

The English East India Company and Trade in Coromandel, 1640-1740

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DEDICATED TO

To

Prof. Yogesh Sharma

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Abstract

After the English Company, establish their factory firmly at Madras in 1640, the English start to acquire villages in the nearby countryside. This policy deals with the three local rulers. Firstly, with the dwindling Vijayanagar Empire till 1650, secondly with the Golconda till annexation by the Mughal's in 1687. The setting up of factory in the coast became one of the major concerns for the English Company, as they had to dispose their goods and procure the local products especially the textiles, which cannot be done in a single year where they have to wait the long season. Here the role of local chief merchants played an important role to help with the English Company. The English official working for the Company were very few but there were many free merchant's especially from Europe who came to stay under the protection of the English flag. They play a crucial role to evolve and to compete with others European states. Many merchants were recorded as 'free merchants' in the Records of Fort St. George. Most of these merchants did trade mostly in the Southeast Asia. They were very rich and influential in the Madras Council where sometimes there decision taken as final approval. Some of them were like John Affleck, Charles Metcalf, Daniel Chardin etc. Most of them owned ships and trade mostly in the spices archipelago. Another factor that consolidates the English establishment was absorbing the Portuguese who were a century ahead in the maritime trade as they have already settle in Coromandel from sixteen century. The English trade in the Manila was under the Portuguese who both profit in this unofficial alliance. From 1620s the spices archipelago was under the Dutch Company (VOC) but they cannot control in the vast maritime trade. The spices reach the Burma Coast, in some way; the English trade with the Burmese Coast was unique as the highest number of ships sail and arrive from these coasts. The Home Director were not keen to maintain from the past failure but they continue to demand Burmese goods at the same time the official privately trade illicitly by the Governors of Madras along with officials without the approval from the Home Director's.

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A. S Shangreiyio

Chapter 1 Introduction

The seed of the ambitious ruler, King Dom Joan II (1485-1495) of Portugal was harvest by his successor Dom Manuel II (1496-1521), as they had been the first European nation to get a foothold in India by displacing the traditional Arab merchants. The coming of Portuguese into the Indian Ocean completely change the pattern of peaceful trading system into a violent competent maritime one. After they landed at Calicut on 20 May 1498, the Portuguese began to concentrate to build an empire by capturing the important trading posts in the Indian Ocean; the trading posts were later turn into fort. These were Mozambique, Hormuz, Diu, Daman, Bombay, Goa, Cochin, Ceylon, Nagapatam, San Thome, Malacca and Macao. The commercial interest of the Portuguese was essentially concerned with the export of pepper and spices from Cochin in the Malabar Coast and the Malay Archipelago, and Coromandel textiles were use as the principal article of exchange in the spice trade. However, in 1580 when Portugal came under the hands of Spanish Habsburgs, all cordial relations with the Dutch ceased. The Dutch utilized the situation created by the defeat of the Great Armada to send out expedition in the vast eastern ocean. In 1605, the Dutch pinnace '*Delft*' anchored at Masulipatnam and established a factory there under Yassacx Eyloff. Soon as the Dutch landed at Masulipatnam, the Portuguese empire had begun to wane in the Indian Ocean. The Dutch settlements came up at Nizamapatnam, Devanampatnam, (Tegnapatnam) and Pulicat.

The fear of the Dutch domination of the spice trade in Europe led a group of London merchants to apply to the Crown for a monopoly charter for the East India trade. The request was grant and on 31 December 1600, was born the 'Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies.' The Charter was grant for "the Honour of our Nation, the Wealth of our People, the Increase of Our Navigation, and the Advancement of lawful traffic" and invested the company with the exclusive monopoly of trade to the East Indies, and provided for its management: a Governor and twenty-four members. Full powers were given to the freemen to meet as often as necessary to 'make reasonable laws, constitutions, Orders, and ordinances, necessary and convenient for the good administration of the Company.'¹ The English Company in 1610 accepted the offer of two Dutchmen, Peter Floris and Lucas Antheunis, to help for expedition

¹ Khan, S. A, (1923). *The East India Trade in the XIIIth Century*, p. 2.

to the Coast of Coromandel. The two Dutchmen's proposal was not only offered an opportunity to establish a factory at Masulipatnam for supplying the Company's factory with the Coromandel cloths, but also with the prospect of employing its trading capital in the country trade for three years before returning to England. The commercial ability of Floris and Antheunis and the wisdom of the English Company's decision to accept their plans were prove when the *Globe*, which sailed in 1611, returned in 1615 with a rich cargo after trading successfully on the Coromandel Coast and in Siam.²

The relation with the Dutchmen came to more and more experiment when the Dutch East India Company came out with a proposal that the English East India Company enter into a union with the Dutch by creating a common stock, which could also be use for the common benefit in trade and defence in the East Indies. The proposal was strongly resist by the English Company at home and disregarded by their servants in the east. However, with the king's concern the agreement was sign on 7th July 1619.³

The so called Treaty of Defence signed in 1619 had freed the English in the Far East: from active hostilities with the Dutch, and had given them a right to take shelter in the Dutch fortress and a share in the trade. but these benefits had been accompanied by financial obligations which, in the weak state of their finances, proved far too heavy to bear. They were to pay one third of the fort and garrison charges in the Moluccas, Bandas and Ambonia, and one-half at Pulicat; and were in addition to maintain ten ships to cruise against the Spaniards and Portuguese.⁴ Therefore, the agreement did not run for long as it affected the very basis of the role of merchant's capital. Finally, before the treaty was revoke on 9 March 1623, the Chief factor of the English East India Company at Amboina, Gabriel Tomnson along with nine other Englishmen, ten Japanese mercenaries, and the Portuguese overseer of the slaves were behead at the command of Dutch Governor Van Speult.⁵ The reason for the incident was, Japanese who was arrest on 23 February 1623, on suspicion of spying, had confessed that a plot was made where the English factors, aided by the Japanese soldiers, were to kill Van Speult and siege Fort Victoria as soon as English ship appeared in the roadstead.⁶

² Moreland, W. H. (ed.), (1934). *Peter Floris, His Voyage to the east Indies in the Globe, 1611-1615*, p. xxx.

³ Foster, William (ed.), *The English Factories in India, 1618-1621*, (hereafter E.F.I.), p. xlii.

⁴ E.F.I., 1622-1623, pp, xxxv -vi.

⁵ Prakash, Om, (ed.), (2007). *The Dutch Factories in India*, p. 72.

⁶ Furber, Holden, (1976), *Rival Empire of Trade in the Orient, 1600-1800*, p. 48.

After this event, the English Company moved away from Pulicat and search new places and finally landed at Armagoan in 1626. Nevertheless, this place too was not up to satisfactory. Moreover, it was very close to the Dutch settlement of Pulicat, where the weaving castes were threatened if they assist the English.⁷ They again began to search for a better place and finally landed at Madras in 1639, where the local *nayak* invited them to build a fort and made many other promise.⁸ Therefore, the Dutch dominated the first half of the seventeenth century, the English had later emerged as the main commercial power in the Coromandel Coast with many reason.

Feature of the Coromandel Coast

The Coromandel Coast continued to become an important as commercial centre since the ancient period. It became more prominent with the coming of Europeans, where textiles played a major role in the maritime trade. The trade of Coromandel was carried out from a number of ports along the coast. The major ports of outlet for trade from the north-south direction were: Masulipatnam, Petapuli (Nazampatnam), Kistnapatnam, Armagoan, Pulicat, Madras, San Thome, Pondicherry, Devanampatnam (Tegenapatnam), Cuddalore, Porto Novo, Tranquebar, Karikal and Nagapatnam. Each of these ports had weaving villages in its hinterland and this export of textiles alone was enough to sustain the trade. The markets for Coromandel textiles spread over a wide region of Asia: Burmese and Thai kingdoms, Sultanate of the Malay Archipelago, north and east of Sumatra, Java, Moluccas, the Persian Gulf and Arabian Peninsula. Besides, the oceanic trade, there was considerable coastal trade northwards up to Orrisa and Bengal, southwards to Sri Lanka and westwards to Malabar and Gujarat. The Indian merchants had been trading the Coromandel textiles into Southeast Asian markets. The textile also came from Gujarat and Bengal but those of Coromandel were generally most desire in the Southeast markets. The colour, prints and design had been adapted to suit the tastes of these markets, and even their names signify the geographical areas to which they were direct. The other export items from the Coromandel were rice to Acheen and Malacca, and sometimes to Makassar. These items came from the Godavari delta and from Tanjore, the two Coromandel regions where surplus rice was produce. Iron and steel were also export from the northern and central regions to both island and mainland Southeast Asia. Tobacco, grown in different parts of Coromandel, was export to Acheen, but the largest qualities were send to Burma and Siam. Indigo was

⁷ E.F.I., 1624-1626, p. 128.

⁸ E.F.I., 1637-1641, p. xxxviii.

export to both island and mainland Southeast Asia, diamonds from the Golconda mines was also export.

The imported items into the Coromandel took a greater variety. Spices from the Moluccas: nutmeg, cloves and mace were imported. Pepper also came from Acheen, where it was cheap and abundant but again not in great quality for Coromandel as it was generally supply both by sea and by land from Malabar. Tin was main imported commodity and came from all over the Southeast Asian regions from Acheen, Sumatra, Bantam, Java, Johore, Perak, Kedah, Burma and Siam and even from China. Another bulk commodity that was trade with great profit was elephant. Elephants were bought from Acheen, Bantam, Johore, Perak, Kedah, Tenasserim, Syriam, Pegu and Arakan, where it was available in abundance and cheap. Over the years, Coromandel shippers had developed special expertise in the loading and unloading to take care of these elephants in the long voyage. It appears that the major market for elephant was Bengal, but the rulers of Golconda, Bijapur and Tanjore emerge in the seventeenth century as the main buyers of these animals. Horses were also import from Pegu but consider inferior, still then there was regular ships carrying horses. Among the imported items, the most valuable was bullion, gold and silver, mainly in the form of specie and gold dust. Most of these Southeast Asian coins of silver and gold were transport to Coromandel to be coin for larger uses.

Political situation in the mainland

The beginning of the seventeenth century saw a rapid disintegration of Vijayanagar Empire. By the 1640s, the Vijayanagar imperial family lived as pensioners of the ruler of Golconda in the old family estate of Anegunda. With the losing authority of a king, a number of *nayak* became independent rulers, first in Madura and Tanjore, later in Mysore and Ikkeri, and finally in Ginji.⁹ The Qutab Shahi of Golconda Empire then expands from Srikakulam to the east until Masulipatnam, to the south of Coromandel. Further southward expansion brought them up to the Palar River, about twenty miles south of Madras, and gave them control of very important and productive villages in the Kanchipuram, Chingleput and Poonamale district. It also gave them important inland strongholds of Chandragiri, Vellore and Ginji, which brought under their jurisdiction a further extent of seacoast, including the ports of San Thome and made the proprietors to the European settlements of Pulicat and Fort St. George.

⁹ Sewell, Robert, (2009). *A Forgotten Empire*, chapter's xvi and xvii.

In the immediate neighbour of Golconda was Bijapur the Adil Shahi Empire, which was not capable like Golconda, but shared many similarities. Bijapur and Golconda divided the coastal territories between themselves, with Palar River as the dividing line. Bijapur took the lands south of the Palar up to the frontiers of Tanjore. This gave Bijapur control over seaports to the south of Saraspatnam, including Devanampatnam, Cuddalore, Porto Novo and Pondicherry.¹⁰

In the mid seventeenth century the Bijapur and Golconda were some of the kingdoms where many traders came from far place to trade for its prosperity. The Golconda that inherits the trading system that had existed for centuries had reaped the benefits of the seventeenth century boom in Asian trade in the Indian Ocean. It had strong links with the Safavid Persian Empire because of their Shia religious roots. Persian and Armenian merchants from Persian Gulf ports flocked in the port of Masulipatnam and into the interior parts to trade. This Persian relation strengthened the existing strong trade ties with Southeast Asia, western India, Bengal and Ceylon.

In 1636, the Mughal Empire Shah Jahan conducted a treaty with Golconda and Bijapur by which the latter accepted the Mughal suzerainty in their respective kingdoms. This made the Golconda attention divert to the consolidation of her eastern territories. In these territories, the rulers followed pragmatic policies of administration by giving into the hands of tributary Rajas on condition of annual payments to the centre.¹¹ Whereas, in Bijapur it did not have such stability from the very beginning as it had to contest with many principalities of *nayaks* rulers of Mysore, Madura, Tanjore and Ramnad. The Bijapur invaders tried to establish tributary relationship with the military chiefs of conquered territories, but these lasted only as long as the Bijapur militia could enforce them. However, the main threat to Bijapur control over its Caranatic came from the Marathas. Shivaji, after his treaty with Abul Hassan, the Golconda ruler, felt free to attack Bijapur in 1677. He marched through Cuddappah to Vellore and Ginji, where he seized it. He appointed his half brother, Santahi, as Governor of Caranatic. In the expansion towards southern region, his brother Ekoji, captured Tanjore and established a Maratha dynasty there, displacing the old ruling family. Shivaji's brother-in-law, Hariji, become Governor of Ginji. Hariji soon made himself a *maharaja* and extended effective control of territory from the Palar to the Coleroon Rivers.¹²

¹⁰ Varma. D. C. (1974). *History of Bijapur*, chapter vi-viii.

¹¹ Richard. J. F. (1975). *Mughal Administration in Golconda*, pp. 12, 19.

¹² Varma. D. C. (1974). *History of Bijapur*, p. 170-175.

However, both this kingdom did not remain independent for long. Ali II (1657-72) refuses to recognize as lawful king of Bijapur by Shah Jahan and order Aurangzeb to march against Bijapur. Nevertheless, the life of the dynasty was prolonged for a few years by Aurangzeb's return to the north to fight the battle of succession at Samugarh. Sikander, the last of the Adil Shahi dynasty, succeeded Ali II. Shivaji was crowned as Chhatrapati at Raigarh in 1674, while in 1681, Aurangzeb moved to the Deccan and never returns to see his capital again, Bijapur was annexed on 12 September 1686. Bijapur as an independent kingdom thus ceased to exist. In Golconda, on Abdullah's death (1672) the question of succession arose since the king had no son, and the throne was passed to his son-in-law, Abul Hassan, surnamed Tana Shah. A deep rift occurred between Abul Hassan and Emperor Aurangzeb, who himself arrived in the Deccan in 1682. Events now took a quicker pace. The Mughals occupied the capital in October 1685 and the king had to seek refuge in the Golconda fort. With the fall of Bijapur in September 1686, there was nothing to keep the Mughals hold back. Golconda was occupied in February 1687 and in September; the citadel opened its gates.¹³ The Qutb Shahi king was sent to Daulatabad as a prisoner and the last Bahmani succession state became a part of the Mughal Empire.

After these two kingdoms exit there left Mughals and Marathas to fight for supremacy in the southern coast. The last decade of seventeenth century was Mughals century so; the Mughal had an upper hand in these conflicts. The Maratha king, Rama Raja could not hold for long from the Mughals offensive, soon he fled in the Deccan and took refuge in the forts of Gingi. The battle took place an eight-year period of conflict in the lowlands between Kanchipuram and the Coleroon River. The Mughals laid siege to Ginji but could not reduce this stronghold for many years. The Mughals siege territory but were constantly harassed by Maratha armies, which, however, could not hold territory. Ginji finally fell to the Mughals in January 1698,¹⁴ and Mughal authority was established up to the frontiers of Tanjore.

Geographical setting of Coromandel

The term Coromandel is derived from Chola '*mandalam*'. The first recorded mention of the word is in an inscription eleven century; and the term continues to be in use even during the sixteenth century. Coromandel thus was a creation of the medieval period.¹⁵ Geographically, it is difficult to define an accurate boundary for the use of the term due to its changing usage. In fact, the question

¹³ Diary and Consultation Book, 1687, (hereafter D&CB), pp. 39, 203.

¹⁴ D&CB., 1698, p. 4.

¹⁵ Stephen, S. Jeyaseela, (1997). *Coromandel Coast and its Hinterland; Economy*, p. 23.

of regional boundary is a complex one, considering that boundary evolves with historical changes and political necessities. It applies to the eastern coast of India and had come to embrace a wider geographical area than that it was originally used. For the visitors of the seventeenth century in the area, the Coromandel Coast was the wide expanse of India's eastern coast from Point Calimere, where the coastline takes a sharp northerly drift, to near the 20°N latitude or the port of Ganjam.¹⁶ It was divided into two parts, the north and the south, with the Godavari River being the centre line between the two. By the seventeenth century usage, the term embraced the coastlines of the modern states of Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh and the southern tip of Orissa. Contemporary visitors to the area looked upon the entire coast as forming one trading region, with common patterns of trade, common characteristic of seafaring and a broadly similar hinterland. However, it is generally agreed that Coromandel ranges from the part of the coast lying to the south of the Godavari River and extends as far as Negapatnam or even to the island of Manar.¹⁷

The starting point of Coromandel Coast beginning Masulipatnam, situated on the lat. 16°9' N, long. 81°10' E, was one of the first ports where European established factories and operated their trading business from early seventeenth century. It is also one of the ports where most travellers describe their accounts travelling in the seventeenth century. Masulipatnam was considered among the richest and busiest ports in the early seventeenth century because of the establishment of the Qutb Shahi dynasty of Golconda, where royal court had patronized the trade. It was also due to this influence that it had political and trade linkage both in the western and eastern port. In the east, it had direct sailing to Bengal, Arakan, Pegu, Tennasserim, Malya coast, Acheen and Bantam. In the west were, Mocha, Muskat, Barsa, Bandar Abbas. It had also trade with Malabar, Ceylon and Maldives and almost all the western coast of India. The wealthy Golconda royalty has dominated the shipping of Masulipatnam who had their investment in shipbuilding at Narsapore. Most of the ships were owned by the generals, officials and governors in the port of Masulipatnam, among them the most powerful and celebrated was Mohamed Said, or better known as Mir Jumla, who owned ten ships and traded with Arakan, Pegu, Tenasserim, Persia, Mokha, Maldives and Macassar.¹⁸ Telugu merchants were another prominent group who owned ships and were active in the trade across the

¹⁶ Thomas Bowrey, Abbe Carre, John Fryer.

¹⁷ Arasartnam, S. (1986). *Merchants, Companies and Commerce on the Coromandel Coast*, pp. 7-9. see

also Stephen, Jeyaseela, (1997). *Coromandel Coast and its Hinterland*, pp. 23-29.

¹⁸ E.F.I., 1651-1654, p. 12.

Bay of Bengal and in the coastal trade of north and south. The Europeans had also traded in substantial manner in this sector, especially, the Dutch, the English, and later the French and the Danish. With the annexation of Golconda by the Mughals in 1688, Masulipatnam lost, its political advantages and its special access to the rich market hinterland were altogether lost.

South of Masulipatnam is the port and town of Petapuli where it was situate close to a cluster of weaving villages nearby. From the end of the seventeenth century, the port was called Nizampatnam. When Streynsham Master visited the port in 1677, it was not that prosperous town, he saw that 'The towne is much decayed, many houses were empty, ruined and forsaken.'¹⁹ He also observed several ships of 50 to 100 tons were in the river.

However, Bowrey who visited a little earlier describe it as 'a very pleasant and healthy place, and very well populated by the Gentues, of whom many are very wealthy. The English and Dutch have a factory in the towne, but very few Factors reside here, not above 2 or 3 who provide goods accordinge to order from the Governor of Fort St. George or Chiefe of Metchlipatam. Very considerable quantities of these following commodities are here wrought and sold to Foreign Merchants vizt. Longcloth, Murrees, Salampores, Lungees, Painted Callicos of divers sorts, salt peter, iron, steele which is brought downs from the high land over this place which is called Montapolee.'²⁰ It was a port with a considerable country trade, besides providing goods for export for the oceanic trade. South of Petapuli is the port of Kistnapatnam, it was also the chief port for the inland district administrative and market town of Nellore and was situated on the left bank of the Vuptheru river. About fifteen miles south of Kistnapatnam is the port of 'Arumugam or Armagaon' as describe by the European travellers, also situate on a river and a port of some significance in the seventeenth century. The advantage of Armagoan was the good anchorage for ships near the entrance of the river where large European ships used to anchor regularly. It was an important place for the export of textiles that were made in neighbouring inland villages. The English had an early settlement at Armagoan in 1626; it did not help much due to constant rivalry with the Dutch whose factory was situate in nearby at Pulicat.²¹

About forty miles south of Armagoan is the port of Pulicat on lat 13°26' N, and long. 80°20' E. It had no natural harbour, as the coast was shallow with a dangerous reef offshore, where large ships were, instruct to avoid coming to bay.

¹⁹ Temple, R.C, (ed.), (1911). *The Diaries of Streysnam Master*, 1675-80, vol. II, p. 137.

²⁰ Temple. R. C (ed.), (1997). *A Geographical Account of Countries Round the Bay of Bengal*, pp. 53-56.

²¹ E.F.I., 1624-1626, p. 128.

Bowrey's saw the place not very suitable to harbour large ship: 'theirs is a more safe and commodious place for landeinge and dischargeinge Goods, having a very good river that cometh close to the towne side, but the barre is not very good, noe better then for boats of 20, 30, or 40, tunns, all this coast indeed wantinge nothinge but some good harbours for shippinge.'²² Pulicat was an important port of Indian shipping dating back well before the seventeenth century, featuring prominently in the trade to South East Asia. Duarte Barbosa who visits Coromandel Coast in the early sixteenth century wrote highly on the port town of Pulicat: 'It has a very fair sea-heaven wither resort ships of the Moors in great numbers conveying goods of diver's kinds.'²³ Its hinterland had several villages engaged in handloom manufacture, and Pulicat was the port of outlet for these goods. When the Dutch secured considerable rights and privileges from the Golconda rulers, they were able to dominate the trade in the region. They erect a fort called Fort Geldria at Pulicat and later designate as Chief Factory for the Coromandel Coast where three factory, Petapuli, Masulipatnam and Tirupaliyur were subordinate to it.²⁴

There were many villages around Pulicat, some of which were cede to the Dutch. They brought these entire villages together and developed them into a substantial port-town. Under the Dutch, Pulicat was draw into the Dutch-Asian trading system and established close shipping links with important centres of trade such as Malacca, Ceylon, Batavia and Malabar.

About twenty-five miles south of Pulicat is Fort St. George or Madras, situated on lat. 13°5' N, long, 80°18' E. Fort St. George was establish when the English East India Company were desperate to escape from the difficulties like famine, disturbance from local rulers as well as the contending activities of the Dutch. First, they came to Masulipatnam in 1611 and establish a factory but had to abandon because they were not satisfy in their procurement of goods. In 1626, they had found a factory at Armagon about forty miles north of Pulicat near the Dutch Company's headquarters on the Coromandel Coast, but it did not help much because the Dutch threaten the weaving caste with reprisals if they deal with the English.²⁵ The English return at Masulipatnam in 1632 but it does not make any help as Masulipatnam witness one of the worst famine.²⁶ The English begin to realize to shift permanently to further south. While searching for a better

²² Temple. R. C, (ed.), (1997). *A Geographical Account of Countries Round the Bay of Bengal*, p. 53.

²³ Dames, L. M, (ed.), (1989). *The Boole of Duarte Barbosa*, vol. II, p. 130.

²⁴ Prakesh, Om, (ed.), (2007). *The Dutch Factories in India, 1617-1623*, pp. 6-7.

²⁵ E.F.I., 1624-1626, p. 128.

²⁶ E.EI., 1630-1633, p. 268.

place the English received invitation, from Damarla Venkatappa the powerful *nayak* whose rule stretching from Pulicat to San Thome, and show the place called Madraspatan, the English were very satisfy and agree to establish their fort permanently. Thus, the first stone of Fort St. George was raise on 1 March 1640. Within a year, the settlement at Madras had grown to seventy or eighty houses. Still then, it was not proper destination for the nearby villagers to settle. The English did in their way to entice the nearby inhabitants. Thus, proclamation was made: 'that for the term of thirty years only no custom of things to be eaten, drank, or worn should be taken of any of the town dwellers.'²⁷ Fort St. George establish within a short period of time right after the downfall of the great Hindu Vijaynagar Empire.

In the mid-1640s, the Muslim powers of Bijapur in the west and Golconda in the east conquer and divide the Vijaynagar Empire. In 1646, Golconda took control north of Madraspatam, later Tanjore and Madurai acknowledges the suzerainty of Golconda. Gingi fall to Bijapur in 1649. When the disturbance began in the 1640s, the English at Fort St. George were better place than they would have been at Armagon where the *nayak* is under the hands of the Muslims.²⁸ This port played a major role for the English shipping and more importantly, it serve as centre of networks for the English commerce in the east. There were regular sailing to the west coast ports of Malabar, to Bombay and Surat and beyond to the Red sea and Persian Gulf ports. In the east, it is connect to all major trading ports from Bengal to Burmese port of Arakan, Pegu, Tenasserim, beyond that the most important were Acheen, Bencoolen, Malacca, Junk Ceylon, Kedah, Manila, Macau and Canton. Four miles south of Fort St. George is the port of San Thome, built by the Portuguese as a fort and town near the village of Mylapore. The port was an open roadstead though the rivulet of Adayar and the backwaters may have provided facility for small boat traffic. The weavers, producing for an export market, mostly inhabited Mylapore. When the Portuguese started settling down in Mylapore from 1520s the people of the place felt secure because they could get protection against the pirates who had been constantly harassing the native ships.²⁹ They further saw in the arrival of the Portuguese the fulfilment of the prophecy made by their ancestors that there would come a time when white people would arrive and give the black man food to eat and clothes to wear and that when the sea approached the house that would be the end of the world. Whether the alleged prophecy came from St. Thomas the Apostle himself or from some ancient people and whether the people of the place believed it or not,

²⁷ E.F. I., 1637-1641, p. xlii.

²⁸ E. F.I., 1642-1645, p. 80.

²⁹ Stephen, S. Jeyaseela, (1998). *Portuguese in the Tamil Coast*, pp. 242-243.

it gave an added boost to the morale of the Portuguese who decided to settle down in Mylapur.³⁰

Once they had establish along the Coromandel Coast, the Portuguese *casados* and fugitive soldiers (who probably took wives and considered themselves as *casados*) open trade with Bengal and the countries to the east, namely Arakan, Pegu and even Tenasserim (near present day Thailand). Bengal and Coromandel were famous for their cotton clothes of all varieties and grades, while the countries on the eastern side of the bay possess a climate unfavourable for cotton growing and depend on India to supply them. In return, the *casado* traders from Coromandel obtain gemstones, silver and spices. Thus, the next logical places for Portuguese settlement were in those areas themselves where they had been doing business, though it is far from certain that all the Portuguese who settle in Bengal had first been in Coromandel. That the Hindu merchants from the same Coromandel region had not completely pre-empted this trade is perhaps explain by the Hindu tendency around 1500 to regard sea voyage as defiling, though there were many exceptions to the rule. At any rate, the *casados* in Coromandel were in the best trading position, and the opening of Bengal to Portuguese residence provide an excellent opportunity for those who had not struck permanent roots.³¹

In the seventeenth century, San Thome no longer enjoyed the prosperity it had enjoyed in the earlier century. First, it was attack and occupy by the Golconda troop's in 1662,³² and the French again capture it exactly after 11 years. Again, from the 30 July 1672 the forces of Golconda attack, when the siege was prolong, the fortress was blockade and attacks both by the combine strength of the Golconda and Dutch until it was starve into capitulation on the 24 August 1674.³³

The next important port is Pondicherry situate on lat.11°56' N, long, 79°50' E. Francois Martin establish the French settlement in Pondicherry in 1674. The Dutch capture this French settlement in 1693, but by the treaty of Byswick (September 1697) it was restore to the French again. The port had goods markets and manufacturing centres of different kind of textiles in its hinterland where it sent over to different ports. The French settlement at Pondicherry, attract the Indian merchants trading in the eastern coast, in some cases French, along with the Indian merchants, operate together. French Company during this period lack the consistent support of capital, and this prevent French dominance over the

³⁰ Mundadan, A. M, (1984). *History of Christianity in India*, vol. I, p. 425.

³¹ Winus, George, D, (2001). *Studies on Portuguese Asia*, pp. 278-80.

³² E Fl., 1661-1664, p. 146.

³³ Love, H.D, (1996). *Vestige of Old Madras*, vol. I, p. 316.

trade of Pondicherry. The settlement of Pondicherry, like Madras absorbs hinterland villages into an economic sphere and began its development as a port-city.

About fifteen miles south of Pondicherry were two port towns, Devanampatnam (also known as Tegenampatnam in most of the contemporary European sources), and Cuddalore, two miles away from it. It was situated at the estuary of the Ponnaiyer River, where the Paravananar flow. Cuddalore is a wintering port for the merchant fleet of the area that could shelter inside the river and backwaters in the monsoon seasons. It also had many villages in the hinterland, which supplied goods like textiles cloth, and there were many rich merchants where it could provide services to the population.

Devanampatnam was two miles to the north of Cuddalore, it was also the capital of the Nayak of Jinji. In 1690 the English bought the old Devanampatnam fort from the dwindle Martha Chief Rama Raja.³⁴ The English demolished the existing fort and built a new fort as Fort St. David. The merchants had to anchor four miles from the port as the port itself situate some distance from the shore and goods had to be carried by the boats. The good river network and road access to land markets gave the port a great advantage but later the silting of the river mouth began to cause problem. In spite of this, Devanampatnam and Fort St. George continued to grow in the eighteenth century.

About fifteen miles south of Cuddalore is Porto Novo, situated on lat. 11°30' N, and long. 79°45' E. It was one of the consistently flourishing ports in the Coromandel Coast. The port is known by many names such as Parangi Pettai by Tamils, and Mohamand Bandar during the Bijapur rule and later re-named as Porto Novo by the Portuguese in the sixteenth century. Its strength lies in its coastal trade and the trade with the Eastern Archipelago. It survive the political changes that had taken places in the hinterland because of its pre-eminent position, which convince succeeding political powers of the wisdom of preserving this port in all its freedom and security. The English and the Dutch Companies had set up factories, which operates to all major ports. The port had a major construction dock that built large and small ships. It also provided to repair the old ships, naval stores, anchors, cordage, and masts. Most of the settlers were from Chulia Muslim trading community where they built an urban metropolis. There was also considerable Hindu community who were part of these settlements.

Going further south another important port to mention is Tranquebar, situated on lat, 11 °1' N, long. 79°51' E. This port ceded to the Danes by the ruler of Tanjore in 1618 where they built a fort called Fort Danesburg. The Danish East

³⁴ D&CB., 1690, pp. 63-65.

India Company's trade was never substantial as the trading was dominated by the Coromandel merchants, which the Danes acts as facilitated to the merchant shipping's by giving protection. Most of the trading routes were in the eastern coast of the Malay Archipelago. Alexander Hamilton who visits this port by the end of the seventeenth century describe it as having a strong fort, 'the sea washing one half of its walls.' Nevertheless, he saw very different pictures that the Danes colony was miserably poor and that in 1684, the Danes were 'so distress with poverty,' that they pawned three bastions of their Fort to the Dutch for money to buy Provisions. Alluding to a later period, he proceeds to says: 'they drive an inconsiderable trade either to or from Europe or in India, for what they have to live by this the hire that they freight their ships for to Atcheen, Malacca and Johore, and sometimes, but rarely to Persia, by which they keep up the name of a Company.'³⁵

About seven miles south of Tranquebar is Karikal. In the sixteenth century, it was well flourishing port. Barbosa who visits in early sixteenth century describes that, 'great towns of the Heathen and many others with havens on the sea where dwell many moors, native of the land. Its navigation is carried on in certain small craft which they call *Cham panes* in which the moors come to trade there, and carry thither the goods of Cambaya.'³⁶ Certainly not in the seventeenth century, as it was now reducing in importance in the Coromandel Coast. This port town was situate at the mouth of a river, and to its rear ran several branches of the Kaveri, linked up by ancient irrigation channels. Karikal town is on the bank of Arasalar, about a mile inland. The port was an open roadstead. The rivers are barred at the mouths and were navigable only at high water in small flat-bottom country vessels, but at that time the river on where the port was locate was navigable by ships up to 500 tons. It was famous for the export of paddy and rice to Kaveri delta, which was ship along the coast and to Malabar and Ceylon. It also exports textiles and sea goods.

The last important port downwards to the southern coast is Nagapatnam, situated on lat. 10° 46' North, and long. 79°50' East. It was for centuries a prominent port of South India. Its major strength being the trade across the Bay of Bengal to South East Asia and beyond. The Portuguese who came in early sixteenth century settle and nurture this port for many years. In some other ways, Nagapatnam was spontaneously created and nurture by the *casado* element in Portuguese Asia. Despite its non-official character, Nagapattinam was one of the most successful centres of Portuguese private trade in the late sixteenth and early half of seventeenth century. In the early 1630s, Conde de Linhares the Viceroy of

³⁵ Hamilton, Alexander, (1995). *A New Account of the East Indies*, vol. I, pp. 351-352.

³⁶ Dames. L. M., (ed.), (1989). *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*. vol. II. pp. 120-121.

Goa repeatedly attempt to persuade the settlers at Nagapatnam to fortify their settlement. His intension was largely to protect them against the Dutch and from the *nayak* of Tanjavur. The settlers refuse as once Goa acquired a foothold it would not be long before a customs house would be set up in the name of the Iberian Crown. The Viceroy's warning came true when V.O.Cs under the hand of belligerent Anthonio Van Diemen plan to hold the Portuguese settlement of Coromandel to ransom. The Dutch demand 50,000 *patacas* (gold coins) in ransom, and landed a force of six hundred men on shore. After prolong bargaining, the ransom reduce to a quarter from their previous demand. However, before this money could gather, the *nayak* of Tanjavur entered the town from the landside and began skirmish with the Dutch. In the ensuing confusion, the Dutch retreat to their ships. Ultimately, the *nayak* handed over the port to the Portuguese again.³⁷ The matter did not end here for the Portuguese settlers at Nagapatnam, as the Dutch were still prowling. Hence, to end the Nagapatnam nuisance once for all and for the prosperity of the VOC, a proposal to attack in 1657 was send to the Council at Batavia. This proposal was turn down but in the following year, this decision was consider again. To chalk out their plan a Dutch Squadron arrived off Nagapatnam on 20th July 1658, and the Portuguese surrendered three days later after a casual fight.³⁸

The port of Nagapatnam was an open roadstead. The surf was high and broke on the bar formed by the Kadavaiyar River, which flowed into the sea at this point and had a constantly shifting bar. Large ships anchored well out into the sea, and loading and unloading were done by small boats. During the northeast monsoon, it was dangerous for the ships to be anchor and usually stay in the open sea. The town was situated to the north of the fort at the mouth of another small river that could take in small boats. Under the Dutch, the port handle substantial Dutch trade in textiles, rice and other country produce, and the import of the South East Asian goods.

