Chapter: Seven
The English East India Company Trade in the East

The Company's first interest lay in the Malay Archipelago and the Spice islands, although from the start it faced considerable competition from Dutch merchants. The fleet of the first voyage (1600) visited Acheen in Sumatra and Bantam in Java; in both places the commander, James Lancaster, obtained permission to trade and to establish a factory. He also visited the Moluccas. The fleet of the second voyage (1604) returned to Sumatra and Bantam and also visited the Banda islands and Amboyna, where merchants tried but failed to obtain trading rights. The third voyage (1606) marked the first contact with India. Captain Hawkins in the ship Hector reached Surat in 1607 and proceeded to Agra in an effort to secure trading privileges. Return visits were made to Sumatra, Bantam and the Moluccas. During the fourth voyage (1608), the ship Ascension returned to Surat and then visited Aden and Mocha on the Red Sea, trying unsuccessfully to set up a factory at Mocha. The ship Union visited Sumatra. The fleet of the fifth voyage (1608) returned to Bantam and to the Banda Islands. The Company directors had learned that cloths and calicoes from Surat and Cambay were in demand in Bantam, and the sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth and tenth voyages sailed under instructions to attempt trade in that region so that the goods could be exchanged in Bantam for pepper and spices. On its way to Surat, the fleet of the sixth voyage (1610) revisited the Red Sea ports; the ship Darling was later dispatched from Surat to Bantam. From Bantam, trade was carried out at Amboyna and a factory was established at Macassar on Celebes.

In 1612 the Company's directors resolved that future voyages would be organized on a joint-stock principle by which investments were made not for individual voyages but for a period of years. A little later, in a similar spirit of rationalization, the directors nominated Surat and Bantam as the Company's western and eastern centers of trade.
The English East India Company efforts to develop trade in the Spice Islands were frustrated by the continuing conflict with the Dutch. In 1617 the Company gained possession of the islands of Pulo Run and Rosengyn and established a factory at Macassar in Celebes. In 1620, however, the Dutch expelled the English from Pulo Run and from the largest of the Banda islands, Lantore. In 1621 the Dutch drove the English from Bantam although the factory was re-established a few years later. The factors retired to Batavia but as a result of the hostilities, the Governor and Council turned their attention towards the east coast of India. Some factors from Bantam settled at Masulipatam on the Coromandel Coast. The rivalry with the Dutch culminated in the massacre, in 1623, of the English factors at Amboyna, after which the Company no longer made serious efforts to develop trade in the Spice Islands or the Malay Archipelago. It withdrew most of its factories in the region including those in Japan and Siam. All this while, the Company had established factories at Acheen, Tiku, and Priaman, in Sumatra; at Bantam and Jakatra, in Java; at Sukadana and Banjarmassin, in Borneo; at Amboyna, Polaroon, Rosengin, and Macassar; also in Siam and at Patania on the Malay Peninsula; at Firando in Japan.

In the twenties of the seventeenth century the English East India Company established their factory in Coromandel Coast in spite of many difficulties. In thirties, with little resources, they could further develop their trade and extend it to other regions from the coast, though wars, famine and official rapacity continued to plague them. The policy of making the inter-Asian trade pay for itself,¹ which had found general acceptance, led to the establishment of close commercial links between Coromandel and the eastern parts of Asia. The ‘country trade’ was a term referred by the English to the intra-Asian trade within the areas from the east coast of Africa to China. Such trade was in existence in India since the ancient time but the coming of European companies gave more stimuli in this sector of trade through their huge capitals and better technologies. European participation in

¹ Inter-Asian trade is also used as country trade.
this sector trading at the close of the sixteenth century was still almost exclusively Portuguese. Other Europeans came in large numbers during the 17th century.

The English Company's servants engaged themselves as early as the 1620s in their private trade; the English 'free merchants' came later. Among the European country traders Englishmen were most numerous. This was mainly due to the lack of resources on the part of the English Company as compared to the Dutch. These country traders consisted of the Company's servants, the commanders and seamen of the ships, free merchants, interlopers, and others including Indian merchants and brokers. Besides, mention should also be made to the Portuguese and Armenians, inhabitants of English settlements, and prolific in this country trade. Officially, the private country trade of the Company's servants remained restricted until 1674 though the practices cannot be prevented by all means.

By the 1660's the Company began to question the wisdom of itself while engaging in this sector. In 1665 it withdrew altogether from such trade and in 1667, the Company's servants were permitted to trade in all Asian commodities except for pepper and calicoes to encourage them to undertake and proceed cheerfully in the Company's affairs.' In 1670 and 1674, the Directors issued further 'indulgence' which allowed their servants virtually complete freedom of trade in the eastern seas. As far as the English free merchants were concerned they were encouraged after 1665 to participate in the country trade with certain bonds and license to settle in English enterpots. The rights of other country traders were also gradually granted and the seafarers' proportion of private shipping space was institutionalized by the beginning of eighteenth century. Perhaps such private fortunes have become the main driving force behind every Englishmen who came to India. The profits incurred from such trade were also

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3 Watson, Ian Bruce, *Foundation of Empire: English private trade in India, 1659-1760*, pp. 61-62.
5 Watson, Ian Bruce, *Foundation of Empire, English Private Trade in India, 1659-1760*, p. 62.
6 Ibid., p.70.
quite huge leading some ex-servants, like, Thomas Pitt, becoming very influential in British politics through his wealth. Despite various tensions in the process, between the Company and its servants, the urge for private country trade was so prominent that it established a condition within which the Company was forced to interfere in Indian politics which was not to its liking initially.⁷

The English consolidation: an investment in Madras
The Foundation of Fort St. George in 1640 and favourable customs privileges along with the permission to build fort convinced the English East India Company to shift to the Coromandel Coast from Surat and the Gujarat coast. In December 1651, the directors from London wrote to President Baker of Bantam directing him to transfer his headquarters and Presidency to Forty St. George at Madras along with the senior Company’s servants and fully entrusted to invest on the coast.⁸ The chief reason for this move was due to the increased importance of the coast and the greater investment from 1660 when Coromandel overtook Gujarat in the values of goods it provided for the European markets.⁹

With the new presidency in Madras, the English East India Company investment grew in Coromandel with slight interruption from 1667 to 1669 because of the third Anglo-Dutch war. The English investment in Coromandel for the European market helped increase from £48,940 in 1664 market till it reached £108,810 in 1672. It declined at the lowest of £58,568 in 1675, and then from 1678 to till 1687 saw the greatest heights of English trading in the Coromandel Coast. In this ten years period the English continued to invest consistently at above £100,000 reaching £209,658 in 1683 and the highest of £318,827 in 1684.¹⁰ In this expansion Coromandel provided about 35%-40% of the total volume of returns to Europe. This expansion is largely because of the English Company had

⁷ Watson, Ian Bruce, Foundation of Empire, English Private Trade in India, 1659-1760, pp.ix-xi.
⁸ Foster, William, (ed), English Factories in India, (hereafter EFI), 1651-1654, pp. xxx-i.
¹⁰ Ibid., Appendix 5, Table c.2, p. 509.
broken out of the previous method of looking to finer, painted varieties of the Corommandel, and following the Dutch, the English decided to go forward the region, thus, able to procure in a great bulk, the staple cotton cloths of long cloth, salemporis and mooris suitable for European markets.

The English investment spread out along the coast to various weaving towns. Masulipatnam continued to be the major supply centre in the north and they further spread out north in Mandapoollam. From Fort St. George the English succeeded in tapping the markets of Kanchipuram, Chingleput and Arani. They opened factories in Cuddalore, Kunnunmidu and Porto Novo, though some were short-lived, in a relentless push close to textile markets. The English Company trade from the westward of Persian Gulf to Red Sea then shifted their focus to the East, exporting textiles to Arracan, Pegu, Syriam, Mergui, Acheen, Kedah, Malacca, Manila, Bencoolen, and Bantam and along with Macao and Canton. Regular freights sailings were organised from Coromandel to Eastern Archipelago in a systematic way where all the profits were utilized by the merchants for further trading in this vast ocean trading networks.

The English East India Company trade to the South East Asia from Coromandel, consisted mainly of the export of textile coarse goods, painted and printed goods, finer muslins, sail cloth and gunnies. The large numbers of Burmese and Thai markets were fed by Coromandel merchants in competition with those of Bengal. Apart from the cloth iron and steel, indigo, tobacco, round pepper, vermilion, fish skins iron and leather were taken to this place. In return, elephants featured as the most sought valuable item for the English to be sold among the local rulers in Coromandel Coast. Hundreds of elephants were shipped every year from Pegu, Tenasserim and Malacca, where they were found in abundance.11 Other goods taken to Coromandel were tin, copper, brass, lead, timber, chinaware, gold, rubies, emeralds and sapphires.12 There were regular

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12 D&CB., 1687, pp. 54-55.
sailings from Coromandel Coast especially from Madras to the whole of Southeast Asia. The rulers of Golconda exchanged diplomatic greetings with all rulers of this region.

