawn to this taxation, which then, beside injuring the trade of the state itself, was seriously affecting the traffic through the adjoining British districts. A long series of negotiations ended in the Nawáb consenting to a fixed and more moderate scale of import and export duties. The toll-bars were removed, and, instead, a single charge was made on all goods passing through the state. Of the proceeds of this tax, which varies from one-half to three per cent. of the estimated value of the article, the British Government receive one-fourth, and the remaining three-fourths are handed over to the Nawáb. The terms of this agreement were revised in 1871, when it was provided that the Nawáb should maintain from his share a fixed establishment of foot and mounted police for the protection of the roads and of goods in transit. The yearly cost of the police force then organized amounted to nearly £500 (Rs. 5,000); of the balance of receipts obtained from this source, two-thirds are now applied for the health and convenience of the people of Cambay, and the remaining one-third is devoted to education.

Customs and Transit dues.

¹ *Toshá Kháná* is literally the present department.

Chapter IV.

Administration.
Sea Customs.

Though Cambay is recognized as a "British port," the British tariff of valuations only is in force—not the "tariff of duty." The rates of the latter are, however, generally observed in respect of imported articles, but on exported a uniform rate of five per cent. is levied. The custom-house arrangements are equally in the hands of the Nawáb and of the Bombay Government. Two sets of books are kept, and on matters connected with the trade of Cambay the Nawáb has power to object to any decision passed by the Customs Officer of the British Government.

Imperial establish-
ment.

The British share of the land and customs revenue is realized by an establishment maintained under the Collector of Kaira at a total yearly cost of £144 (Rs. 1,440). This establishment, at its ordinary strength, consists of one superintendent or *máhákhari* on £72 (Rs. 720) a year; a clerk, drawing a yearly sum of £80 (Rs. 300); and five messengers, at a total yearly cost of £42 (Rs. 420). Besides this there is a guard of the Kaira police, consisting of one officer, a head constable, and six privates.

MISCELLANEOUS CESSES.

Miscellaneous Ces-
ses.

Besides the proceeds of the land tax, the lands of the state yield certain minor items of revenue. These are three in number: the *bájrí* cess, the *kotrá* cess, and the grazing fees. The *bájrí* cess is a tax of 3s. 5½d. (Rs. 2 Cambay) on every cart-load of *bájrí* grain. The *kotrá* cess is a tax of one per cent. on every holding paying a yearly rent of £8-13 (Rs. 100, Cambay) and upwards. The object of this cess is to pay for the keep of the Nawáb's horses. The grazing fee is a charge varying from 6s. 11d. to 1s. 9d. (Rs. 4 to Rs. 1) per head of cattle. This is paid by the Rabáris, or professional shepherds and by other owners of cattle. The yearly collections from grazing fees amount to about £432-7 (Rs. 5,000, Cambay.)

Taxes on Trade.

Of non-agricultural cesses there are two: the *mohatarfá vero* or tax on crafts, and the *kasab vero* or tax on professions. The tax on crafts realizes only about £173-3 (Rs. 2,000, Cambay) per annum. The tax on professions is more profitable. It is at present levied at the following rates in Cambay currency:—on each oil-press 3s. 5½d. to 8s. 7½ (Rs. 2 to Rs. 5); on each cotton-carding machine 3s. 5½d. to 8s. 7½d. (Rs. 2 to Rs. 5); on each shop of shoemakers 3s. 5½d. (Rs. 2); for grocers 5s. 2½d. (Rs. 3); for blacksmiths 3s. 5½d. to 8s. 7½d. (Rs. 2 to Rs. 5); for carpenters 3s. 5½d. to 8s. 7½d. (Rs. 2 to Rs. 5); for tailors 5s. 2½d. (Rs. 3); for goldsmiths 5s. 2½d. to £1, 2, 6½ (Rs. 3 to Rs. 13); and for potters 3s. 5½d. to 5s. 2½d. (Rs. 2 to Rs. 3) per wheel. In the case of tanners the tax, from 17s. 3½d. (Rs. 10) and upwards according to the size of the village, is levied in one lump sum from the whole community of tanners, and from weavers of the Dherá caste a charge of 8s. 7½d. (Rs. 5) is made on each loom. In addition to these special cesses, there are one or two taxes peculiar to the city of Cambay, and these are recovered from all classes alike. The chief of these is a house-tax at present fixed at a uniform rate of 1s. 1d. (10 annas) a house. This tax, known as the *káthiá pál vero*,

was originally, as its name implies, levied to protect the people of Cambay from the attacks of the predatory tribes of Káthiáwár. Besides the uniform charge mentioned above, a special additional fee is levied on houses situated in the better-made streets of the city. There is also a market cess of $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. on all articles sold in the Cambay markets.