Literary review

It is necessary to review some of the important works that are related to the subject of the theme. One of the earliest works, which dealt with the English East India Companies was, *The English East India Company: The Study of a Early Joint Stock Company*, 1600-1640, (London, 1965) written by K. N. Chaudhuri. He was one of the few pioneers who deal purely on the matters of the English Company in India beginning with the early voyage around the globe. The author

³⁷ Subramanyam, Sanjay, (1990). *Improvising Empire*, pp. 86-87.

³⁸ E. F.I., 1655-1660, p. 176.

attempt to forecast the market trends and its long-term policy in regards to patterns of trade, organization at home, and the trade settlements in Asia. Chaudhuri also point out the impressive status that the East India Company economic gained in national economic life was achieve only with considerable strain and admit many difficulties. Some of the important which he analysis were the disturbing effects of the Cockayne projects, the commercial depression of 1621, the reappearance of the plague in London in 1621, the upheavals in the European currency systems in the early seventeenth century and the accompany maladjustment in English monetary structure, and the outbreaks of wars on the continent. It is a very important book on the evolution of the East India Company.

Chaudhuri elaborate more detail for the English East India Company in *The Trading world of Asia and the English East India Company, 1660-1760*, (Cambridge, 1978). Chaudhuri gave a detailed and definite account of the trading operation of the English East India Company from 1660 to till 1760. He undertook a complete quantitative analysis of its activities and to build up value of trade, prices of goods, and fluctuations in currency values prices of gold and silver, transport cost and many other variables. The author trace the degree of relationships between different variables and the result of these finding shows that only half of the annual fluctuations in the value of the company's export and two thirds of those in the volume of imports can be attributed to the influence of the systematic decision variables for a selected period in the eighteenth century. Chaudhuri works are greatly based from the consultations and correspondence from the English records. Overall, the most important on this book was on the organization of the Indian textile industry. He correctly emphasis on the factors governing the changes in the geographical distribution of the textile industry and the reason why technical change did not take place in the face of a continuously growing world demand for its output are perfectly place in detail.

The third book Chaudhuri wrote is *Trade and Civilization in the Indian Ocean, and An Economic History from the Rise of Islam to 1750*, (Cambridge, 1985). It is a bit different from his earlier publication and more efforts in terms of the wide geographical area covered and the time extend. Chaudhuri takes the Indian Ocean and the extensive geographical region around it as a unit and covers a whole millennium, which is from the rise of Islam in the seventh century to the middle of the eighteenth century. Chaudhuri's outstanding contribution is on the changes in the structure and organization of both maritime as well as overland trade in Asia over a very long period. The author divided into two main sections. In the first section, he looks towards the evolution of the Asian trade and its increasing unification with Islam and the Arab merchants. Further

widening of the trade network and greater participation was introduced by the Venetian and Genoese merchants in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The increase in the export-oriented trade and specialized production continued in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries since the English, Dutch, and the Portuguese, which linked the main distribution areas to London and Amsterdam. The second section is mainly concerned with navigation and changes in techniques through discoveries, development of various methods of shipbuilding, growth and decline of urban centres, caravan trade, markets and merchants. Caravan trade provided the necessary supplementary impetus to the sea-borne trade throughout this period. K. N. Cahudhuri works on the English East India Company gives many enlighten but disappoint on the development in the Coromandel Coast. Though, he mentions Coromandel but only at randomly, which didn't complete the picture of English activities in Coromandel Coast. His efficiency on the English East India Company was noteworthy, but failed to explain the inner logic behind many incidents in Coromandel Coast for which one has to look elsewhere.

The significant general works, which brought more information on the English activities in Coromandel Coast, is *European Commercial Enterprise in Pre-Colonial India: The New Cambridge History of India*, (Cambridge, 1998) written by Om Prakash. The author traces the fortunes of the European trading companies in India over a period of three centuries. Because of its very nature, the study of long-distance commercial enterprise in South Asia is place in the larger context of the Indian-ocean trade. What is particularly interesting is the argument that in the face of Portuguese competition, Indian merchants evolved successfully in the Bay of Bengal is an alternative network of trade, which is an anti-Portuguese character. This book emphasis more on the political and economic dimension of trade conduct by the Europeans in India. The author brought on the very nature of merchandise carried to Europe, the absence of coercion in their relationship with Indian rulers, and the establishment of factories. On the English East India Company, Prakash finds that from 1740s, there was growing supremacy of the English Company's, which ultimately played an important role in the eastward trade with China and Malaya.

Important studies relating to the English Company from the Portuguese history in India is the book *Improvising Empire: Portuguese Trade and Settlement in the Bay of Bengal, 1500-1700*, (Delhi, 1990), written by Sanjay Subrahmanyam. Subrahmanyam opened a new range of research in several important ways. His book draws the Bay of Bengal as a distinct and separate sub-region. The author studied various port cities in the Bay of Bengal, from which Portuguese traders operated during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The important Portuguese settlement like, Masulipatnam, Pulicat, San Thome, Porto

Novo, Nagapatnam and Malacca, together with their associated trade networks, are each described and analyzed in more detailed way. The relationships between the *Estado da India* with the

Portuguese private traders who were settlers in different ports, local Asian rulers, and the Dutch, are also examined, and an informed general picture of Portuguese activity in the region is constructed. The second book wrote by Subrahmanyam that is worth mentioning is *The Political Economy of Commerce: Southern India, 1500-1650*, (Cambridge, 1990). Subrahmanyam studies the overland trade, coastal trade and overseas trade and in respect to challenges from the outside. He deals more based on the south Indian experiences; the question of the use of violence's in age of contained conflict, the question of the relationship between Asian traders and the political structures of Asia.

In the study of Coromandel Coast Sinnappah Arasartnam brought closer on the theme of the subject. In his book *Merchants, Companies and Commerce on the Coromandel Coast, 1650-1740*, (Delhi, 1986), he focus on the east coast as distinct micro-region within the subcontinent and makes the major assumption that it is both possible and necessary to study the Coromandel region as a separate and major entity. He delineates its geographical and economic boundaries, studies its topography and climate, and identifies its ports and trading outlets. The author describes about the formation of the local joint stock companies of Coromandel merchants that has seen in them an instance of the attempted transfer of European commercial institution into the Asian trading world. He believes that Coromandel's merchants successfully competed with the Europeans in Asian markets, at least where force was not used to keep them out. He also argues that in the absence of evidence of expanding demand for textiles and spices growing regions of Southeast Asia islands, it must be assume that the growth of European trade in textiles and spices was at the cost of the existing Asian carried trade. Asian merchants, especially those from Gujarat and Coromandel sought out alternating markets where their advantage in low overhead cost would be selling. However, in the second half of the seventeenth century, private European traders had begun to compete in these markets. Arasaratnam brings new evidence of the continuing presence of Hindu shipping into the eighteenth century but the size of these ships and value of the cargoes were partly left out. Arasaratnam's strength lies in his deep knowledge of southern Coromandel Coast in the eighteenth century.

Arasaratnam's in different book *Maritime India in the Seventeenth century*, (Delhi, 1994), devoted to the core maritime regions with specific attributes that marked them from the hinterland. These regions were Gujarat, Malabar, Coromandel and Bengal all of which fitted into and services at distinct

trading systems both in their long-distance economic linkages and in their shorter coastal traffic route. He gives a detailed account of the trade of each in the specified period, which brings us very satisfactorily up to date with the current state of knowledge. The author picks up major general themes relating to the maritime region as a whole, the identity and functions of merchants, and the part played by states. He brings together the current views of the role of merchants and the state in seaborne commerce and attempts a synthesized analysis of these two major players in the commercial economy of maritime trade.

Another book which sought to represent Coromandel as a separate region is *The Trading World of the Tamil Merchant*, (Chennai, 1999), written by Kanakalatha Mukund. It is a well researched and documented book, where the author examines the analytical origins of the theory of merchant capitalism, and also outlines the evolution of trade and institutions in the Tamil country till the medieval period. He also argue the functioning of merchants and trade in the period prior to the establishment of Madras and the early forms of colonial nadministration. The important part of this book deals with the full bloom of merchant's capitalism in the Coromandel in the context of the interaction of the local merchants with the European companies, where textiles played a major part of trade.

The nature and use of primary sources materials

The primary sources employed in this study are primarily analytical and descriptive. The sources used are both published and unpublished available from archives and libraries. The primary sources which I used were mostly from the 'Records of Fort St. George.' This is again divided into five categories, (a) 'Diary and Consultation Book', (b)'Letters from Fort St. George', (c) 'Letters to St. George', (d) 'Despatches 'from' England', and (e) 'Despatches 'to' England'. The most important from these records are 'Diary and Consultation Book', these records begin from 1672 to till 1750, from 1672 to 1678 it combined into one book, from 1678 to 1679, 1679 to 1680, and 1680 to 1681 these three books combined into one book each, after these the records were maintaining on yearly basis so the sources were available to till 1750. The proceeding of the Madras Council called Consultations furnishes a comprehensive account of the varied official transactions including the views of the members and their decisions and recorded everyday what's happening in Madras and surrounding region. It is one of the vital primary sources to reconstruct the history of the past. The records of 'Letters to Fort St. George' were start marinating from 1681 onwards, these records was to maintain not on the yearly basics. It complied four or five years into one volume. The records of 'Letters from Fort St. George' were start

maintain by the end of the seventeenth century, the date of the records were available from 1693 onwards to till 1740. These records are also same with the Letters, as it complied four or five years into one volume.

Another record, which is equally important, is 'Despatches from England,' which is beginning from 1680 onwards. This record was also same like the others maintain not on the yearly basic. 'Despatches from London to Madras', contain instructions of the Board of Directors to the Madras Council and their letters did or proposed to do. Despatches to England, which did not maintain on yearly basis, but equally important as the Madras Council dispatch their proceeding. For the early period *The English Factories in India* edited by William Foster. It gives the whole insight of early evidence and it is very important till date. The last two volumes was added by Charles Fawcett in his new series for *The English Factories in India*. Besides, the accounts of several travellers give much authentic evidence for the seventeenth century.

Chapter 2 Growth and Expansion of Trading Ports

The visits in the east by the English East India Company, undertaken in a series of funded voyages were exploratory in nature. The ship captains were given instruction to seek out those ports that offered the best opportunities for trade and seek permission to trade from local rulers. According to the information received back, Company instructions then become more specific and the captains were advice to visit and re-visit particular places and ports to established contact. In the friendly ports, captains tried to obtain permission for a merchant to settle and if necessary to set up factory. A 'factory' was a trading place where a number of merchants or factors reside. When Company ships arrived at the factory, merchants were enable to exchange goods for trading immediately instead of waiting to make deal with the local merchants. Factory were run by a chief factor and help by a council of factors. In the areas that prove successful, factories were eventually established. These were known as settlement and were govern by an agent along with council. Eventually, certain settlements expand into centre where all other factories in the region incorporate. These were known as Presidencies later Governor where power to negotiate with the local rulers were authorize and contacts develop gradually.

The main purpose for the establishment of the English East India Company was to trades. To buy gods in the Asian markets and sell them in Europe or neither the Asian whatever the profits for market offer. For the successful trading by the Company it is demands of the location and establishment of sources of supplies, construction of ships, the appointment of able men, a regular exchange of correspondence, and above all an operational plan which took into account the spatial demarcation of economic regions and the temporal constraints of long-distance commerce. Thus, one of its distant natures is the wide geographical areas it encompassed. This fact explains the growth of the factory system and the eventually rise of the fortify settlements and sovereign enclaves and handle all trading business. These patterns of the company's settlement was taken into considerations with the accessibility to market and centres of productions supplying the imports goods and single out the areas of the indigenous trade and productions method.

Given this accountability, after many abortive attempts to own a territory, which could be fortified, and a place for footing steps in the eastern

trade, the English succeeded in burying a piece of land in the southern coast from the withering Vijaynagar empire. In the western coast, they could not succeed as there is a powerful Mughal Kingdom and they neither could grant territory nor allow any fortification. In this circumstance, the English were looking towards the southern coast where there are many small kingdoms who were opposed each other. Taking advantage of their oppositions, they accomplish a territory that can be their trading and a firm occupied place.

The first English factory was establish at Masulipatnam in 1611 with the help of two Dutch explorers *Peter Floris* and *Lucas Antheunis*.³⁹ Ever since they came to Masulipatnam, the English felt themselves oppress and harass and had been seeking a better place further south, closer to the sources of the fine Carnatic piece goods, especially the painted varieties. They abandon the Masulipatnam factory and establish again at Armagon in 1626, it was about forty miles north of Pulicat, the Dutch Company's headquarters on the Coromandel Coast, but it did not helped much because of the Dutch threatened the weaving castes with reprisals if they deal with the English.⁴⁰ It was here in Armagon, for the first time in India, they were allowed to fortify their settlement. Nevertheless, the found conditions very disappoint to go further their objective. The local *nayak* under the influence of the Dutch at Pulical put many obstacles. An attack upon their fort was imminent as the wars between the *nayaks* and their Hindu overlord was devastating the neighboring region and making worse in their trading activities.⁴¹ There were many letters seeking to finds and 'permission' to build strong fortification but it was never fulfilled.⁴² They again tried to rebuild in 1634 but they could not as the expanse of fortification was uncommercial and unable to spend money on anything but trade.⁴³

Masulipatnam which was abandon in the autumn of 1628, owing to the high demands from the native officials was return again in 1632, when the merchants of the port were anxious to flourish their trade, moreover, the English were equally desirous of doing so, owing to the fact that Armagon, was insufficient to supply their commercials needs. Apparently, commerce was

³⁹ Moreland, W.H., (ed.), (1934). *The Voyages of Peter Floris*, p. xxx.

⁴⁰ Foster, William., (ed.), *The English Factories in India, 1624-26*, p.128. (hereafter E.F.I.,)

⁴¹ E.F.I., 1630-33, pp. xxiii, 204.

⁴² E.F.I., 1630-33, pp.7, 82, 86, 128, 163, 301.

⁴³ E.F.I., 1634-36, pp. 47-48.

resume on the old lines without any definite agreement and only token promise of better treatment.⁴⁴

Francis Day who become or chief of Armagon in 1634 conclude that it's getting worse and their trade was dwindling. The coast witness one of the worst famine, 'the great mortality of poore people in Meslapatan and other towns adlacent, occasioned b the greate dearth of rice and other graine, for the major part of boeth weavers and washers are dead, the country being almost ruined'.⁴⁵ Even the concession from the king of Golonda in 1934 proved disappointing to trade at Masulipatnam and the *farman* provoke the Dutch to bitter reprisals since they had to pay a fixed sum in customs under old *farman* of 1612 while the English were henceforth exempted.⁴⁶ Apart from these obstacles the merchants had to be impoverish by the exactions from the *nayak*, 'as for the forte of Armagon, it is of soe meane strength that those resident in it doeth feared daly to be oppreste by the kings and other souldiers which raingeth over those parts'.⁴⁷ The English were continue to be discontent, as both of their factory Armagon and Masulipatnam were in dire need of supply and it never come up to what it is expected from the coast: 'Mesulapatan and Armagon was porely opprest with famine, the liveinge eating up the dead, and the men derest scarsly travel in the country for fear they should be killed and eaten'.⁴⁸ Francis Day wanted to switch different place that why, he started investigating other likely spots for a factory, and he seems to have taken no action until the prospect for the Coromandel Coast took a turn for the better in 1639. He had receive several overtures from Damarla Venkatappa, the powerful *nayak* of a neighboring district, who ruled the coastline extending from Pulicat to San Thome. However, he spent most of his time at court, leaving his brother, Ayappa Nayak, who resided at Poonamallee to administer his territories for him.⁴⁹

In June 1639, Francis Day gain permission to visit the *nayak* country, embarking in one of the small country-built ship he start his voyage on 27 July and landed at Madraspatam, a small village about twenty-five miles south of the Dutch settlement at Pulicat. His first duty was to visit the *nayak*, whom he found eager to encourage commerce in the hope of seeing his country 'flurrish and grow rich' and then he proceed to make careful examination of the district and its

⁴⁴ E.F.I., 1630-1633, p.78.

⁴⁵ E.F.I., 1630-1633, p. 203.

⁴⁶ E.F.I., 1634-1636, p. xxxiv.

⁴⁷ E.F.I., 1630-1633, p. 204.

⁴⁸ E.F.I., 1630-1633, p. 268.

⁴⁹ E.F.I., 1637-1641, p. xxxvii.

products the result was eminently satisfactory. The merchants showed him piece goods of excellent quality at prices far cheaper than he had been in the habit of buying at Armagon.⁵⁰ Thus, the little village of Madraspatam seemed to be an ideal to establish a fort, as it is on a tongue of land protect by the sea on the east, and by the little river Cooum and another small stream on the south and west.⁵¹ The *nayak* promise to bear the cost of erecting the desire fort, on condition that the English repaid him after taking possession; the entire control of Madraspatam was to be hand over to the English for a period of two years, after which its revenues were to be equally divided between the *nayak* and the English. Thus the English settlement of Fort St. George was finally establish at Madras.

The fortunes of the English East India Company at Fort St. George were subjects to the political changes on the Coromandel Coast, which were very considerable in their course of the settlement. The region passed first from Vijayanagar to Golconda and then from Golconda to the Mughals. At every change, the English had to confirm their privileges. Before long the English set up in Madras with generous tariff and administrative reduction by the fragile Vijayanagar Empire, now they seen many changes in the political scenario and the privileges was no longer fruitful from what they expected. The situation change in the coast as rulers from other region extend at the expense of the weak rulers, thus, the region was taken over by the strong neighboring Golconda General Mir Jumla, and who acquire now become the landlords of the English at Madras.⁵² According to this circumstance, the English had to confirm again about the privilege given by the former rulers. Most of the rulers had not much problem while giving the privilege provided they get the benefit and the English were again confirm their old privilege, 'confirm'd under the king of Golconda great seale all over former privildges in ample manner, as it was graunted unto us by the foresaid fled Jentue king.'⁵³ However, the English had not much problem to confirm their concession but in the end most of the rulers change their mood according to their circumstance.

The first sign of conflict with Mir Jumla occur 1642, had the English deal properly then the strife could not occur at the first instance. According to the information, on the arrival of the Golconda troops, Brahman Ventaka on agent employ by Thomas Ivy was dispatch to greet the Nawab and obtain from him a confirmation the privilege enjoy by the English. Mir Jumla readily agreed

⁵⁰ E.F.I., 1637-1641, p. xxxviii.

⁵¹ E.F.I., 1637-1641, pp. xxxviii-xxxix.

⁵² E.F.I., 1646-1650, pp.70,166.

⁵³ E.F.I., 1646-1650, p.xxviii.

without any hesitation, but demand for particulars, because of which, it is alleged, that the wily Brahman Venkata submit or garble version, omitting some clauses and adding others. The Nawab made no demur, but stipulate for the gift of a brass gun as a condition of his assent; and to this Venkata agreed. On his return, however, he said nothing about the gun, and when Mir Jumla sent for it, Mir Jumla sent for it, Ivy was allow to think that this was a new demand, with the result that he gave an angry refusal. The Nawab, annoy of this refusal summon Venkata and the town Accountant to the camp, but the Brahman Venkata, fearing the result of a fresh interview; prevail on Ivy to send the Accountant alone. Mir Jumla dealt roughly with the latter and ordered him to give full details of the existing arrangements. The frighten official, unaware of what had been furnish before, gave in true account, with the result that the Brahman's duplicity became apparent. The Nawab now sent a fresh summons to Vankata, who alarm for his life; induce Ivy to imprison him as debtor to the company. However, Mir Jumla was still eager to obtain the gun, and, on a promise that this should be given, he was appeased, and a satisfactory conclusion was reached when Brahman Venkata and Walter Littleton was sent with a present to Mir Jumla, at Gandikota; and the Nawab was well satisfy and expressing a desire to continue the negotiations.⁵⁴ On May 28 1652, Littleton and Venkata arrived with a satisfactory reply from Nawab, 'with the fruit of their labours, all being againe pacified with him.'⁵⁵

Trouble did not end were, Mir Jumla knew English were benefit many concessions and their trade were flourishing. He wanted to re-impose duties on collection of traffic revenue on goods going 'in' and 'out' of Madras as it was already long time since the grant was made. For this arrangement Mir Jumla appoint Balu Rao as his representative at Poonamalle, a town 13 miles west of Madras and declare centre of the administration. The English out rightly reject this inconvenience, 'the agent answeringe Ballaraw that this was alwayes a government of it selfe, and that it was never joined with the government of Punnamalle.'⁵⁶ When the English complaint, Bala Rao depart from his post and cause more trouble for the English as well as the merchant living in Madras.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ E.F.I., 1646-1650, p.xxviii.

⁵⁵ E.F.I., 1651-1655, p.133.

⁵⁶ E.F.I., 1655-1660, p. 41.

⁵⁷ E.F.I., 1655-1660, pp. 41-42.

Upon on this grievance the English wrote to the Nawab but he did not give any answer. The matters of this Nawab reactions was due to 'seizing his junk in the following year,'⁵⁸ which Nawab never forgive in his lifetime.

In 1656, Mir Sayyid Ali was send from Nawab to take charge of the regions, the English write at once about their grievance and Mir Sayyid Ali willingly understand their problems and promise to solve within ten days.⁵⁹ At this moment another Nawab ships arrived from Mecca the English took this opportunity and seized it: 'we thought would be a means to end all strife.'⁶⁰ Mir Sayyid Ali, at once write to English to let the ship go and he will send his relative Mahmud Ali Beg to short out all difference. The English refuse to negotiate with Mahmud Ali Beg, thus, Mir Sayyid Ali arrive but he forget all about their grievance and came to enquire only about the Nawab ship, the matter was not solve when Mir Sayyid Ali left, more consequence are sure to arrive as the English predicted.⁶¹

While this was happening Mir Jumla defected to the Mughals, Golconda was defeat by Aurangzeb and conclude a humiliating treating with king Abdullah Qutb Shah.⁶² The Vijayanagar king encourages by Golconda start to revolt against the Nawab's and there was a strong expectation that the Chandragiri Raja would recover his ancestral throne. Ponnemalee was taken and Pulicat was about to fall but due to the incompetence of Ghandragiri Raja General Koneri Chetti delay the seized and the consequence was he never recovered what they are fighting for in this unfortunate wave of revolt by the dwindling Hindu Kings. Nawab's army regroup their forces, attack again and the Vijayanagar troops fled, while pursuing the Golconda troops done many damages in the vicinity of Madras which have an impact in their trading activities.⁶³

The Vijayanagar troops came to the Fort for shelter,⁶⁴ which makes more encumbrances for the English and for the Nawab also made more annoy by giving shelter to his enemies. Fearing the vengeance of Nawab, the English guard the town in a defensible posture with the help of Eurasians, Europeans and Indians to resist any Golconda incursion, 'the face of war and continued

⁵⁸ E.F.I., 1655-1660, p. 42.

⁵⁹ E.F.I., 1655-1660, p. 94.

⁶⁰ E.F.I., 1655-1660, p. 95.

⁶¹ E.F.I., 1655-1660, p. 95.

⁶² E.F.I., 1655-1660, p. 90.

⁶³ E.F.I., 1655-1660, pp. 92-93.

⁶⁴ E.F.I., 1655-1660, p. 98.

appearance of hostility in these countreys hath enforced us to increase our garrison with Portugalls, mestizoes, and blacks.’⁶⁵ Thus from the mid-September 1657 Madras was blockade by the Nawabs troops, and the beleaguering, for the operations could not have amounted to a regular seize, which lasted until April 1658.⁶⁶

In April 1658, Mir Jumla, tired of the fruitless operations, he came to terms with an accord. It was agree that the English should be left in peace and to possess of Madras, with an annual sum of 380 pagodas for protection and to paid annually.⁶⁷ According to the sources ‘after many disputes with the Nabob and his ministers about our priviledges and abuses, and some bickering, with the sustaining neere seven months siege, the enemy rose the 19th April last, frustrate in his main designs and leaving us in a better condition then formely; which he promiseth to continue inviolably, and is (at least seemingly) become our great friend, having rendred up his interest in our town and customes for the rent of 380 pagodas per annum; which will be a great ease to us, especially for matter of further disputes and trouble.’⁶⁸ In return, the Golconda authorities allow the English undisturbed possession of the town and honour the English at Fort St. George.

The agreement that already settled was renew again, when the English fail to deliver the two-captured ship of *Mir Jumla*. According to the agreement it was stipulate that the English would restore whatever they had in their possession belonging to *Mir Jumla*. But it was not in the power of *Greenhill* and Chamber to deliver the ships, as they had already sold it (on credit) to Winter, who had repaired it, christened it as *St. George*, and making use of it in his trading operations; and so the matters were allow to drift. Mir Jumla in his position obtained a *farman* from the emperor, ordering the restoration of the vessel, and his representative at Masulipatnam were pressed for more severe action.⁶⁹

Mir Jumla used the old tactics to renew his demand with more offensive for the surrender of his ships and the English were helpless, as they could not arrange the ships to restore according to the agreement.⁷⁰ There was great relief when Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb dispatch Mir Jumla to Bengal to conduct the

⁶⁵ E.F.I., 1655-1660, p. 104.

⁶⁶ E.F.I., 1655-1660, p. 137.

⁶⁷ E.F.I., 1655-1660, p. 174.

⁶⁸ E.F.I., 1655-1660, pp. 175-176.

⁶⁹ E.F.I., 1655-1660, p. 186.

⁷⁰ E.F.I., 1655-1660, p. 263.

campaign against Prince Shuja, but he continued to retain the Nawab of Golconda,⁷¹ and one of his first acts, after occupying Bihar was to stop the English from procuring saltpeter at Patna, 'pending satisfaction of his claims.'⁷²

The matter still dragged on; at last, the Surat council sent a letter to Fort St. George 12 October 1659, ordering that the ship should to be hand over to Mir Jumla. and Any money necessarily to pay the Nawab should be recovered from Greenhill's estate, if Winter had paid for the ship, the amount was to be refunded to him, if he refused to surrender this, possession was to be taken by force. This order from the Surat presidency could not in any case be carried out, as Winter had sent the ship on his trading voyage to the eastwards, and no attempts was made to adjust matters in other respects.⁷³ However, in early January 1660, writer came to Madras to negotiate the money due from him because of the 1658 investment. In this arrangement, he was allow to return England and promised the Masulpatnam factors that the Nawab's ship should be surrender to them when it was return to that port.⁷⁴

Mir Jumla successful campaign in Bengal earned him more popular by rewarding him the little of 'Kankanan' (commander-in-chief).⁷⁵ But for the English it makes more worrisome as the negotiations with Mir Jumla in 10 May 1660, was inconclusive as his demands was expect too much of "upwards of 20,000 pagodas, besides the denying of payment of 32,000 pagodas which hee owes the company."⁷⁶ The English have to agree whatever the given terms and if not then their will be more consequence followed in their trading activities. The consequence of not agreeing in his terms was caution from Surat Presidency, 'if the Nabob will not be satisfied with this, but shall proceed to molest you in your trade or abuse you in your person, wee hope, being forewarned, you are forearm'd, and ready to leave the country, that so wee proceed against the moores in another manner of language...And should they seize on all the Companies estate with you, yet doe you all endeavour to leave the country, though you loose all the estate; for wee shall soone recover it.'⁷⁷ Spontaneously Mir Jumla stopped all kinds of English trading activities in Kasimbazaar,⁷⁸ the

⁷¹ E.F.I., 1655-1660, p. 91.

⁷² E.F.I., 1655-1660, p. 264.

⁷³ E.F.I., 1655-1660, p. 65.

⁷⁴ E.F.I., 1655-1660, p.273

⁷⁵ E.F.I., 1655-1660, p. 388.

⁷⁶ E.F.I., 1655-1660, p. 391.

⁷⁷ E.F.I., 1655-1660, p. 392.

⁷⁸ E.F.I., 1655-1660, p. 392.

impacts even reached in Decca when seven English sailors were detained by Mir Jumla and allow being release only when they are agree to be employ in his service.⁷⁹

The unresolved tension of Nawab ships and pending of customs charges bring again uncertainty for the commercial activities in the coast when the Golconda troops arrives, 'the companies priviledges are in some hazard, the king sending downe from Golconda into the town with a huge trayne to receive his parts of customes.'⁸⁰ This was coinciding with the neighbouring settlers of San Thome capture by Golconda troops under Neknam Khan in August 1661.⁸¹ Which makes more impending on the fate of Fort of St. George also as predicted by the settlers, 'St Thoma was lost about 10 days ago to the king of Golconda, and the companies fort is much threatened, but wee shall defend our self to the utmost of our power.'⁸²

Edward Winter who was appointed Agent of Fort St. George on 11 December 1661, went to Masulpatnam to negotiate from the Golconda Governor (Fath-ullah Beg) was seriously injured by one his bodyguards.⁸³ The king to pacify him sent a *farman*, with a dress of honour and Persian horse for a present. Winter accepted the *farman*, but refused the gifts, vowing that he would have better satisfaction. To secure his enterprise, he orders all the English settlers to board the ships, and proceeds to blockade the port. After a while the Governor and the principal merchants, plead him to come ashore, again promising the punishment of those who had assault the Agent and continuation of the English privileges, and the satisfaction of other grievances and on these terms harmony was restored.⁸⁴ Mir Jumla died on his way to Decca on 1 April 1663,⁸⁵ and the fate of his ship was never return, 'mett with a firc storme about the Andeman Islands or Niccabar (wee know not wel whether), where with she was prest soe much that she spent all her standing mast, but made a shift with some jury ones to get to Mallacca; where wee heare by Mr. Cooper, her pilot, she is now laid up

⁷⁹ E.F.I., 1655-1660, p. 410.

⁸⁰ E.F.I., 1661-1664, p. 39.

⁸¹ E.F.I., 1661-1664 pp. 145-46.

⁸² E.F.I., 1661-1664, p. 148.

⁸³ E.F.I., 1661-1664, pp. 171-172.

⁸⁴ E.F.I., 1661-1664, p. 172.

⁸⁵ E.F.I., 1661-1664, p. 178.

and utterly unfit to proceed further, unless there be more bestowed on her, in fitting her out, then her value.⁸⁶

Neknam Khan who was in-charge now appointed as new Nawab and campaign more vigorously on the matter of unsettled customs disputes. The problem with *Neknam Khan* was he wanted to keep his own agent with full authority to collect his shares of revenues; the English did not agree, but insist to collect the dues with their own. It appears that, in view of the rapid growth of the commercial town and its trade, they wished to revert to the old arrangement and to receive half the actual yield, and demand as agent of theirs should be install in the Fort itself to check the amount payable.⁸⁷ Meanwhile, the factories at Petapoli and Virvavarsan were dissolved.⁸⁸

Walter Travers who was agent at Tuticorin wrote to Madras in order to consult about the maintenance of the factory. It seems he gave assistance to the *nayak* against his enemies, which brought confusion and complaining of an offended by Francis Nethrop his assistant for giving help without the authorization from the higher command.⁸⁹ The English factors at Fort St. George latter respond to remain in his post and remain neutrals, 'wee believe you can bring noe instance that ever the English did assist any of the natives on against the other, either by sea or land, wee cannot put any thing in execution unless wee (had) orders from our master for it.'⁹⁰ The outcome was not very sure as the letter from Surat, dated 30 April 1664, acquitting *Edward Winter* with the Company's orders for the abandonment, the factory at Tuticorin, and requesting him to arrange accordingly.⁹¹ The English also applied for permission to settle at Devikotta to the *nayak* of Tanjore but the request was turn down.⁹²

The charges of embezzlement and fraud against *Edward Winter*, sent *George Foxcroft* to investigate, *Foxcroft* discovered many things of the late agent indebted to the company in several matter. Sir Edward Winter tried very artifice to fail the proceedings and to shield his confederates. However, *Foxcroft* was soon convince that the main allegation were true and that his predecessor had not only share the high profits with the brokers out of their contracts, but had also

⁸⁶ E.F.I., 1661-1664, p. 148.

⁸⁷ E.F.I., 1661-1664, p. 278

⁸⁸ E.F.I., 1661-1664, pp. 266, 368-9,382.

⁸⁹ E.F.I., 1661-1664, p. 360.

⁹⁰ E.F.I., 1661-1664, pp. 360-361.

⁹¹ E.F.I., 1661-1664, p. 365.