In the West Asia, the English East India Company traded at Banda Abbas, and Barsa, in the Persian Gulf, Muscat and Mocha, in the Red Sea. The exports of items in this sector were muslins, chintzes, coarse cloth, tobacco, rattan, iron and steel, spices, sandalwood, ivory, indigo, benzoin, lac, tin and gum. Most of these items were brought from South East Asia and transshipped to West Asia. Benzoin, gum, lac and tin were imported from Burma, Thailand and the Malacca Straits areas, spices were from the Archipelago. Some rice bought locally was also shipped. Sugar and some wheat as well as some fine muslins and silk goods brought from Bengal were re-exported. On the return a number of goods of Arabian, Persian and Mediterranean origin were imported. From Persia there were silk, dye roots, alum, wine, pistaches, rose water and other perfumes and horses. From Arabia were brought various Arabic drugs such as frankincense and myrrh, dried fruit, coffee and horses. Coral was imported from Mediterranean, from the entire area the surplus of exports was repatriated in the form of bullion and specie, mainly Persian gold and silver coins that were greatly desired in Coromandel.

The English Company’s participation in the trade between Coromandel and other regions of Asia was never substantial; an incalculable factor was involvement by the Company’s servants located in Coromandel factories in a private capacity and also the free merchants who were authorized to trade in Asia. Up to 1674 such private trade in textiles and pepper was carried on against the Company’s regulations, which prohibited private trade in these items. In 1674 a major step was taken by the Directors, when they authorized all servants and factors of the Company to trade in all the products of Asian, subject to certain

\[13\] D&CB., 1692, p. 1. see also D&CB., 1693, p. 9.
restrictions. The chief restriction relevant to the Coromandel trade was that textiles and pepper could not be taken to Japan, Siam, Bantam, Formosa or any other place in the South Seas where the Company had settled or would settle a factory. This left free trade to West Asia, Arakan, Pegu, Tenasserim, Acheen and the Malay Peninsula. But the prohibition was not effective as far as the trade to Bantam was concerned, as for the free merchant’s trade from Fort St. George to Bantam was consider as lucrative trade. The English Company did not been able to gain much profit in this trade and decided to abandon in 1661.14 This gave an incentive to Company servants to own ships which they first used to freight goods for Indian merchants and then to trade for themselves. Private English trade from Coromandel started blooming from the 1670s to the Burmese coast, western Malaya, Acheen and Bantam. From these ports the largest sailing were recorded in the Burmese coast.

The export of bullions to Asian really enlisted the coffers in London, which broke out into a serious crisis in the 1680s leading to the restriction of trading further by the government’s orders.15 To find alternative the English East India Company had began to concentrate on the efforts to promote the sale of European goods in India. These comprise of a variety of woolen goods, lead, copper and coral. The Home Directors wrote to all Presidencies to encourage the sale of European goods through their agents. The efforts to sale woolen goods in Madras in the 1670s were a great disaster. The merchants were refused to accept any more woolen goods as there are no buyers and the godowns were stocked with bales of these unwanted woolens. The Coromandel merchants in Madras complained that the consumers of European woolen goods were very few: ‘we proceeded to the sale of the Europe goods, of which having enlarged the quantities and set the prices at the utmost which the market would beare, the merchants having almost all their last years and woolen goods upon their hands, and the times not at all

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favourable for the consume in these parts.¹⁶ Thus, the merchants no more wanted to accept any more woolen goods.

The pressure upon the Fort St. George to dispose the goods bringing from home compelled them to search suitable merchants in the Madras to accept the English woolens in part payment for the textiles they delivered to the Company timely succeed. With the formation of joint stock they agreed among the chief merchants to take care of European goods. The jobs were given among the chief merchants who were divided themselves into different assignment to take care the joint stock and among the chief merchants at least two chief merchants would take care the goods brought by the ships coming from London, ‘other two merchants are to look after their Europe goods to take care that they be not embezzled or damaged but dispose of them as much & as well as they can.’¹⁷ Slowly the English Company goods entered in this manner by forcing the merchant’s a tenth percent payment to them in woolens in exchange of textiles. Once it worked, the practice was extended to the merchants of Cuddalore and Porto Novo, who were quite reluctance at the beginning, but later agreed on the condition to accept no more than to the value of a fifth of the total investment: ‘taking into consideration the contract made by Mr. Davis at Cuddalore with the Porto Novo merchants that itt would be a great discredit & future inconvenience to record from what they had done, we do agree to confirm itt, & accordingly to give orders to them in our next, to proceed upon itt, only advising them to make the terms something more advantageous, as to the commencem’t of the interest, & itt is also ordered to send Europe goods to them on said contract,’¹⁸

However, this arrangement was very unpopular and finds difficulty to sale in the Coromandel Coast and most of the merchants were refused to accept this arrangement. The reluctance of these merchants was understandable as they had great difficulty in disposing of the goods, ‘more particularly several abatements

¹⁶ D&CB., 1672-1678, pp. 70-71.
¹⁷ D&CB., 1688, pp. 130-131.
¹⁸ D&CB., 1687, p. 53.
upon Europe Goods sold.' Merchants complained loudly of being forced to accept European goods as a condition of their contract. A partnership of merchants in Cuddalore stated that the cost price of a half broadcloth was $22 \frac{1}{2}$ pagodas, which they were able to sell only at 12 pagodas and the most of the merchants were losing on broadcloth. Some case has been found that the merchants who trade English broadcloth at Fort St. David were so desperate to sell these woolens; unable to sell, the English Company eventually had to accept them back unsold.

"The President acquaints the Board that finding the Fort St. David merchants have not to this time disposed of more than one hundred & eighty bales of Europe Broadcloth, and that their Investments in a manner stands still... for want of ready money, or credit to provided their goods, as also fearing our Europe ships will arrive with a large supply, before we can clear our hands of the last years Cargo, which will certainly cause a considerable abatement in the price, not only to the utter ruin of these Fort St. David merchants but likewise to the great prejudice in the sale of this Commodity for the future, he has summoned the said Merchants and endeavoured to persuade them for their own benefit."  

Probably the only reason they were agreeing to trade in this deficit manner was by continuing to act as agent for the English Company.

Possibly, the Coromandel merchants were unable to sell the English woolen cloth because it had no use among the peasant societies of Coromandel Coast, but it can sell to armies on the march and among cavalry. The trade in English woolens have pick up when the Mughal armies marched in southern India from 1685. By the 1690s the merchants of Madras accepted certain quantity of broadcloth in part payment for the English investment. In 1699, the English Company came to an agreement with the merchants of Madras to supply European goods, of which woolens broadcloth consist the largest parts.  

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19 D&CB., 1688, p. 139.  
20 D&CB., 1712, p. 91.  
21 D&CB., 1699, p. 33.
Broadcloth ordinary ......486 at several prizes
Broadcloth Aurora.........93 at several prizes
Cloth Rashes ...............200 at several prizes
Perpetuanoes fine ..........150 at several prizes
Perpetuanoes ordinary.....422 at several prizes

Other imported items from Europe that had a reasonable sale in Coromandel were lead and iron. Lead was highly demanded item in Coromandel and its neighboring regions. This mainly came from Europe and South East Asia. The English Company had a very good percentage of sales in lead compare to the other European companies. Up to 1725, annual English sales of lead hardly went above 10,000 pagodas. After 1725 the English seem to have captured a large share of the market and sales increased up to a high of 25,000 pagodas. The sale of iron by the English fluctuated from 2000 to 8000 pagodas, with an occasional increase to above 10,000 pagodas. The English never reached in the sale of tin to any substantial degree, which continue to remain in the hands of the Coromandel merchants. The sale of copper was also fluctuated as the English were unusual of the China trade where most of the copper comes from. Copper supplies were very intermittent and the Dutch continued to dominate for most of the time.

The sale of Mediterranean coral picked up in Madras in the early eighteenth century. It was for internal market as well as re-export items. The red coral was very useful for the purpose of making bangles and statuary in Coromandel Coast. By the 1720s around 20,000 to 30,000 pagodas of coral were sold each year in Coromandel. The shipments were carried out by the English Company and also by the Jewish and Portuguese merchants. The coral was not

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22 Banerji, R. N., Economic Progress of the East India Company on the Coromandel Coast, 1702-1746, pp.219-220
23 Ibid.
much difficult to dispose as most of the Coromandel merchants had willingly accepted it.