POST.

The postal arrangements are under the charge of the Inspector of Post Offices, Gujarát Division. From Cambay a runner passes daily through the town of Pítlád to the Bombay, Baroda, and Central India Railway Station at A'nand in the British district of Kaira.

EDUCATION.

According to the census of 1872, of 38,134, the total Hindu male population, 3,541, or 9.28 per cent., were able to read and write, or were under instruction. Of 33,371, the total Hindu female population, 23 were able to read and write, or were under instruction. Of 6,095 Musalmán males, 487, or 7.99 per cent., were able to read or write, or were under instruction. Of 5,787 Musalmán females only 2 were able to read and write. Within the last two or three years considerable progress has been made in the work of education. Besides several private schools in the city of Cambay, there are now two schools under the charge of the Political Agent, in which, on an average, some 400 children receive instruction. These schools are supported from the following sources:—One-third of the net income from the Nawáb's share of the inland customs, an amount varying according to the fluctuations of trade from £30 to £85 (Rs. 300-850) a year; an annual subscription of £50 (Rs. 500) from the Nawáb, and the proceeds of school fees. Seven scholarships at a cost of £700 (Rs. 7,000) have recently been endowed by Mr. Varjivandás Mánckchand, a merchant of Cambay. The holders of these scholarships are sent to complete their studies at the Nariád High School, in the Kaira District.

CHAPTER V.

TOWNS AND PLACES OF INTEREST.

City of Cambay.

Except the city of Cambay there are no towns or places of pilgrimage in the state that call for special mention. The city of Cambay, in N. Lat. 22° 21' and E. Long. 72° 48', with a population of 33,709 souls, is the seventh city of Gujarát and the fifteenth of the Bombay Presidency. It is rectangular in shape, and covers an area of about four square miles. Of the brick wall by which the city was formerly surrounded, only portions now remain. Through this wall, in addition to two small openings for the use of travellers on foot or horse-back, there are eight gateways broad enough for the passage of wheeled carriages. Beginning from the north and working eastward, the principal gates are, on the north two, the Faté and Pit; on the east three, the Mándlá, Chaká and Gawará; on the south two, the Furzá and Makái, and on the west the Chákámali gate. Beyond the line of the city wall, though the positions of the suburbs by which the city was once surrounded can now with difficulty be distinguished, there are some modern buildings and a few of the older remains in a state of good repair. Of these the chief are on the north-east of the city beyond the Mándlá gate, a reservoir also called Mandlá, a garden and some fine buildings said to have been raised in the year 1802 in honour of Mr. Duncan, then Governor of Bombay. On the north-west of the city, beyond the Faté gate, is another large reservoir, and a small house adjoining, said to have belonged to Kaliánrai, the reputed founder of the present town of Cambay. Kaliánrai's memory is still preserved by the Wániás of the city, who, on the day of the Daserá festival (August September), visit the garden and perform ceremonies in his honour. Near this are other gardens kept in order by the Nawáb, and at a short distance the Idgá or Musalmán place of prayer. Here, twice in the year on the occasion of the *Ramzán* and on the festival of the *Bakri Id*, the Nawáb comes to worship with a large retinue. On the south-east, beyond the Furzá gate, is the English burying-ground surrounded by a well built wall, and beyond the Makái Gate on the south some warehouses and stores.

The chief buildings are the Nawáb's palace, his court, and the buildings set apart for his household, all in tolerably good order. There is also the large building originally used as the English Factory, and afterwards converted into a sanitarium for European officers from Ahmedábád and Kairá. This property was in the