⁹² E.F.I., 1661-1664, p. 365.

permitted *Timmanna* and *Kasi Viranna* to intimidate over the inhabitants and monopolize the trade.⁹³ With the aid of the commander of the garrison and others close friends, *Edward Winter* imprison *Foxcroft* and seize the administration of Fort St. George. This makes more anger for *Neknam Khan* to settle his personal score with *Edward Winter*, when he detains his cargo of elephant without any reasons, ‘about two elephants of *Neknam Caun*, who complained in his first letter, that Sir Edward had unjustly detained them a long tyme from him.’⁹⁴

Subsequently in the following year (1666) *Neknam Khan* return again at the vicinity of Fort St. George to secure *Foxcroft* release.⁹⁵ However, the situation had change *Edward Winter* was declared of treason and unjustly imprison of the company agent.⁹⁶ When this internal feud was going on trade and come to a standstill both at Masulipatnam and Madras.⁹⁷ *Foxcroft* again restore in the middle of the 1668’s.⁹⁸ The main feature of *Foxcroft*’s administration was the protract dispute with Nawab *Neknam Khan* regarding dues payable to the suzerain. The Nawab wanted to settle the disputes on the model of *Pulicat*, where his representative *havalder* collect half the customer due for the *Diwan* from the customer post in the town, ‘the government of the towne should be acted by his people, as at *Pollecat*.’⁹⁹ Moreover, his demand was justify, as Nawab also knew that the customs revenue at Madras was far greater than that at *Pulicat*.¹⁰⁰

The disputes was finally settle when William Longhorn who assume charge as Agent and Governor when *Foxcroft* sail for England on the 18 January 1672. Longhorn attention was devote to the completion for the negotiations with Nawab *Neknam Khan* for a settlement regarding the town rent, and for the confirmatory grant of territory and privileges, which *Foxcroft* had so long labored to obtain. The issue was finally resolve in February 1672 when a farman was issued where the English were told to pay 1200 pagodas annually for half the share of customs, arrears of dues for the last eleven year at 1000 pagodas per year: “eleven thousand agreed to be paid by agent *Foxcroft*, in full of all demands for the time past and to the end of may next from which: time at each years end, it was likewise agreed by the aforesaid agent *Foxcroft* and the council to pay the

⁹³ E.F.I., 1665-1667, p. 117.

⁹⁴ E.F.I., 1665-1667, p. 118.

⁹⁵ E.F.I., 1665-1667, pp. 229, 234.

⁹⁶ E.F.I., 1665-1667, p. 246.

⁹⁷ E.F.I., 1665-1667, p. 326.

⁹⁸ E.F.I., 1668-1669, pp. 132-133.

⁹⁹ E.F.I., 1668-1669, p. 29.

¹⁰⁰ E.F.I., 1668-1669, p. 392.

Diwan twelve hundred pagodas per annum yearly rent and so to hold this fort and town free from any *havaladar* or *Diwans* people or any other imposition for ever.”¹⁰¹

At last the English were agree to pay 1000 pagodas a year for eleven years and 1200 pagodas a year in the future,¹⁰² *Nawab Necknam Khan* gave a satisfactory reply to remain friends forever and promise a fair deal in the near future, ‘neither shall any of havildeer, governor, or any officers of mine stop or hinder in no ways from bringing or carrying all shorts of paddy or other grain, provisions, cloth, goods or any other sorts of merchandize for the fort or town of Chinapatam, and I do grant that there may be no manner to stop or hindrance in the same, and that the English may remain with a quit heart I have granted them according to *sallabad*.’¹⁰³ The concessions of freedom of duty on English goods and for the consumption of the town were confirm. In addition, the other confirmation was the autonomous administration of the English in Madras without the interference of the Golconda officials. In 1676, the new king of Golconda Adul Hassan Qutb Shah issued a *farman* which not only confined Necknam Khan *cowl* of 1672 for Madras, but also adding the village of Triplicane as British territory.¹⁰⁴

William Longhorn renovates the fortifications of Fort St. George, which is neglect by this predecessor, as it started falling decay. One of the greatest contribution during Longhorn’s is the initiative in a series of Public consultations begins from January 1672. In 1678, after ruling for six years, Longhorn resigned his office to Streynsham Master and sailed for England. Before assuming his post, Streynsham Master directs to proceed at once to Masulpatnam and reduce the factory to order. Master reached on the evening of the 3 August 1676, found in disparate and confusion, he at once orders a method of keeping the books to note down in detail. A list of the factors and writers with the dates of their entrance into the service was initiated from 1676. Master’s next concern was with the estates of those who died in the company’s service. There had been many serious complaints in obtaining the effects of their deceased friends, and so he order that on the death of any servant of the Company, an inventory should be

¹⁰¹ Record of Fort St. George, Diary and Consultation Book, (hereafter D&CB), 1672-1678, p.3.

¹⁰² Notes on and Extracts from the Government Records in Fort Saint George, Madras, Public Department, Letters from England from, 1670-1677, p. 25.

¹⁰³ Notes on and Extracts from the Government Records in Fort Saint George, Madras, Public Department, Letters from England from, 1670-1677, pp. 25-26.

¹⁰⁴ D&CB., 1672-1678, p. 90.

at once be taken of his goods, which should then be effectually secured until sold or otherwise disposed of. He formulate the council to sit every Monday and Thursday or at least once in a week, and if no business were transact, an entry has to be made in the consultations book to that effect. The council was especially direct to note in writing the ‘coming’ and ‘going’ of ships, and the conducts of the other European factories. Copies of all consultations were to be sent both to Fort St. George and to England with due regularity.¹⁰⁵ On assuming the post of Agent and Governor, Master lost no time in reorganization affairs at the Fort St. George as well as Factory which is abandon, like Pettipolee (Nizampatnam), Masulipatnam, Madapollan and Verashroone.¹⁰⁶

Streynsham Master who understood the benefit to expand the suburban villages under their jurisdiction tried to acquire Madapollam and Versheraum but it was never materialize.¹⁰⁷ Possibility arrive is early 1678 when the king of Golconda Abul Hassan Shah visited coastland, Masulipatnam, Narasapur and the adjacent towns, accompanied by John Field and Kola Venkatadri acting s interpreter.¹⁰⁸ The English through their agents and friend sought to procure a number of towns and dependent villages on rent. They wanted to lease in this way like Egmore, Trivottiyur and San Thome and a number of villages dependent on them.¹⁰⁹ These villages and its dependent were Egmore for 670 pagodas and its dependent villages were Poreshvawca, Pudapawca, Vepery, Keepaca, Chellypatta, Omanjacca, Lumgabawca, Roshna, Buduro and Agaram Trivottiyur for 900 pagodas, and its dependent villages were Satangawdo, Chedayamcuppam, Tandore, Verrandalchery, Enoar and Cartivawca. San Thome for 1500 pagodas and were dependent villages were Pallacawrana, Nammangalam, Olandor, Nandambawca, Mambalam and Sattevido.¹¹⁰

The English when they wanted to lease Egmore they came into collide with *Lingappa*, Governor of Poonamllée. *Lingappa* had business interest at Vipere near Egmore, where he store grain and wanted sell in exorbitant rate.¹¹¹ He starts harassing the English and blocks all the provision coming to Madras. This cause shortage of food supply and even reach in Pulicat, ‘allosoe Lingapa seizes of all the Political merchants in the country and as many of our merchants

¹⁰⁵ Temple, R.C. (ed.), (1911). *The Diaries of Streynsham Master*, vol. I. p.10.

¹⁰⁶ Temple, R.C. (ed.), (1911). *The Diaries of Streynsham Master*, vol. I. pp.78-85.

¹⁰⁷ D&CB., 1678-79, pp.73, 113.

¹⁰⁸ Temple, R.C. (ed.), (1911). *The Diaries of Streynsham Master*, vol. I. p. 81.

¹⁰⁹ D&CB., 1678-79, p.76

¹¹⁰ D&CB., 1678-79, pp.76-78.

¹¹¹ D&CB., 1678-79, p.78.

as he can light upon and puts them in irons, giving noe accounts, nor reason for soe doing.’¹¹² The matter become worse when the *Jancaneer* (customs collector) gave notice that he had received orders from *Linguppa* not to permit any goods or provisions to come into Chinapatnam, and warn by beating drums in all the inland villages forbidding the country people to carry anything to the English settlement, and keep watchmen in all roads leading to Madras.¹¹³

New instructions came after William Gyfford arrive in July 1681 as Grovonor, and pave the way for the removal of the blockade, which was continuing as it really hampering the trading activities. Gyfford instantly sent Pedda Vankatadri with a friendly letter to Linggappa at Conjevaram,¹¹⁴ and his assurance of due obedience. Gyfford accordingly endorse a draft initiate by Streynsham Master in January 1681, to establish a factory in the territory held by the Marathas to the south of Madras, generally known as the Jingii country from the name of its capital.¹¹⁵ In 10 December 1680, Elihu Yale was send to negotiate with Sambhaji’s representative,¹¹⁶ Harji Raja, and contrary to expectation, he succeed in getting from him a *cowl* permitting to the company to establish a factory at Cuddalore.¹¹⁷ The English also wanted to establish a factory near Porto Novo, to check the interlopers and Cuddalore was situated just above that port. So in August 1682 Robert Freeman, who had reappointed a factor, and three others were sent on the ship *Resolution* to settle there, but on account of unreasonable demands made by the *Subadar* Gopal Pundit, they left in and return to Madras in September. This disappointment set off by the receiving of advantageous offers for a factory at Conimere, a little higher up the coast, but in Maratha territory. In October 1682, a settlement under John Wilcox was established; and further negotiations enable the factory at Cuddalore to be restart in May 1683.¹¹⁸ Two new factories as well established at Petapoli and Vizapatnam in August 1682.¹¹⁹

Thus the number of factories on the Coromandel Coast rose from two (Masulipatam and Madapollam) to six, of which four were to the north of Madras and two to the south of it. The former are dealt with in the account of

¹¹² D&CB., 1681, p.14.

¹¹³ D&CB., 1681, p.15. Also see, E.F.I., 1678-84, (new series), pp.36, 39.

¹¹⁴ D&CB., 1680, pp.42-43.

¹¹⁵ E.F.I., 1678-84, (new series), pp.31,38.

¹¹⁶ D&CB., 1680, pp.72-73.

¹¹⁷ E.F.I., 1678-84, (new series), pp. 44,54.

¹¹⁸ E.F.I., 1678-84, (new series), pp. 54,57.

¹¹⁹ E.F.I., 1678-84, (new series), pp. 128,137.

Masulipatam, while those at Conimere and Cuddalore are covered by the Madras section.

The grants that the English secure from the Golconda were again throw into uncertainty with the Mughal conquest of Golconda in 1687. The problem in the south was compound by the outbreak of hostilities between the English and the Mughal in Bengal in 1689 and the consequent prohibition of all English trade in Mughal dominions. The English factories in Visakhapatnam, Masulipatnam and Madapollam were seize and their fears of an attacks on Madras was imminent.¹²⁰ The Mughal attacks on the English Company in Madras were quite imminent as when they received a letter: ‘advseing that the Mogull has ordered the besieging this place and to destroy all the English in his dominions and to seize their concerns, order’d to find and repair the defects of the town and walls of the garrison, and make provision of powder shott and sufficient against a siege.’¹²¹ The Mughals suspect that the Golconda treasure may be hiding under the security of the English Company at the Fort St. George.¹²²

In March 1690, news receives from English agents at the Mughal’s camp in Bidar that peace was proclaim and the *farnams* for Madras was delay due to clarify from the original grants. A big opportunity arrive for the English when Mughal General *Zulfikar Khan* appeal for help due to shortages of ammunition in his assault on the Marathas in Jinji. The English factor Yale respond immediately with a dispatch of 200 maunds of gunpowder.¹²³ Yale consider it as godsend occasion and sought a remission of the annual rent, “the rent of the fort and factory and Chinnapatnam with accestomary privileges, the English factory of Metchllepatnam, Maddapollam, Vizagapatam and within the territory of Darullichand alias the Golconda country, also their settlements and factory of Dewnamatna, Essalamabaud, alias Cuddalore, Mamood Bundar alias Porto Novo, Trimlevassill and Factorys. Within these territories of Chingee, according to the former custome and the usuall practice of the English.”¹²⁴ It also include to mint coin with the king stamp at Madras. The last request was accept and sanctions by the prince, the other were refer to the emperor for his decision.¹²⁵

¹²⁰ D&CB., 1689, p.86.

¹²¹ D&CB., 1689, p. 83.

¹²² D&CB., 1687, p. 43.

¹²³ D&CB., 1690, p. 80.

¹²⁴ D&CB., 1691, p. 14

¹²⁵ D&CB., 1692, pp. 9-10.

The demand to rent the towns of Tandore, Puruswakam and Egmore initiate by Strensnham Master grant after two years in 10 February 1693.¹²⁶ Problem arise while renting these three villages as prior to the grant by the Vizar, his son Zulfikar Khan had given *jigar* to *Valayuda Arasuma Nayak*, which included two villages. After the English tenure, *Arasama Nayak* demands the return not only Egmore and Puruswakam, but also of Triplicane. This led to open conflict and the English were equally determine to defend their rights by force and sent an armed troops to prevent the entry of the *nayak's men*. The English sent a letter to clarify that, 'Triblecane was granted to the English at the time that Chinapatam, was, and Yegmore and Peasiwacca were lately granted to us by the king Hoosbull Hookum and Grand Vissers and Nawab's Pervannas and therefore cannot deliver to them.'¹²⁷ After the English wrote to the *wazir* it brought a substantial order overriding the *nayak's* previous grant. The English came to know that all grants were duly enter in their land records by the *quanungo* (record keeper).¹²⁸

Before the Mughals overran the region, the English took the risk by purchasing the old fort of Devanampatnam from the Maratha ruler Rama Raja. It was negotiate by Thomas Yale, and grant the English request. The Martha's agree to sell the fort along with all the guns inside and the territory will include where the guns could reach from the fort. The price for fort was agreed to pay 40,000 pagodas.¹²⁹ William Hatsell was dispatch as deputy along with five members on 23 September 1690.¹³⁰ The old fort was rename as Fort St. David and from 1690, the fort was recorded as Fort St. David in the English records.¹³¹

In 17 August 1693, Dr. Samuel Browne had visit Ginji to attend the new Nawab Kasim Khan, and in return for his valuable service Nawab grant six more villages north of Madras. These were Tiruvottiyur, Sattaankudy, Shadain Kuppam, Ernavoor, Kutavakam and Alandacheri.¹³² Though it was granted to the English Company, they were not ready to take possession and it was voluntarily

¹²⁶ D&CB., 1693, pp. 52-53.

¹²⁷ D&CB., 1693, p.165.

¹²⁸ D&CB., 1695, p.99.

¹²⁹ D&CB., 1690, pp. 63-65.

¹³⁰ D&CB., 1690, p. 82.

¹³¹ D&CB., 1690, p. 81.

¹³² D&CB., 1693, p.116.

relinquished. As it was under the jurisdiction of Nawab Zulfikar Khan, who is still oppose the English Company.¹³³

On the other hand, the Mughals under Zulfikar Khan continue to assault the Jinji, with this endless war Zulfikar Khan sought a loan to the English Governor Nathaniel Higginson. The English were confuse by this approach and the decision was delay for some time. Zulfikar Khan took it as personal when the loan was refuse and he immediately prepare for an assault at Fort St. George, which the English were ready to resist any attack.

In January 1698, news reached that the Mughals already occupied the Maratha at Jinji.¹³⁴ Zulfikar Khans now become the overlord and reject the treaty, as it was done between the Maratha and the English. He started demanding the returning of Devenampatnam and Cuddalore, soon skirmish broke out, 'demanding the delivery of Cuddalore and Tevenapatam towns of Gusbas Cawns people to whom he was given it for his jageer, from whence they apprehend trouble, and desire us to send to the Nabob upon the occasion for prevention of a quarrel.'¹³⁵ This type of threat from local rulers was counter by blockading important trading ports and this cause wide spread of interrupting in the seaborne trade. There were many conflicts between the English and Mughal's, where both play out their move cautiously. When these type of siege occur the English respond by blockading the port. When the leading merchants found that they were likely to lose the season's voyage, they undertook to act as intermediaries in settling the disputes. Neither the Mughals's nor English was anxious to resort for a showdown, and in most case, the matter was resolve without much bloodshed.¹³⁶ In this incident the negotiation was carried out through an Armenian merchant named Amir John who voluntarily asked to talk on behalf of the English: our vacqueel Amirjeah advised us that he concluded all with the Nabob for 10,000 pagodas.'¹³⁷

In 1700, Zulfikar Khan deputy General Daud Khan was appointed Nawab of the Carnatic,¹³⁸ and Zulfikar Khan become Subahdar of the Deccan.¹³⁹ Therefore, an institution of a new Nawab means a new privilege of trading

¹³³ Records of Fort St. George, Letters from Fort St. George, 1693, p. 48.

¹³⁴ D&CB., 1698, p. 9.

¹³⁵ D&CB., 1698, p.17.

¹³⁶ D&CB., 1698, pp. 78-80.

¹³⁷ Letters from Fort St. George, 1698, p. 91.

¹³⁸ Letters from Fort St. George, 1700-1701, p. 4.

¹³⁹ Love, H. D, (1996), *Vestiges of Old Madras*, vol. II, p. 13

concession and acquiring of new trading place. The new Nawab reach Arcot at the beginning of 1701, and ask European wine, ‘Dowd Cawn having wrote the governor to buy him some liquors, and supposing his interest may be of advantage to the company in those parts, It is ordered that six dozen of French brandy, six cases of spirits and two chests of syrash be provided.’¹⁴⁰ The English takes this opportunity and send well-experience person in Mughals court affairs Mr. Niccola Manucci for obtaining more privileges with the present what he may expect.¹⁴¹ Manucci had already stayed for nearly thirty years at the Mughal Court, and he speaks Persian very well. He along with Rammappa was send with the present, two cannon, several lengths of broad cloth in scarlet and different colours, pieces of gold cloth from Europe and China, mirrors of all sizes, different kinds of crystal vases, arms such as pistol and sabres, different kinds of wine; along with 5000 pagodas.¹⁴²

Manucci introduce himself in a proper Mughal court etiquette. But it did not reached Nawab expectations and sent back Manucci with threat of appointing his representative at the black Town and developing San Thome at the expense of Madras:

“told’m it was not nearenough for him, hee having been at court, where it had lost him a great deal of money for his employes which hee must and would raise by some means or other, telling us that he had an account of our revenues, calculating them at about one hundred thousand pagodas per annum. That wee had nothing to do with the black town, in which hee would put a government, constrain us to keep only to our fort, and that hee also daily encouraged unjust complaints against us, telling them that he would first go to Tanjore, Tevenapaynam and then come to St. Thoma, when hee would ruin this port and sett up that, after all which hee dismissed our agents without any Perwnna or Tashereiff to the governor as usuall, and write only a letter referring to what they should tell us and Duan the same, the Duan also signing as significant Perwanna.”¹⁴³

Duad Khan had already stayed for long in the coast and he knew the weakness of the English defence inside the fort. In July with 10,000 troops,

¹⁴⁰ D&CB., 1700, p.45.

¹⁴¹ D&CB., 1701, pp.3-4.

¹⁴² Irvine, William, (trans.), (1990). *Storia do Mogor*, vol. IV, p. 367.

¹⁴³ D&CB., 1701, pp.13-14. also Irvine, William, (trans.), (1990). *Storia do Mogor*, vol. IV, pp. 384-393.

appear at the gate of San Thome, the English sent with more present but the Nawab politely rejected.¹⁴⁴ Not knowing the Nawab intention, Thomas Pitt immediately ready to resist any offensive. He called the sailors that are in the port to form a company of marines, and asked Captain George Heron and John Berlu to assist the defence and summons all the Portuguese settlers to form company under Emmanuel de Silva, and with the help of hundred peons as scouts as well as to prepare to defend the fort.¹⁴⁵

With this sudden preparedness Nawab cool down his appearance and agree to receive the present that he had previously refused. Later there was big reception and hearty dinner with six hundred dishes of big and great.¹⁴⁶ As most of the mainland rulers with no knowledge of seafaring request to inspect one of the ships in the port, arrangements was made to board from Triplicane but he was to drunk to aboard the ship and deferred on the next day.¹⁴⁷ Finally, on 17 July Nawab marched towards Poonamalle,¹⁴⁸ and his visit was came to an end later they received the much sought privilege.¹⁴⁹

All this while the English continue to supply his drink but six month later Daud Khan re-appeared again at San Thome with his army,¹⁵⁰ as the present and gift from the English becomes appetizer for all the noble men who visit the English coast. Thomas Pitt ready again for any eventuality, this time alone with two hundred Rajputs. The English agent was sending back for more present that the council flatly refused.¹⁵¹ The consequence was tight blockade in Madras of goods passing 'in' and 'out'.¹⁵² To strengthen his enterprise, he dispatch an Imperial order dated 16 November, 1702 forbidding trade with Europeans on the ground that they had failed to prevent piracies committed on ships sailing under the Muslim flag, 'the English and other Europeans having entered into a contract to defend our subjects from piracies committed on the seas, notwithstanding that they have seized and plundered moors and therefore I have wrote all Subas and Diwan that all manner of trade be interdicted with those nations throughout our

¹⁴⁴ D&CB., 1701, pp. 58-59.

¹⁴⁵ D&CB., 1701, p. 62.

¹⁴⁶ D&CB., 1701, pp. 66-68.

¹⁴⁷ D&CB., 1701, pp. 67-68.

¹⁴⁸ D&CB., 1701, p. 69.

¹⁴⁹ D&CB., 1701, pp. 69, 73.

¹⁵⁰ Letters from Fort St. George, 1702, p. 16.

¹⁵¹ D&CB., 1702, p. 8.

¹⁵² D&CB., 1702, p. 9.

dominions, and that you seize on all the effects where ever they can be found.’¹⁵³ The Nawab also exploit on the ground of religion as the pilgrim to Mecca was continue to hurt by the European pirates.

For his justification, Nawab start looting on the English territory at Egmore, Pursewaukum and Triplicane this makes the whole inhabitants flight for safely. Nawab also demands to control of Black Town and the mint, Thomas Pitt made no reply of returning any territory. When this blockade was prolong the entire foodstuff become scarce and the help from other English settlers was impossible to reach as it was also extend at Fort St. David, Masulipatnam, Bengal and Surat. Therefore, they sought help from the Dutch and Danes. The Dutch refuse any help on the plea that they do not want to antagonize to the local rulers but the Danes help the provision to stay on.¹⁵⁴ Negotiations start from mid-march by demanding to pay 30,000 pagodas with no option the English agreed to pay 25,000 pagodas and demand to return all the plundering goods. The blockade was finally lifted on 5 May 1702, which begins from 6 February 1702, thus, final agreement was settle and agreed to return, ‘send the chubdars to order our trade to be as formerly, and to restore all goods which seized and now lye in St. Thoma.’¹⁵⁵ For maintain a good lasting friendship the English sent a present ‘two baskets of orange, thirty bottles of liquor and a chest of rosewater in his wedding on 6 January 1705.’¹⁵⁶

The *Nawab* calm down by the generosity and there was an agreement where the three villages were agree to hand over (Egmore Pursewaukum and Todiarpett). After acquiring, the English decided to hand over to the local chief merchant Serappa for three-year leases and after that it given again to Narayan for seven years at 13,000 pagodas per annum.¹⁵⁷ Narayan term was expired on 30 June 1708; and later it handed again to Kalanay Cheetti and Venkata Cheetti for twelve years at 1750 pagodas per annum.¹⁵⁸

Ziya-ud-din Khan who was steward of the emperor Shan Alam offered his service for the English to acquire more land to lease.¹⁵⁹ Through his service, the English asked to lease Mylapore and its surrounding five villages (Trivacore,

¹⁵³ D&CB., 1702, p. 11.

¹⁵⁴ D&CB., 1702, p. 24.

¹⁵⁵ D&CB., 1702, p. 38.

¹⁵⁶ D&CB., 1705, p. 6.

¹⁵⁷ D&CB., 1704, p.67.

¹⁵⁸ D&CB., 1708, p.13

¹⁵⁹ D&CB., 1708, pp. 42-43.

Nungumbaukum, Vasalavada, Catawauk and Satangadu). The English wrote to the Emperor by asking that: “Your Excellency cannot but know, that Miliapore is a troublesome neighbourhood to us, creating always disputes and quarrels, little advantage to the king, nor will it ever be more, which could be obtain, and the town of Trivitore on the other side of us, it would make us easy and increase the Riches of the kings country.”¹⁶⁰ Ziya-ud-din Khan secretly wrote back advising Thomas Pitt not to limit his demand to Mylapore and Trivacore but request for additional like Pulicat or Pondicherry and prepared enormous present for the Emperor.¹⁶¹ Thomas Pitt sent the present at Masulipatam to deliver Emperor Shah Alam at Golconda. The Emperor, however, left suddenly for Delhi after the defeat of Prince Khan Baksh, so Pitt decided to sent, despite it’s far away, ‘it being Herculean labour for us too send it too Delhi, it being little less than 2000 miles, and would be an immense charge to the company.’¹⁶² Shah Alam died on 17 February 1712, at Lahore after a brief reign.¹⁶³ Soon traditional war of succession followed, finally Farruksiyar emerged the winner in early 1713.¹⁶⁴

The new emperor Farruksiyar made Nizam-ul-mulk, Nawab of all the Deccan who sided with him during the war of succession, , which included Caranatic, Vizapur and Golconda, ‘and Nizam-ul-mulk is considered as great friend of Europeans.’¹⁶⁵ Subsequently, the Bengal Council under John Surman decided to maneuver for granting more trading concession by sending enormous amount of wealth.¹⁶⁶ John Surman went Delhi in 1714 and he was able to secure three *farmans* in February 1717 for Madras, Bengal, and Surat. The new emperor sanction received in 21 July 1717, and the English finally got what they wanted after a long time.¹⁶⁷

According to the *farmans* the English got new five villages but refuse to hand over by Nawab Sadatullah Khan until the original *farman* of the Mughal were produce by the English. However, the English thought that it too dangerous to carry as it always kept in the chamber and send the duplicate: ‘that in sending it from place to place they are in danger of losing that which is of so much consequence to them and that that mangers under the Subah are not contended if

¹⁶⁰ D&CB., 1708, p. 44.

¹⁶¹ D&CB., 1708, pp. 64-71.

¹⁶² D&CB., 1709, p. 107.

¹⁶³ D&CB., 1712, p. 66.

¹⁶⁴ D&CB., 1713, p. 31.

¹⁶⁵ D&CB., 1713, p. 147.

¹⁶⁶ D&CB., 1714, p. 31.

¹⁶⁷ D&CB., 1717, pp. 116-117.

they produce any other authority than a Perwanna under the Subah seal. Nawab Sadatullah Khan desire his majesty to publish his Royall Edict that no one should dispute their privileges upon producing attested copy's of the original grants.'¹⁶⁸ The new President Joseph Collet took decision on 23 September 1717, to take over the granted villages by forcefully and send the English troops to occupy and put the English flag as a symbol. The same techniques apply by Daya Ram, who was given in charge of the town, enter the town with his soldiers and cut down the English flag. Collet orders to retaliated and surprise attack drive out the Daya Ram's troops. The troops of Dayal Ram retreat towards Poonamallee,¹⁶⁹ and the English troops were called back again to Fort St. George. Knowing the native local rulers plan to attack, Collet immediately prepare any assault in the fort.¹⁷⁰

Finally, the complexity of these renting was solve by renting to Chief Merchants Sunk Rama for twelve years at 1,200 pagodas per annum.¹⁷¹ Unable to recover the villages Nawab went straight to Emperor Sayyid Hussian Ali for a confirmation of the late emperor's grant on receipt of 2000 pagodas for himself and half as much for Dekkan Ray, his minister and son-in-law. The final agreement was settled on 15 December 1718, by paying 2000 pagodas and 1500 pagodas to the officials of the Nawab, "the present being record, the Nabobs Health was drank and 31 guns fried."¹⁷²

From the 1720s, there was many emerging regional power due to the disintegration of Mughal Empire, the English took this precaution and now more prepare to challenge any threat from the native's rulers and become bolder while claiming their given privileges. The English Company now well aware, the tactics of Nizam-ul-Mulk (Chin Qilich Khan) of Hyderabad and Saddatullah Khan of Arcot, who declare themselves the new rulers of the southern coast. The newly princely states were not like large Mughal Empire where the troops used to come in a large number regularly as they witness in the preceding century. In these circumstance the English were prepare any action and if possible prepare for battle and not to defend the fort all the time.

The English policy towards the native rulers change in the given situation as we can see when Nawab Saddatullah Khan demand to return the five villages and marches in the direction of Madras in 1723. The Nawab encamped at

¹⁶⁸ D&CB., 1717, p. 117.

¹⁶⁹ D&CB., 1717, p. 171.

¹⁷⁰ D&CB., 1717, pp. 170-171.

¹⁷¹ D&CB., 1717, p. 200.

¹⁷² D&CB., 1718, p. 215.

the vicinity of Madras and sent a threatening message.¹⁷³ The English Company decide to response boldly and the Governor in the meeting resolve to defend aggressively with all the English might by any attempt to deprive the English privileges given by the Mughal Emperor. In the consultation it was recorded that 'the president inform the board that he had upon this news directed the officers and gunner to be in a readiness, and that he had ordered the guards at Egmore and the Out choultrys to be doubled.'¹⁷⁴

The English Company's were one-step ahead while comparing with their counterpart especially the French and the Dutch. The Dutch at Pulicat were remain isolated from their fort and started declining their influence with the local rulers as the new rulers were not like the Qutb Shahi dynasty where once they have major interest within the court but now the power was shifted from Masulipatnam to Hyderabad and Arcot. Pulicat no long remain their centre, after they captured Nagapatnam in 1658 from Portuguese, slowly they replaced their centre at Nagapatnam in 1690. The Dutch rivalry with the English, which begin from the early seventeenth century finally begin to decline by the beginning of the eighteenth century and their collapse with their defeat by the English in the Battle Of Badera in 1759. Likewise, the French East India Company is still new to counter the English. The French established in 1664, and their first factory in Coromandel Coast establish at Masulipatnam in 1669 and later in the Pondicherry in 1673 as their headquarters. After the failure of San Thome siege (1672-1674) they were less popular comparatively with others European Companies and again in 1693 their main headquarters, Pondicherry was captured by the Dutch but restored again after the Treaty of Ryswick. Soon their focus in the eighteenth century went to the nearby places such as Mauritius (1721), Mahe (1725), Calicut, Yanam and Karikal (1739), these new places were occupied and set for their trading station. French were finally defeated in the Battle of Wandiwash in 1760 by English and they lost almost all settlement in India by the Treaty of Paris in 1763 to English. This left the only English from the European mercantile Nation.

To sum up, the English at Fort St. George made up by different class of people where everyone concentrates on the commercial activities begin to grow in spite of many difficulties. The little village which acquire in 1639 now became the centre helpe by many peripheral interior villages absorb the entire product in this fort. The English Company resist pressure for a long time and they were able

¹⁷³ D&CB., 1723, p. 33.

¹⁷⁴ D&CB., 1723, p. 33.

to endure from these difficulties because their sole intention of doing commercial activities payoff abundantly from the mid-eighteenth century onwards.

Chapter 3 The Role of Chief Merchants and their Trading Activities under the English East India Company

This chapter examines the leading chief merchants, working under the English East India Company in Madras. The English after they establish their factory at Madras realized the importance of well-defined tradition of merchants who is going to take care of large procurement of cloth in the hinterland. The procurement of goods cannot be done by the English Company alone as it involved large man power for collecting at lowest level and store them in the godown. In this condition they need one very reliable person who can guarantee to supply the Company's need, thus they appointed one local merchant as their chief merchant who is going to look after the procurement of goods at the local level and to dispose their goods. In one way it also freed from many of the onerous responsibilities of supervision and work within the Company officials. The chief merchants were also given privileges and these privileges were considerable. They were the sole agent for the supply of the large textile order every year as well as other export commodities required. They also tend to be monopolists both in the export and import trade. They mediated between the lesser merchants and the Company. The lesser merchants did not negotiate contracts with the Company, that's why the English Company in Madras dealt with only one local merchant as chief merchant.

The foremost among the merchants of Madras, who owned several ships and had great share in the trade with Tennasarim, Pegu and Arakan in the earlyseventeenth century, was Malaya Chetti.¹⁷⁵ Malaya was a Dutch agent based at Pulicat but he also work for the English Company's before Madras was found. Malaya is from a Baliya caste, a community of Telugu-speaking merchants claiming closed connection with the ruling Nayaks of Vijayanagar Empire. Malay was considered to be one of the richest merchants of South Coromandel region during the first half of the seventeenth century. The port of Tegenpatam was his original base of commercial operation. In the early days of his career he was not more than a broker and interpreter. By around 1620, his power as an independent merchant grows, as was his influence in the local politics of southern and central Coromandel. The Dutch probably came in contact with

¹⁷⁵ Subramanyam, Sanjay, (1990). *The Political Economy of Commerce Southern India*, pp. 306-307.

Malaya in 1608 when they established their factory at Tegenapatam. Soon he left for Pulicat to join the Dutch and become a chief agent for the Dutch Company. After arriving in Pulicat, Malay quickly established himself as the Dutch Company's most important agent. Yet, as important as Malaya was to Dutch trade, by the 1630's he chose to make even greater investments in revenue farming. The first figure revealing the extent of Malaya's participation in Pulicat's textile trade, available for the year 1632, show that Malaya received a Dutch contract to supply 23,000 pagodas in textile while seven other merchants were to supply a total of 9000 pagodas. The burden that this contract placed on Malaya's capital resources depended on whether the Dutch supplied any of their capital. Assuming that they did not the entire capital required for this year came from Malaya's resources; Malaya would have had to supply local weavers with between one-third and one-half of the total value of the cloth in advance. At a maximum, therefore, he would have to invest no more than 12,000 pagodas from his own capital resources. This level of investment in cloth brokerage may be compared with Malaya's subsequent investment in revenue farming. In 1633 Malaya succeeded in persuading the ruler of Chandragiri, whose area of authority encompassed Pulicat, to grant him Pulicat's revenue farm on payment of 33,000 pagodas, considerably more than twice the investment he had made in Dutch trade a year before.¹⁷⁶ Other than this, Malaya also invests in shipbuilding especially in the Burma Coast. Malaya's trade in Pegu was sufficient to require him to maintain an agent there.¹⁷⁷

On the other side, Malaya first contact with the English Company began when they were planning to establish a factory at Karikal on the Tanjavur coast in 1624, instructions were sent from Batavia to the emissaries that 'there is a great Committee in the nayak's country named Malaya, which will be your chief merchants and undertake great matters.'¹⁷⁸ The English were very much satisfied when Malaya lent them money at the time of great financial distress.¹⁷⁹ For Malaya it was opportunity to have better get in touch with, if possible, to all the mercantile European nations who come to trade in the Coromandel Coast. But the relation with the English was often in trouble as he changed side in favour of the Dutch for a larger benefit. Such trouble especially, became at the head when

¹⁷⁶ Brenning, J. Joseph, *Chief Merchants and the European Enclaves of Seventeenth-Century Coromandel*. *Modern Asian Studies*. 11, 3, 1977, pp. 324-325.