Recession in late seventeenth and early eighteenth century

There was a slow down in the investment of the English Company in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century. It was due to the political changes in the Coromandel Coast. The threat posed to the Company’s monopoly in England as well as the problems faced with the Mughal administration and the war with the France were all responsible for the decline of English investment and trade in the Coromandel Coast. Export picked up from 1698 but did not reach on the level of the 1680s. From 1702 to 1712 exports from Coromandel to Europe were always below £100,000 at the range of £ 40,000 to £ 50,000. After 1712 there was a good progress touching at an average of £ 100,000. This beginning of instability is due to the continuation of the factors that witness in the pervious decade. The difficulties of the Company continued and were compounded by establishing a new Company called New East India Company, with huge capital investment of £1,400,000. They asserted that it will be an encouragement for “Adventures to make new Discoveries,” when every one may have the management of his own affairs, and reap the benefit of his own benefit. The new Company established a factory in Masulipatnam and invested in the same places where the old Company secured its goods, and has now attracted to it the old Company’s merchants-middlemen with the offers of a higher price.

Another difficulty was due to the stoppage of trade in all the producing areas of textiles by the Mughals. Under the Mughals general Zulifikar Khan and Daud Khan, the trade in Coromandel was disrupted and the English Company felt

27 DFE., 1702, p. 22.
helplessly in their face. The English secured their goods from the areas worst hit by political unrest; Masulipatnam, Madapollam and lower Godavari, Kanchipuram, Arani, Jinji and Cuddalore. Because of the political dislocation in the hinterland of Masulipatnam and Madras, the collection goods by the English were in disarray. Merchants started demanding higher prices because of the rising cost of food grains, cotton and wages, as well as by taking advantage of the competition between the two companies. The old Indian merchant joint-stock of Madras was in arrears of large sums to the English, with no visible means of settling them; prominent merchants of Madras were on the verge of bankruptcy: "Serapa & c: Joint Stock Merchants were called in, and demanded of' em the reason of their not complying of their being hard sorted in Godown and of the great loss they had in taking off the cloth and lead, which fell considerably in price on their hands. Twas also demanded of' em, where this money was that is in arrear, who answer'd, that they sold all their 'cloth and lead' for time, which was not yet paid, and that they had money standing out in the weavers hands, an account: whereof they will bring tomorrow; and they gave us all imaginable assureances, that the Company shall not be prejudic'd one pagoda by them."  

It is clear that they had lost much in the recent wars and were not in a position to invest money in the villages and be assured of a steady supply of cloth from the weavers. In Masulipatnam the merchants was confused because of the merger of the two English Companies and their debts had not been paid. The merchants of Masulipatnam threatened to take up the matter with the Mughal Nawab and the Madras officials of the old Company denied any liability for the debts. A settlement was finally made with them who were being induced to discount their debts as much as 40 percent and the Directors suspected that the Madras officials had made large sums of money out of this transaction. The

28 D&CB., 1698, pp. 78-80. see the blockade in D&CB., 1701, pp. 58-59.
29 DFE., 1702, p. 22.
30 D&CB., 1700, p. 60. see also D&CB., 1703, p. 76, and 82.
31 D&CB., 1706, p. 78.
English Company drastically reduced their investment and began to look to the south of Madras, where prices had not risen to such great extent as in the north. The Directors complained of the high prices of Coromandel cloth and that profits were much less than on the Bengal goods.\textsuperscript{32}

**Unification of the two English companies**

The existence of the two rival companies would have jeopardized the interests of the Englishmen in the East. The conflict that resulted, and the discreditable quarrels that took place in 1698-1700, if carried further, would have led to the expulsion of the English from India. Both parties were conscious of the dangers of the situation, and negotiations had begun almost immediately after the establishment of the new Company for the union of the two companies. The union of the two Companies was ultimately affected on the 22\textsuperscript{nd} July, 1702, in terms of two indentures, one for the equalization of subscribe capital, and the other for the value of the dead stock, i.e., forts, factories and other buildings. On the latter, the new Company was required to pay £130,000 to the old to secure equality. The old Company having become the proprietor of about 300,000 of the new stock while the new Company held about £1,700,000, it was agreed that the former should purchase from the latter so much as would make their shares equal. That the two Companies should have equal powers of trade for the next seven years and should trade for their common benefit, and thereafter they should be united. To accelerate the settlement of the disputes between the two Companies an Act was passed in 1708 appointing the Earl of Godolphin arbitrator, and directing that the English Company should, after his award, be known as the *United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies*. The award provided that the old Company should surrender all its charters and cease to be a corporate body on or before the 25\textsuperscript{th} March, 1709.\textsuperscript{33}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[32] DFE., 1708, p. 37.
\item[33] Love, H.D, *Vestiges of Old Madras*, vol. ii, pp. 4-5.
\end{footnotes}
With the re-establishment of order in the country and consolidation of the United Company, English investment in Coromandel picked up after 1712, with almost double at £ 98,688. Most of the demands from 1712 were higher comparing with the previous year. In some case it was almost double in their demands.

Table 7.1: Lists of cloth demanded in 1711 and 1712.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>List of cloth</th>
<th>Pieces</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1711</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Longcloth ordinary</td>
<td>9330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Longcloth middling</td>
<td>2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Longcloth fine</td>
<td>1670</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Salempores ordinary</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Salempores middling</td>
<td>3340</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Betelles of 40 coveds</td>
<td>1340</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Original Betelles</td>
<td>1340</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Gingham of 16 coveds</td>
<td>1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Gingham of 40 coveds</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Morees fine</td>
<td>1000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Diary and Consultation Book, 1712, pp. 10-12)

The high prices of the previous two decades had come down there were no competing buyers among themselves. The financial resources of the United Company were greatly improved and the demand for the staple varieties of Coromandel textiles had again picked up. The quantities demanded from London had also almost double after the 1715.
Table 7.2: Lists of cloth demand in 1715.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>List of Cloth</th>
<th>Pieces</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Longcloth ordinary</td>
<td>12000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Double chop ordinary</td>
<td>8000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Middling longcloth</td>
<td>4000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Longcloth fine</td>
<td>2500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Course and Double chopped Salempores</td>
<td>20000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Middling Salempores</td>
<td>5000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Fine salempores</td>
<td>4000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Betelles 90 coveds</td>
<td>7000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Original Betelles 56 coveds</td>
<td>3500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Moorees for painting</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Fine salempores for painting</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Fine Moorees white</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Ordinary white</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Diary and Consultation Book, 1715, p. 46)

Most of the increased demand consisted of longcloth and salempores, for which there was now a furious competition among the major European companies. The English Company’s servants began to re-establish supply links which had been disrupted during the recent turmoil’s. The recovery of trade and manufactures in the hinterland of Madras was rather slow, however, so they now looked northwards and southwards for procurements of goods. To the north they strengthened Visakhapatnam, which was now raised to the status of a divisional headquarters for English factories in North Coromandel. The factory of Madapollam was reactivated and a new factory was also established on the Godavari in 1722. To the south, efforts were made to rehabilitate the trade of Fort St. David which had suffered during the late wars. Madras merchants, supplying the English, were encouraged to go southwards and into the interior as far as Udayarpalayam and Salem to accomplish the English demands.

The English Company investments in Coromandel were considerably good from 1712 to 1723 except in 1718 when the Coast witness famine in the time of
heavy competition.\textsuperscript{34} The values of investment peaked in 1723 at the value of £268,217 and begin to fall, which went on till 1733 when, with the exception of 1727 to 1729, it remains below £100,000 for most of the time.\textsuperscript{35} This coincided with a downturn in commerce and economic activity in Coromandel in all sectors. These years were marked by merchant bankruptcies in Fort St. George and Fort St. David. There were constant pressures from the merchants for a higher price in consonance with the rise in cost of production and a firm resistance to these pressures by the English servants. Arbitrary imposition on merchants accelerated the decline and bankruptcy and many established textiles brokers moved away from business.\textsuperscript{36} During this period there was a great tension between the merchants and the English Company, and also among the merchant’s settlers themselves in Madras. From 1734, again there was an increase in English investment, which was seen often exceed to £ 100,000 per year. Visakhapatnam, Madapollam and Injaram establish a place of steady investment. To the south Fort St. David was better organized and was able to provide from the broad hinterland up to Salem and in north Tanjore.