¹⁷⁷ Brenning, J. Joseph, *Chief Merchants and the European Enclaves of Seventeenth-Century Coromandel*. *Modern Asian Studies*. 11, 3, 1977, p. 325.

¹⁷⁸ Foster, William, (ed.), *The English Factories in India*, (hereafter E.F.I), 1624-1629, p. 9.

¹⁷⁹ E. F. I., 1624-1629, p. 288.

the English attempt to settle a factory at Armagon in 1626, on the northern strip of Lake Pulicat.¹⁸⁰ The English learnt that it was Dutch who sent Malaya 'to farm the government of Armagon at treble its usual rent,'¹⁸¹ from the local nayak to monopolise the trade at Armagon. However, the English Company keeps on insisting Malaya to come back to the English Company to be their agent. Thus, in 1632 Malaya again made approach to the English to resume their trade on the coast. He offered the English, cloth at much cheaper rates than were paid by the Dutch.¹⁸² After he came back, Malaya did not live for long as he passed away very soon in March 1634. Nevertheless, Malaya names does not figured much as the English were still in the process searching their foothold and was not that strong in the Coromandel Coast.

Chinnanna (16305-1640s)

After the death of Malaya one of his brother Chinnanna take up his position and he further extended his brother business and pursued more vigorously the avenues on the overseas commerce, revenue farming and political influence. Chinnanna had high political ambition and participate in the struggle for the throne of Chandragiri, leading to an armed force in support of the contender favored by the *nayak* of Ginji. But he lacked military tactics to support his political ambition. One such failure was in 1638, when Chinnanna's nephew, Konara Chitti, a resident of Ginji, quarreled with the powerful Ginji noble, Tupaki Krishnappa Nayak. Konara foresee the consequence and fled to Tegenepatnam where he sought his uncle's protection while Krisbnappa Nayak was pursuing him. Chinnanna put up in defense but he was not capable to organize any military resistance. He lost the battle to the invading troops and the consequence was that he paid heavy indemnity of 40,000 pagodas, three elephants and the lands which he held in the vicinity of Tegenepatnam.¹⁸³

Chinnanna then leave for Pulicat to assume his late elder brother's position as the Dutch Company chief agent. While this was happening, there was a significant development in the coast of Coromandel. The English East India Company secures a permission to open a factory at the village of Madraspatam in 1639.¹⁸⁴ In the hinterland, King of Ghandragiri died in 1642, Sri Ranga III

¹⁸⁰ E. F. I., 1624-1629, pp. 131, 358.

¹⁸¹ E. F. I., 1624-1629, p. 358.

¹⁸² E. F. I., 1630-33, p. 243.

¹⁸³ Brenig, J. Joseph, Chief Merchants and the European Enclaves of Seventeenth-Century Coromandel. *Modern Asian Studies*. 11, 3, 1977, p. 326.

¹⁸⁴ E. F.I., 1639-1641, p. xxxvii.

succeeded his throne. On Sri Ranga's coronation, Chinnanna offered a large gift and promise to serve under him.¹⁸⁵ He got favour but soon loses as Sri Ranga was involved in a dispute with the *nayak* of Ginji and suspected Chinnanna allied with the *nayak* of Ginji, he later imprisoned Chinnanna.¹⁸⁶ With his released he preferred to remain loyal again to Sri Ranga. During all these political experiment, he continued to trade from Pulicat and others ports, both on his own account and as an intermediary for the Dutch. Despite all the difficulties, he succeeds as a merchant, and his trade was probably to a greater extent than that of his late brother Malaya.¹⁸⁷

The Dutch relation with the Chinnanna had many vicissitudes. In 1644, the Dutch had imprisoned members of Chinnanna's family in Pulicat in order to secure the payment of his outstanding dues of 15,000 pagodas.¹⁸⁸ This brought an open hostility for Chinnanna, who mobilized 50,000 troops with the help of Sri Ranga and blockaded Pulicat from 12th August 1645, till January 1646.¹⁸⁹ It was lifted only when the Golconda troops under Mir Jumla advance in the southern territory.¹⁹⁰ The situation was worsening for Sri Ranga and he began to move his troops toward Udayagiri and had also ordered to lift the siege and given the task to defend the Udayagiri's fort. But sensing his inability to defend from the Golconda forces, Chinnanna decided to surrendered the fortress in exchange for his people to go free: 'the Meir Jumlah is Generall for the king of Gulcondah, whoe hath allreadie taken three of the kings castle, whereof one of them is reported to bee the strongest hould in this kingdome, where Molay was sent to keepe it, but in a short tyme surrendered it unto the Meir Jumlah, upon composition for himselfe and all his people to goe away free.'¹⁹¹ After the surrender, Chinnanna return to Pulicat and the Dutch also wanted him to come back forgetting all the past differences. There was reconciliation from both sides, "Molay, by many letters of solicitation from the Hollanders Generall of Jaccatra (i.e. Batavia) to Molay". is returned againe to Pulicatte and receaced by the Governor with great honnour and respect.¹⁹² Chinnanna resume his trading activities and also acted as a mediator for the Dutch Company, his last service for the Dutch came nearly a decade when he mediated for them with *nayak* of

¹⁸⁵ E. F.I., 1642-1645, p. 81.

¹⁸⁶ E. F.I., 1642-1645, p. 154.

¹⁸⁷ Mukund, Kanakalatba, (1999). *The Trading World of the Tamil Merchant*, p.65.

¹⁸⁸ E. F. 1.,1642-1645, pp. 279-280.

¹⁸⁹ E. F. I., 1642-1645, p.279-282.

¹⁹⁰ E. F. 1.,1646 -1650, p. 25.

¹⁹¹ E. F.I., 1646-1650, p. 26.

¹⁹² E. F. I., 1646-1650, p. 165.

Tanjavur, and negotiated the cession of Nagapatnam to the Dutch in 1658.¹⁹³ Whereas Konara eventually go to different side by joining his uncle Shesadra in Madras, who is already established as chief merchant under the English East India Company.

Seshadra Chetti (1640-1660s)

The first chief merchant reported to reside at Fort St. George was Seshadra Chetti (nephew and son-in-law of both Malaya and Chinnanna), who later claimed that he was the true heir of Malaya Chetti's. In 1641, he appealed to the king to return the property taken over by Chinnanna should be restored to him. This resulted in protracted feud, which compel Seshadra to trasfer in Madras to start a new business and here he was employ by the English East India Company as chief merchant.¹⁹⁴ By 1646, Seshadra was given the title 'our chief merchants Sesadra.'¹⁹⁵

In this prosperous port Seshadra and his partner Konara Chetti established their business and remain as chief merchants of the English Company until they were remove by Thomas Ivy (Chief Agent of Fort St. George, 1644-1648) as they could not pay their debt. In their place Venkata was appointed, whose brother Kanappa also holds a very important position as local magistrate. This started a strain relationship between the two groups of merchants who competed to get the post of chief merchants. Seshadra did not remain quite for long and he reclaim his post when Henry Greenhill who is his associate, became Agent in 1648 (1648-1652) reinstate him as chief merchant again. When both side wanted to keep the post of chief merchant there was an open conflict, aggravated by the fact that both sides have their own supporters in the Council. Seshadra, a right hand caste, Balijas was incited the right hand caste group and on the other side was the Brahmin, a neutral but instigated the left hand caste Beri Chettis leading to caste conflicts.

The first riot occurred in October 1652, shortly after Aaron Baker arrived as President, shifting the head quarters of Presidency from Bantam to Fort St. George.¹⁹⁶ Baker found himself involved in a quarrel between his second in Council and the Company's merchants. Venkata and his brother accused Greenhill and Gurney of various malpractices, and the two factors replied by a series of charges against them and Edward Winter.¹⁹⁷ The riot started when the

¹⁹³ Mukund, Kanakalatba, (1999). *The Trading World of the Tamil Merchant*, p. 66.

¹⁹⁴ Love, H.D, (1996). *Vestiges of Old Madras*, vol. I, p. 54.

¹⁹⁵ E. F.I., 1646-1650, p. 52.

¹⁹⁶ E. F.I., 1651-1654, p. XXX,

¹⁹⁷ E. F.I., 1651-1654, p. xxxvi.

right-hand castes took marriage procession through a street, which is claim by the left-hand as their territory. The residents reacted violently, supported by the two Brahmins, leading to a full-scale riot between the two parties.¹⁹⁸

This is not the end; soon riot occurred spontaneously, in early 1653, only a few months after the first riot, a second occurred. This time a prominent left-hand merchant caste, Beri Chettis, went before Seshadra and insulted him.¹⁹⁹ Seshadra responded by bringing: '40 or 50 armed men into the town to begin a new quarrel with them again.'²⁰⁰ President Aaron Baker on this situation wrote a long letter to the President and Council at Surat on 5th February 1653, which read,

"wee know not what spirit of factious madnesse hath of late possess'd our townes people in generall, ... all other townes in this kingdome are divided into two generall caste, namely the Belgewarras (right-hand) and the Bereewars (lefthand), who for many hundred years together have ever had a quarrel one with the other who should bee the more honourable cast and have presidency of the other ; which quarrel between our townes men by the instigacion of a crew of beggarly villanes ... a Belgewar (Seshadra) told a Bereewarr that he was not worth a cash; to whome the Berewar replied againe tha~ if himself were not worth a cash, the other was not worth two cash. Upon this the Belgewar runnes presently into the towne, raiseth the whole cast with sword and clubs, who runn into the Berewar streets, plunder there houses, and cut of two mens heare of their heads ... since when all the perswansions we can use between these people cannot reconcile them. They have called in all the countrey round about of both casts to fight one against another, and, corrupting the towne watch, have brought in four or five hundred armed men by night. Soe that tis not our feeble crew of 26 English souldiersthat we have is able to deale with them; ...(wee should say Fort) to withstand their power, if they should altogether come upon us."²⁰¹

The English Council was unable to give justice, perhaps confused and disturbed, and refused to hear their appeal. This makes the situation more complicated when the left hand castes seek justice from the local rulers Mir JumIa, who was stationing nearby. However, the situation cannot be resolved as:

¹⁹⁸ E. F. I., 1651-1654, p. 135.

¹⁹⁹ Brennig, J. Joseph, Chief Merchants and the European Enclaves of Seventeenth-Century Coromandel. *Modern Asian Studies*. II, 3, 1977, p. 330.

²⁰⁰ E. F. I., 1651-1654, p. 153.

²⁰¹ E. F. I., 1651-1654, p. 155-156.

'finding that the 'Berewar' were not likely to get any support from Nawab, he (Vankata) forsook them and joined with the painters again.'²⁰² Without any agreement, both sides return to Madras.

The situation turn in favour of the right-hand castes, when Henry Greenhill, becomes agent once again this time as President, replacing Aaron Baker in 1655. Greenhill at once arrest the rival Venkata and Kanappa on suspicion of fraud. The two Brahmins were found guilty on many counts and imprison.²⁰³ They were released a few months later, but no longer get any contract and forced them to leave Madras forever.²⁰⁴ Seshadra thought that he may completely secure his position by now but he was heavily indebtedness to the Company. In a final reference to Seshadra the Council wrote to the Company's Directors in London in 1655, that the Madras Chief Merchant, 'Koneri Chetti and Seshadra Nayak, are utterly undone and although charged in the books with large sums, are quite unable to pay. Most of their indebtedness is for private goods sold to them or money lent to them unable to pay, reimbursed himself, principal and interest, out of the Company's cash and transferred the debt to it account.'²⁰⁵

From the very beginning, Seshadra had tied up with Greenhill's private trade and it was he that Seshadra owed his largest debts. It was on the understanding of Seshadra that he allowed these debts to grow in the hope that they would insure Greenhill's continuing support as a protection of his investment. However, Greenhill, to secure immediate payment, manipulated the Company's book and shifted Seshadra's debt to a Company account, paying him out of Company funds. The consequence was too heavy for Seshadra that he was deprived the credit that he used to enjoy to trade as chief merchant. Consequently, and he never able to come back from this entangle and left him completely ruined in his business.

All this time Seshadra nephew's Konara Chetti who dutifully followed in his uncle's trade, suddenly shifted his ambition in the politics. It was perhaps due to his uncle's financials condition or maybe persuaded by the local chief to lead a revolt on behalf of the exiled Sri Ranga against the government of Mir lumIa, who left for Bijapur for the Emperor Aurangzeb service in 1656. Konara Chetti revolted and decided to capture Ponnammalle but he made many wrong decisions to take Ponnammalle, it was delay by the time he marched, Mir lumla assistance

²⁰² E. F.I., 1651-1654, p. 240.

²⁰³ E. F. I., 1655-1660, p. 31.

²⁰⁴ Love, H.D, (1996). *Vestiges o/Old Madras*, vol. I. p. 204.

²⁰⁵ E. F.I., 1651-1654, p. 293.

Tupaki Krishappa Nayak defeated him.²⁰⁶ Konara Chetti who has no military background was easily defeated, but he was treated very friendly by Krishappa and soon set him free. This was the last influential merchants from the Malaya's family, with his exit; the dominant role played by these merchants in the European trade was virtually over.

Beri Timmanna (16608-1669)

In the 1660s, Beri Timmanna, who belongs to weavers of Perika castes, emerged as one of the leading merchants in Madras while dealing with the English Company. Before becoming chief merchants Beri Timmaanna and Rudriga names appear way back in 1652 when they were involved in castes disputes. During the riot both name appeared on the list that had supported right hand castes leading under the leadership of Seshadra, 'Timmanna and Rudriga tried to persuade to mooree and cangaloone weavers to put themselves under Seshadries protection.'²⁰⁷

Timmanna was also accusing of monopolize the rice trade in Madras. The price increased so much so that all the artisans were discouraged from going to the town:

‘the inhabitants of your towne, as painters, weavers, etc., should be encouraged by a good treatment of them, they have on the contrary bin much discouraged by the enhancing the price of rice; which is occasioned by the engrossing all into the hands of one man (its easily imagined whose), which is no better then a monopoly of his owne raysing, and by this means makes a famine where God sends none, .. I have several complaints from honest men about it; which discouraged them from bringing rice and other provision to our port, and forces them to carry it to other places where they have more freedom.’²⁰⁸

In spite of such negative character earlier, Beri Timmanna, was chosen as chief merchants for the English Company being, ‘the investment at Madras was to be entrusted to 'Timane, the Companies ancient broker, a person only experienced and to be trusted at present in this extremity of times and great want of goods.’²⁰⁹ He was a close trusted man to Edward Winter but soon he ran out favour for being too close to him. In 1664, Winter arrested Timmanna and threatening to hang him. Later Winter extorted 15,000 pounds from

²⁰⁶ E. F. I., 1651-1654, pp. 95-96,

²⁰⁷ E . F.I., 1651-1654, p. 258.

²⁰⁸ E. F. I., 1661-1664, p. 58.

²⁰⁹ E.F.I., 1661-1664, pp. 165-166.

Timmanna.²¹⁰ Winter imprisoned Timmanna and threatened to hang him because he suspect him to used to kill him; 'I did then threaten to hang him for his sorcery used to me, and that he should pay soundly for his rouguery.'²¹¹ After the release he was employ again, and he became one of the trusted friend for Edward Winter: 'This Tymonah was noe sooner released but Sir Edward Winter employed him to be the Companies broker, to buy and sell all their merchandize, to receive the customes and buy and sell all their merchandize, to receive the customes and profits of the towne, and so far intrusted him on all occasions that neither the Companies factors nor he that was the second in Council knew much of the Companies factors, the chiefe transaction being privately managed by Tymonah and Sir Edward Winter.'²¹²

George Foxcroft who was sent in 1665 to replace Edward Winter, who was charged of serious financial disapprobation, believed that the main allegations were true and that his predecessor had not only shared in high profits the brokers had made out of their contracts, but also permitted Timmanna to terrorize over the inhabitants and monopolized the trade. However, before the investigation begins Foxcroft was depose, put in prison by Winter after a coup. The merchants were caught up in the tangle among the quarrel in the Company's rank official.²¹³ Timmanna relationship with the Company was oscillating, sometimes a harsh treatment or sometimes praised to be the most trusted person for a Company business. Edward Winter who imprisoned him admitted that, 'But I known him soe serviceable to them (i. e. the Company) that I would not, for any selfe interest, put him out, for he is the only person that take off all their goods, when none others will, and secures all bad debts; which if he should not doe, we could not possibly send home full retumes annually nor be free from making some bad debts.'²¹⁴ The English wanted to retain him because of his willingness to take the imports goods and guarantee the debts of other merchants. Besides, it simplification of the trade operations in Madras and freed from many onerous responsibilities of supervision.²¹⁵

Timmanna had come a long way, in spite of hostile account in the castes disputes in 1652, he was appointed chief merchant. He had migrated from Godaveri Delta where he himself established not long after the enclave of Fort St.

²¹⁰ E. F. I., 1661-1664, p. 365.

²¹¹ E. F. I., 1661-1664, p. 388.

²¹² E. F. I., 1661-1664, p. 389.

²¹³ See details in, E. F. I., 1665-1667, pp. 117-124.

²¹⁴ E. F. I., 1661-1664, p. 388.

²¹⁵ Brennig, J. Joseph, Chief Merchants and the Euro.pcean Enclaves of Seventeenth-Century Coromandel.

Modern Asian Studies. 11, 3, 1977, p. 334.

George was established. In his early days Timmanna worked as an agent in an English merchant's private trade, where he build his fortune by various means of illicit manner under the Company's name. Some of complaints were recorded, 'nor he remedy certain abuses by Timmanna and Rudriga in their dealing in rice.'²¹⁶ Again in the next page: 'Rudriga and Timmanna forced shopkeepers to buy Greenhill's goods at more than their value, and the latter, would hear thereof'.²¹⁷ Further 'Timmanna and Rudriga took a bribe to restore them, and procured them a new custom of 1/10 fanam on each pagoda for all cloth brought in.'²¹⁸ He also built a temple and the money he collected were not hearty donations as some were collected by illegal and forcefully: 'the inhabitants complaining of the exactions of those men for the purpose of building and maintaining pagodas.'²¹⁹

Timmanna rose from a low caste to a highly successful member among the merchants is a kind of opportunity offered by the English in the competition of willingness to guarantee to deal with the English. He died in 1669 and was succeeded by Kasi Viranna.

Kasi Viranna (1669-1680)

After the death of Timmanna, Kasi Viranna was appointed as chief merchant for the English Company who acted as the 'heir of Timonah'.²²⁰ He is from Komati caste, a large Telugu speaking merchant's community spreading widely in south India. Unlike the previous chief merchant, he had vast trading network, which necessary for strong Company support and it was presumably for this reason that in the two disputes between the Company and the merchant's community, Viranna sided with the Company. It was during the Council to impose a tax on the construction of wall, which is badly damaged. It is very much needed to repair as the Fort was continue to threat from native rulers: 'it is resolved by the Agent and Council that the Justices of the Choultry shall summon in the inhabitants of the place, without the wall, to contribute towards his damaged, as far as pagodas: one hundred the value of this materials.'²²¹

The local settlers opposed the decision of the Council and organized a general strike, Viranna decline to join along with the local inhabitants. Later, when the Council asked him about the quality of cloth to be improve he did so.

²¹⁶ E. F.I., 1651-1654, p. 259.

²¹⁷ E. F.I., 1651-1654, p. 260.

²¹⁸ E. F.I., 1651-1654, p. 262.

²¹⁹ E. F. I., 1651-1654, pp. 260, 262.

²²⁰ Diary and Consultation Book., (hereafter D&CB), 1672-1678, p. 6.

²²¹ D&CB., 1672-1678, p. 72.

Viranna sent his own agents to supervise the work of weavers: ‘he was faine (fair) to send out five of his own Servants unto each head place being eighteen in number, having each their circuits & severall others subdivided, with: orders to looke after the business better and Remedy.’²²²

The dependence on Kasi Viranna, in fact, could not be avoided, when ship is not fully load with goods. In a short notice Viranna could deliver the cloth and other goods. In such case, he performed his capability. It was recorded on 23 June 1678, when the Company's ship *Williamson* arrived from England, followed by the ship *Nathaniel* and the *Society* on 2 July.²²³ They brought a dispatch, which order a considerable increase in the quantities of cloth to be provided. To cover this in a short period, a contract was made on 5 August with Kasi Viranna and his partners for the supply of the whole amount required.²²⁴ Streysam Master also highly regards on Viranna capability to procure whatever demands in short notice by the Company.²²⁵ According to Abbe Carre, a French traveller who stayed Madras in 1672-1673, describes Virannia as: ‘Principal merchant who governs everything in Madras.’²²⁶ From time to time Viranna was included in the Council meeting, which takes decision for the year investment, ‘the final ammgements for the year’s investment were made on the 24th, when they were discussed with Viranna and partners.’²²⁷

On the other side, Kasi Viranna had a dark shadow where he manipulated and bribed the official to get a contract for his business. William Langhom was charge of accepting a bribe of 20,000 pagodas yearly from Viranna to gain contract for the Company. The auditor brought the charges:

‘the agent Sir William Langhom finding himself charged by the Auditour with receiving pagodas twenty thousand yearly of the Humble Company's Merchant Cassa Verona to bribe his favour to them in their business with the said Company in prices of goods bought and sould, in sorting, in time or manner of payments, or other Clandestine wayes, and other that the Auditor having received this from the malicious, but ungrounded reports of people,

²²² D&CB., 1672-1678, p. 74.

²²³ According to K. N. Chaudhuri, in 1678 the English Company investment was 40% increased from previous year. *The Trading World of Asia And The English East India Company*, 1640-1760, Appendix 5, Table c. 2, p. 509.

²²⁴ E. F.I. 1678-1684. p. 3.

²²⁵ Temple. R.C., (ed.), (1911). *The Diaries of Streysam Master*, vol. II, p. 389.

²²⁶ Fawcett, Charles ,(ed.), (2010). *The Travels of Abbe Carre in India and the Near East*, vol. II, p. 605.

²²⁷ E. F.I., 1678-1684, p. 14.

whose misarriages resent to prove the Agents stricktness for the Humble Company interest.²²⁸

Viranna strongly countered the charges by saying that:

‘the whole charges and imputation is utterly fails, and the same in every part of it, and a mere slaunder, and expressed very much trouble of mind for the Humble Company's hard thought ...Saying that although his dealing with them be that of a free merchants, and no Servant of theirs, who having perfonned his contracts has no further obligation nor tyes upn him yet the spreading of such slaunderous reports is a very great injury and dishonour unto him.’²²⁹

Kasi Viranna also ventured into the revenue farming, which was not very successful. Viranna total revenue farming investment under the Golconda came at 12,000 pagodas.²³⁰ He ran out of court favour and the consequence was that Lingappa, Governor of Poonamale, took the revenue farm of St. Thome. Lingappa blame Viranna for not able to pay the revenue without the resources of the port: ‘the reason that he urged to the Diwan of Golconda to wrest it out of Veronas hands, and to let him have it, is that he had Rented in this Country 2 Lack Pagodas Revenue per annum, which he is not able to bring up, pretending that Madras and Pallicat People keep up the price of Paddy there, by which other People he sayeth, are hindered from fetching it out of his Countrey, and without having St. Thome to himself, He would not continue his said ffarme.’²³¹ Viranna did his best to return by paying heavy bribes, but Lingappa refuse to return on the ground that unless Viranna repaid him for his costs and appeal the court, then he would not allow taking it back. When Viranna asked to return, Lingappa replied that, ‘he had spent Pagda. 1000 at Gulconda about wresting St. Thome out of Veronas hands, and that unless Verona would give him Pagds. 1000 he would not part with it.’²³²

On 28th March 1680, Kasi Viranna died suddenly because of malignant fever, leaving his wife, daughter and adopted son from his elder brother. To

²²⁸ D&CB., 1672-1678, pp. 99-100.

²²⁹ D&CB., 1672-1678, p. 100.

²³⁰ Letters to Fort St. George, 1681, p. 6.

²³¹ D&CB., 1679-1680, p. 53.

²³² Temple, R.C., (ed.), (1911). *The Diaries of Streysham Master*, 1675-80, vol. II, p. 388. See also D&CB., 1679-1680, p.193.

honour him, thirty guns were fire to salute him at his funeral, which took place on the same day.²³³

Pedda Venkatadri (1680-1683)

After the death of Kasi Viranna, there remained only his two brothers Pedda Venkatadri and Chinna Venkatadri, as the surviving first partners in the stock of Viranna and their partners. Pedda Venkatadri accordingly appointed chief merchants on 5 April 1680.²³⁴ Pedda was unfortunate on being the chief merchant at Fort St. George as during his tenure there was lots of strife occurs in Madras. As soon as he assumes the post, difference occur between him and the rest of the merchants about their old accounts, which was not clear for the last five years.²³⁵ Streysam Master, one of the most able administrators during his days, conclude that the joint stock is the best option and the dispute between Pedda and the other merchants was because of a strong monopoly by the chief merchant. To prevent such differences in future, the Council proposed that the merchants should join the 'joint stock' for the whole investment required by the Company.

At first, the lesser merchants hesitated; without the consent of the Chief Merchant, they could not take such a step. Pedda opposed the plan as it is going to reduce his income and the loss of his mediating position between the Company and Madras' lesser merchants. Master threatens him that if he did not join then he would be excluding from Company and he would not allowed to trade. In the end, allow to retain his quarter share of the investment. Later the lesser merchants were convinced and agreed the proposal for a joint stock, provided advances were given as usual. Pedda and his brother, under a threat of dismissal from any share in the investment, agreed to join. All the merchants, with an abatement of 6 per cent to on the former prices of the whole investment, and an allowance of 1 per cent to cover the wages of the Company's native merchants accepted the proposed arrangement.

The contract was sign on 10 July, provided for a stock of 50,000 pagodas, consists of 100 shares of 500 pagodas each, which is to bring when the ships were dispatch to England, advances being made for the existing year.²³⁶ Pedda and Muddu Viranna, with their partners, were to hold twenty-five percent of the shares, and they, together with seven merchants, each held 2 % shares, and were to be chief merchants, forming the committee of management.²³⁷

²³³ E. F. 1., 1678-1684, p. 18.

²³⁴ E. F.I., 1678-1684, p. 19.

²³⁵ D&CB., 1680-1681, p. 41.

²³⁶ D&CB., 1680-1681, p. 45.

²³⁷ The names and their percentage of shares were given in Appendix-I.

In the first joint stock meeting nine of them were nominated and appointed as chief merchants for management, directing and ordering the stocks and trade for all others in the joint stock holders. Balanced are adjusted on the last day of March yearly or within next two month without fail. The nine chief merchants would go to the Governor and acquaint the account of all the joint stock holders.²³⁸

Even after the formation of the joint stock, Pedda Vankatadri, who nourished the status of chief merchant for a long time could not accept it as it deprived him monopoly and profits from the merchants. The result was bad feeling between him and Streysam Master, which brought serious conflict in Madras. The *Tarafdar* of Poonamalee who had been receiving significant gift from Pedda Vankatadri now informed him that these would be discontinued because of his reduced income. On the advice of Pedda Vankatadri, the *Tarafdar* of Poonamalee, Lingappa blockaded Madras, cutting all the supplies of essentials, foods and all trading activities. Later, Streysam Master blame that 'Pedda Vankatadri and his brother, Allingal Pillai, with their accomplices, had occasioned the stoppage, and had in many other ways endeavoured to hinder and damage the Company's business, so these three men were imprisoned in the Fort St. George.'²³⁹ On the next day (7th October) the Council took up the complaint of the merchants that Viranna, Pedda Venkatadri and their friends had not during the previous five years manipulate the prices they had received goods supplied to the Company overcharged. After hearing the case, the Council passed a decree that Pedda and his partners should allow the other merchants the same rates and prices as they had been charged or received during that period.²⁴⁰

In the consultation, the Council passed to look the matter and it was recorded:

'concerned in the Joynt Stock urging that Verona, Pedda Vankatadri & C: for five years last past had not allowed to the said Merchants the prices which the Company allowed and paid them for the goods provided for the Company, and had overcharged them for the goods bought of the Company, which case being heard, and Pedda Vankatadri acknowledge there was noe agreement betwixt them that the Merchants should be allowed less or charged more then the Companys prices.'²⁴¹

²³⁸ D&CB., 1680-1681, p. 49.

²³⁹ E. F. I., 1678-1684, p. 25. See also D&CB., 1680-1681, p. 71.

²⁴⁰ E. F. I., 1678-1684, p. 25.

²⁴¹ D&CB., 1680-1681, pp. 71-72.

By the end of the November, the Council claim that Pedda Venkatadry owed the lesser merchants 65,000 pagodas; and when Venkatadry refused to pay his shares, Master ordered the Chief merchant's property to be seized to repay to the lesser merchants.²⁴² Pedda Vankatadry's relation with the company's was worsen from all side especially from Streysam Master and prosecution by the local merchants, Pedda Vankatadry's families and supporter's from the right-hand castes left the town: 'This day it was discovered that Pedda Yenkatadrys and Chena Yenkatadrys Sons and Son-in-law, that Pedda Naique and the Chief Painter with other Painters, the Muckwa's, Cattarmaran Men and Cooleys had left the Town privately the last night.'²⁴³ They all went to San Thome in protest and to:

'sent several letters to the several casts of Gentues in Towne, and to several in the Company service as Dubasses, Cherucons or Chief Peons, Merchants Washers and others, and threatned severall to Murther them if they came not out to them, now they stopt goods and provisions comeing to towne throwing the Cloth off the Oxen and laying their Dury ... the Durm has beaten forbidding all People to carry any provisos or wood to Chenapatnam.'²⁴⁴

Pedda Vankatadry and his supporters prevent all the goods coming to Madras, which seriously undermine the Company's business. First, they gather at San Thome, but later they move farther away, asking the inhabitants to join and stop working for the Company.

In the beginning of this blockade, the court of Golconda issued a letter not to hamper for trading at Madras to his deputy Lingappa: 'ordering him not to stop goods coming to our Towne or any ways to hinder our business but to assist us in all things.'²⁴⁵ The supporters of Pedda Vankatadri, then went to the Court of Golconda for help. Later, the Golconda court had cold feelings towards the complaints from their own people and a warning of letter was send to the Company officia's objecting the imprisonment of Pedda Yenkatadry and two others. The Golconda court state that the ordinary merchants used only to receive something for their maintenance from Viranna and had nothing to do with the conduct of his (Pedda Yenkatadry) trade; and consequently Pedda and his partners should not take the blame for what Viranna did. Later Akhaana who sided with the right-hand side threaten to destroy the Company's trade at Madras,

²⁴² D&CB., 1680-1681, p. 79.

²⁴³ D&CB., 1680-1681, p. 75.

²⁴⁴ D&CB., 1680-1681, p. 76.

²⁴⁵ D&CB., 1680-1681, p. 76.

unless the Council reinstated Pedda and Chinna as chief merchants and restored all that had been taken from the two brothers, who complain of having been imprisoned and robbed.²⁴⁶

As the matter become serious, the Council decide to have meeting and it recorded:

‘Braminy Ackana had sent for Mr. Homer and acquainted him that Pedda Yenkatadry and Chena Yenkatadry had made their complaint at Court there, that they were robbed, and put in prison, and forced to fly for safety to Conge Voram, and said Ackana required that they should be restored to their former Employment as Verona had, and noe more taken from them then what was just for them to pay, and to return what we had taken from them, otherwise, he threatened we should not trade in the Country.’²⁴⁷

How far the revolt was success is unable to state as most of the sources were from the English records. In this revolt, the left-hand castes did not join the blockade and remained in Madras and they continue to support the Company business. The discontent seems mainly from the right-hand castes; Tamil painters, the washers and the left-hand ox men.²⁴⁸ During these days the business were continue the supply of calicoes: 'Fortunately the mutiny and other troubles do not appear to have interfered with the provision of calicoes for the four vessels, and on 7 January all the warehouse were so filled with bales that another one was hired from *Jersey*. The sloops *Arrival* and *Ganges* arrived Madras on 13 and 28 March respectively, with saltpeter from Bengal, but as there were no warehouse available for its storage; it had to be heap up in the open.²⁴⁹

Finally, a settlement was brought by the merchants that their accounts had been settled and Pedda Vankatadri brought security for their debts, on this arrangement the brother were released: 'Pedda Yenkatadry and Chena Yenkatadry having given the Merchants satisfaction for the money awarded them and passed Grall: Release one to another. It is resolved to discharge the said Pedda Yenkatadry and Chena Yenkatadry of their Imprisonment with the following sentence.'²⁵⁰ However, Allingal Pillai, was release only after paying 5000 pagodas.²⁵¹

²⁴⁶ E. F. I., 1678-1684, p. 27.

²⁴⁷ D&CB., 1680-1681, p. 87.

²⁴⁸ E. F. I., 1678-1684, p. 27.

²⁴⁹ E. F. I., 1678-1684, pp. 33-34.

²⁵⁰ D&CB., 1681, p. 7.

²⁵¹ E. F. I., 1678-1684, p. 32.

In the end of this conflict Pedda Venkatadri came out victorious, first thing happening in Madras was the Governor Streynsham Master remove from the post of President.²⁵² Later, Pedda Vankatadri was re-appointed as chief merchants, 'the Council having sent for Pedda Vankatadri, Chenayankatadri, Allingal Pillai and Company who were turned out of employment upon no just score of the Company's as we have seriously debated therefore have taken Consideration their resettlement.'²⁵³ A counter charge brought against Master by Pedda Vankatadri, Chinna Vankatadri and Allingal Pillai along with several other settlers of Madras, about several abuses against them by Master who extorted large sum of money from them. Master was not able to answer the charges: 'everyone knew his memory was so bad that he was not able to return an answer.'²⁵⁴ This was followed by a long enquiry, and Master was finally allowed to return in 9 February 1682, on the ship *George*, after settling Pedda Vankatadri's claims.²⁵⁵

Chinna Vankatadri (1683-1689)

After a long struggle, Pedda Vankatadri did not live for long. He died on 9 March 1683, and his brother Chinna Vankatadri was appointed in his place as chief merchant.²⁵⁶ Chinna Vankatadri's tenure as a chief merchant was peaceful. From 1682, the English at Madras began to make sustained efforts to expand their catchments in Conimere (Kunimedu) and Cuddalore. However, these initial attempts were not really successful since the merchants there either wanted a price higher than what English was prepared to pay or they wanted to supply a proportion of fine cloth, which the English did not want: 'they standing so positively to their resolution which the agent found were nothing amounting to any reasonable abatement.'²⁵⁷ The major concern during Chinna Vankatadri's tenure was encroachment of interlopers, which the English Company decided to restrict their activities in the coast. To stop this incursion by the interlopers the Company decided to send Chinna Vankatadri to bribe the local Governor Lingappa for strict action by not allowing the interlopers to trade in his territory: 'the sum of Six Thousand Pagodas which Agreement was to be paid to the Duan, upon condition therein mentioned, & more one Thousand Pagodas which is to be given to Lingappa & Sangana as a Piscash, for their defeats of the interlopers in all

²⁵² D&CB., 1681, p. 30

²⁵³ D&CB., 1681, p. 35.

²⁵⁴ D&CB., 1681, p. 54.

²⁵⁵ D&CB., 1682, pp. 9-14.

²⁵⁶ E. F.I., 1678-1684, p. 62. See also D&CB., 1683, p. 22.

²⁵⁷ D&CB., 1682, pp. 41, 42, 43.

parts of Lingapa country.²⁵⁸ But nothing was done from Lingappa side, so the English decided to stop trading in Lingappa's territory: 'we have not as yet made any conclusion with Lingapa nor Received any Redress for the Pagodas 7000: nor our Merchants that are wrongfully detained and imprisoned by him to, and dispute with him about, having also sent our Complaints to Court therein, do still think it the Honour and interest of the Honble Company not to commence any trade in his country till we receive an answer to our late letter to Court or Satisfaction from Lingapa.'²⁵⁹

By this counter Lingappa's revenue would fall and the English intended to make him more reasonable while restrain the interlopers. Chinna Vankatadri as a chief merchant also did his trading business in the Southeast Asia with his own ship. One of his ship *Taigai Raja* was captured by the king of Siam navy while coming out of Siriam to Madras: 'Severall Pegu Merchants Inhabitants of this town of Madras coming hither from Pegu upon of Chinna Vancatadrys, were carried into Tenasseree by the Kings of Syams men of War, who plunder'd them of the value of Pagodas 2041 besides pagodas 3117.'²⁶⁰

The merchants mostly inhabitants of Madras, were robbed and kept as prisoners at Tenasserim without food for eight days until they were paid the ransom. After they were freed, the merchants came to lodge a complaint at President of Fort St. George, but he too was helpless as it was beyond his jurisdiction to take any action against the King of Siam.²⁶¹

The ambition of acquiring land by all powerful rich merchants, which usually happen when their status were considering a great significance in their economic activities also led Chinna Vankatadri to rent San Thome from the Brahmin Governor Madanata Pantulu of Kanchipuram on behalf of English Company. However, there was political disruption when the Mughal captured Golconda in 1687, where there is uncertainty on the payment of rent. During this instability the English give it to Chinna Vankatadri whether it is loss or profit the English were ready to take equal responsibility.²⁶²

The uncertainty of political condition in 1687 make the matter worse for trading, which brought much more confusion and disruption in the economic activities. This instability took advantage in the account of joint stock and once again brought disarray. There was a lot of problem among the merchants and the English wanted them to settle their difference among themselves, if not, not to go

²⁵⁸ D&CB., 1683, p. 122.

²⁵⁹ D&CB., 1684, p. 112.

²⁶⁰ D&CB., 1686, pp. 29, 34.

²⁶¹ D&CB., 1686, pp. 34-35.

²⁶² D & C B.. 1686. p. 56. See also D&CB.. 1687. p. 115.

ahead with the new contracts.²⁶³ The grievances of the merchants were due to the Chinna Vankatadri, who had delayed to delivered his shares, 'most of them having an aversion to Chinna Venkatadrys proceeding or being concern'd with them, from being behind hand in his parts of stocks & from other difference & disputes in account with them, tis therefore agreed that a new Stocks bee proposed.'²⁶⁴

The differences were resolve on 19 August 1688 and agreed to form new joint stock again. In this new joint stock, there will be twelve chief merchants, two were to be heads and summons the rest to meet and consult. Two merchants from the ten chief merchants are to keep the keys of the cash and write down all the accounts. Three merchants were to take the charges of calicoes and Indian goods. Other two merchants are to look after the European goods and the other three are to take care of the washers, weavers, painters and dyers.²⁶⁵ In this joint stock Chinna Vankatadri had again contribute with largest 6% amount of 1200 pagodas.²⁶⁶ Chinna Vankatadri did not continue for long as chief merchants; he died after five years working as chief merchant on 16 May 1689.²⁶⁷

Allingal Pillai (1689-1696)

Allingal Pillai succeed as chief merchant but his tenure as chief merchant was not successful for the English Company.²⁶⁸ The textile procurement remained poor due to the political uncertainty and witness severe famine: 'Alunghall and the Chief Merchants giving in a Petition in their present Investment, alleging great loss charge and many difficulties in bringing in their country.'²⁶⁹ Due to the political confusion, the English Company lost the manufactured goods of the peripheral surrounding villages of Madras, traditional, which the English Company used to buy from the very beginning. It was recorded in many consultations meeting for poor procurement in cotton textiles: 'in consideration of the great Profits and revenues we made of the place, which now was under the Moguls Dominion, and therefore not to be as in the Kings of Golconda time.'²⁷⁰ ...'our Merchants here also being discouraged by the wars, and troubles and obstructions in the Country, the weavers and the other necessary labourers being by the armies of the Mogul and Savage encamp near us dally so rob' d and

²⁶³ D&CB., 1687, p. 181.

²⁶⁴ D&CB., 1688, p. 106.

²⁶⁵ D&CB., 1688, p. 130.

²⁶⁶ D&CB., 1688, p. 132-133. For list of joint stock, see appendix-2.

²⁶⁷ D&CB., 1689, p. 50.

²⁶⁸ D&CB., 1689, p. 60.

²⁶⁹ D&CB., 1689, p. 60.

²⁷⁰ D&CB., 1689, p. 27.

plundered that they will not be persuaded yet to undertake a new contract.²⁷¹ ... 'there being little or no course goods procurable in the Company for discharge of our merchants Contract by reason of the continued wars and troubles.'²⁷² The merchants complained of severe losses, which were the result of their losses up to 30 percent on European goods and a shortage of weavers who had died in the famine or run away.²⁷³

This confusion brings all the merchants into bankrupt, which they complained that they could no longer supply the needed commodities for the English Company.²⁷⁴ The economic activities were further paralyzing when the Mughal troops have threatened to seize the Madras and destroy all the English settlements in the Coast.²⁷⁵ Madras was finally relieved when the Mughal troops diverted their attention towards Maratha Chief Rama Raja who was at Ginji: 'is come privately from his kingdom of Punnare, to the Cbingye country.'²⁷⁶ During this chaos, there was no supply of cloths and the little one that they could procure were considered unfit to send to England.²⁷⁷ To start afresh in Madras, the English decided to entice the weavers to come back to those who migrated in the interior by giving loans, house, and yarn in advance.²⁷⁸

During this confusion differences occurred between the chief merchant Allingal Pillia and Beri Timmappa, the nominal head, the fall out was between the much proficient merchants and head of one caste, which led the merchants divided into two factions. Allingal Pillia stopped attending the business of the joint stock meeting for many months under the pretence of sickness. Because of the excuse most of the management left under Beri Timmappa's.²⁷⁹

Further, on this aggravate situation, the merchants also continued to quarrel amongst themselves regarding their accounts. In this complex social dimension, the English mediated to reorganize in the much-divided representatives among the joint stock holders. The chief merchant Allingal Pillia and Beri Timmappa belonged to the right-hand caste, comprising mostly from Balijas, Komatis, Mundalis and Pillais. On the other hand, the merchants who carried on most of the business and the contract were from the Beri Chettis who belong to the left-hand castes. To contain this conflict, two chief merchants, one

²⁷¹ D&CB., 1689, p. 34.

²⁷² D&CB., 1689, p. 97.

²⁷³ D&CB., 1690, p. 21.

²⁷⁴ D&CB., 1689, p. 66.

²⁷⁵ D&CB., 1689, pp. 83. 87.

²⁷⁶ D&CB., 1689, p. 92.

²⁷⁷ D&CB., 1690, p. 23.

²⁷⁸ D&CB., 1690, p. 29.

²⁷⁹ D&CB., 1694, p. 121.

representing the right-hand and the other the left-hand caste were also included in the joint stock.²⁸⁰ Three weavers' were also taken into the newly reorganized joint stock in 1694, under the leaderships of Allingal Palai and Beri Timmappa.²⁸¹

There was again confusion among the shareholders, due to the usual tactic of delaying the auditing of previous accounts. However, the English refused to buy and pressure to come out for auditing their accounts: 'the Merchants being sent for and enquired of whether they had stated and finished the accounts of their old Joint Stock, as they long since were ordered and have promised. They answered on Friday next being a good day would begin. But they having so long deferred it, to prevent delay. It is ordered that the Merchants Conicopies of the old Joint Stock, doe meet daily in the merchant's godown.'²⁸² The confusion was due to the alleged claim from both joint stock merchants and Beri Timmappa that the other party owed them 9000 pagodas: 'the old joint stock merchants demanding of Timapa Chief merchants pagodas 9,061:21:2: as due from him and his family, upon the balance of the account of the old joint stock, as by the translate of their account: It is ordered that Timapa deliver his answer to said demand to the accompany in writing, who is to report as soon as record.'²⁸³

The Fort St. George Council decided not to buy cloth anymore from the old joint stock for the 1696 contract, which is yet to be clear in their account.²⁸⁴ Instead, it constituted a new joint stock headed by Checca Sherappa, Beri Krishna and Sivakataksham Pillai. In this new joint stock the English Council ruled out that there would be no more chief merchant, but Checca Sherappa dominated like previous from the previous joint stock over the other merchants, which bring the same old situation again.²⁸⁵ In the end Checca Sherappa emerge as one of the leading merchant where the English had to deal again.

Checca Sherappa (1696-1704)

Checca Sherappa was not related to Timmappa's and Viranna's families. He became prominent when there was a tangle between Beri Timmappa and Alanigal Pallia, where the English decided not to buy from the old stock.²⁸⁶ Instead, Fort George Council decided to start a new from contract from Checca Sherappa.²⁸⁷ In his tenure, as chief merchant, Checca Sherappa had successfully

²⁸⁰ D&CB., 1694. pp. 122-123.

²⁸¹ D&CB., 1694, p. 124.

²⁸² D&CB., 1695, pp. 97-98.

²⁸³ D&CB., 1696, pp. 22, 29, 52, 55.

²⁸⁴ D&CB., 1696, p. 50.

²⁸⁵ D&CB., 1696, pp. 68, 70.

²⁸⁶ D&CB., 1696, p. 50.

²⁸⁷ D&CB., 1696, pp. 70, 86, 108

extended the procurement of cloth for the English Company, far down to the south.²⁸⁸ Under his leadership, new joint stock constituted where he holds 15% shares and remains at the top along with fourteen chiefs.²⁸⁹ Most of the rules were same from the previous 1688 joint stock under Chinna Venkatadri except that this time fourteen chiefs appointed instead of one. Out of fourteen, there will be two chiefs, which will look after the joint stock, two cash keepers who would keep the keys of the cash and the joint stock seal, and the money which is received and paid, are to keep account. Without an order in writing under the fourteen chiefs or the major shareholders, cash keepers are not allowed to payout any money. The merchants who go in the country in search of clothes must give all the information, the letters that they send in the joint stock copies are keep in the account book. Once in a month the merchants are to examine and pass all account and sign on the same in the book; if the cash keepers pay any money without their orders, they must pay the principal and five cent interest per mensal.²⁹⁰

With the intention to revive the trade of textile, the English Company plan to extend to all possible places to increase in the production after the famine and political instability. The chief merchant was sending to recruit all possible labourers, weavers and painters. Checca Sherappa was sent to Viluppuram to explore the region as there were 3000 loom machines employed by the English Company. These workers were not paid during the recent famine and political instability so the other nations started wooing to sell to them. However, so long as they provide with money the Viluppuram workers had promised and assured to work for the English Company only.²⁹¹

Checca Sherappa not only revived the trade in Madras but also helped other English factories, which were about to decline: ‘Serapa having brought several Painters who are willing to settle with their families here if they might have a convenient place about Triblecane. He went on the 12th instant to view the place they desired lying between Jangamnaige and Allingalls Gardens, where there was convenient Room for twenty or thirty houses according to a plat produced. It is resolved that they be entertained and encouraged upon terms hereafter to be concerted.’²⁹²

In 1698, Checca Sherappa proposed for a new joint stock and promised to contribute 10,000 pagodas. However, in this new proposal Checca Sherappa he

²⁸⁸ D&CB., 1696, p. 126.

²⁸⁹ For list of joint stock, see appendix-3.

²⁹⁰ D&CB., 1696, p. 139.

²⁹¹ D&CB., 1697, p. 14.

²⁹² D&CB., 1697, p. 62.

wanted to add few legitimate had power to exclude any person concerning according to the last joint stock. He produced a list of 31 merchants who have subscribed 83 ½ shares at 100 pagodas each in the total amount of 10,000 pagodas.²⁹³

The revival of textile trade perhaps owed much to Serappa's credulity and to the fact that Fort St. George raised the prices of long cloth and salempores by 25 per cent in 1698. On 14 April 1699 Checca Sherappa, along with his shares-holder (Nairo Verona, Checca Shevram, Qualo Narso, Coparte Cash, Vincate Kishna, Ecomburm, Cornapa Chitte, Iapa Chittee, Pedditombe Adimolum, Racca Chitte, Perpaudum Chittee), got an enormous contract in the tune of 1,51,125 pagodas to procure goods mainly in textile clothes which is to be delivered by 10 February, 1700. In case of failure, 25% had to be deduct from their shares in the joint stock.²⁹⁴

Table 3.1: List of clothes to be supply by Cheeca Sherappa in 1700.

1	Long cloth fine	72 long	2 ½ broad	pieces 3,500	at 5% core	13,125 pagodas
2	Long cloth middling	72 long	2 ½ broad	pieces 3,000	at 43% core	6,450 pagodas
3	Long cloth ordinary	72 long	2 ½ broad	pieces 15,000	at 34% core	25,500 pagodas
4	Long cloth ordinary	72 long	2 ½ broad	pieces 12,000	at 32 % cor e	19,200 pagodas
5	Salampores fine broad,	32 long	2 1/8 broad	pieces 3,000	at 29 % core	4,350 pagodas
6	Salampores <i>ordinary</i>	32 long	2 1/8 broad	Pieces 10,000	at 16:18% core	8,250 pagodas
7	Salampores ordinary	32 long	2 1/8 broad	Pieces 8,000	at 14:18% core	5,800 pagodas
8	Morees fines	18 long	2 ½ broad	pieces 5,000	at 36 % core	9,000 pagodas
9	Morees ordinary	20 long	2 ½ broad	pieces 8,000	At 20% core	8,000 pagodas
10	Succatuns fines	40 long	2 broad	pieces 1,000	at 70 % core	3,500 pagodas
11	Bettellas	32 long	2 broad	pieces	at 70 %	17,500

²⁹³ For list of joint stock, see appendix-4.

²⁹⁴ D&CB., 1699, p. 33.

	original			5,000	core	pagodas
12	Bettllas original	40 long	2 broad	pieces 1,000	at 36 % core	7,200 pagodas
13	Bettllas original	50 long	2 broad	pieces 6,000	at 43 % core	12,900 pagodas
14	Ginghams	40 long	2 $\frac{3}{4}$ broad	pieces 1,000	at 65 % core	3,250 pagodas
15	Ginghams	16 long	1 $\frac{7}{8}$ broad	pieces 1,000	at 32 % core	1,600 pagodas
16	Chints Madrasse	20 long	2 broad	pieces 2,000	at 55 % core	5,500 pagodas
		Total		87,500 pieces	Total	1,51,125 pagodas

(Source: Diary and Consultation Book, 1699, p. 33)

Checca Sherappa who was considering reliable, turn into doubtful for the delay to delivering the goods, which involved a large sum of money. Checca Sherappa and their joint stock partners summon for not fulfilling their contract. They came and excused themselves ‘of their hard sorted in the Godown and of great loss they had in taking off the cloth and lead, which fell considerably in price on their hands.’²⁹⁵ Another excuse they gave was they sold all their ‘cloth and lead’ but the money was not yet paid to them, and the little money left with them was given to the weavers.’²⁹⁶

In spite of his failure to deliver the goods, Checca Sherappa was again reconsidering for the new contract by the Company: ‘wee resolve forthwith to contract with Serapa.’²⁹⁷ The English wanted to retain Checca Sherappa as chief merchant because of his social status and respect he gained from the local community, which was a very important reason for the procurement of local goods. Besides, the Dutch too start to interfere the Company's weavers, offering more money: ‘the Dutch who have now made great contracts all along the coast, are tampering with all our weavers to seduce them from our services. And whereas it has been the custom in such considerable Contracts as has been lately made here, to deposit in the weavers hands five pagodas for each Loom. to be delivered in cloth at the last payment, the Dutch now to engrosses the weavers and get them from our merchants have offered to deposit in their hands ten

²⁹⁵ D&CB., 1700, p. 60.

²⁹⁶ D&CB., 1700, p. 60.

²⁹⁷ D&CB., 1700, p. 64.

pagodas for each loom.²⁹⁸ Therefore, to maintain a speedy procurement the English Company again gave a new contract to Sherappa.

In 1701, the joint stock again defunct due to the appropriation by the joint stock holders: 'our joint stock merchants having lately had some differences amongst themselves about their account: as is pretended, also that they have great losses by their former contracts.'²⁹⁹ Some of them refused to work on any contract with Checca Sherappa, and they preferred to work independently.³⁰⁰ Checca Sherappa summons all the holders for a meeting to sort out the differences and to renew contract again. This happen to be very successfully as they agreed to invest 17,000 pagodas at 6% advance, provided the English made no contract with others. At last, there was an agreement from all side to work together again: 'the reasons of our agreeing with him are, that the others would not agree for the whole contract, and whereas if we should make more than one set of merchants, would occasion the rise of goods in the country and great division and strife amongst them, the ill consequence whereof would fail wholly on the Humble Company.'³⁰¹ The contract was signed on 11 November 1701 to acquire 1, 05,500 pieces of cloth at 1, 96,287 pagodas.³⁰²

From time to time, the English reminded Checca Sherappa and joint stock merchants to clear the Company's debt from the previous contract. The merchants keep on delaying the payment and holding meetings after meeting to sort out their difference: 'they had made a considerable progress in settling the accounts amongst and that in few days more they would compliant the same, in order to the payment of the Companys Debt.'³⁰³ The English Company decided to take action to get their debt by confining Serappa and other merchants in a godown: 'with frivolous pretences of accounts depending amongst themselves as formerly; which being satisfactory. Tis agreed they be confined to the Brown Godown and there to remain till they paid the Companys debt, or given satisfactory for the same.'³⁰⁴ This time one of the problems was the merchants where they were already overdrawing 20,000 pagodas from the contract, which is suppose to supply cloth. Checca Sherappa and the other three chief merchants

²⁹⁸ D&CB., 1701, p. 57.

²⁹⁹ D&CB., 1701, p. 87.

³⁰⁰ D&CB., 1701, p. 95.

³⁰¹ D&CB., 1701, p. 96.

³⁰² D&CB., 1701, p. 101.

³⁰³ D&CB., 1703, p. 33.

³⁰⁴ D&CB., 1703, p. 59.

acknowledged their inability to pay back, but it can be only possible to pay from their shares.³⁰⁵

The other three leading merchants (Beri Chetti, Aiyappa Chetti, and Ragga Chetti) came with a different version about the payment, which they totally refused to pay claiming they had supply cloths to Sherappa on a private contract and they did not know anything about the payments by the Company.³⁰⁶

To put an end of this dispute that caused many obstacles for the Company to continue, the English Governor proposed that all concerned debts should jointly give security until then they were all keep in the prison. Checca Sherappa also complaining of hindering his business while bringing the goods from the last contract. In the end, Checca Sherappa and his friend agreed to give security bond but Aiyappa Chetti and his friend refused to be part of it.³⁰⁷ To clear his debt Checca Sherappa gave security bond of 20,000 pagodas, where he mortgages all his houses and gardens, 'upon which Seraupau, Naira Verona and Ponagette Narso were discharged from their confinement.'³⁰⁸

After the release, Checca Sherappa was in a heavy debt and all his business went into bankrupt, and he was no longer involve in trading. Nevertheless, the English keep on consulting him on numerous issues relate to caste disputes,³⁰⁹ and later consult him regarding writing petition to the Mughal King Shah Alam.³¹⁰

After Checca Sherappa exits the English stop entrusting to one single merchant as their main broker while procuring their goods. It had many reasons for not relying on one particular merchant as chief merchant; the main reason being that the chief merchant was unable to fulfil the contract and even under the joint stock system they fail to clear the Company's debt on many occasions. Therefore, from 1700s onward they start to demand goods from various individuals' reliability to deliver at a specific time.

From the early seventeenth onwards, the English begin to realize the drawback of domination by few individual. The English made a new arrangement; merchants were given an opportunity to compete among themselves. Thus, Sunku Chetty and Karanappa Chetty came to the picture from 1698, Kalavi Chetty and Venkata Chetty from 1705, and Tambu Chetty from 1720 to till 1739. The joint stock form of organization, in which several

³⁰⁵ D&CB., 1703, p. 76.

³⁰⁶ D&CB., 1703, p. 68.

³⁰⁷ D&CB., 1703, p. 76.

³⁰⁸ D&CB., 1703, p. 86.

³⁰⁹ D&CB., 1707, pp. 36, 57, 77.

³¹⁰ D&CB., 1723, p. 4.

merchants held one or two shares each, while the chief merchants had the controlling interest with 25 per cent share capital, had quietly disappear. It was replaced by the more traditional partnership form of organization in which the four merchants: Kalavi Chetty, Venkata Chetty, Sunku Chetty and Karanappa Chetty, had equal amounts of capital invested. In this partnership, the merchants were procuring cloth with their own money, if anything happen the risk of loss were borne by themselves. Given this twist, the chance of failure to deliver goods at required time was minimize and the competition amongst the merchants to deliver goods gave the English an opportunity to terminate the post of chief merchant permanently. One thing that clearly emerges is that while merchants were expanding and strengthening their economic status, they had also become acknowledgeable leaders in the society. This opportunity can be accomplish only in the English or other European port towns since in the hinterland the traditional society that linked with the rural economy always consigned the dominant status to the proprietor's class. The irony was that they were not able to emerge as a baron. The system of Indian society that did not give space by the ruling class to emerging merchants was also one of the reasons where they could not emerge as a leading tycoon in the later period.

Chapter 4 The Free Merchants of Madras and their Commercial Activities under the English East India Company

The free merchant presence in Madras was a very important catalyst for the English Company to expand their trade outside the Coromandel Coast. The English Company presences in terms of population were very negligible. The Company alone cannot maintain the completely vast ocean network, which requires huge work force as a staff to help in various ways. The free merchants were not like interlopers who came to trade and went back; these free merchants were inhabitants of Madras, settled for many years and become acquainted with the works of the Company. The Company esteemed when the free merchants injected some very welcome capital into the trade, as well as in some indirect inputs of organizational and technological resources in the trade. As Madras was an English settlement, the free merchants were from Britain but many other Europeans also settled and listed as free merchants. However, among the free merchants, some were from their rival nations but in Madras, all were in partnership while dealing their trade. Thus, this makes perfect for entrepreneurship from free merchants along with the English Company.

The sources are mainly from Records of Fort St. George, Diary and Consultation, which is available from 1672 to till 1750. The proceeding of the Madras Council called Consultations furnishes a comprehensive account of the varied official transactions including the views of the Council members and their decisions. It is one of the vivid detail accounts written by the factors, which noted down on daily basis that is happening around the Fort St. George and news received from Far East as well as from home. In the records, the settlers were recorded almost every one of them, and they were mentioned as “free merchants” who come to settle at Fort St. George.

John Affleck

John Affleck a very influential and rich merchant, who owned four ships *George*,³¹¹ *Happy Returns*³¹², *London*,³¹³ and *Welcome*,³¹⁴ arrived Madras in 1684 and settled

³¹¹ Records of Fort St. George, Diary and Consultation Book, 1686, (Hereafter D&CB), p. 92.

³¹² D&CB., 1693, p. 71.

down with his wife Nettie Shaape a castico.³¹⁵ His commercial activities were first recorded when he sent his ship's in the far Eastern Sea bringing Chinese goods. He when he sold his merchandize to the English Company. It was recorded: 'Mr Affleck and Mr. Metcalf came this morning and gave their voluntary oaths of the prices they sold the china goods at, which they brought for their own account in the ship *Pink Saphir*, which is ordered to be sent home.'³¹⁶ The list of goods which he bought and sold were: 'a quality of rhubarb at 52 pagodas fanams per per cull, musk at 37.18 pagodas per catte, china bowls at 10 pagodas per 100, white gelongs at 3 pagodas per pieces, and china flowers at .27 pagodas per box.'³¹⁷

John Affleck's life in Madras not only confine to business activities, he was also made Lieutenant by the Company when all the English inhabitants of Madras were summoned to assemble with arms at the fort gate, if any one fail to appear the penalty is to fine of 10 pagodas.³¹⁸ It was then when Golconda were occupied by the Mughal troops under Kassim Khan and approached towards Madras with 10,000 cavalry; in this uncertainty, the English assemble all the available settlers of Fort St. George to defend any eventuality.³¹⁹

In his business activities, the real success was to hire the whole ship of exclusive rights to freight the goods. On 7 June 1688, he made a contract with the English Company to supply paddy rice at five and half pagodas per quintal from Trimcombar. According to the agreement the ship *Bengal Merchant* will dispatch to take paddy and the ship will remain there for twenty days, and John Affleck will be responsible for loading his goods. The English Company also want to sent the ship *Bengal Merchant* since there was news of pirate coming in the coast, so seizing the pirate was one reason, at the same time paddy was not sufficient in Madras and it was a good chances when such proposal came from John Affleck to supply paddy from Trimcombar.³²⁰ His second contract was the ship *Mindano*, which they believe was lost in the monsoon, unexpectedly arrived and brought clove, bark, tortoise shell, wax and tin.³²¹

³¹³ D&CB., 1697, p. 97.

³¹⁴ D&CB., 1694, p. 112.

³¹⁵ H.D. Love, (1996), *Vestiges of Old Madras, 1640-1800*, vol. I, p. 474.

³¹⁶ D&CB., 1686, p. 15.

³¹⁷ D&CB., 1686, p. 115.

³¹⁸ D&CB., 1687, p. 182.

³¹⁹ D&CB., 1687, p. 180.

³²⁰ D&CB., 1688, p. 91.

³²¹ D&CB., 1690, p. 8.

In his next occasion, he brought saltpeter, which was prohibited item to trade so he request to the Company official to allow him to sell the saltpeter, which he brought according to the agreement to be sold to the Royal Danish Company. The English Company agree if only they sell to the Royal Danish Company and warned him the said saltpeter should not fall into the hands of French.³²² However, as saltpeter was prohibit to trade or export, the English wanted to decide in the Council meeting but the Danes ship arrived to take away the saltpeter. Later, the Company asks to submit with bond to proceed the sale of saltpeter: 'tis ordered that he have leave to ship it on the board the Danes Ship now on this road, he giving bond that the same shall be delivered to the government and council at Tringombar for account of said Company.³²³

John Affleck argue that it was according to an agreement with the Royal Danes and English Company to supply saltpeter: 'it is orderd that leave be granted him, on condition that he do within four months produce a certificate signed by the government and council of Trincobar, that they received the said saltpeter for account of the Danes Company, and in consideration of the present war in Europe, it is ordered that for the future no inhabitant of this place do contract with any person for the exporting of saltpeter to any place whatsoever without first acquainting the governor.'³²⁴ He again bring 588 bags of saltpeter from Bengal on his ship and offer to sell it to the English Company on the same prices for that he bought from the Portuguese and Armenian Merchants in Bengal. The English Company decided to buy on the terms given by him.³²⁵

Another remarkable of John Affleck personality characteristic during his stay in Fort St. George was appointed as attorney for Bartholomew Rodriguez when there was misunderstanding between the English Company official and the ship *Armenian Merchant*, where Rodriguez had taken contract to freight and it was regarding her tonnage and John Affleck was summon to make a report on behalf of the Company.³²⁶ His report on the argument between the English Company and Rodriguez on the shipment *Armenian Merchant* was send to London. His assessment was highly regarded and the English Company approves the matter in conclusion.³²⁷

Affleck brother-in-law, John Coventry accuses him on the ground that his wife, slaves and several belongings had taken away without his knowledge.

³²² D&CB., 1693, p. 30.

³²³ D&CB., 1694, p. 29.

³²⁴ D&CB., 1695, p. 64.

³²⁵ D&CB., 1694, p. 112.

³²⁶ D&CB., 1695, p. 71.

³²⁷ D&CB., 1695, p. 71, 117

However, Affleck argue that because of his sister assault by her husband; he did act to protect his sister. The English Company could do nothing, as it has no authority to issue a warrant to a person such as Affleck he is consider the well-known merchant who had a vast network and high influence. The English Company Governor, Nathaniel Higginson was reluctant to act by consulting that: ‘demands such a warrant as is not safe to be granted to such a person in such a case.’³²⁸ How powerful for a free merchant like John Affleck was demonstrate when the French seize many ships suppose to be from the leading merchants of Madras settler. The matter was first report to John Affleck not to the English Company officials.³²⁹ This was coincidence when he receives the news his ship *London* was seize by the Arabs of Muscat in May 1697.³³⁰

In spite of the drawback, he returns with much vigour by spreading out of his trading network, he explores a new place by dropping an anchor in China. It was to buy the silver from the English Company and to sell in Canton. The selling of silver is worthy marketing as he buys more silver and hires more ships for this new commercial venture. Hence, his business activities increase in much profitable way. Sometimes he gave loan to the Company when the English were desperate in cash.³³¹ On 26 May 1701, the ship *Hampshire* that bring silver from England had propose by Affleck to buy the whole silver and request to hire a ship *Advice*, which he intend to send Canton. This proposal came along with his colleague Edward Fleetwood and Robert Pitt. On 2 June 1701, they sign an agreement that the ship *Advice*, which can carry 130 tons under the command of Capt. William Redhead will go along with ten European. The charges were to pay 4000 pagodas within thirty days after her arrival at Fort St. George. John Affleck and his fellow have the sole lading rights in the port of Canton or any port adjacent. It will start her return journey on 1 January 1702, and if any mishap or causality then the ship can stay, till 10 January but not further than that. The three leading merchants of Fort St. George and English East India Company on behalf of the owners in London sign the contract on 2 June 1701.³³²

On 16 June 1701, John Affleck with leading merchants of Fort St. George again requests to hire the ship *Hampshire* to freight Canton. The English Company agree to let hire the ship, the ship can carry 375 tons is place under the command of Capt. Zachariah Tovey. It will load goods at Canton or any port

³²⁸ D&CB., 1695, pp. 127-128.

³²⁹ D&CB., 1696, p. 79.

³³⁰ D&CB., 1697, pp. 97-98.

³³¹ D&CB., 1699, p. 87.

³³² D&CB., 1701, p. 45.

adjacent and the cost for hiring the ship was 8000 pagodas. The payment for hiring the ship had agreed to pay only after the arrival of the ship. The ship *Hampshire* will start her return journey on the last day of January where as in case any causality or misfortune then the captain have liberty to decide whether to stay for some time and ready her journey. The English East India Company signed this agreement on behalf of the owners in London and John Affleck with his colleague merchant, Edward Fleetwood and Robert Pitt.³³³

On 21 July 1701, John Affleck this time with Kojah Paula an Armenian merchant of Madras came with a proposal to hire ship *Phoenix*, command by Capt. Thomas Lambert. The English Company readily agreed the proposal to hire the ship *Phoenix*. Affleck will freight to Bengal and in return he wanted to go up to Surat or even Persia if the loading is fit enough to proceed. The ship will sail from Bengal in January and in case if it is going to Surat or Persia then her detain at Madras for loading works will completed within thirty days. If the contract is agreed the English Company also put forward their additional proposal, if the ship *Phoenix* freight up to Persia then in return it will allowed to carry back four horses, thirty chests of wine, rose water and four candy's of all sorts of fruits in free of cost. The charges for hiring the ship *Phoenix* was agree to pay 8000 pagodas within 30 days after her return.³³⁴

The agreement was not fulfill, Affleck, complain to the Company that Capt. Lambert refused to carry his merchandise and extort money while loading his goods along with that he load his own goods.³³⁵ In his petition to the President Thomas Pitt: 'your petitioners did accordingly provide in Bengal such a quality of goods as might suffice to freight said ship to Persia, but Capt. Lambert commander of the said ship refuse to take all the goods that your petitioners the freighters had provided but contrary to all justice, and equity did receive on board several other freight goods to the great detriment of your petitioners, on pretence of his own privilege.'³³⁶ The English Company was not happy but they could do nothing except to punish the captain for disobeying the authorities. Later it was agreed to compensate the loss and if possible to give him new opportunity with better ship. Affleck departure from Fort St. George was not mention in the Records; probably he left in the following year.

³³³ D&CB., 1701, p. 51.

³³⁴ D&CB., 1701, p.73.

³³⁵ D&CB., 1702, pp. 63-64.

³³⁶ D&CB., 1701, p. 64.