The English settlement in the East in early seventeenth Century

The English factory had been established at Bantam in 1602 and in the first decade of the seventeenth century whole hosts of other factories, from Japan to Sumatra were set up too.\textsuperscript{37} Yet, in the face of overt and covert Dutch opposition, the subsequent decade and a half saw the English losing ground both in the Southeast and in the Far East. The hostilities of the period 1618-1620 had been succeeded by a brief sharing arrangement in the phase 1620-1623, when Dutch and English shared garrisons and expense in the Bandas, Moluccas and Amboyana. The

\textsuperscript{34} D&CB., 1718, p. 200.
\textsuperscript{35} K. N, Chaudhuri, \textit{The Trading World of Asia And The English East India Company, 1640-1760,} Appendix 5, Table c.2, p. 509.
\textsuperscript{36} Despatches to England, (hereafter DTE), 1732, p. 102. see also DFE., 29 January 1733, p. 100.
\textsuperscript{37} Chaudhuri, K. N., \textit{The English East India Company, The study of an Early Joint-Stock Company, 1600-1640,} pp. 14-18. In 1617, the English factories is Southeast and East Asia included Acheen, Tiku, Bantam, Jakarta, Jambi, Patani, Baria, Sukadana, Banjarmassim, Makassar, Banda and Hirado.
arrangement, even during the period of its smooth functioning, was an unprofitable one for the English, who even moved their headquarters to Batavia in 1620. However, with the Amboyna incident of 1623, all English factors were withdrawn from shared centers in the Archipelago to Batavia; added to this was the fact that, by 1624, the factories at Patani, Ayutthaya and Japan had also been abandoned. In 1624 then, the English situation east of Malacca was extremely precarious; in addition to Batavia, they had no more than three settlements: at Jambi in Sumatra, Japara in eastern Java, and Makassar in southern Sulawesi. The logic of the Coromandel factories ‘the left arm of the Moluccas’ now looked dubious indeed, and there were at least some who believed that all trading ventures east of Cape Comorin should be abandoned.\footnote{Chaudhuri, K. N., The English East India Company. The study of an Early Joint-Stock Company, 1600-1640, p. 67.} In this situation the English who were able to foothold in Madras gave a new lease of life after they established their factory in Fort St. George, Madras in 1639.

**Malacca**

The English came late in the picture of Malacca trade, by the time they came, most of the Malaya Peninsula were overrun by the Dutch. On 14\textsuperscript{th} January 1641 the Dutch took possession from the Portuguese of the fortress of Malacca, with the help of their ally the Sultan of Johore. The Dutch had treaties with the Johore Sultans to get rid of the Portuguese. The Malays were confident of a victory that, with the help of the Dutch, would regain the Malacca throne. However, this was not the Dutch aim. After the capture, the Dutch set up their government at Malacca. Malacca was too important for the VOC strategies, as the city was situated on the main trade route to the Far East (Spices islands, China and Japan) and was a formidable strategic outpost. A short time later the conquest of Malacca, the Dutch made trading agreements with several states of the Malay Peninsula, so as to obtain tin (Kedah 1642, Junk Ceylon (Ujung Salang) 1643, Bangkeri 1645,
Perak). For this reason, a Dutch outpost was established at Perak, but, in 1651, the garrison was attacked and the outpost destroyed by the Malay. In 1660, even the factory established at Junk Ceylon (Ujung Salang), was abandoned. In the 1650s, a great imposing building, the Stadthuys, is built by the Dutch as the administrative centre and home of the Governor of Malacca. By the 1660s, the trade at Dutch Malacca was in decline and the relations with the Malay states had deteriorated as well. The Dutch had a factory at Bengkalis (1670s.) at the mouth of the Siak River (Sumatra). From here they controlled the tin trade. The trade at Siak was vital for Malacca and for the Malacca Freeburghers community, a community of Dutch and Portuguese descendants intermarried with the local peoples. The duty collected on their Siak trade was an important share of Malacca's revenue.

When the Dutch conquered Malacca in 1641 they found a healthy trade with the Coromandel merchants and the port of Malacca. Coromandel merchants were regularly sailing from Pulicat, San Thome, Porto Novo, Nagapatnam. The main item of import to Malacca was varieties of cloths. In return they bought, pepper, elephant, cloves, tin chinaware, gold, cane and sandalwood.\(^{39}\) Malacca ports had also acted as port of redistribution for textiles into the region. The Coromandel trade to Malacca was a part of trade to the western Malay Peninsula comprised of Kedah, Perak, Menangkebaw and Johore. In this trade, textiles and tin were the important commodities for import and export by the merchants. It was a peddling trade in the sense that each ship brought a number of small merchants traveling with their goods and returning with the proceeds in precious metals and in other goods salable in Coromandel. It also ensured a supply of tin for rulers, which was a vital commodity of the Indian imported goods. Coromandel merchants have imported large amount of tin, which sometimes was in excess and reshipped from ports like Masulipatnam and Nagapatnam to Western India and West Asia. Perak and Kedah exported a large number of elephants because of their abundance. Their abundance of elephant was witness by the adventurer Bowrey, which he state that

\(^{39}\) D&CB., 1684, pp. 182.
“here are elephants more plenty and sold at much cheaper rates then in any country or kingdom besides, one of 5 cubits and halfe is a very siseable and a merchandable elephant, and such are sold here for 200 pieces of 8 which transport to Metchlipatam or Bengala will yield 3000.” The trade of elephant was started even before the European and the merchants hire a specialist who were expert to handle in the long journey and sold in great profit in Coromandel Coast.

In the end of the seventeenth century Kedah emerged more prosperous and become important destination for Coromandel trade due to the Dutch monopoly at to Bantam. Chulia Muslim penetrated up to the Kedah river settlements of Capital Alor Star probably began from this period. Some of the trade developed here with the help of the English Company and English free merchants that begin to become influential in the king’s palace. Textiles continued to be the major item of export from Coromandel and in return, elephant was brought as major items of imports, which was the most sought after item in the Coromandel Coast.

Most of the shipping begins from Porto Novo and Nagore, with Madras coming into the picture through the English participation. The English participation in this trade was to carry goods especially elephants for the Coromandel merchants but later on many English free merchants also participated in this trade.

Another important port that came into prominent in the last part of seventeenth century was Johore, which was situated on an excellent natural harbour, strategically located on the main trade route in and out of South East Asia and close to the rich pepper, tin, and gold producing region of Sumatra, it soon grew as an international trading emporium. Coromandel merchants which were helplessly looking after the destruction of Bantam, now fill up at Johore. Indian

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42 D&CB., 1700, pp. 24, 27.
textiles were the main item to trade in exchange for pepper, tin and gold. Most of the ships that have arrived in this port were begin mainly from Porto Novo, Cuddalore and Nagapatnam. There were also a considerable amount of English private trade flowing from Madras, and they were trading together along with the local Chulia merchants.

Borneo

The principal ports of Borneo were at Sambas, Landak, and Sukadanna on the west of the Island, and Banjarmassin on the south, all of which places are now included in the Dutch territories. The principal products of the country are fine diamonds, camphor, the best ginger, mirabolans, sugar, soap, bigars, victualls abundantly, orrenges, lemond and rice, sinnomon lesser quality, turtle shells.

In April 1614 a factory was established at Sambas, and in the following year trade was opened with Banjarmassin. In the same month a vessel was sent to Landak with the view of establishing a factory there, but the Dyaks, instigated by the Dutch and Chinese, refused to allow it, or, indeed, to trade with the English. Eight years later (1622) the Matram sent an army and surprised and ransacked Sukadanna; Edward Pike, the factor, was killed by an explosion of gunpowder, and the following year the factory was abandoned and it appears to have ended for a time the English trade with Borneo.

In 18th February 1693, Thomas Gullock request a petition to go a voyage at Sukadanna and his request was granted after two months. The ship Happy Return was given pass for the voyage and the ship belong to John Affleck. The said ship Happy Return arrived on next year 20 March, and Gullock brought a grant from the Sultan of Borneo. The English Company request to open a factory was granted. According to the grant it translate, "the Honourable English Company requesting a settlement and trade within these dominions...the Sultan therefore

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43 D&CB., 1693, p. 9.
44 Arasartnam, S. Merchants, Companies and Commerce on the Coromandel Coast. pp. 147-148.
45 D&CB., 1693, pp. 47, 71.
freely grants...at this city of Sukadanna, with ground for a Fort House, Storehouse, which already chosen by the said Capt. Gullock, and laid by the prince Pangin Putra and Shabander, two hundred yards square to be enlarged and secured as occasion may require, with free liberty to trade any part of his kingdom, or build, or settle a Factory House...or without any sorts of goods or people, without molestation.”

In 1699 the English East India Company opened up a trade with Banjarmassin and established a factory there. A few years later (1704) permission was obtained from the King for the erection of a fortification for the protection of the Company's establishment there, and after the union of the two East India Companies a strong factory was erected, but on the 27th June 1707 the natives attacked the English settlement and the factory was withdrawn. In 1738 trade was re-opened at Banjarmassin, but owing to the opposition of the Dutch, who in May 1747 blockaded the place, it was again abandoned.