Charles Metcalfe

Charles Metcalfe came in 1686 to settle down in Fort St. George, if possible to do trading in the prospect of seeing many rich free merchants. His name first mention along with John Affleck bringing Chinese goods and sold to the Company.³³⁷ During his stay at Fort St. George, he made many outstanding contributions for the English Company. He was employ by English Company President Elihu Yale to negotiate on the purchase of Fort Teganapatan and adjacent village within the reachable of a canon shot. After the agreement, the Company was responsible to hold forever as their full lawful propriety and inheritance always their own free jurisdiction. The Dutch that have their factory and can stay with their usual rent payment and customs.³³⁸

The Dutch were not left behind as they were equally wanted to purchase the Fort Teganepatan; and they too, make a great maneuver to bribe and as well as covert dealing to halt the English ambition. It was a competition for both Dutch and English to out maneuver each other: ‘a strange instance whereof lately received from our Brahmin at Jinjii that their under hand dealings and many great bribes from the Dutch in this business the king by then now offers for 15000 Chuckurums nay 10000 to resell to us Manjee Copang and Taganapatam.’³³⁹ At last, Metcalfe did success to acquire from the king Rama Raja and the Dutch were not ready to accept as they argued that king Rama Raja had no power to sell their factory,³⁴⁰ as the Dutch lent it from Diwan at 300 Chuckurums for three years. The English Company makes a statement that when the fort was purchase the Dutch did not say a word even the chief Joan Coart was witness and: ‘were assisting us therein without the least declaration.’³⁴¹

Metcalfe name was mention as a free merchant in the Records, but it appears that he was not specialized in mercantile activity. He was more specialized in the ship construction engineering as he was constantly sent to inspect the condition of the ship. His first assignment was to survey the ship *Samuel*, along with William Browne, George Herron and Thomas Meadows, whether it was properly fit to send back to London. He was request to write a report about the condition especially of masts, yard and rigging ground,

³³⁷ D&CB., 1686, pp.15, 114-115.

³³⁸ D&CB., 1691, p. 27.

³³⁹ D&CB., 1691, p. 34.

³⁴⁰ D&CB., 1691, p. 33.

³⁴¹ D&CB., 1691, p. 27.

provisions, guns and store.³⁴² According to the report they present after the inspection noted that: “wee find thirty two men, nineteen Guns and on sufficient, but the Ships Company being ask concerning it, declared they were satisfied they had enough for eight months, and according to the best of our judgements, believe the Ship very capable of performing her voyage to England, provided she has three or four Europeans, and one or two Ton of water cask more.”³⁴³

The next assignment entrust by the English Company was to survey the ship *Elizabeth* and to make an exact impartial assessment for valuation according to his best judgements at the same time to write a report in his own hands. His report will be the final decision whether to sell or kept it in the Company services or rather to send it to Bombay.³⁴⁴

For a free merchant it is not always necessary to be a merchant those living in Madras as their life revolve around many personality. In times of danger from the native rulers or threat, every settler contributed on the part of defense for his or her settlement, since they were, settle without any guarantee from the local rulers there always was a fear of taking away their flourishing port. Hence, when Nawab Zulfikar Khan came near Madras, Charles Metcalfe was enlisted as a captain in the Company guard.³⁴⁵

Another assignment he got was to survey the ship *William* and report the present condition: ‘whether the said list of necessities given in by the captain Twaites be sufficient to enable her to performe a voyage to England.’³⁴⁶ After the inspection of the ship *William*, he made the following report that:

‘find her hull in good condition her mast fitting and well rigged with Europe cordage, good sailes, and sail cloth to make up two suits of sail for her fore and after, the gunners: boatswains and carpenter stores, as they tell us sufficient, only two great guns wanting of the number mention, the provision which are sufficient, so that all are considered we think her fit for her intended voyage to Europe.’³⁴⁷

The last assignment he did for the English Company was to inspect the ship *Thorndon* which was wrecked by the storm, lost all her spring and masts.

³⁴² D&CB., 1693, p. 182.

³⁴³ D&CB., 1693, p. 183.

³⁴⁴ D&CB., 1696, pp. 4-5.

³⁴⁵ D&CB., 1696, p. 72.

³⁴⁶ D&CB., 1697, p. 41.

³⁴⁷ D&CB., 1697, pp. 106-107.

The task was given especially for survey the damage especially her hull, yards, mast and rigging along with Armiger Gosltlin, James Perryman, John Conaway Robert Atkinsons and Job Reynolds. Subsequently, the report they find was that the ship was in good condition and capable to take any voyage.³⁴⁸ His business activities may not be successful as his role in the Company dealing; few were mention except he was among the owner of the ship *Eagle* along with the leading merchants such as John Affleck, Daniel Chardin and Alvaro De Fonseca.³⁴⁹ He did not stay for long like other successful free merchants; he leaves Madras for a better reason on 29 February 1700, in the ship *Benjamin* with his family.³⁵⁰

Daniel Chardin

Daniel Chardin a French Protestants who fled France and had been forced to give up his motherland and his patrimony for the sake of religion arrived Madras in August 1687. He was particularly interest to do business in the rich mines of Golconda.³⁵¹ On 28 November 1687, he along with Salvadore Rodriguez asks permission to go and invest in the mines of Golconda.³⁵² The English Company willingly agreed as it serves many purpose when there is uncertainties of political situation with the defeat of Golconda and the new master from the central arrived with a big bang in the coastal region. The intention for the English was to get clear picture of what was happening in the surrounding court of the rulers.³⁵³

The important message they got from these merchants: ‘giving an account of the trade in those parts of silver, and in another letter he advices the Moghal’s going from the Golconda, towards Viziapore.’³⁵⁴ These two merchant in addition, acted as a mediator to get trading concession. After a long wait, they paid 10000 pagodas to their main Company negotiator Vaquel Coje Abanus. On 4 April 1688, they received a privilege that they are waiting impatiently to start a new partner with the Mughal’s.³⁵⁵ After his return, Chardin proposed to buy the ship *Recovery* at 2000 pagodas. Though it was old, the Company survey the ship and put into valued of 2200 pagodas. The English Company agreed but decided

³⁴⁸ D&CB., 1698, pp. 100, 102.

³⁴⁹ D&CB., 1698, p. 15.

³⁵⁰ D&CB., 1700, p. 21.

³⁵¹ Varadarajan, Lotika, (trans.), (1981-1985), *India in the 17th Century, Memories of Francois Martin*, 1670 -1694, vol. II, Part. II, p. 1069.

³⁵² D&CB., 1687, p.183.

³⁵³ D&CB., 1688, pp. 3, 6, 18, 22.

³⁵⁴ D&CB., 1688, p. 32.

³⁵⁵ D&CB., 1688, p. 52.

to give auction and if nobody is willing to buy, then Chardin may go ahead by what he promised to pay.³⁵⁶ Later, he regrets buying the old ship and he again decided to sell once again.³⁵⁷ For his trading business, it was enough by his lone ship *Dilligent*.³⁵⁸

Daniel Chardin main interest of business was to buy the Bengal goods and sent to London. On 22 February 1690, the goods brought from Bengal by his ship *Dilligent*, which was supposed to send London were prevent at Madras by the English Company on various grounds. He pleads for not knowing the terms set by the English Company officials and the goods that are prohibit to trade, his petition was recorded as:

“May it please your Humble Company: whereas the Humble Company have by their indulgence to all persons to send to England Bengal and China goods, with other permissive trade, upon their ships on the terms and conditions specified in their orders, upon which license and encouragement I not being able to make returns to my correspondent: as directed of their consignments, embarked on the hazardous voyage, which with great trouble and charge I have effected, now bringing up with me several sorts of those Bengal goods, proper only for Europe, but since my arrival I am acquainted with the surprising news of the Humble Company orders in prohibiting the said goods to be sent to England.”³⁵⁹

Unable to break the deadlock, he requests to send his goods by the Company Ship *Chandos*. At the same time, the Company had no goods from Bengal to sent London. Therefore, it was decide: ‘since all the conditions failed, he proposed to the council that it would to the Humble Company interest and advantage to permit sending home Bengal goods upon the permissive terms by the *Chandos*, rather than she should go home dead freighted, which would thereby be much saved, and possible fill the ship.’³⁶⁰

Not all merchants were lucky while they trade in these risky un-charted vast ocean and primitive technology of navigation as the loss of shipwreck was

³⁵⁶ D&CB., 1689, p. 36

³⁵⁷ D&CB., p. 47.

³⁵⁸ D&CB., p. 58.

³⁵⁹ D&CB., 1690, p. 15.

³⁶⁰ D&CB., 1690, p. 14.

quite common. In 1693, the misfortune he experience was the loss: ‘15 bales of cloth’ coming from Fort St. David by the ship *Hackney* had wreck in front of his eye and he could do nothing to save his goods that he invested heavily with his little capital.³⁶¹ The more damaging experience as a free merchant was his name was blacklisted as suspicious person for dealing with the interlopers. His name was along with the leading merchants of Fort. George was caught from Robert Shipman’s packet of private letters from Bengal.³⁶² This was not happy news for a person who still manages to put foothold among the English settlers. Nevertheless, he manages to overcome the difficulty and continue to stay at Fort St. George and trade as a free merchant.

In 24 May 1694, he was part of the Richard Trenchfeild associate who hires the ship *Armenian Merchant* to freight China. The ships carry 240 tons and it was command by Captain Thomas Newman. The hiring charge for the ship was 4100 pagodas. It was agree to pay within thirty days of her arrival and they have sole lading rights in the port of Amoy in China and adjacent ports. The ship *Armenian Merchant* will start her return on 10 December, and in case of casualty and misfortune, the captain had permit to delay but not beyond 20 December. The English Company President and council signed the agreement with the said merchants Richard Trenchfeild, Daniel Chardin, Thomas Newman, Thomas Wright, Mathew Epsom, William Browne, Robert Masfen, Mathew Mildmay and Anthony Penny Stone.³⁶³

He was more confident when the English Company entrust the duty after the controversial letter caught from Robert Shipman’s packet of private letters from Bengal. He obeys the task given by the Company to take action when the ship *Recovery* sailed without given notice at the customhouse or approval by the English Company. The ship *Recovery* laden with 332 bags of saltpeter sailed towards St. Thomas without given leave notice. They argue that the saltpeter, which is forbidden to be exported does not belong to them but laden by a Portuguese for Goa and they leave by the permission from the customhouse official.³⁶⁴ By the authority vested on him, he confiscates the ship *Recovery* and brought before the shore to be trail according to the law.

Another legal act he did was for his country fellow man, on 15 May 1696, he deposit 1000 pagodas for the release of Claudius Masson, which was

³⁶¹ D&CB., 1693, p. 99.

³⁶² D&CB., 1693, p. 171.

³⁶³ D&CB., 1694, p. 54.

³⁶⁴ D&CB., 1694, p. 102.

keep in confinement and contract a disease, for the recovery of his health it was necessary to be removed from the prison fort.³⁶⁵ Claudius Masson plead guilty for the act of treason when he wrote a letter containing: ‘where he encourages the sending out of six French men of war, and that twenty would conquer all India.’³⁶⁶ However, Claudius Masson, which was totally trust by Chardin, locks his room and run away.³⁶⁷ Mr. Chardin summons to bring Masson for his failure; he was compelled to give one thousand pagodas as security on 15 May 1696.³⁶⁸ As Claudius Masson was untraceable, his room lock was break opened and the Company officials seized his belongings, Mr. Empson gives the receipt of the belongings signed by Chardin as witness.³⁶⁹

Chardin’s life did not surround only by the trading activities, when he visited York Fort in Bencoolen, Sumatra. He was invite by the Company officials to solve the problem of encroachments from the sea: ‘to see if any method could be found out to prevent the further encroachment of the sea point, wherein it had worn away the sand eight foot from the surface, and the surf beats constantly upon the point.’³⁷⁰ The encroachment by the sea waves had greatly affected the port facing the seaside as ‘one thousand houses being washed away by the late encroachment of the sea.’³⁷¹

On occasion, he was send as a messenger by the English Company to the French at Pondicherry, ‘Mr. Chardin to meet them and about eleven a clock they came to fort and delivering a general Letter from Mousr. Martin Governor of Pondicherry.’³⁷² His French origin make easy for the English Company to contract his country fellowmen. He came at Madras with the interest of trading in the mines of Golconda diamond. However, his procurement of diamond was not success as only once mentioned in the Records: ‘Mr. Chardin and Mr. Alvaro the principall freighters of diamond upon ship *King William*, having being acquainted by the governor of our intention of sending Mr. Ellis were sent for, to know if they had any orders to send concerning their diamonds.’³⁷³

Bartholomew Rodriguez

³⁶⁵ D&CB., 1696, p. 69.

³⁶⁶ D&CB., 1696, p. 45.

³⁶⁷ D&CB., 1694, p. 54.

³⁶⁸ D&CB., 1697, p. 84.

³⁶⁹ D&CB., 1697, p. 54.

³⁷⁰ D&CB., 1696, p. 153.

³⁷¹ D&CB., 1696, p. 143.

³⁷² D&CB., 1699, p. 34.

³⁷³ D&CB., 1696, p. 172.

Bartholomew Rodriguez, a Portuguese Jew, who was attract by the wealth of the diamond mines in the Golconda region, reached Madras in 23 July 1683. He came along with his friends Domingo de Porto and Alvaro de Fonseca, to trade under the English East India Company protection.³⁷⁴ He was member in ‘Society of Jews’ in London and appointed agents for Madras to obtain permission from the English East India Company to send merchandise from Bengal to England on condition that they paid 18 per cent of their sale price at London.³⁷⁵ He was a much-respected person from Jews and business community in London. On 4 August 1686, he brought complaint against Mr. George Page security guards, who assaulted him with bayonet when he was going to meet the president by his: ‘Pallenkeen within a Bowes shot of the Garden house. As he was going to the president there and afterwards drew his sword, and gave him very abusive language.’³⁷⁶ The English Company takes the case seriously, as he was very influential in England as well as from powerful rich Jews trading community; George Page was given choice for his crime either to: ‘ride by wooden horse, to shame for his impudent folly or pay twenty five pagodas to the poor.’³⁷⁷

Bartholomew Rodriguez offered loans to the English Company, which consider as mechanism that drive to enhance the prospect to invest more when they were dry and lean periods. On 14 October 1689, he offered loans of 2000 pagodas for two months at 10 per cent per annum.³⁷⁸ Second time he did again to the English to offered loan was in 25 October 1689 of 1200 pagodas for 9 months at 12 per cent per annum.³⁷⁹ Again, in 10 November 1686 he offered loaned of 500 pagodas for 9 months at 12 per cent per annum.³⁸⁰ The last time he loaned was in 28 December 1686, of 3000 pagodas for 6 months at 12 per cent per annum.³⁸¹

In 11 March 1689, Bartholomew Rodriguez and his Company proposed to hire one of the Company’s ships *Princess of Denmark*, to carry goods to China that is supposed to come from Persia. To lease ship *Princess of Denmark*,

³⁷⁴ D&CB., 1683, p. 67.

³⁷⁵ Varadarajan, Lotika, (trans.), (1981-1985), *India in the 17th Century, Memories of Francois Martin*, 1670 -1694, vol. II, Part. II, p. 1419.

³⁷⁶ D&CB., 1686, p. 59.

³⁷⁷ D&CB., 1686, pp. 59-60.

³⁷⁸ D&CB., 1686, p. 90.

³⁷⁹ D&CB., 1686, p. 94.

³⁸⁰ D&CB., 1686, p. 99.

³⁸¹ D&CB., 1686, p. 112.

Bartholomew Rodriguez and his Company offered 2500 pagodas however, the Governor Elihu Yale calculated the cost of the expenditure and concluded the offer money was normal: ‘very near to that amount according to accustomed freight.’³⁸² The English Company has decided to provide the ship *Defence* if the ship *Princess of Denmark* did not arrived on time, which is equally good and serviceable and ask for a choice. However, Bartholomew Rodriguez and his Company prefer the *Princess of Denmark* even though the ship *Defence* was consider less cheaper: ‘being also the ship lesser ship and therefore might be cheaper.’³⁸³

Bartholomew Rodriguez changed his offer again as it didn’t reach the amount he invested in the stock and request, in return he want to send up to Persia which the Company did not agree, so he came again and offered 12000 pagodas: ‘that the utmost they could give.’³⁸⁴ In the council meeting, they decided to go by the majority votes and the resolution they passed was that the English Company is ready to give the said ship if they agree to pay 17000 pagodas. If not then one usual ship will go and the English Company will give a space to load according to their please.³⁸⁵

After a week, Bartholomew Rodriguez requested again to hire the same ship *Princess of Denmark*. The English Company also considered, as it will be more beneficial to let them hire the said ship, as they have no goods to send back. According to contract and agreement, the said ship will carry 670 tons and Captain Joseph Haddock will be the captain of the ship. Bartholomew Rodriguez and Company has sole lading rights to the port of Amoy in China or any port adjacent. The charges will be 15000 pagodas to be paid to the president within thirty days after her return to this port. The ship *Princess of Denmark* will start her return journey by 10 December, in case any casualty or misfortune then it will take another 10 days.³⁸⁶ The ship was supposed to start her trip on 1 May but it was delay twenty days and the Company official brought notice, ‘but for what reason we know not she still continues in this road: ‘which they blamed to Bartholomew Rodriguez and his associate for not keeping the agreement,

³⁸² D&CB., 1689, p. 23.

³⁸³ D&CB., 1689, p. 23.

³⁸⁴ D&CB., 1689, p. 24.

³⁸⁵ D&CB., 1689, pp. 24-25.

³⁸⁶ D&CB., 1689, p. 29.

therefore: ‘all future accident and disappointments of this voyage must be imputed to the late detention of her here.’³⁸⁷

The ship was return late from China and the captain was summon where he replies that: ‘that the ship was so deeply laden’ and he further complain that ‘he stay many days longer then agreed on and he limited to, who producing against the super cargos for their retarding the ship and the detention by the government and other ill usage.’³⁸⁸ Alvaro de Fonseca who was part of the contract gave the reason for their unavoidable delay: “encountering many new insufferable injuries and impositions in their trade at Amoy.”³⁸⁹ After the event Bartholomew Rodriguez did not lived for long, he passed away on 10 July 1692, at about three in the morning and buried in Madras. All the settlers, Company officials, attended the funeral service and the soldiers fired three-gun salute in mark of respect for him.³⁹⁰

Alvaro de Fonseca

Alvaro de Fonseca, who came along with Bartholomew Rodriguez, was also a Portuguese Jews, who came at Madras to trade, especially interested in the diamond mines of Golconda region and his name was first record as: “Mr. da Fonseca, with their investment of diamonds.”³⁹¹ He was part of the team with Bartholomew Rodriguez when they hire the ship *Princess of Denmark* from the English Company, to go China and it was delay by six weeks to return. De Fonseca went to the English Company and explained about reason for the delay.³⁹² Not only that, he add his grievance about the lead bought from the English Company which he found 11 candies were missing from the original package: ‘so upon weighing of it there found 11 candys wanting, which they desire satisfaction for, at the rate they paid, but in consideration that the weights there defer something from ours.’³⁹³

Alvaro de Fonseca was elected the member in the city council in 26 March 1690, when Domingo de Porto passed away, which also enhanced his position as a merchant among the trading communities.³⁹⁴ De Fonseca again

³⁸⁷ D&CB., 1689, p. 52.

³⁸⁸ D&CB., 1690, p. 19.

³⁸⁹ D&CB., 1690, p.19.

³⁹⁰ D&CB., 1692, p. 30.

³⁹¹ D&CB., 1686, p. 25.

³⁹² D&CB., 1690, p. 91.

³⁹³ D&CB., 1690, p. 55.

³⁹⁴ D&CB., 1690, p. 22.

summon by the Company to deliver his promised answer for delaying the return of *Princess of Denmark*. De Fonseca believe that it was not his responsibility but: 'by the force of the government, and therefore not their fault.'³⁹⁵ The matter brought to the Council and later Judge John Dolben discharge the case on the condition to pay the remaining dues.³⁹⁶

Most his commercial business was in the Bengal region where he invested heavily by associating with the help of English Company. His tonnage pepper of 375 candies was unloaded from the ship *Barkley Castle* that was supposed to leave for Bengal. The reason to change the course of the ship *Barkley Castle* was that they do not want to lose six hundred and fifty tons bales of coast goods that are laying in the go down. If they did not send home then it will go in next year that is going to affect the Company as great waste.³⁹⁷ In 16 June 1694, he again invested 25,000 pagodas, which is supposed to carry by Company ship *Saphi* to Bengal, the English Company in fact appreciated as: "the said money being very useful for lading the two great ships from Bengal" it was consider as good investment and moreover the Company ship were going empty.³⁹⁸

By the end of the seventeenth century, the interlopers become a major threat for the English and they did whatever they can to stop the menace. It was also impossible for the Company official to detect all the felony committed by the settlers. In this crucial juncture the English Company official caught the package of private letters sending from Bengal, which the English Company believe it come from the interlopers. In this package de Fonseca names appear on the package. It was serious debate among Company official:

'containing some information concerning the state of the Company in England, and the proceeding of the interlopers in Bengal, the president, found reason to suspect hat these letter do contain the correspondence of the interlopers with the Company servants and inhabitants of this place,'..... 'which practice tends to ruin of the English trade there, and if the interlopers shall by their correspondence or agents in these parts introduce the same practice, I would be no less injury to the English trade here, and therefore we

³⁹⁵ D&CB., 1692, p. 49.

³⁹⁶ D&CB., 1693, p. 14.

³⁹⁷ D&CB., 1693, pp. 43, 47.

³⁹⁸ D&CB., 1693, p. 98.

do think ourselves obliged to do all that in us lyes to prevent such public mischief.³⁹⁹

The case of these merchants becomes a serious threat for the Company to maintain their relationship of dealing business together in the near future. The Company decided to prohibited them to proceed Bengal of the name found in the package and if someone really want to go, then they have to deposit 1000 pagodas as a security; not dealing or corresponding with any of the interlopers. De Fonseca paid 1000 pagodas to go Bengal: 'as a security for his not holding correspondence or trading with interlopers, the same is accepted and it is resolved that he proceed for Bengal by the first opportunity.'⁴⁰⁰ After reaching Bengal, he did not return to Fort St. George, as his name was no more record in the list of free settlers, which they usually maintain all the settlers and company officials settle in Fort St. George.

Edward Fleetwood

Edward Fleetwood brother of Charles Fleetwood, the former Governor of York Fort arrived Madras in 1693. His name was recorded regularly as permanent settler as well as not regular settlers. He along with Mr. Samuel Wilson promised to sell sixty candies (Bahharr), pepper to captain Richard Phrip from the Company go down but Fleetwood went to deliver by himself and Wilson complaint of his dishonest in his doing business.⁴⁰¹

In 1695, the Company was planning for re-settlement at Pegu, due to his experience in the east Fleetwood was employ by the English along with Captain James Lesslie to negotiate for re-settlement at Pegu. The English Company had withdrawn their factory and the King of Pegu and prohibited for any settlement. Nevertheless, the king permitted and encouraged the private traders to come and trade: 'go thither for trade for the humble Company service that the privilege of the Company of the factory to be preserved.'⁴⁰² Fleetwood was instruct to secure the property of the English settlers who died there for their widows and to release the goods of Rodriguez lost ship three years ago. Bartholomew Rodriguez sent a present for the king to release his estate and the ship along with cargo however,

³⁹⁹ D&CB., 1693, p. 171.

⁴⁰⁰ D&CB., 1698, p. 72.

⁴⁰¹ D&CB., 1693, p. 168.

⁴⁰² D&CB., 1696, p. 116.

for the king, the present was too small, and therefore, the President Nathaniel Higginson extended the present at his own cost to render it more acceptable.⁴⁰³

The first letter from Edward Fleetwood arrived after one and half years on 26 February 1697, with the approval letter from the King of Ava. The king agreed to open the English factory and to have old ties again: ‘translate several letters from the king of Ava, which are referred to the perusal of the council in order to the settling of a method whereby the trade of that place may be rendered useful to this, particularly for the repairing and refuting of ships.’⁴⁰⁴ With the agreement from the king the English Company thanked for his rendered service and wrote back to find a new discovery for trading settlement in the South Seas.⁴⁰⁵

Edward Fleetwood was also a part of contract with John Affleck and Robert Pitt to hire ship *Advice* that can carry 130 tons under the command of Captain William Redhead. According to the contract, they have the sole privileges of the goods to carry and loading in the port of Canton or any part adjacent to it. The cost to hire the ship was 4000 pagodas, which is to be paid within 30 days after the ship arrived at Fort St. George. The ship *Advice* will return her journey on 1 January or in case of any casualty or misfortune, they will stay until 10 January but not longer than that. The English Company officials signed the agreement on behalf of the owners from London on 24 June 1702 with Fleetwood and his three co-merchants.⁴⁰⁶

With the delay the arrival of ship *Chambers Frigot* from China, which is supposed to bring cash for the last investment besides owing money to several merchants at Fort St. David the English Company decided to sell their Company silver. The English Company does not want any risk in their investment and there was no guarantee that the ship *Chambers Frigot* will arrive in the season. The matter was discussed by the Company officials and Edward Fleetwood decided to buy the silver, which is going to benefit for both the parties:

‘which has occasioned us to signify to several people our intentions of the disposing the Company silver, which induced Mr. Edward Fleetwood to make proposal for the same, who after several meetings agreed with us at the rate, ingot silver at sixteen dollars weight for ten pagodas, the money

⁴⁰³ D&CB., 1696, p. 117.

⁴⁰⁴ D&CB., 1697, p. 15.

⁴⁰⁵ D&CB., 1697, p. 61.

⁴⁰⁶ D&CB., 1701, p. 45.

for the same to be in two months in current pagodas of this place besides Mr. Edward Fleetwood is obliged to load this silver on a ship belonging to this port, by which the Company will reap a future advantage in their customs and coinage, and it will great encouragement to the port.⁴⁰⁷

Leaving in Fort St. George as free merchant, the settlers helped the English Company in various ways in their own capability. On 22 December 1704, Edward Fleetwood was assign to inspect the damage of the ship *Dutchess* on behalf of the English Company. With his long experience in the trade in the long voyage, the English value his remarks and the report present by him was regard as one true report from the mercantilist community.⁴⁰⁸

On 21 May 1705, Edward Fleetwood again offered to hire the ship *Loyal Merchant* to freight Bengal and Persia. It was a good proposal as the English Company had not sufficient goods to send back to London ‘nor any where of this coast, nor Bengal, which makes us incapable of providing a cargo for Europe.’⁴⁰⁹ After a long debate, the proposal was agreed by paying 7000 pagodas on her return, and English Company also benefited by going to Persia as it was allowed to bring back six horses, one hundred chest of wine and rose water in free of cost. The English Company official included some clause in the agreement especially for her return that if the Company fail to bring quality wine by the *Loyal Merchant* then they will deliver at the prime cost in Persia or bring anything else as an equivalent that is not to the prejudice of their cargo.⁴¹⁰

Another venture which he take up along with fellow merchant, Robert Wright was buying the Company’s silver and to sell it in China, which is considerable profit for both the parties.⁴¹¹ The English Company wanted to sell the Company silver because they want to pay off the Fort Marlborough, Bencoolen bill and to the merchants of Fort St. David, which they take up in interest. If they did not sell the silver then it will be great burden for the Company.⁴¹² The cost of silver were at the rate of sixteen and half dollars for 10 pagodas but the quality of silver was below expectation and Edward Fleetwood complain the loss of 245 pagodas by selling it in China and ask to compensate the silver. In his petition: ‘amongst the dollars French Crownes and Duccatoons

⁴⁰⁷ D&CB., 1703, p. 15.

⁴⁰⁸ D&CB., 1704, p. 103.

⁴⁰⁹ D&CB., 1705, pp. 66-67.

⁴¹⁰ D&CB., 1705, p. 67.

⁴¹¹ D&CB., 1706, p. 16.

⁴¹² D&CB., 1706, p. 17.

which they bought of the Company, they found in China considerable parcel of German dollars near 6 % worse than standard by which they loosers about two hundred forty five pagodas and pray for allowance.⁴¹³

The English Company in fact did not deny it that was bad quality of silver and Edward Fleetwood contributes for the Company was very remarkable when he negotiates with the king of Ava on behalf of the Company. Thus, the Company willing to compensate for the loss: ‘the unquestionable good character of the person we think it reason and justice they should be considered, and in other thereto this unanimously agreed the president pays them out the sum of hundred pagodas.’⁴¹⁴

The hiring of ship to different port was a profitable enterprise for both the party, as sometimes the Company alone did not find sufficient goods to send home and the contract to hire the sole lading rights to freight find more convenient instead of staying unloading or going half loading. On 17 May 1707, Edward Fleetwood with his fellow friend Robert Wright came another proposal for hiring the ship *President* for Tonqueen. According to the agreement the Edward Fleetwood will provide silver in the season, they will also accompany six Europeans and sixteen Lascars to equip her as capable to undertaking the voyage, which takes more than twelve months. According to the agreement, Edward Fleetwood will pay 2500 pagodas and if the ship arrived late, then he has to pay 120 pagodas for every months for the expenditure of delaying the ship.⁴¹⁵

Another contract he got was with his associate merchant Gulston Addison on the ship *Kent*, which can carry 350 tons under the command of Captain Edward Harrison. Mr. Edward Fleetwood and Addison have sole leading and freight rights in the port Canton. The cost for the ship *Kent* was to pay 7000 pagodas within thirty days of her arrival. The ship will start her return journey on 20 December and the agreement was sign by G. Addison and Edward Fleetwood and English Company on behalf of the United East India Company on 10 May 1708.⁴¹⁶

The ship was delay to dispatch from China due to the fear of French threat and her return journey was delay until 19 January 1709. After clearing all her security: ‘they had heard the threats of the French, and were apprehensive,

⁴¹³ D&CB., 1707, p. 24.

⁴¹⁴ D&CB., 1707, p. 26.

⁴¹⁵ D&CB., 1707, p. 29.

⁴¹⁶ D&CB., 1708, p. 29.

which at best would involve them into infinite trouble and charges if not wholly ruin the voyage, and the trade itself for the future, these matters put our super cargos upon a necessity of seeking methods of securing themselves.⁴¹⁷

The last contract he got was the ship *Hallifax* for China along with fellow merchant Henry Davenport. The contract was concluded by paying 8000 pagodas. Edward Fleetwood also requested to spare twelve *topaz* soldiers to go along with them for the protection of their trading interest. His further request was that there is a great chance of French threat at Malacca so to allow them: 'to goe by the way of Batavia for the better security of ship and their cargo.'⁴¹⁸ His name was last mention on his passing away on 16 July 1711,⁴¹⁹ and his son passage on the ship *Hallifax*.⁴²⁰

Rawson Hart

Rawson Hart was a Dutchman from the Hart's families where his brother already settles from the 1670s. The Hart's families were Samuel Hart who had settled at Madras, work as a maritime, and command the ship *Golconda* and other related family was Heron Hart, who also work as a maritime and pilot the ship *Hanover*.

Rawson Hart's name first appeared in the records while buying a house in his name in the James Street at the value of 150 pagodas.⁴²¹ After that, his name continued to mention as 'constant' as well as not constant inhabitant' of Madras. Like the other Hart's families, his names mention in the list of seafaring men in the service of English Company and mention as Captain of the ship *Elizabeth* that arrived from Surat on 28 May, 1723.⁴²² While in Surat he bought 31 bales of cloth and sends on the ship *Shawallum* to sell at China. But at Balasore, the English port in the Bay of Bengal, the customs officials refused to proceed kept it under their custody. As the customs were already paid at Surat before leaving, it was great loss to pay the custom again. Therefore, he put petitioned to the President: 'it appears we have lost a very good market for quantities of the same sortments since that we shall not find such another especially considered that great quantities of the same sort of goods are prepared to send to Bussorah this

⁴¹⁷ D&CB., 1709, pp. 60-61.

⁴¹⁸ D&CB., 1710, pp. 9, 44-45.

⁴¹⁹ D&CB., 1711, p. 83.

⁴²⁰ D&CB., 1711, p. 171.

⁴²¹ D&CB., 1717, p. 120.

⁴²² D&CB., 1723, p. 56.

year, all which likewise turn the exchange of money to our disadvantage by all appearance.⁴²³

In his petition he earnestly request to take his case and entered as humble merchant inhabitant of Fort St. George who always dutifully paid customs duties under the Company's rules:

‘The aforesaid thirty five Bales were regularly entered from Surat, had paid all duty's and demand's there and freighted upon a Company's ship which I flatter myself will vindicate us to the Honuarable Company from any intention or design to elude or dispute their orders. We have trade several years under their protection and paid them their duties and customs in this case we was not acquainted with their orders for paying consulate at Bussorah and consequently could give no instructions about it.’⁴²⁴

The matter could not taken up by the Council of Madras as it was under the Bengal jurisdiction, so the matter was left to Bengal, and he left on 3 September 1728 to settle his business account.⁴²⁵

The English Council at Madras seriously rethink about the restrictions of trade and the hindrance faced by free merchants of Madras due to the Company's policy. The settlers of Madras, especially from the merchant's communities gave a petition and the Council members call a meeting to take up the matter. However, opinions were divided, as some were wanted to follow strict policy, where as others were opposed it, because from its establishment the merchants were invited and allowed to trade, though some particular commodities were reserve exclusively for the Company privileges. If they put more hindrance on their trade the revenue will fall and the free merchants will be induced to shift at France Pondicherry:

‘where he may pursue his designs with equal advantage to himself which this settlement may feel the bad effects of as the French will with open arms receive any persons of substance and with concern they cannot but observe the rising greatness of that settlement of Pondicherry. Upon the whole they think this method of restraint in its consequences does directly tend to bring the whole trade and business of the place whether by sea or land into a few

⁴²³ D&CB., 1726, p. 135.

⁴²⁴ D&CB., 1726, p. 135.

⁴²⁵ D&CB., 1728, p. 123.

hands which they conceive will greatly prejudice the Company's revenue and the trade of this place.⁴²⁶

The Company approved the demand by the settlers of Madras for more liberty to trade. After the approval, many free merchants names appear in the list as shareholders in the imported goods coming from different ports. The first such instance is the ship *Nassau* coming from London where Rawson Hart have invested goods: '4wiggs one box, tatose, hatts two box.'⁴²⁷ In another ship *Gratham* arrive from London, Hart's name was in the list as he brought '4silver one chest.'⁴²⁸

The volume of investment by single a merchant increase from 1730s as indicated from the records, where it gives numerous lists of subscription by the settlers of Madras. It was also due to the English Company policies to give more room to the settlers of Madras. Taking this opportunity, Hart invested 1000 pagodas on the ship *Prince Augustus* which is to be dispatched to China.⁴²⁹ On another occasion he received 41 wine 1 chest, glass ware 1 chest and 1 box, from the ship *Britannia* coming from London.⁴³⁰

The Mocha trade, where the English were unable to penetrate, and it was continue to dominate by the Armenian merchants taken seriously by the free merchants to venture in this port. The free merchants of Fort St. George wrote to the President to give access to this port so that they can venture in this competition. It had been very great concern for the free merchant as they complaint that, 'the Armenians and others can Freight their goods at so cheap a rate as 10 per cent they will soon drive the English out of the trade, and we must

contended only to be carriers for them.'⁴³¹ Rawson Hart as a free merchant, was very much interested to trade at Mocha and he along with 19 others merchants, gave petition to the Madras Council to invest in the Mocha trade. These twenty free merchants of Fort St. George subscribed 36,000 pagodas to invest on the ship

Narcissus, which is supposed to go Mocha.

⁴²⁶ D&CB., 1731, p. 14.

⁴²⁷ D&CB., 1732, p. 57.

⁴²⁸ D&CB., 1732, p. 67.

⁴²⁹ D&CB., 1733, p. 81.

⁴³⁰ D&CB., 1733, p. 108.

⁴³¹ D&CB., 1734, p. 115.

Table 4.1: The names of the subscribers list were as follows.

	Names	Amount
1.	George Morton Pitt	14000
2.	Richard Benyon	1500
3.	Augustus Burton	2000
4.	Nicholas Morse	2000
5.	William Monson	2000
6.	Lewis de Medeiros	2000
7.	Rawson Hart	2000
8.	John Powney	1000
9.	Abraham Solomon	1000
10.	Koja Nazar Jacob Jan	1000
11.	Koja Parsedon	500
12.	Clui&opherCradock	1000
13.	Timothy Tullie	1000
14.	Cesar Faillet	500
15.	Francis Carvalho	500
16.	Koja Trose	1000
17.	Koja Gregorio	1000
18.	George Torriano	1000
19.	John Goulding	500
20.	Suncara Pareek	500
	Total	36000 pagodas

(Source: Diary and Consultation Book, 1734, p.116)

Among the subscribers, five were Armenians, contributing 4500 pagodas, the highest subscribers were from the Company's officials who were still in the service; George Morton Pitt was still a Governor-President, his Deputy Richard Benyon, Augustus Burton (Accountant and Land Customer), Nicholas Morse (Import Warehouse keeper), William Monson (Rental General) and George Torriano (Secretary and Senior Merchant. All the six together invest 22,500 pagodas. The others like John Powney, Rawson Hart, Abraham Solomon, Timothy Tullie, Lewis de Medeiros and John Goulding were all settlers of Madras, where in the records they were mention as 'constant inhabitants' or 'free merchants' and they together invest 7500 pagodas. They were also maritime men or captain of different ships and mention as 'not constant inhabitant' or 'supra cargoes and pursers in the service of Madras.' They were Christopher Cradock, Francis Caravalho and Cesar Faillet, and these three together invest 2000 pagodas.⁴³²

The task of free merchants does not remain in trading activities alone. The settler's mentions as 'constant inhabitants' or 'free merchants' were given task according to the requirement needed inside the fort. It was also due to shortage of work force that Hart was chosen on behalf of the Humble Company to sign as witness when the Company bought a new house at the white town.⁴³³ Another job he was chosen 'Mayor', which certainly raised his reputation from free merchant's communities. The Governor himself elected him, as it was consider as prestigious post.⁴³⁴

From 1730s the English had began to concentrate an effort to push the sale of European imported goods in the Coromandel Coast. These consisted of a variety of woollen goods, lead, copper and coral. Taking this situation Rawson Hart was one of the major suppliers of coral to the English Company. He usually take loan in return, supply the coral within specific time given by the Company's official.

The loan he had taken was recorded in the bill of exchange as follows:

Table 4.2: Loan taken by Rawson Hart

⁴³² The list of constant inhabitants and not constant inhabitants were written in every records in the last page.

⁴³³ D&CB., 1734, pp. 120, 130, and 132.

⁴³⁴ D&CB., 1736, p. 199.

Year	Pagodas	Fanam	Cash	Payable within
1737	4842	15	75	Sixty days
1738	1617	8	31	Sixty days
	8537			Ninety days
	1979	5	66	Ninety days
1739	647	21	32	Ninety days
1740	2299	1	34	Ninety days
	283	21		Ninety days
	1339	9	48	Ninety days
	418	8	15	Ninety days
	548	13	71	Ninety days
	391	20	33	Ninety days

(Source: Diary and Consultation Book, 1737 to 1740)

To conclude, the free merchants had many contributions for the growth of English trade in the Coast. They were outside the institution of Company but used by the Company for their own private enterprise as well as for the Company representative trading in various ports. They settled down at Madras forgetting all their nationality and work along with the English Company and investing together in almost all the trade centres. Most of the free merchants were mentioned in the settler's lists as 'constants as well as not constant inhabitants.' The 'constants inhabitants' were living with families for long years but where as in the 'not constants inhabitants' most of them were seafaring men working as captain or various professions in the ships or went at different ports for the purpose of trading and return in next year's. In these ports, free merchants did various jobs such as emissary, soldiers, sailor, and most of them were engaged in lucrative trade along with the Company officials by allowing hiring the Company ships. The contract to hiring ships to freight goods was very profitable for both the partners as sometimes the Company didn't have enough goods to carry, in this circumstance the ships were given to free merchants to freight at their said destination. Thus, this relation brought mutual benefit for the Company as well for the free merchants

Chapter 5 Portuguese Assistance to the English East India Company

The success for the English East India Company making inroads in the Coromandel was due to the Anglo-Portuguese Truce (1630), which made possible for the foundation of an English settlement in 1640 at Madraspatnam. With the establishment of Fort St. George in 1640, slowly the migrants begin to settle down with the promise of no tax for thirty years, 'the term of thirty years only no custom of things to be taken, drank, or worn should be taken of any of the town dwellers.'⁴³⁵ Among them the most important community who came to settle were the Portuguese and their offspring known as *mesticos*.⁴³⁶ They knew the Tamil language and all usual ways of expediting business in the region; they were ideal foremen, as soldiers, as translators, as brokers, in fact as intermediaries for all the range of activities which are useful in establishing and operating a fortified trading post in the midst of a strange landscape.⁴³⁷

The Portuguese that colonized Coromandel as early as in 1518 were not part of the administrative system of Goa, though by the 1620s the resident fear of the Dutch and English made them closer ties with the viceroyalty in the hope that it will be able to protect them. But the *Estado da India* watched helplessly when the Dutch started capturing their own ships, which greatly affected their prosperity. Even before the final annexation of Portuguese overseas empire, the Dutch and the local regularly disturbed their settlement that compels many of settler's lookouts for the safer place for trading and other business activities. Thus, this is how many Portuguese came to settle down in Fort St. George Madras under the protection of the English East India Company. Abbe Carre a French traveller who visit Coromandel in the 1672-74s report that, "They had escaped there from other places in India, to live in liberty and far from the worry of important affairs."⁴³⁸

Fort St. George Madras also attract large number of local especially brokers, merchants, weavers and artisans. This was related mainly to the security offer in the Madras in the midst of continuous devastating warfare in the region. In addition, many traders and artisans with the stigma of low caste attach to their

⁴³⁵ Foster, William (ed.), *The English Factories in India*, (hereafter E.F.I.), 1637-1641, p. xliii.

⁴³⁶ In Portugal's colonies in India from the seventeenth century, the term 'mestiço' applied to anyone with any European ancestor, or mixed marriage with the local People.

⁴³⁷ Winus, G.D, A Tale of Two Coromandel Towns, Madraspatam (Fort St. George) and Sao Thome de Meliapur, Itinerario 18, no.1, Leiden, 1994. p. 61.

⁴³⁷ Diary and Consultation Book, (hereafter D&CB), 1684, p. 55.

⁴³⁸ Fawcett, Charles, (ed.), (1990). *The Travels of the Abbe Carre*, vol. I, p. 244.

ritualistic status, found in English welcome neutrality. Thus, “by the freedom given to merchants of all nations, it has become very populous. Great profits were earned there; it is very famous, and larger than any place on the Coromandel Coast. Merchants throng to it from all parts having whatever they are in want of.”⁴³⁹

The large number of Portuguese migrant to Madras is inevitable; it is for the continuity and survival of century old dwindling empire. The threat of the Dutch swept like cyclone firstly the most important fort of Malacca fell in 1641, Nagapatnam in 1658, Cyclon in 1659, and all the forts in Malabar by 1663. All these losses result in the alarming shrinking of Portuguese from fifty-odd forts and fortified areas in the 16 century, to just nine by 1661; three in Africa and the five in India Goa, Diu, Daman Bassein and Chaul, and the last one Macao China.⁴⁴⁰

Portuguese Working as Soldier under the English East India Company

To move back the nature component of the Portuguese soldiers, from the sixteenth century, the numbers of soldiers in any fort depend on the season. The largest numbers were seen during southwest monsoon, from June to September. During this season, the strong offshore winds prevent any patrolling along the coastline. Up to 500 footloose and idle soldiers could be reside in Goa in this rainy season mostly live by charity. During the rainy season, they usually have no work and no money that often led to violence. Even when these soldiers had recruit and were off serving under some captain, strict military discipline was not always in evidence. At times, the soldiers were prepared to revolt if they felt that their interest or rights had been violated.⁴⁴¹ The soldiers were not under the continuing authority of any captain during the rains; every September they were free agents available to whichever captain offer most or had in the past treat them best. The captain's receive pay for the number of troops sanction for their command, ‘which done the captains bidde their soldiers to a blanket, and of their own purses give them something besides their pay, for that every capitaine seeketh to have the best soldiers and buy much victuails and other things at their owne charges, thereby to have their soldiers good willes, and to use them all.’⁴⁴² Thus, the captain who looks after them had not much difficulty to recruit them after the monsoon.

⁴³⁹ Irvine, William, (trans.), (1981). *Storia Do Mogor or Mogul India*, vol. III, p. 92.

⁴⁴⁰ Pearson, M. N, (1987). *The Portuguese in India*, pp. 137-138.

⁴⁴¹ Pearson, M. N, (1987). *The Portuguese in India*, pp. 96-97.

⁴⁴² Burnell, A. C, (ed.), (1989). *The Voyage of John Hughan Van Linschoten*, vol. I, p. 190.

The English knew that to build an effective trading company needs manpower guarding their respective post. The manpower cannot be recruiting alone in England as very few ventures in the sea and there is a concept of dangerous life working as seafaring men always perceive on second thought. Therefore, when the English learn the Portuguese and their offspring settle in the coast, which many were ready to work for the British Crown the English readily accept it and here most of them work as soldiers or as militiamen. The English company never fulfil the requirement troops to maintain guarding the post in almost in their fort. In 1653, all they have in Madras was just twenty-six soldiers.⁴⁴³ Even after three years the Englishmen enlisting in the company soldiers were still insignificant, sometimes even reduce to dozen to maintain the fort.⁴⁴⁴

To begin with, it should be assume that the Portuguese were entertain in Madras garrison since the first settlement, as some of them must have already serve the English in Armagon from where the English transfer to Fort St. George, Madras.⁴⁴⁵ However, the first clear reference on the presence of Portuguese recruiting in Fort St. George garrison came on 28 January, 1657, which gives the list of soldiers as 4 English officers, 20 English privates, 49 Portuguese and Mestezas employed.’⁴⁴⁶ It also said that ‘the face of war and continued appearance of hostility in these countrys had enforced us to increase our garrisons with Portugalls, Mestizos and blacks for our defence and preservation of your estates, being we cannot procure one Englishman.’⁴⁴⁷

The Portuguese and their mesticos were the first to recruit when the English had a various difference with the Nawab of Golconda. Fort St. George had long been annoyed by pretensions and demands from successive local governor appoint by Mir Jumla. Governor Henry Greenhill (1648-1652, 1655-1659) determines to retaliate, seize one Mir Jumla ships.⁴⁴⁸ When the Vijayanagar king Chandragiri Raja revolt for recovering his ancestral throne he was defeat while retreating, the Vijayanagar troops came to the Fort for shelter, which makes more burdens for the English and for the Nawab also made more annoy by giving shelter to his enemies.⁴⁴⁹ Fearing from Nawab attack, the

⁴⁴³ E.F.I., 1651-1654, p. 156.

⁴⁴⁴ E.F.I., 1651-1654, p. 98.

⁴⁴⁵ It was recorded that many Portuguese have also come along with the English from Armagon when the latter transfer their headquarters to Fort St. George, Madras in 1639/1640. See for instance D&CB, 1679, p.87.

⁴⁴⁶ E.F.I., 1655-1660, p. 174.

⁴⁴⁷ E.F.I., 1655-1660, p. 104.

⁴⁴⁸ E.F.I., 1655-1660, p. 95.

⁴⁴⁹ E.F.I., 1655-1660, pp. 96-97.

English recruit the inhabitants as there were not enough Englishmen to protect the fort, 'considering our present weakness for want of Englishmen, wee took a competent number of mesticos into pay.'⁴⁵⁰ Madras continues to effect on the struggle carry out between the Golconda and Vijaynagar. The town was in a defensible posture with the help of Eurasians, Europeans and Indians to resist especially from the Golconda incursion, 'the face of war and continued appearance of hostility in this country hath enforced us to increase our garrison with Portugal's, mestizoes, and blacks.'⁴⁵¹ Thus from the mid-September 1657 Madras was blockaded by the Nawabs troops, and there was a regular seize, which lasted until April 1658.⁴⁵² During these days, the Portuguese soldiers actively support the English company.

By the 1660s, the Portuguese had established themselves by understanding of being crucial part of the Fort St. George, Madras population as not only as a merchants but reputed soldiers and militiamen in the defence of Fort St. George, Madras. The security of Fort St. George, Madras and its trade were now virtually hinge upon the valuable services and loyalty of the Portuguese and the native inhabitants. This gaining importance was mainly due to the continuing trouble in the region. In 1662, the Golconda army attack and seize San Thome, Mylapore, which is very close to Fort St. George, Madras. On the sea, the war between the Dutch, the Portuguese and the French continue. In the neighbourhood, the Nayaks of Madura and Tanjore were constantly at war and the armies of Bijapur made descents on the region with intent to conquer all the Hindu rulers. In 1669 the Dutch succeed because a necessary part of the security of Fort St. George, Madras.

In this continuous trouble in the hinterland during the 1660s, Fort St. George, Madras was safe from any direct confrontation with the local forces. But in 1669, Fort St. George, Madras was attacked and seized by a local Nayak, only freed due to the intervention by the Golconda on behalf of the English.⁴⁵³ Again, in 1670, Fort St. George, Madras was again blockade by Chinnapelly Mirza, the Golconda army's in the region. Father Dominic Navarette said that when he came to Madras in 1670 it was 'besieged by the King of Golconda's army without his orders' with a design 'to extort something from the English.' He also said that 'the enemy had stopped all the avenues, so that provisions grew scarce.

⁴⁵⁰ E.F.I., 1655-1660, p. 98.

⁴⁵¹ E.F.I., 1655-1660, p. 98.

⁴⁵² E.F.I., 1655-1660, p. 137.

⁴⁵³ Sewell, Robert, (1962). *Historical Inscription of Southern India*, p. 285.

There is neither port nor water; this last they get out of some small wells they have digged.⁴⁵⁴

Thomas Bowrey, who came to Madras in 1669, had also note down the event and said 'our Fort (and towne) of St. George hath been often molested by some of inland native forces, raised in very considerable numbers by some of the disaffected governors. I have known an army of some thousands, both horse and foot, come down and pitch their tents within 2· miles of the walls, where they have put a stopped upon all sorts of provisions.' Like Navarette, he also said that the motive was to extort money from the Company as 'nothing of such transactions is ordered by the Golconda King' and they are but the 'flying armies hatching rebellion.'⁴⁵⁵

During such sieges, the roles of Portuguese militia as well as the soldiers were very well commended. Navarrette has categorically said that the Portuguese always stand by the side of English government and in occasion make use of them 'as they did this time, when all men took arms and guarded the walls.'⁴⁵⁶ Bowrey has also said that many Portuguese 'also bear arms in the Honourable East India Company's Service as private Centinels,' especially during this trouble time.⁴⁵⁷ The blockade was lifted only after it was found impregnable and an agreement was sign under which the Madras government agreed to pay the Sultan of Golconda per annum 1,200 pagodas as rent.⁴⁵⁸

Madras was soon caught up with another trouble with the French and the Dutch. By 1672, the French had declared war against the English and began operation by seizing Mylapore, then garrisoned by the Golconda troops. The Dutch besieged and retook it from French in 1674 and return to Golconda.⁴⁵⁹ The Dutch also blockade the coast and was in good term with the Golconda's court. The three European powers were at war during this time one contesting the other for the supremacy of the coast. It is under this context that the English garrison was revamp and the local militia was form to defence the town from any

⁴⁵⁴ Cummins, J.S., (ed.), (1962). *The Travels and Controversies of Friar Domingo Navarette*, p. 297.

⁴⁵⁵ Temple, R. C, (1997). *A Geographical Account of the Countries Round the Bay of Bemgal*, pp. 50-51

⁴⁵⁶ Cummins, J.S., (ed.), (1962). *The Travels and Controversies of Friar Domingo Navarette*, p. 297.

⁴⁵⁷ Temple, R. C, (1997). *A Geographical Account of the Countries Round the Bay of Bemgal*, p. 4.

⁴⁵⁸ Sewell, Robert, (1962). *Historical Inscription of Southern India*, p. 285.

⁴⁵⁹ Love, H. D, (1996). *Vestiges of Old Madras*, vol. I, p. 373.

eventualities. The French occupation of Mylapore naturally led to a substantial augmentation of the Fort St. George Garrison.

An undated document, which reached London in June 1673, shows that the military forces comprised 241 British infantry and 14 artillerymen.⁴⁶⁰ Abbe Carre has also noted that the Madras Garrison consisted of 'three or four companies of English and black Portuguese, with some lascarinis, in all hardly 200 men, of which only 60 English.'⁴⁶¹ However, Cummins dispute this figure, which by computation from records, he put at over 950.⁴⁶² This weak garrison was supplemented by 163 Portuguese militiamen distributed viz: 31 at Charles Point; 31 at St. Thomes Point; 31 at Round Point; 31 at Fisher's Point; and 39 at Choultry Gate.⁴⁶³ Abbe Carre has also mentioned that the English government 'obliged to keep all the townspeople to keep the guard every night from fear of a surprise attack by the Dutch.'⁴⁶⁴ These 'townspeople' were the local militias of Portuguese and Indians inhabitants of Madras. The Portuguese militia was divided into six groups viz., 31 at the Round Point alias Charles point; 31 at St. Thomes point; 31 at the Round point to the sea; 31 at the Fisher's point; 39 at the Choultry gate and point near William Dixons.⁴⁶⁵

Dr. John Fryer, who came to Madras in the end of 1673, had also mentioned that, when he enter the Fort through the Choultry street, 'on both sides thereof is a Court of Guard, from whence, for every day's duty, are taken two hundred men; there being in pay for the Honourable East India Company of English and Portuguese 700, reckoning the Montrossess and Gunners.'⁴⁶⁶ Describing the guards of the Agent and Governor Langhorn, he wrote that 'his personal guard consisted of 3 or 400 blacks, besides a band of 1500 men ready on summons.'⁴⁶⁷ These guards were in constant duty until the impending war was over with the French and the Dutch in 1674. It was also recorded that there were enemies at sea and land at the musket shot so that Madras government was compelled to fortified Madras which was 'thin, low, slight, tottering walls with a great town close to them' and the garrison was enlarged which was 'not above [...

⁴⁶⁰ Love, H. D, (1996). *Vestiges of Old Madras*, vol. I, p. 373.

⁴⁶¹ Fawcett, Charles, (ed.), (1990). *The Travels of the Abbe Carre*, vol. II. p. 548.

⁴⁶² Fawcett, Charles, (ed.), (1990). *The Travels of the Abbe Carre*, vol. II. p. 548.

⁴⁶³ Love, H. D, (1996). *Vestiges of Old Madras*, vol. I, p. 375.

⁴⁶⁴ Fawcett, Charles, (ed.), (1990). *The Travels of the Abbe Carre*, vol. II. p. 548.

⁴⁶⁵ Love, H. D, (1996). *Vestiges of Old Madras*, vol. I, pp. 374-375.

⁴⁶⁶ Montrosses Gunroom crew

⁴⁶⁷ Crooke, William, (ed.), *A New Account of East India and Persia*, vol. I, p. 38.

] Europeans in garrison the rest Mestizos and Blacks, although may help to keep watches, yet for service are but little to be relied upon.⁴⁶⁸

The number of Portuguese enlisting in the English company increased after the fall of their colonies Nagapatnam to the Dutch and San Thome to the Golconda with the help of Dutch. They were around 1200 soldiers in 1690, serving under the English East India Company including Englishmen and these mostly comprised Portuguese and mesticos.⁴⁶⁹ Besides the company made various efforts to entice especially the Portuguese to settle in Madras,

“the Portuguese and mestizas were invited hither by several agents from our first settling here and some came with our people from Armagon and encouraged and several had money lent them to build upon the open sand, under the protection of the guns which by degrees has been walled in, they doing the duty the trained bands in watching and warding in times of trouble, upon the out workers they have never paid any rent or acknowledgement, not taken out ant leases.”⁴⁷⁰

Therefore, more than half of the English company soldiers were recruit from the Portuguese. This matter brought to the council whether to allow such large number of enlisting at the same time whether it is safe when they themselves reduce in lesser number. In one of their records, the long discussion was written, whether is it safe or convenient that considering about half the soldiers of the fort are Portuguese, and more than half the inhabitants of the new town are Portuguese. In addition, they now have two churches high into the fort, where some thousands meet every week (besides French), that the said inhabitants should be permitted to dwell in said town.⁴⁷¹ So the English were again consulting whether to disarm or not.⁴⁷² Nevertheless, the English were considering, as it is more beneficial while employing them in this unknown far away place. With more and more recruit from the Portuguese and their offspring, the English company started learning Portuguese language, ‘efforts learning the Portugall language that the company pay a tutor six months. The tutor to read them one hour every day of the weeks.’⁴⁷³

⁴⁶⁸ D&CB., 1672-1678, p. 19.

⁴⁶⁹ Varadarjan, Lotika, (trans.), (1985). *India in the 17th Century, Memoirs of Francois Martin*, (1670-1694) vol. II, part. II, 1681-1699, p. 1261.

⁴⁷⁰ D&CB., 1672-1678, p.87.

⁴⁷¹ D&CB., 1672-1678, p. 89.

⁴⁷² D&CB., 1672-1678, pp. 89-90.

⁴⁷³ Notes on and Extracts from the Government Records, Fort Saint George Records, Public Department, Letters from England, 1670-1677, p. 40.

Moreover, peace was already conclude between the English Crown and Portuguese king Dom Joan IV in 1642. Even before the peace treaty, the English company learnt it more advantageous to cease hostilities with the *Estado da India*, in the form of non-aggression pact made with *Estado da India* in 1635.⁴⁷⁴

Table 5.1: Portuguese soldier's enlisted in the English East India Company garrison.

Year	Soldier	Gunroom crew	Discharged
1693	12	1	
1694	9	2	3
1695	12		
1696	33		
1697	19	5	1
1698	23	1	2
1699	13	2	1
1700	4	1	3
1701	47	1	3
1702	27	2	2
1703	22	5	3
1704	31	3	
1705	24	5	1
1706	17	11	2
1707	15	5	
1708	24	2	1
1709	18	2	9
1710	19		

(Source: Diary and Consultation Book, 1693 to 1710)

Portuguese Serving as Militiamen

The English also raised militia from the Portuguese inhabitants of Madras. This was due to the outcome of the Mughal Empire taken over Golconda in 1687. The Mughal's were not like the smaller southern kingdoms as considering the size where they rule of the sub-continent and their approaching on the southern coast certainly makes a very disadvantageous when their fort were still not secure.⁴⁷⁵ On their consultation the English caution the defence of the garrison, 'it being of so great concerne to bee continually mindfull to provide

⁴⁷⁴ Winus, G.D, Portugal's "Shadow Empire" in the Bay of Bengal, *Revista de Cultura*, 13-14, Macao, January/June, 1991, p.283_See also E.F.I., 1634-1636, pp. viii, ix, 26, 211.

⁴⁷⁵ D&CB., 1687, p. 34.

for the defence of this garrison against the Mogulls forces which wee have great reason to fear will come upon us, after he has taken Golconda.⁴⁷⁶

The militia were raised when the new Nawab Daud Khan with 10,000 troops emerge at the gate of San Thome. Not knowing the Nawab intention, Governor Thomas Pitt immediately prepares to resist any offensive. He called the sailors that are in the port to form a company of marines, and asked Captain George Heron and John Berlu to assist and summons all the Portuguese settlers to form company under Emmanuel de Silva, and with the help of hundred peons as scouts.⁴⁷⁷ So in the consultation they decided, 'so we immediately raised our trainbands and Portuguese militia of this place, and appoint them their particular ports for defence.'⁴⁷⁸ Since most of them were not pay they started leaving as many of them were seafaring and handcraft men who have family to maintain. Therefore, the English decided to pay from the time they took up arms for defence of the fort.⁴⁷⁹

Individual rich Portuguese merchants maintain their own militia, sometimes they also assist to the English when the need arise while guarding the fort. They were Joan Pereira de Faria maintaining fifteen militia; likewise the others like Cosmo Laurenzo de Madera maintaining seventeen, Gaspar de Moto de Brito maintaining seventeen, Lucas Luis de Olivera maintaining fifteen, Joan Sardinia de Fonseca maintaining fifteen, Antonio Nogueira de Souza maintaining fifteen.⁴⁸⁰ The militia were raised from time to time when the needed arise to defend the fort.⁴⁸¹

Portuguese Soldiers Serving in the Coromandel Coast

The English were, if less numerous, scarcely less ubiquitous, and this notwithstanding the endeavours to maintain all fort was only possible from the recruit of Portuguese as well as from their offspring *mesticos* who have already established a flourishing unofficial trading presence from the sixteenth onwards. From Fort St. George the availability of Portuguese soldiers were again sent to different post for the guarding the company trading fort. Twenty Portuguese

⁴⁷⁶ D&CB., 1687, p. 38.

⁴⁷⁷ D&CB., 1701, p. 62.

⁴⁷⁸ D&CB., 1702, p. 10.

⁴⁷⁹ D&CB., 1702, p. 26.

⁴⁸⁰ D&CB., 1681, p. 18.

⁴⁸¹ D&CB., 1710, pp. 60. 61.

soldiers were sent to Fort St. David, to fill up the requirement of sentry post.⁴⁸² The transferring of soldiers has strategic purpose as sometimes the soldiers shift with their families and with their families then came the merchants who came to settle along with new opportunities, 'several eminent Portuguese merchants were come down from Porto Novo to inhabit and trade there, desiring a piece of ground may be allotted them in Cuddalore for their service to build a church and dwelling house, which they accordingly granted them.'⁴⁸³

Those who are ready to shift from Fort St. George at different English Company fort were properly look after the company made interest such as payment in advance and the entire concern requirement was provide from the company treasure. There is evidence of 'several Portuguese soldiers willing to go to Pollicondore, ordered the paymaster to advances for three months pay at two pagodas per mensem, and that the steward lays in provision for them for the aforesaid time.'⁴⁸⁴ Similarly, evidence of the Portuguese mesticos was also sent at Vizagapatnam with promise of good fortune and comfortable life.⁴⁸⁵

Portuguese Soldiers Serving Outside the Coromandel Coast

The Portuguese were not only sending within the Coromandel Coast but were also sending outside the Coromandel Coast as far as Sumatra. In 13 February 1695, thirty soldiers recruit from European and Mesticos communities were sent to York Fort at Sumatra, 'that thirty soldiers Europe and Topases be sent upon said ship under the command of a person fit to serve as lieutenant at York Fort.'⁴⁸⁶ While they were transferring, the families sometimes and their priest Padre were allowed to accompany with them. In 19 September 1698, when they were transferring to the York Fort the English allowed 'portuguese soldiers or others as are willing to go to York fort have liberty to carry their families with them and that the Portuguese also have liberty of carrying a Padry with them.'⁴⁸⁷ In 19 September 1698, four Portuguese were sent to serve in the west coast.⁴⁸⁸ Again, in next month twenty Portuguese were sent on the ship *Thorndon* to York Fort to take various positions under the English flag.⁴⁸⁹ In 7 September 1699,

⁴⁸² D&CB., 1691, p. 13.

⁴⁸³ D&CB., 1691, p. 43.

⁴⁸⁴ D&CB., 1704, p. 36.

⁴⁸⁵ D&CB., 1708, p. 47.

⁴⁸⁶ D&CB., 1695, p. 21.

⁴⁸⁷ D&CB., 1698, p. 106.

⁴⁸⁸ D&CB., 1698, p.106

⁴⁸⁹ D&CB., 1698, p. 111.

another batch of thirty Portuguese soldiers was sent to York Fort.⁴⁹⁰ In 13 April 1705, another ten Portuguese soldiers were sent on the ship *Huglyan Ketch* to York Fort.⁴⁹¹ The transferring was continuing till to the 1710s, in 13 October 1707, twenty mestisco were sent on the ship *Anne* to serve as soldiers in west coast and again in 12 March 1709,⁴⁹² another twelve mestisco were sent on the ship *President*.⁴⁹³ The other places where the Portuguese serve as soldiers were at Bengal,⁴⁹⁴ and Anjenjo.⁴⁹⁵

Sometime the Portuguese defiance the orders for stationing at different post. It was during Governorship of William Gyfford (1681-1687), the Portuguese soldiers appointed to serve in the Bay of Bengal refuse to proceed, on the assumption that they are going to sent Sumatra. The Governor assured them but the Portuguese soldiers revolted against by occupying the fort gate. The English put down the mutiny by hanging the ringleaders to terrify the rest and to go obey their order. Therefore, the company resolved to disband the Portuguese soldiers and more Englishmen were to recruit but it was never materialize, as there were never sufficient Englishmen to recruit in the service of the English company.⁴⁹⁶

The needs of men-power become the vital for the establishment of different trading fort hence; the English provide everything from transporting the soldier's families, provision for the voyage including all the families, accommodation as soon as they arrived and payment in advance for two months.⁴⁹⁷ Even the child born in the garrison was welcome and grant were sanctioned, 'some of the soldiers of the garrison having made a request to receive the gratitude from the humble company of a pagoda for each born and baptized here.'⁴⁹⁸

Prominent Merchants, Citizens Assisting in the Company service

⁴⁹⁰ D&CB., 1699, p, 72.

⁴⁹¹ D&CB., 1705, p. 59.

⁴⁹² D&CB., 1707, p. 71.

⁴⁹³ D&CB., 1709, p. 37.

⁴⁹⁴ Varadarjan, Lotika, (trans.), (1984). *India in the 17th Century, Memoirs of Francois Martin*, (1670-1694) vol. II, part. I, p. 1018.

⁴⁹⁵ D&CB., 1697, p. 135.

⁴⁹⁶ D&CB., 1686, p. 70.

⁴⁹⁷ D&CB., 1701, p. 82.

⁴⁹⁸ D&CB., 1696, p. 101.

Apart from the services of soldiers, there were also well-known merchants who from time to time help with the English company while dealing commercials as well as in time of political instability. Francisco Vera de Figueiredo a fildalgo, a known friend to the English,⁴⁹⁹ who was trading between the Coromandel Coast and Macassar, intervene for peaceful co-existence between the Fort St. George and Madras.⁵⁰⁰ It was during 1649's when the Capuchin Father Ephraim who was apprehended when he was invited for personal discussion with regard to ecclesiastical abuse prevailing at San Thome, by the commissaries of Inquisition at San Thome.⁵⁰¹ Father Ephraim de Nevers and Father Zenon had come from France for missionary work at Pegu, and reached Surat in 1641. Thence, they travelled overland to Masulipatam, but being unable to get ship there to take them to Pegu, they came to Madras. While waiting for a ship, they ministered to the Catholic settlers. Its Portuguese inhabitants, including Joao Pereira de Faria, petitioned to the Agent and Council to retain him was agreed in June 1642.⁵⁰²

As it turned out, Father Ephraim and his associate not only agreed, but Father Ephraim proved himself to be devoted to his flock. He spoke (beside his native French) Portuguese, English and German and some Persian, Arabic and other Asian languages as well. He constantly acted as a peacemaker between the Portuguese and the English disputes between them. Nor would he accept any fees or rewards. Father Ephraim and his subsequent Capuchin associate behaved themselves with great charity and diplomacy taking every care not to arouse the ire of their Anglican counterparts. Hence, they proved the ideal solution to English needs for Catholic clergymen to service their Portuguese settlers.⁵⁰³ While the two priest were detain Francisco Vera de Figueiredo negotiates with Henry Greenhill on behalf of Captain-General of San Thome, Gomez Frera Andrada, to free both the prisoner Capuchin Father Ephraim and Reverend Padre, which also detained while retort by the English to freed their Capuchin Father.⁵⁰⁴

One of the most prominent merchant living in Fort St. George was a Portuguese named Joan Pereira de Faria, owner of ship *Anne*,⁵⁰⁵ who was

⁴⁹⁹ E.F.I., 1655-1660, p. 97.