Celebes

The principal port of Celebes was Macassar, where the Dutch had, at an early date, established a factory. Macassar was formerly a mart of considerable importance for spice and other imports, receiving cloves, nutmegs, and mace from the Moluccas; pepper from Banjarmasin; sapanwood from Bima (Socmbawa); sandal-wood from Bima and Timore; cotton cloths from India proper; wax, benzoin and elephants’ teeth from Camboja; slaves, gumlac, tortoise shells, and cassia lignum from various parts; sugar, green ginger and China-roots from China. Its chief indigenous exports were rice, arrack, native gold, and some tortoise shells.

In October 1613 Peter Floris sent some cloths to Macassar, which was, it is believed, the first instance of the English trading there. The Company's ship

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46 D&CB., 1694, pp. 24-25.
Darling having failed to settle a factory at Amboyna, Captain Jourdain proceeded to Macassar, where he arrived on the 16th July 1613, and established a factory which he left in charge of George Cokayne. In the following year the Kino- gave permission to Cokayne to erect a house at Macassar. Cokayne was succeeded by George Chauncey, who, in the absence of the other factors, abandoned the factory, but it was re-established by Captain Ball in 1615 that again placed Cokayne in charge of it. In July 1667 the Dutch, having a quarrel with the King, attacked the forts at Macassar, which they captured, whereupon the King was forced to agree to a peace dictated by the enemy. Under this treaty the Dutch seized the English Company's servants and property and carried them away to Batavia. Although the Court directed to re-settle their factory at Macassar, it appears that, owing to the obstruction of the Dutch, this was never affected.47

Acheen

The Coromandel trade to Acheen was well established in the first decades of the seventeenth century. Ships came to Acheen from Masulipatnam, Pulicat, San Thome, Devanampatnam, Porto Novo, Nagapatnam and from Madras after the establishment of Fort St. George. The Coromandel merchants had a good share of the market because of special demands for painted textiles and coarse goods there. The Coromandel merchants came here to buy tin, pepper, brimstone and sometimes aromatic woods and elephants and gold.48 Pepper from Acheen was important commodity to trade and it produced extensively in the Malay Archipelago. Horses from Acheen were another important item of trade to the rulers of Coromandel. Most of the ships coming from Acheen mentioned 'horses from Acheen.'49 Besides, Acheen extended its sovereignty over the rich tin

49 D&CB., 1693, pp. 53, 59.
producing state of eastern Sumatra and Perak, where Coromandel merchants took this benefit to trade in pepper, tin and gold.\textsuperscript{50}

Acheen situated in northern Sumatra, which is nearer to Madras, also some of the most frequent port visited by the English Company. Under Sultan Iskandar Munda (1606-1636) Acheen sought to take on the mantle of fifteenth century Malacca as South East Asia’s thalassocracy, and expanded into maritime Sumatra and Malay Peninsula. With his death this ambition came to an end and Acheen lost much of her overseas possession, though retaining its preeminent position as a trading post.\textsuperscript{51} In the second half of the seventeenth century Acheen was rule by Queen Safiyatudin (1641-1675) who struggle to maintain free trade at that port in spite of Dutch opposition. She was intent on maintaining Acheen as an open port in the region where it attracted merchants from other coast like Gujarat, Bengal and Coromandel.

In 1658 William Curtis was sent to Acheen to negotiate for the establishment of a factory over there.\textsuperscript{52} Long ago the English had already established a factory in 1615, but continuous Dutch opposition compelled them to abandon in 1646. Intermittent trade between the Company and Acheen went on until William Curtis was sent to negotiate to re-establish a factory. As the matter was not conclusive from William Curtis negotiation, Henry Gray was sent again on behalf of the English Company in 1669 and it turn out to be very successful. Henry Gray obtained for the Company from the Queen of Acheen Safiyatuddin a renewal and modification from the previous privileges: “The English are free of all custom by ancient agreement, only a present to the Queen, and some small Port charges, all other Nations pay great Customs. Other Nations pay five to eight per cent, Custom on their cargos...But the English are at no other charge than the

\textsuperscript{50} D&CB., 1687, pp. 54-55.
\textsuperscript{51} Arasartnam, S. Merchants, Companies and Commerce on the Coromandel Coast. p. 112.
\textsuperscript{52} E. F. I., 1656-1660, p. 81.
usual Presents to the Kings and Courtiers." 53 Still then, the trade was bad as the Dutch continue monopolizing and put many hampers while procuring goods. 54

Nevertheless, the English Company continued to visit the place as free merchants, who played an important role in the maritime networks. Thomas Bowrey, a sailor and free merchants who visit Acheen in 1685, for trading purpose including Junk Ceylon and Kedah. In his memoir he highly appreciate Acheen, and consider as one of the few prosperous port town of the eastern emporium: “the city Achin is the Metropolitan of the whole, a very healthy place, a very populous, famous as it is the place of residence of theire virgin Queene, with all her Lords and most of the Noblilite of the Kingdome, as alsoe for theire good laws and government, and the great Traffick and commerce from most parts of India, China, and South seas.” 55

In the history of Fort St. George Presidency, successive British governors from Nathaniel Higginson, Thomas Pitt, Addison, Edward Harrison, and Joseph Collet were all heavily involved in the country trade between 1695 and 1720. Most of them were covertly carried out using the authority of their respective post. One such example, Pitt actively participated in the Acheen trade till up to expulsions of Francis Delton from there in 1706. Pitt dispatched a compliment letter to the new Sultan Badr-al-Alam of Acheen in 1700, 56 and again in 1704 congratulated to the Sultan Demolett Aulum (Jemal-al-Alam) on the occasion of his accession. In his letter he wrote: “we shall be always at your Majesty’s service to do any thing that may contribute thereunto since your ascendancy the Throne we are informed that our nations enjoys their Ancient Priviledges in your Kingdom, which they were debarred of during the rebellious times, which Royal favours of your Majestie, have encouraged us to send this our ship to your Port, on whom comes Mr.

53 Temple, R. C (ed), The Geographical Account of Countries Round The Bay of Bengal, by Thomas Bowrey, p. 304.
54 E. F. I., 1668-1669, p. 289.
56 D&CB., 1700, p. 69.
Griffith and Mr. Bugden to reside at our Ancient Factory, whom we desire may favoured with your Royall Protection, and free enjoyment of the English Priviledges."57

The English take this opportunity of the new king and send Henry Griffith and Charles Bugden on behalf of the English Company to represent at the Court of Sultan. The Madras council drafted a resolution which read: "we hereby empower Griffith and Bugden to reside there (as the Company's) representatives, requiring all her Majesty's subjects Queen Anne of Great Brittain and to apply themselves to the aforesaid Mr. Griffith and Budgen in all matters and disputes between them and the Government who we hereby enjoy to be assisting to them to the utmost of their power."58 The two emissaries set out their journey on 19th May 1704 by the ship Stretham,59 landed at Acheen with the semi-official status and with Pitt's backing to regularize the disorderly English private trade.

After sending off the mission a letter was received from Budgen and Griffith, first in 4th January, from the ship Gangees and the second letter received on 9th May from the ship Dolphin, the letter mentioned nothing about the condition of Acheen. After a year long silence the English residents at Acheen were involved in an attempt to dethrone the current Sultan Jemal-al-Alam and wanted to restore his predecessor Sultan Perkara-al-Alam. The conflict begins with acrimonies of allegation and counter-allegation from both sides. The first letter received, dated 2nd March, by the English Company at Madras from Orangkaya Sri Maharaja Lela of Acheen states that: "the unfortunate troubles that has happened here to Mr. Griffith and Delton, who brought it upon themselves, for that their king passed by severall Outrages they often committed, till such time as they left the shore and went on broad their ships, when they stop'd and tooke all they mett with for two months together, all which we patiently bore through the esteem we had for your Company, and finding the troubles daily increasing, we were forced

57 D&CB., 1704, p. 31.
58 D&CB., 1704, p. 32.
59 D&CB., 1704, p. 43.

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for our own defence to betake ourselves to armes, for that whatever came in their way they destroyed by fire or sword." 60

Another letter was received from the Shabander of Acheen, which totally disapproved the conduct of English resident at Acheen and blaming to the English of the misfortune happening at Acheen: "the troubles that has happen’d here to Mr. Griffith and Mr. Deltons means during the time of their being ashore they committed severall Outrages, and when they got aboard ship they not only seized and tooke whatever they could lay hands on for two months together, but destroyed by Fire and Sword severall of ur Garrisons, not so much as sparing man or child, and naild down all our Guns, all which we bore with patience thro the esteem and friendship we had for your and your Company’ and the more we suffered the more they putt upon us, till at last we were obliged to resent them accordingly, we were not the first that acted contrary to our Cowle, so desire when you send any one to Reside here, let them be better qualified for such an undertaking." 61 Despite the accusation from the Sultan and Shahbandar, Pitt retorted that the Sultan had provoked the outbreak and threatened reprisal. He also question the tormenting attitude of the port official and demanded that in future letter address to the English at Madras be written in Persian: ‘I desire what Letters you write may be in the Persian language, we having none in these parts that can read Malays.’ 62

In 1709, the King of Acheen invited again after the English were expelled to resume trade,63 but Pitt was inclined to resume trade with Acheen because of the losses caused to the Madras customs by its cessation. In June, another letter received from the King of Acheen, which is more tempting as it was from the king himself asking help to subdue ‘one city’ in return it would suitably rewarded: “I am in possession of all the Atcheen Country excepting one city which I don’t

60 D&CB., 1706, p. 38.
61 D&CB., 1706, p. 39.
62 D&CB., 1706, p. 46.
63 D&CB., 1709, p. 37.
doubt if you give me your assistance to subdue and make them pay due obedience to my orders, which I shall always esteem as an instance of your Friendship, and with charge you will be at shall thankfully repay.”

The promise made by the King of Acheen was to confirm the privileges of factory as previously and granting free of custom for three ships, one from Madras, one from Bengal and Surat.

The English Company was reluctant to resume trade but still the ships passed to Acheen mostly by the local residents of Madras, where the English Company officials were not ready to venture out anymore. During these years the numbers of ships were just one or two arrived from Acheen and same with the ships depart for Acheen.

Table 7.3: Ships ‘arrived and sailed’ for Acheen from Madras port.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Name of the ships arrived</th>
<th>Command by</th>
<th>Name of the ships sail</th>
<th>Command by</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1711</td>
<td>Katch Rawort</td>
<td>Capt. Simpson</td>
<td>Geah Lachme</td>
<td>Capt. Kittee Narrain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>St. Antonio</td>
<td>Capt. Simon Noquedah</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1712</td>
<td>Careim</td>
<td>Capt. Mahomuddo Noquedah</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1713</td>
<td>Sebastian</td>
<td>Capt. Richard Stibbs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1714</td>
<td>Mashae</td>
<td>Capt. Mal Khan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1715*</td>
<td>Armenian</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1716</td>
<td>Dartmouth**</td>
<td>Capt. Thomas Blow</td>
<td>Brigantine Experiment</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Diary and Consultation Book, 1711 to 1716)

The English Company refusal to go to Acheen from the invitation make the matter worse as the king of Acheen took it seriously by seized gold coming from the Madras ships Messiah. The English responded by seizing the ship owned by

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64 D&CB., 1709, p. 50.
65 D&CB., 1709, p. 50.
the King of Acheen ship's called Rahim when it came to Madras: "the ship and cargo belonging to the king of Atcheene should be seiz'd and confiscated by way of reprisal for a large Quantity of Gold taken out of the ship Messiah belonging to this place in the road of Atcheen by the Kings order." 66 The seized of the cargo goods was auction immediately, which fetched 4840 pagodas.67 Later the ship Rahim was sent to Masulipatnam to fetch more crews, which is intended for expedition to Diu Island.68 After this crisis trade to Acheen under the English Company official apparently came to an end until the 1730s.

Bencoolen

Captain Lancaster, on his first voyage for the East India Company, arrived off Acheen on the 5th June 1602, and obtained from the King a treaty of commerce. Trade was thereupon commenced here, but a factory was not established until May 1615, and about the same time other factories were settled at Tiku and Priaman. About six months later another factory was established at Jambi subsequently, a factory was started at Indraghiri, but it was dissolved in 1622. The Acheen factory was dissolved in 1631. In 1649, on an invitation from the Governor of Padang, the President at Bantam sent one of the Company's ships to that port, and to Indrapore, on a voyage of experiment; and this circumstance marks the first trade and settlement of the English at those stations. The English trade with Sumatra had, from the first, been strongly opposed by the Dutch, who so far succeeded in monopolizing the trade of the island that in the course of a few years Jambi was the only factory retained by the English,69 but dissolved in 1681.

Soon Bantam was taken by the Dutch in 1682.70 The English negotiated a settlement at Bencoolen, on the southwest coast near the important pepper

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* No ships arrived or sail for Acheen in 1715.
** Capt. Thomas Blow could able to sail for Nicobar Island due to weather and bore up at Acheen.
66 D&CB., 1717, p. 139.
67 D&CB., 1717, p. 151.
68 D&CB., 1717, p. 146.
70 D&CB., 1682, pp. 54.
collecting area of Silebar. After the local Rajas granted, the Company established a factory at Bencoolen in 1685 and this was made the centre for such trade as remained in the region. Bencoolen had a strategic purpose as most of the pepper that had been exported from Bantam had actually been grown in southern Sumatra so it made sense for the English to redouble their efforts there. The Dutch did try to intimidate the local Rajas under cover of suzerainty claims by their client Sultan of Bantam. However, the Sumatran rulers were keen to avoid having to pay for the luxury of selling their crops in Bantam when they could sell it directly in Bencoolen.

After the establishment of factory at Bencoolen the English started a fortified settlement and soon to be known as York Fort,(afterwards Fort Marlborough) which is completed in 1687. In 1714 the English strongly fortified the fort and renamed as Fort Marlborough. Other stations on the Island of Sumatra were Indrapore, Tryamong, and Sillibar. Later, Bencoolen came to dominate the sale of pepper to Europe in the eighteenth century, regularly sending between 453,600 and 907,200 kgs per year to London.

Bantam, Java

The first factory established in the Southeast Asia by the English Company was at Bantam, which is famous for nutmegs and they soon spread their operations over the neighbouring islands. On the third voyage a visit as paid to Amboyna for the purchase of cloves. A little later they took possession of Polaroon and Eosengin, but the animosity of the Dutch raised every possible obstruction to their successful trading. The English and Dutch Companies levied war upon each other in these parts, which state of things culminated in the massacre of the members of the English Factory at Amboyna, on the 27th February 1623.

71 D&CB., 1687, p. 97.
72 D&CB., 1715. p.76.
73 Om Prakash, (ed.), *The Dutch Factories in India*, p.72.
In October 1626 a factory was established at Japara on the north coast of Java east of Batavia, but on the 16th January 1628 the President and Council returned to Bantam. In 1630 the establishment at Bantam was reduced to an Agency, and made subordinate to the President and Council at Surat; but it was restored to a Presidency in 1634, and the agencies on the coast of India and in Bengal were made subordinate to it.

The trade with the Bantam that had already existed from the early seventeenth century is seen to grow in the 1670s because of number of reasons. The shutting off of the Moluccas, the Celebes Islands and the North Javanese ports by the Dutch for the Indians merchants left Bantam as the only option left in the eastern archipelago to trade the coromandel textiles in the East Asian trade. Hence, Coromandel textiles that used to sell deep in the Archipelago had now to be disposed off in Bantam. Chinese trade to Bantam had developed in the course of the seventeenth century, which also increased the demand for Indian textiles. In return Indian merchants could procure pepper, nutmegs, tin, copper, Chinese goods. In the 1670s, Bantam became the place of intense competition between Indian merchants of the various regions and the European Companies along with the scattering English free merchants. The place also becomes more important when they decided as agency head-quarters for the English Company and Jambi and Macassar were made subordinate to it.

The trade to Bantam was carried from Masulipatnam and South Coromandel ports, but the latter have a larger share of this trade. The king of Golconda participate the trade in his ships, which were managed for him by the healthy merchants of Masulipatnam. Porto Novo and Tranquebar were the major ports of this trade; others were Nagore, Nagapatnam and Devnampatnam. Coromandel merchants had agents in Bantam who themselves participated in trade with South East Asia in partnership with Javanese and Malays, eastwards to North

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74 E. F. I., 1655-1660, pp. 205, 208.
75 E. F. I., 1655-1660, p. 142.
Javanese ports, Borneo, the eastern Malayan Coast, and as far as Ayuthya. Voyages were also beginning to be arranged from here to Manila in partnership with the Portuguese and the English. The English Company also entered to the shipping business to Acheen and Bantam, when they had no goods to load their ship for a voyage to these ports. This was also due to the rules laid down by the Directors that 'for the future none but the Company's ship were to be allowed to trade to Acheen, Bantam, or elsewhere.'

The Sultan of Bantam had diplomatic relation with the Golconda and had trading concessions like duty-free in Masulipatnam, where he probably procured his West Asian goods. His ships sail to Porto Novo, Pulicat and Nagapatnam. The Sultan of Bantam had also a close ties with the English and employed English marines in his ships. When his ships arrived at these ports Chulia merchants acted as his agents to help the ships to load up with textiles.

In August 1682, in consequence of a revolution instigated by the Dutch, in which the English Company's factory was taken possession of by the rebels however soon, the English factory was taken by the Dutch. The conquest of Bantam by the Dutch in 1682 where subsequently expelled all the Europeans and Indian merchants brought a dramatic changes in the traditional trade routes from Coromandel to Bantam who had an important linkage in the export of textiles to Java and eastwards. The trade from Coromandel to Bantam had a long history even before the European came. It was well established route by the Coromandel merchants but by this sudden conquest it severly effected: 'by their usuall treacharys were possessed of the castle towne, and sackt and plundered the place spairing neither inhabitants nor straingers, Christians nor infidalls, neither English, French, Danes nor Portuguese neither friends nor foes.' A new market has to be found to replace the old market but it didn't come easily as the Dutch maintain a

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76 E. F. I., 1655-1660, p. 272.
77 D&CB., 1682, p. 54.
78 E. F. I., (new series), 1678-1684, p. 77.
79 D&CB., 1684, pp. 155-156.
strict blockade in the east of Sunda Straits. But the balance of power begin to shift in the last quarter of the seventeenth century as the English had been able to redress the balance after the third Anglo-Dutch war and also the entry of the French into these waters had spread naval power more equally.

**Manila**

The Manila trade was the trade where the English didn’t involved directly but benefited indirectly the trade undertaken by the Portuguese, where they have settled a century earlier. The major export was textiles and the import consisted of goods like tobacco, copper, sugar, wax, brimstone and most importantly bullion. The Portuguese merchants have trade with Manila from the 1630s onwards.\(^{80}\) The first English visit Surat to Manila was in 1644 and in 1645. These missions proved that it was not to the liking of the Spanish for any English to venture out further. But they informed the directors at home that there was possibility of enormous profit and that such business be better based at Madras or Bantam. When the negotiations with Madrid failed in the 1650s and 1660s the English Company decided to carry the lucrative trade under Asian ‘cover.’ Such ‘cover’ trade was initially taken from Bantam.\(^{81}\)

In the meantime, when the English come to know of the successful return of Portuguese (earlier) and Armenian merchants (1668) of Coromandel Coast from Manila they also began to send some Indo-Portuguese merchants of Madras and Mylapore since the 1670s. Major Puckle diary revealed that the servants of the Company in Madras traded with Philippines.\(^{82}\) When Bantam was captured by the Dutch in 1682 the Manila trade became a major part of Madras country trade that was mainly carried under the Portuguese ‘colours.’ Thomas Bowrey noted that ‘notwithstanding such vast quantities are yearely sent hence for England, great

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\(^{82}\) E. F. I., (new series), vol. ii, 1678-1684, p.262.
stores are transported and vended into most places of note in India, Persia, Arabia, China, and the South Seas, more especially to Moneela, one of the Molucca Isles, belonging to the Kinge of Spaine, but are sent thither in the name and under the colours of the Portugals borne and bred in India, noe others beinge admitted a free trade thither, and especially the English, haveinge the same prohibition as to trade to the Spanish Garrisons in Mexico, and Peruana, in America.\textsuperscript{83}

In one of the dispatch in 1682, the Directors at home also directed their servants in Madras to trade with Manila to ‘the value of 8000 or 10000 pounds per annum in English manufactures long cloth sallampores and other proper goods’. But as it cannot be carried out in the name of the English and much less the Company it leave to the discretion of the Madras Governor and Council ‘to contrive disguise and cover that as shall be most for our advantage and security.’\textsuperscript{84} This contrived disguise was made under the Portuguese ‘cover.’ William Dampier, who visited Mindanao and Sulu (Philippines) in 1684 also observes that ‘the English merchants of Fort St. George send their ships thither as it were by Stealth, under the charge of Portuguese pilots and mariners.’\textsuperscript{85} Therefore the practice of trading with Manila under the Portuguese colours has become the norms and continued to persist even after the Armenians were also began to be used by the English for the same, after 1688. This is bound out by the fact that even in 1719 the Fort St. George Council reported home that they sent two ships to Manila but as they feared to captured by the Spanish ‘they were dispatching thither to the Portuguez and Armenians who have sent her as a Jentue ship from St. Thoma.’\textsuperscript{86}

The method was simply by changing the name of their ships after the terms of Indian origin or places in India like \textit{Tanjore, Annapourna, Trivitore, Triplicane, Conjevaron, etc.} To appeal to the religiosity of the Spanish the names of saints,

\textsuperscript{83} Temple, R. C (ed), \textit{The Geographical Account of Countries Round The Bay of Bengal, by Thomas Bowrey}, p.5.

\textsuperscript{84} DFE., 1681-1686, dated 28 August 1682, p.7.


\textsuperscript{86} DTE., 1719-27, dated 29 July 1719, p.6.
true to the religious background of the Portuguese captains, were also used such as Nos senhora de Boa Vista, St. Thomas, St. David, St. Paul, Nos Senhora de Rosairo, etc.\textsuperscript{87} Besides, vessels were also named an ‘alias’ to the English ship, like Trivitore whose name was Jaggernot.\textsuperscript{88} Another means was to consign the goods to Manila in the name of some prominent Hindu merchants.\textsuperscript{89} It was everything to changes the names, so that the trouble may not occur while reaching Manila to trade from the Spanish authority.

The Spanish who control the Manila trade had greater feeling of apprehension against the Dutch, English or French than any other nations. To relieve the Spaniards of their recurring fear of foreign aggression, the English Company preferred the Portuguese and Armenians who were religiously more acceptable as well as politically harmless to the Spanish. The first voyage to be launched from Madras under the Portuguese flag was that of the Triplicane in 1674. With a brief gap of two years the annual voyages to Manila was revived in 1678 with the dispatch of Tanjore under the command of Domingo Mendis de Rosario, a Portuguese pilot. Again in 1679 and 1680 made her second and third visit to Manila under another Portuguese pilot, Thomas Perez. Another ship Trivitore, belonging to Elihu Yale also visited Manila in 1680. Since then two ships from Madras could be sent to Manila annually with only two brief period of interruption i.e. 1675-77 and 1681-82, during our period of study.\textsuperscript{90} Ships belonging to the English, Armenians, Indians or sometime the Portuguese themselves were generally piloted or commanded or chartered by the Portuguese to Manila. Some names of Portuguese merchants who commanded the various ships going to Manila are Domingo Mendis de Rosairo, Thomas Perez, Domingo de Perreira, Joao Domingos, Francisco Carneiro, Bernardo Mendes, Don Theodore de Lucas, Ferdinando Manuell, Francis Cardoza de Macedo, Joao Caroon, Alvaro

\textsuperscript{87} Quiason, S. D, \textit{The English “country trade” with the Philippines, 1644-1765}, p.42.
\textsuperscript{88} D&CB., 1690, p.54.
\textsuperscript{89} D&CB., 1699, p.51.
\textsuperscript{90} Quiason, S. D, \textit{The English “country trade” with the Philippines, 1644-1765}, pp. 42-44.
Carcella, Lewis Madera, their names were most of the time recorded from time to time in the consultation book. Under these captains they command almost all the English ships plying to Manila.

The Portuguese who command the English ships were allowed certain privileges to pursue private trade on their own account free of freight charges, but they were not allowed 'to carry woolen goods, camblets and warlike stores.' The commander was entitled to a ship space of twenty feet or 56 1/2 tons of goods for his private trade in addition of the right to carry out £3,000. Besides these privileges, the commander could also buy more space in the Company's ship in order to tranship his trading goods. This was mainly because the Company usually sent only about 50 bales annually until the 1740s. This means that large space in the ship was usually filled up by the private traders in the yearly average voyages of three ships to Manila.

The relationship between the Portuguese and the English in these clandestine trades almost came to an end. It was due to the declaration of war between England and Spain in 1739. The Company stopped sending any English vessels to Manila, but the Portuguese and Armenians were encouraged to continue the trade uninterruptedly. For instance, in 1740, one Portuguese ship Sansunderest was known to trade with Manila and the same ship also went in 1742.

Table 7.4: Portuguese shipping with Manila (1688-1740)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Name of ships</th>
<th>Captain</th>
<th>Destination</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1688</td>
<td>Boa Vista</td>
<td>Don Theodore</td>
<td>Manila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1690</td>
<td>Boa Vista</td>
<td>Don Theodore</td>
<td>Manila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1691</td>
<td>Boa Vista</td>
<td>Don Theodore</td>
<td>Manila</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*91 Extract from the list of shipping to Manila in D&CB., from 1674-1710.*
*92 Quiason, S. D, *The English "country trade" with the Philippines, 1644-1765*, p. 83.*
*93 Quiason, S. D, *The English "country trade" with the Philippines, 1644-1765*, pp 94-95, See also DFE., Jan. 23 & Feb. 6 1736 para. 26.*
*94 Quiason, S. D, *The English "country trade" with the Philippines, 1644-1765*, p. 67.*
*95 See D&CB, 1710-1750. The gap years signify no Portuguese shipping or were not recorded.*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Ship</th>
<th>Captain/Name</th>
<th>Destination</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1692</td>
<td>Boa Vista</td>
<td>Don Theodore</td>
<td>Manila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1698</td>
<td>Latchme</td>
<td>Francisco Cordoza de Macedo</td>
<td>Manila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1700</td>
<td>Nossa Senhora de Rosario</td>
<td>Anthony Norangy</td>
<td>Manila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1704</td>
<td>St. Cruz</td>
<td>Ignatius Marcoss</td>
<td>Manila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1708</td>
<td>Trivitore</td>
<td>Lewis Madera</td>
<td>Manila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1712</td>
<td>St. Joan</td>
<td>Senhora Ignace</td>
<td>Manila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1714</td>
<td>Chindradree</td>
<td>Joan Madera</td>
<td>Manila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1717</td>
<td>Brampore</td>
<td>Lewis de Madeira</td>
<td>Manila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1719</td>
<td>Colloway</td>
<td>Pedro Domes</td>
<td>Manila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1720</td>
<td>Trivitore</td>
<td>Francisco Cardoso</td>
<td>Manila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1721</td>
<td>Jesus Maria Joseph</td>
<td>Augustin Basilio</td>
<td>Manila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1722</td>
<td>St. Rosa</td>
<td>Mathew Pereira</td>
<td>Manila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1723</td>
<td>Jesus Maria Joseph</td>
<td>Augustin Basilio</td>
<td>Manila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1724</td>
<td>Triplicane</td>
<td>Joao Carvalho</td>
<td>Manila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1726</td>
<td>Brampore</td>
<td>Joao Carvalho</td>
<td>Manila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1727</td>
<td>Trivitore</td>
<td>Joao Carvalho</td>
<td>Manila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1728</td>
<td>Brampore</td>
<td>Joao Carvalho</td>
<td>Manila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1729</td>
<td>Triplicane</td>
<td>Francisco Carvalho</td>
<td>Manila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1730</td>
<td>Brampore</td>
<td>Joao Carvalho</td>
<td>Manila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1731</td>
<td>Triplicane</td>
<td>Joao Carvalho</td>
<td>Manila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1732</td>
<td>St. Cruz</td>
<td>George Jeronimo</td>
<td>Manila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1733</td>
<td>Brampore</td>
<td>Alexander Carvalho</td>
<td>Manila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1736</td>
<td>Samsunderest</td>
<td>Alexander Carvalho</td>
<td>Manila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1737</td>
<td>Balagopal</td>
<td>Domingo Carvalho</td>
<td>Manila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1739</td>
<td>Fame</td>
<td>Eugene de Agar</td>
<td>Manila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1740</td>
<td>St. Thomas</td>
<td>Paulo de Cotcheck</td>
<td>Manila</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source; Record of Fort St. George, Diary and Consultation Book, 1687-1740)
We also know that in 1743 the Armenians petitioned to the Council that they should be allowed to freight their goods in the Portuguese Macao ship bottom which was going to Manila. Again, they applied to freight in another Portuguese ship *San Carlos* which was 'much more reasonable rate, and greater safety' than the said Macao Ship. The petition was summarily granted as the Company did 'not send a ship.' Manila trade was greatly affected by the war and even the Company's China trade was suffered by the Spanish patrol vessels in the China Sea which was planted 'to intercept all English shipping bound into Canton.'

The Portuguese trades with other ports were also greatly affected or perhaps almost came to a standstill after the occupation of Madras by the French in 1746.

The Manila trade is considering very important for the English Company as it control the sector in various forms so that it could make uninterrupted voyages. First, in order to control the merchants from floating respondentia in various places which was regarded to be the cause of overflowing Indian goods in Manila markets, all respondentia was made to register with the Major’s Court since 1727. Secondly, only licensed merchants were allowed to ply in the sector. Every caution was taken up to conceal the Company’s identity at Manila, a 'cover' made through Armenians, Portuguese or Moors and fled the Muslim flags and passes.

Besides, when the Armenians became two dominant and behave adversely to the Company’s interest they were forbidden to ship their cargoes in their own ships. They were also prohibited from shipping in any foreigner’s ships until the Company’s bottom was filled. As the trade to Manila became the more crucial for the Company, the Directors, in 1738, ordered not to let 'the private traders

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96 D&CB, 1743, pp. 73-74.
97 D&CB, 1743, pp. 82 & 85.
98 D&CB, 1745, p. 6.
99 D&CB, 1727, pp. 18-19.
interfere in Company investment'.\textsuperscript{102} As such by 1740s the Company's investment in Manila trade multiplied by more than eight times to it's export levels in 1735, i.e. 3700 pagodas to 40000-47,100 pagodas.\textsuperscript{103} In these trades the Portuguese inhabitants of Madras amassed huge fortunes. Likewise the English also profit though they didn’t involved directly and for the English also its was very important as most of the spices islands were came under the occupation of the Dutch where the English almost played little role, in this circumstance both were willing as a partners in the far sea trade.

China and Japan
The eighth voyage set out by the east India Company in 1611, under the command of Captain Saris, included a visit to Japan, for which purpose a small vessel named the “Clove” was specially assigned. This vessel, with Captain Saris on board, reached Firaudo on the 12th June 1613, where he established a factory with six cocks and chief. From Eirando factors were sent to the neighbouring islands and ports, including Nangasaki, Edo, Osaca, Shono, Miaco, and Tushma. The Japan factories were, however, closed in 1623, as they afforded neither profit nor expectation of profit. The important commodities to trade in China were silk, porcelain and silver, Japan also famous for silver.

The East India Company's earliest contact with China was made through a trading post in Taiwan, established in 1672. The trading activities gradually expanded to Amoy, Chusan and Canton. From about 1700, Canton, where a sophisticated system of control and supervision through officially-appointed 'Hong' merchants was established, became the main port for the European traders.

In June 1672 Mr. William Gyfford was sent from Bantam to open up a trade with Tongking.\textsuperscript{104} In this he succeeded, and established a factory there,

\textsuperscript{102} DFE., 25 Oct. 1738, para. 50
\textsuperscript{103} Quiason, S. D, The English "country trade" with the Philippines, 1644-1765, p. 95.
which, however, did not prove very successful, and it was accordingly dissolved on the 30th November 1697.

From the early 18th century, the Company's records of its trade in South China began with the diaries and consultations of the ‘supercargoes’ of the individual ships for each trading season, in which they recorded details of sales and purchases and negotiations with merchants and officials.  

The English trade with the Eastern and Southeast Asian countries was tremendous. It may be mentioned that the trade to these sectors were mainly carried out through the participation of individual merchants consisted of English free merchants, Portuguese, Armenians, and several sorts of Indian merchants houses. It was due to this that the trades in these sectors were generally considered as ‘country trade’ or ‘private trade’ where many of the English Company servants have also participated. Several ports like Pegu, Tenasserim, Syriam, Mergui, Junk Ceylon, Kedah, Malacca, Johore, Siam, Acheen, Batavia, Banjarmassim, Sukandanna, Manila, Tongking, Macao, Canton, Amoy etc, were some the frequented place for Madras merchants. It was from here that several of the goods ranging from spices, bullion, precious stones, timber, chinaware, sorts of animals, etc were procured for both Indian and European markets. The exports items to this places were mainly textiles, iron and steel, indigo, tobacco, vermilion, fish skins, leather, etc. Hence, the flourishing ‘country trade’ was mainly possible due to the existence of several eastern and Southeast ports and perhaps the greater part of the Madras revenues as well as the wealth of many of the merchants were reaped from these sector trade.

In the eighteenth century Madras grew in importance at three levels. Its local trade increased and it became the base for trading both to the Spice Islands and to China. The China trade developed over this period. The Company maintained supercargoes (commanders responsible for the trading of a ship's cargo) at Canton during the trading season and eventually gained permission to

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105 D&CB., 1700, pp. 39, 44, 52.
establish a factory there in 1751. The trade in tea began to dominate the Company's trading operations.