⁵⁰⁰ E.F.I., 1655-1660, pp. 6, 80.

⁵⁰¹ Irvine, William (trans.), (1981). *Storia Do Mogor or Mogul India, 1652-1708*, vol. III, pp. 407-417, 431-437, 438-455.

⁵⁰² Love, H. D, (1996). *Vestiges of Old Madras*, vol. I, pp. 47-49. See also Irvine, William, (trans.), (1981). *Storia Do Mogor or Mogul India, 1652-1708*, vol. III, p. 468.

⁵⁰³ Winus, G. D. (2001). *Studies on Portuguese Asia*, p. 56.

⁵⁰⁴ E.F.I., 1655-1660, pp. 96-97.

⁵⁰⁵ E.F.I., 1661-1665, p. 275.

migrated to Madras after the fall of Nagapatnam, a Portuguese colony taken by the Dutch in 1660.⁵⁰⁶ He offered his service for opening up of trade at Burma and Pegu since he had much experience in the region and he was frequented to the place for trade. The English company readily accepts it and consider as good prospect for opening trade in these rich spices and precious stones. It was recorded, ‘upon consideration of the humble company interest in relation to trade and from this place for Pegu and also for settlement of factory’s and a trade in those country for procure of salt peter and stick lack.....there offering a good opportunity of a Portuguese Joan Pereira de Faria junior inhabitant of this voyage thither who is well experienced in the king of Burma and Pegu.’⁵⁰⁷

The English company authorized to negotiate and sign a treaty with the king of Burma and Pegu on behalf of the English East India Company, further he was also instruct to set up a factory. The instruction given by Streynsham Master, Governor of Fort St. George, to Joan Pereira de Faria to obtain commerce for the English and opening a factory. In the letter it was written, “I do hereby empower you to trade with the his majesty king of Burma and Pegu using your best endeavours to obtain that the same way may be granted by his said majesty unto the English nation for the settling factory’s and a lasting trade within his domains and under his protection.”⁵⁰⁸ Joan Pereira de Faria was sent with eighteen proposals to the king of Burma and Pegu on behalf of the English East India Company for settling a trade.⁵⁰⁹ In the following year, on 24 January Joan Pereira de Faria returned from Pegu, along with several ruby merchants, on their arrival order was given specifically with all civility and better treatment to encourage others to come trade at Fort St. George.⁵¹⁰ A *cowl* granted by Streynsham Master to all Pegu ruby merchants, it states:

“For any gold or silver that they shall bring to this place, and for all other goods imported or exported they shall pay no otherwise then according to the customs and usage of the place; and this cowl I the agent and governor with the advise and consent of my council, do grant in behalf of the honourable English east company.”⁵¹¹

⁵⁰⁶ Irvine, William, (trans.), (1981). *Storia Do Mogor or Mogul India, 1653-1708*, vol. III, p.195.

⁵⁰⁷ D&CB., 1680-1681, p. 8.

⁵⁰⁸ D&CB., 1680-1681, p. 9.

⁵⁰⁹ D&CB., 1680-1681, pp. 10-12.

⁵¹⁰ D&CB., 1680, p. 3.

⁵¹¹ D&CB., 1680-1681, p. 12.

For his services, the English reduce half of the customs on his cargo.⁵¹² The English company which own a house in Pegu, Syraim and Ava were also given to Joan Pereira de Faria junior instead of using by strangers, the order was translate that ‘the company have ground and house standing thereupon at Syriam, Pegu and Ava which have been used by strangers for some years past. It is now resolved to give Joan Pereira de Faria junior order to take possession of the said house.’⁵¹³ He built a spectacular garden around his home in Pettanaikpetta which long gave his name to that quarter of the city.⁵¹⁴

Another prominent merchant, which reside in fort St. George was Luis de Medeiros Barreto a well-establish Portuguese merchant, from the Record of Fort St. George, his name written as Francisco de Britto. He was an experienced merchant; he was enlisting in the commission for the management of the company affairs and cargo in the ship.⁵¹⁵ After his death his widow sell the house to the company, later it become headquarters for the English East India Company.⁵¹⁶ Luis de Medeiros Barreto had an occasion lent his money to the company. On his death, he left an asset of some 19,000 pagodas. His father, Cosmo Lourenco de Madeira, in addition to being a council member and militia commander, also built Descancao church in nearby Adyer, where he was buried.⁵¹⁷

There may be many Portuguese serving in the English company but very few Portuguese were appointed in the higher echelon where it was reserved for only English. The reason probably may be the language barrier or few knew how to write English language, some official appointed are Joan Coroon as a writer, from the Records of Fort St. George. ‘There is great need of a Portuguese writer for our correspondence with the European Governors of these parts, this brought convenient that Joan Coroon now a soldiers upon the Crops du Guard (guard room) being very fitting for that employment be discharged his duty and allowed: 120: fa: p meneem (pagodas per month).’⁵¹⁸ His pay must be the highest among the Portuguese communities working for the English company as nobody pay as

⁵¹² D&CB., 1680-1681, p. 9.

⁵¹³ D&CB., 1680-1681, p. 15.

⁵¹⁴ Winus, G.D, A Tale of Two Coromandel Towns, Madraspatam (Fort St. George) and Sao Thome de Meliapur, Itinerario 18, no.1, Leiden, 1994. p. 61.

⁵¹⁵ D&CB., 1684, p. 72.

⁵¹⁶ Love, H.D, (1996). *Vestiges of Old Madras*, vol. I, p. 433.

⁵¹⁷ Winus, G.D, A Tale of Two Coromandel Towns, Madraspatam (Fort St. George) and Sao Thome de Meliapur, Itinerario 18, no.1, Leiden, 1994, p. 61.

⁵¹⁸ D&CB., 1684, p. 100.

much as 120 pagodas per month in any other services. Joan Coroon work's until 1699, it was only when he decided to leave for Manila he quit the job.⁵¹⁹ The second person official appointed for the service of English company is Joan Gago Peisotee.⁵²⁰

Portuguese ship's owner and ship's command by Portuguese

There are many ships owned by the Portuguese inhabitant of Madras at the same time there are also, if not owned, but captain of the ships probably owned by the English as the name of the ships were in English but command by the Portuguese. The captains were experience in the seafaring voyage and some were trusted even sending parcel like gold from far place, 'there being parcel of gold which came by Francisco Cordoza from Manila.'⁵²¹ These experienced captains also steer for the local rulers. One such captain was Manoet de Medeiros Barreto. He was a captain for the Nawab ships, who agreed to sail Bengal and in return visit Jaffnapatam and in return to Bengal again and later brought the ship into Pulicat road.⁵²²

List of ships owned by the Portuguese and command by Portuguese settlers of Fort. St. George

1. *St. Cruise*, command by Captain Augustin de Carvalia, and
Nossa Senohora de Rosia, command by Captain Jacomme Fersena,
Concord, command by Captain Domingo,
2. *St. Thoma*, owned by Francisco Mendes
3. *Boa Vesta* and *Jerusalem* owned by Don Theodore of Fort St. George,
4. *St. Francisco*, command by Captain, Ferdinando Manuell,
5. *St. George*, owned by Francisco Mendes
6. *Nossa Senhora de Concession*, command by Captain Antonio de Silva,
7. *Conimere Merchant*, command by Captain Ferdinando Manuel,
8. *Nossa Senhora de Espernia*, command by Captain Ferdinando Manuel,
9. *Jaggerayakoola*, owned by Joan Ferreira,
10. *Senhora de Remendo*, command by Captain Manuel Patchego,
11. *Senhora de Rosairo*, command by Captain Joseph de Souza,
12. *Ramoda*, owned by Joan Ferreira,
13. *Senhora de Rosairo*, command by Captain Francis Gomes,

⁵¹⁹ D&CB., 1699, p. 50.

⁵²⁰ D&CB., 1701, p. 39.

⁵²¹ D&CB., 1699, p. 51.

⁵²² D&CB., 1684, p. 24.

14. *Senhora de Souza*, command by Captain Manuel Feca,
15. *Elephant*, command by Captain Domingo de Souza,
16. *Good Fortune*, command by Captain Francisco Henriques,
17. *Latchme* and *Pearle*, command by Captain Francisco Cordoza de Macedo,
18. *Susanna*, command by Captain Francisco Newis,
19. *Josia*, command by Captain Anthony Ferera,
20. *Parr Bone Success*, owner and command by Captain Francisco Coelho,
21. *St. Antonio*, command by Captain Juerda Mendez,
22. *Prospect*, command by Captain Francisco Nunis,
23. *Noss Senhora Rosairo*, command by Captain Anthony Norangy,
24. *St. Cruse*, command by Captain Ignatius Marcoss,
25. *Pombrupa*, command by Captain Simon Rodrigues,
26. *St. Anthony*, command by Captain Manuel Gonsalvas,
27. *Resolution*, command by Captain Andrew Ferreira,
28. *Bone Russen*, command by Captain Simon Rodrigues,
29. *Johanna*, command by Captain Francisco de Saa,
30. *Boom*, command by Captain Viagio Diego Moroosse,
31. *Sapher Salamut*, command by Captain Antonio Farando,
32. *Senhora de Rosairo*, command by Captain Francisco Canor,
33. *St. Peter and St. Paul* command by Captain Manuel Rodrigues de Sa,
34. *St. Augo*, command by Captain Domingo,
35. *Senhora de Persia*, command by Captain Manuel Rodrigues,
36. *St. Martin*, , command by Captain Manuel Gonsalvas,
37. *Senhora de Remendo*, command by Captain Joan Domingos,
38. *Senhora de Fama*, command by Captain Francisco Jores,
39. *Ballasore*, command by Captain Dennis Gomes,

The evidence of Portuguese and English plying together begins before the actual fall of Portuguese fort both in Malabar and in Coronamdel Coast. If the authorities of both Estado da India and English East India Company may not be recognized but encouraged as both benefit from these trading together. It become more visible after the complete take over Portuguese fort in Coromandel as all the leading Portuguese merchants and shippers were operating from within the English battlements supported by their English East India Company confederates.⁵²³ The friendly partners of these two unofficial dealing were taking advantage mostly from the Portuguese shippers due to the fear of Dutch attack or

⁵²³ Winus, G.D, A Tale of Two Coromandel Towns, Madraspatam (Fort St. George) and Sao Thome de Meliapur, Itinerario 18, no.1, Leiden, 1994, p. 62.

probably for not wanted to take pass called *laissez-passer* similar to the *cartazes*,⁵²⁴ which is consider mostly to dominate their trading activities.

This brought the attention of pirates and the actual offenders who take advantage of these friendly unofficial traders partners ply their ships under the English flag. The English company official believe it was from the Portuguese community, who often resort pirates activities or from the interlopers, which put up English flag and plundering whatever ships they found on the sea. It was great concern for the company official as it affects the relationships with local rulers as well as got bad reputation from the local trading communities.

One such case brought to notice was unknown ship coming at San Thome with English flag, which really undermine the authority of the company in the coast. The English East India Company issued a strict order of great consequence anyone dealing with the said ship.

“That no people whatsoever, inhabitant of this place, hold any correspondence directly or indirectly with any person belonging to the ship now in St. Thoma road which arrived there on the 11th: instant with English colours, under pain of a months imprisonment or so long as the said ship shall remain on this coast, and fine not exceeding 500 pagodas: and this further declared that if any of the humble company servants shall found guilty of the breach of this order, they shall be forth-with dismissed from their service.”⁵²⁵

There is also of evidence of Portuguese merchant from Fort St. George trading against the order.

“Antonio Ferreira de Silva a Portuguese inhabitant of this place (Madrassetam) having being aboard the ship at St. Thoma yesterday, and being suspected by the slight account he gives, that he designs to drive a trade with them, and the likeliest man to carry it on for himself and others, to prevent which he was committed to the custody of the marshal till further order.”⁵²⁶

⁵²⁴ A naval trade [license](#) or pass (permit) issued by the [Portuguese](#) in the [Indian ocean](#) during the sixteenth century (circa 1502-1750), under the rule of the [Portuguese empire](#).

⁵²⁵ D&CB., 1698, p. 66.

⁵²⁶ D&CB., 1698, p. 66.

According to the havaladar of St. Thome, the information he sent to Fort St. George was that he sent Joan Domingo a Portuguese inhabitants of San Thome pretending to trade saltpeter and sugar. de Matter observe that few men appear with no arms and they are desirous to buy the said product but they are not ready to go down from their ship so he brought his product into the ship and he suspect them to be pirates.

With the order from the Fort St. George that is prohibited to deal to any pirates but go unheard for the two prominent Portuguese merchants. They were punished for defiance against the authority. They were Francisco Mendez and Francisco de Sa, which is order to pay 500 pagodas for their crimes dealing with the pirates. In the consultation they conclude that, “it is upon this occasion resolved that if Francisco Mendez or Francisco de Sa or any other Portuguese inhabitants of St. Thome shall buy or sell with the said ship, they shall not be admitted for the future to come into Madras, nor have any dealings with any inhabitants of Madras.”⁵²⁷

There was case of stolen English identity by the native merchant. A ship belong to Vizagapatam merchant plying on the coast with the English flag was chased but they could not catch as the ship was new and escape in the direction of Bay of Bengal.⁵²⁸

Portuguese planning to re-settle at San Thome

An attempt has been made during William Gyfford Governorship (1681-1687) to build strong fortification and garrison around the Fort St. George. It was decided to levying a small tax amongst the inhabitants to be paid monthly, if they oppose then it cannot be successful, so they ask to paid voluntary contribution to all the inhabitants English, Portuguese and local merchants.⁵²⁹ The urgency to repair was due to the continued encroachment from the sea aroused apprehension for the safety of the fortification on the eastern front of the white town,⁵³⁰ which is inhabit by thirty three Englishmen, seventy nine Portuguese and three natives.⁵³¹ The contribution is for the charge of maintaining, repairing and fortifying the garrison as well as for the defence and security to them, their families and estates. William Gyfford justify while asking contribution that they

⁵²⁷ D&CB., 1698, p. 66.

⁵²⁸ D&CB., 1708, pp. 72-73.

⁵²⁹ Wheeler, J. Talboys, (1990). *Annals of the Madras Presidency, 1639-1702*, vol. I, p. 101, also see, D&CB., 1684, p. 88.

⁵³⁰ Love, H.D, (1996). *Vestiges of Old Madras*, vol. I. p. 470.

⁵³¹ Love, H.D, (1996). *Vestiges of Old Madras*, vol. I. p. 444.

all now are rich by establishing their trade under the protection of the English company and also received many honours and favours without paying any tribute or rent and only in the time of the Governor Mr. Master, imposed a tax on arrack, and paddy, to pay for cleaning the streets.⁵³²

The problem arises from the Portuguese community as some on them disapprove to pay the voluntary contribution. The English company left it to the chief Portuguese to convince their community.⁵³³ Moreover, the English do not want any type of imposed, which may lead to hostile to these merchants. Meanwhile, the Portuguese started negotiated secretly by sending a priest to the Golconda court to seek permission to re-established at San Thome which was now almost in a ruin state. San Thome was given lease to chief English merchants Chinna Vankatadry and Verona Vankatadry, the English company who also wanted to rent but leave it to their agent as they consider it will create many problems and consider as in Humble Company name.⁵³⁴ From the Records of Fort St. George Consultation it was recorded;

“the humble company having in their former general letter to us of renting of San Thoma town from the Diwan, but being satisfied it would raise many surplus and difficulties in them or it least enhance the rent if we appeared in it, or treated about it ourselves, or in the Right Honble Company’s name.....in the meantime some of our Portuguese inhabitants since our demanding taxes and advance of the customes, have privately negotiated this matter by one of the Padrees at Golconda, who procured them a Phirmaud for their settlement and trade in the country , and since that the news of the Mughal’s success against the Golconda, with the probability of his coming or sending hither, and our danger nearby, have privately, basely and ungratefully sneak away to San Thome, and there been treating with the Seer Lascar and the Governors to take a lease of San Thoma government and there to fortify hoist their flag” .⁵³⁵

⁵³² Wheeler, J. Talboys, (1990). *Annals of the Madras Presidency, 1639-1702*, vol. I, pp.112-114.

⁵³³ D&CB., 1684, p. 94.

⁵³⁴ D&CB., 1687, p. 102.

⁵³⁵ D&CB., 1687, p. 102.

The king of Golconda issued them a *Farman* where permission was granted to the Portuguese, provided they paid certain amount each year.⁵³⁶ Hence, after obtaining a *farman* from the king of Golconda for allowing them to settle once again at San Thome they were determined to make this an important stronghold as it had been in previous times. The English East India Company was determining to check this new design, which will hamper their prospect. The English took precaution by declaring a martial law that, “the Portuguese soldiers who were acquainted with the sense of Proclamation and all advised, that as it commanded all soldiers to return to their colours, so it caution them from running from ours, for that his Royall Majesty had given to his Right Homble Company his Royall Charter for Martial Law, and that they had strictly commanded its execution, which should be obeyed without mercy.”⁵³⁷

When the matter was still not yet decided a new political change took place in the Coromandel Coast, the Mughal overran Golconda Empire in 1687.⁵³⁸ The officials who had been sent out by the Mughal authority to take over the administration harassed the Portuguese who started to re-establish at San Thome, following the permission granted to them by the king of Golconda. They had tried to resist Mughal authority but having failed in this, they dispatch again the Augustin monk (Father Louis de Piedade). He obtained permission for the Mughal court with *farman* and secure its confirmation by the Mughal king.⁵³⁹

The obstinate Portuguese who eagerly plan for re-settlement got a bolster when the Viceroy Dom Rodrigo da Costa (1686-1690) at Goa commissioned one of his relatives named Lewis Francisco Countinho to be “General authority over all affaires on the coast.”⁵⁴⁰ He also brought with him a commission approval to appoint a captain and to recruit the soldiers. The Viceroy Dom Rodrigo da Costa wrote all the Portuguese who had spread themselves all along the coast to gather at San Thome. If they were united, they would be sufficiently powerful again to maintain their position. Dom Rodrigo was persuaded by these arguments and sent out the necessary orders. The orders were read out from pulpit of their church at Porto Novo and express messengers were sent to the Portuguese at Nagapatinam,

⁵³⁶ Varadarajan, Lotika, (trans.), (1984). *India in the 17th Century, Memoirs of Francois Martin*, vol. II, Part, I, pp.903, 1040. see also Diary and Consultation Book, 1687, (1916), p. 102.

⁵³⁷ D&CB., 1687, p. 106.

⁵³⁸ D&CB., 1687, p. 162.

⁵³⁹ Varadarajan, Lotika, (trans.), (1984). *India in the 17th Century, Memoirs of Francois Martin*, vol. II, part, I, p.1083.

⁵⁴⁰ D&CB., 1695, p. 69.

Tranquebar and more especially to Madras where large number had taken up residence.⁵⁴¹

When the English Governor Elihu Yale (1687-1692) learnt the proclamation, he conveyed a meeting of the Council and it was decided that with the exception of those who had departed on voyage, no Portuguese resident was allowed to leave the city for more than six days. Any resident belonging to this community who stayed away longer than six days would not allow returning. The consequence is the house and other possession would be declared as forfeited to the English Council. This decree was sent in the Catholic Church for public hearing. Many Portuguese who had wished to leave were now held back.⁵⁴²

However, the Viceroy did not sanction any financial to execute the mission at the same time the Portuguese at large didn't cooperate even when they were summoned personally like Joan de Coasta, Francisco Mendes and Joan Baptista, from the inhabitants of Fort St. George. They did not appear, 'many of their own nation esteeming this to be but a bravado, which having no foundation cannot subsist.'⁵⁴³ With few troops and little authority, the mission to re-establish at San Thome was never accomplished.

The Portuguese got another jolt in 1704, when the newly Captain Nuno Silvestro Frade arrived, he did not visit the local governor Mir Usman, who was also visiting at San Thome. At the same time, the captain started erecting the walls of the go downs and ordered 100 candies of saltpetre to make gunpowder. Another insult to Mir Usman was, he went to procession walking under the shade of umbrella 'with drums beating, giving the air of master of the country.'⁵⁴⁴ The local governor sat a council meeting to take immediate action but waited for some days to look for an opportunity to teach him a lesson.

Then came the procession of the most Holy Rosary when things were still not settle down.⁵⁴⁵ Many Muslim mingled in the procession making many

⁵⁴¹ Varadarajan, Lotika, (trans.), (1984). *India in the 17th Century, Memoirs of Francois Martin*, vol. II, part, I

⁵⁴² Varadarajan, Lotika, (trans.), (1984). *India in the 17th Century, Memoirs of Francois Martin*, ol. II, part, I, p.1071

⁵⁴³ D&CB., 1695, p. 72.

⁵⁴⁴ Irvine, William, (trans.), (1981). *Storia Do Mogor or Mogul India, 1652-1708*, vol. IV, pp. 60-61.

⁵⁴⁵ According to Niccola Manucci it was held on October, 5. Irvine, William, (trans.), (1981). *Storia Do Mogor or Mogul India*, vol. IV, p. 61.

insolent remarks and taking the candles from the Christian hands.⁵⁴⁶ They were not paying respect neither to women nor men and abuse to all the Christian going in the procession. The Portuguese unable to bear any longer of these insults broke one Muslim fellow head, which followed great confusion in the procession but Father Friar Diogo do Sacramento, Dominican, and Simao de Loyolo, who bore the pyx in the procession, pacify the mob for peace and brought inside the church to celebrate the First Mass.

Seizing the occasion, Mir Usman march straight to the new captain house, who, learning of his approach, came out to greet him, imaging that it was a friendly visit paid to him. Mir Usman seized him by the collar violently and made him over to his soldiers, and carried away as prisoner. Just then, a Portuguese gentleman called Joan Rebello arrived,⁵⁴⁷ who fired his musket and killed the man who was removing the chief captain. In this confrontation, the Mir Usman slew Joao Re-bello. Then some more Portuguese arrived, and they killed another Mir Usman troops. Because of this Mir Usman blockade all the routes supplies heading to San Thome. Manucci went to negotiate on behalf of the settlers of San Thome, Mir Uaman agreed to withdraw the blockade.

The Portuguese knew they were helpless, as they knew they cannot do anything, being frightened for more consequence, came out at night with their families and went away as best they could grab whatever they could to Fort St. George. Among them were:

- 1, Nuno Silvestro Frade, the wounded chief captain.
- 2, Matheus Carvalho da Silva.
- 3, Manuel de Sanche, nominated magistrate on behalf of his majesty.
- 4, Gasper de Motta, councilors.
- 5, de Britto, councilors.
- 6, Pedro de Torres Oliveira, manager of his majesty's plantation and tax collector.

⁵⁴⁶ D&CB., 1704, p. 83.

⁵⁴⁷ There is a contradictory of Joan Rebello's death, according to Fort St. George Record, Diary and Consultation Book, 1704, Joan Rebello death was already record in 24 September 1704, p. 83, which is much before the actual procession mention by Mannuci on October 5.

7, Luis da Fonseca Varjao, judge of the orphans.

8, Antonio Tullimao, public prosecutor.

9, Francisco George, assistance of public prosecutor.

The principal inhabitants who left along with these officials are the following, Manuel Ruiz, Antonio Cassella do Valle, Alvaro Cassella do Valle, Francisco Lopez do Frigueredo, Luis Carvalho da Silva, Joan de Moroes Mexias, Joan de Fonseca Varjao, Joseph de Fonseca Varjao, Antonio Gonzalves, Joan Rebello de Coulo. They were accompanied by some topazes (mesticos) and among them were also Friars and Priest: Simon de Costa, Friar Manuel de Nevis, Augustinian; Manuel da Silva Menezes, Lucas de Oliveira, Estevao Ruiz, Manuel Ruiz, Antonio de Figuredo, Manuel Pinto.⁵⁴⁸ These runaway Portuguese came to seek protection at Madras and request to stay, Governor Thomas Pitt, welcome and received them kindly.

After Nuno Silvestro Frade, the wounded chief captain, escape to Madras he wrote the Viceroy of Goa that he resigned the office of captain, and requested him to choose someone else to take charge of the government. The Viceroy Caetanao de Mello (1703-1707), wrote to Lord Bishop Gasper Alfonzo, to take charge for the post of captain and if he is not willing then he can choose anyone he considered best fitted for the post. Lord Bishop Gasper Alfonzo called for a meeting to all the inhabitants of Portuguese living in San Thome, requesting to allow the imposition of tax. The settlers remonstrated, pointing that the impossibility of the matter owing to the poverty of the inhabitants, who had hardly enough to eat. The Lord Bishop Gasper Alfonzo was worn out of these associations and other official business, and being already advanced in years, he handover the post of captain to Nicolao Rodriguez and retire in officials business.

Thus, it cannot deny that in the expansion of the English Company in Coromandel one of the contribution for it success was due to the absorption of the Portuguese and their descendents of mixed breed *mezticos* in the English organization. They were century ahead compare with the English but in the seventeenth century their power decline and knowing all the trading activities and linguist in the coast, which is very vital for the establishment, were quickly recognized the utility by the English Company. This turn out to be the mutual

⁵⁴⁸ Irvine, William, (trans.), (1981). *Storia Do Mogor or Mogul India, 1652-1708*, vol. IV, p. 62.

collaboration and partnership for the growth of trade and commerce as well as security for the various forts. Their indispensable service enlisting in the English troops were the matter of survival for the services not only in Fort St. George, but also in various ports of Coromandel Coast and in Bencoolen, Fort Marlborough.

The Portuguese who trade with various sectors of the country trade routes, both in intra-Asian trade from early sixteenth century become equal partners with the English in the seventeenth century. In the trades both the English Company and the Portuguese benefit from implicit partnership, the Portuguese amassed huge fortunes under the English flag and the English Company reaped the capitals, knowledge and expertise of the Portuguese diasporas. Thus, Portuguese settlers in Coromandel gradually help in many ways, which built the English in vast ocean network.

Chapter 6 The English Company 'Country Trade' with Burma

The English company trade on the Arakan coast seem to be far lacking behind by the time the English enter this coast Coromandel merchants have been well entrenched to the Arakan Coast. The rulers of Golkonda had extend diplomatic and trade relations with the rulers of Arakan.⁵⁴⁹ The port of Mrohaung, capital of Arakan was a populated trading centre. According to Hamilton, the land was not that fertile, but it affords the best timber for constructing ship.⁵⁵⁰ The king owned a large fleet and pursued trade vigorously. The coast had the advantage of being more favourable to sailings in the difficult south-west monsoon period. Access into the river was possible throughout the year.

Further, down the coast, Syrian was the major port in the kingdom of Pegu. It was situated on the estuary of a river about forty miles upstream from the city of Pegu, which had for long been the capital of the kingdom. Syrian was well protecting from strong winds and high seas in all weather, by the natural channel formed on both sides of the coast. It was also important shipbuilding centre, which provide the much needed parts material for the Indians those who venturing and constructing the ship in large number. The timber known here was reputed to be the best for constructing ship. Coromandel merchants had their settlements with agents in Syrian and Pegu, and had strong relations with the rulers and the nobility.

In this trade of Burmese coast the main item of export were textiles and in return lac, ivory, Martaban jars, small supply of gold's, copper, tin, benzoin, elephants, timber, saltpetre and horse with inferior quality were imported.⁵⁵¹ In Pegu people did not know how to cut and polish the precious stones. These stones therefore brought to Pulicat where there were excellent crafts to do this job.⁵⁵² These precious stones finally found their way to the Golconda town where there was a capital market for jewels, gems, and precious stones. Saltpetre were forbidden to be trade, but from time to time, it was available from different

⁵⁴⁹ William Foster, (ed.), *The English Factories in India*, (hereafter EFI), 1634-1636, p. 12.

⁵⁵⁰ Hamilton, Alexander, (1995). *A New Account of the East-Indies*, vol. II, p. 27.

⁵⁵¹ Record of Fort St. George, Diary and Consultation Book, (hereafter D&CB) 1692, p. 1, see also D&CB., 1690 p. 21.

⁵⁵² Dames, L.M, (ed.), (1989). *The Book Of Duarte Barbosa*, vol. II, pp. 217-218.

sources.⁵⁵³ The horses were continue to be the most sought goods to carry even though it was considered inferior in breed; every ships coming from Pegu continued to bring horse in the eighteen century due to high demands.⁵⁵⁴ The price of Pegu horse can be compare from others in the following table.

Table 6.1: price of horse in the Coromandel Coast

Arab horse	130 pagodas
White Arab horse	100 pagodas
Grey Manila horse	100 pagodas
Grey Pegu horse	90 pagodas
Black Pegu horse	45 pagodas
Grey Persia horse	150 pagodas
White Manila horse	180 pagodas

(Source: Diary and Consultation Book, 1717, pp. 11, 181)

The English East India Company knew the value of Burmese trade from the settlers of Madras where they obtained such as Martaban jars, gold, copper, tin benzoin and lac. Among Travellers who visited in the early sixteenth century was Duarte Barbosa, who came along with Pedro Alvers Cabral, then in the service on the Portuguese government (Estado do India), from about 1500 to till 1517. Barbosa account of Pegu is of great interest considering the period when it was written. It is difficult to say whether he had visited Pegu personally. There is no evidence that he did so, but the accuracy of his observation seems to make it probable. In his account he stated that, “ they take here cargoes of very fine lac which is produced in the country, and mace, cloves and many other goods from china were brought hither from Malacca, and the rest of their money they bought abundance of musk (and rubies), which comes from an inland city called Ava.”⁵⁵⁵

⁵⁵³ E.F.I., 1651-1654, pp. 205-206.

⁵⁵⁴ D&CB., 1717, pp. 11,181.

⁵⁵⁵ Dames, L.M, (ed.), (1989). *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, vol. II, p. 154.

A French traveller Jean Baptiste Tavernier, who was an expert in precious stones gives a statement that,

“There are only two places in the east where coloured stones are obtained, namely in the kingdom of Pegu and in the island on Ceylon, the first is the mountain twelve days journey or thereabouts from siren (Syrian) in the north-east direction, and it is called capelam (kyatpyem, its distance from Ava is about 70 miles). it is the mine from whence is obtained the greatest quantity of rubies, Spinelles or mothers of rubies, yellow topazes, blue and white sapphires, hyacinths, amethysts, and other stones of different colours...it is one of the poorest countries in the world; nothing comes from it but rubies, and even they are not so abundant as is generally believed, seeing that the value does not amount to 100,000 ecus (22,500 pounds) per annum.”⁵⁵⁶

Ralph Fitch an English traveller who visited Pegu in the end of sixteenth century gives an account that in Pegu the merchandise which they got were ‘gold, silver, rubies, sapphires, spinelles, muske, Benjamin (benzoin), long pepper, tinne, leade, copper, lacca(lac), rice, and wine made of rice, and some sugar.’⁵⁵⁷

Perhaps van Linschoten who visited Burma in the end of the sixteenth century may be the first completely known among the travellers account by the western world. He said, ‘these kingdoms of Aracan and Pegu are very rich and fruitful of all things, besides gold and precious stones as rubies, espinels, saffires, iacinthes, emeralds, granates, and such like, as it is well known by the great numbers that are dayly brought out of those countries into all places.’⁵⁵⁸

Burmese lac seems to have been the best procurable in the east in the seventeenth century. It was in great demand because of its uses in the manufacture of sealing wax. This was given in great detail by van linschoten on the manner of its production: ‘when the lac is raw, as it commeth from the tree, it is a dark red colour, but being refined and cleansed, they make it of all colours in India. They beat the lac to powder, and melt it, and so mix all manner of colours upon it as they list, red, black, green, yellow, or any other colour, and make pieces thereof, such are sold here to seal letters with all.’⁵⁵⁹ William Methwold,

⁵⁵⁶ Ball, V, (ed.), (1977). *Travels in India by Jean Baptiste Tavernier*, vol. II, pp. 77-78.

⁵⁵⁷ Foster, William, (ed.), (1985). *Early Travels in India, 1583-1619*, p. 35.

⁵⁵⁸ Burnell, A.C, and Tiele, P.A, (ed.), (1989). *The Voyage of the John Hughen van Linschoten*, vol. I, p. 97.

⁵⁵⁹ Burnell, A.C, and Tiele, P.A, (ed.), (1997). *The Voyage of the John Hughen van Linschoten*, vol. I, p. 89.

who had been agent at Masulipatam (1618-1623) and later president, while at Masulipatam, on several occasions, sent home small quantities of Burmese lac.⁵⁶⁰ To supply in large amount was uncertain, as there was not permanent market to procure, which often caused its prices very high.

William Methwold considered Burmese lac far superior to the Indian variety that always kept a watchful eye on the Pegu market. In his letter to London he said, ‘gum-lac on sticks is not here to be had; and besides they hear from Masulipatam that a plentiful supply can there be obtained from Bengal, Arakan and Pegu.’⁵⁶¹ In another letter, which he wrote on 2nd January 1636, he said that,

‘Gum-lac on sticks is there, because it yields so much profit in Persia. Last year fetched 30 larees the suratmaund; at present the price at 18 mahumudis. This sorte commenth all from Bengals, where is cheap and plentiful; insomuch that we do sometimes admit that you are no better furnished from thence. Masulipatam, we think, should also supply you with that which comment from Aracan and Pegu, which doth afford to our knowledge a far deeper tincture and would therefore be more valued in the general use whereunto it is now imployed.’⁵⁶²

Three years later president William Fremlen of Surat wrote home to the company of it as a sort ‘which no part of the world besides can aequall.’ William Methwold’ added: ‘remembreth to have sent you from Masulipatam, when the way to make use of the tincture was hardly known in England.’⁵⁶³

Early travellers also often mentioned about the martaban jars sometimes confused as Indian jars,⁵⁶⁴ which was in great demand for the purpose of storage of water on board ship in their long journey and for domestic use. Barbosa in his statement says: ‘at this town (martaban) is made also many great porcelain jars very big, strong and fair to see; there are some of them which will hold a pipe of water. They are glazed in black and greatly esteemed and highly prized among

⁵⁶⁰ E.F.I., 1618-1621, p. 343. See also E.F.I., 1622-1623, p. 45.

⁵⁶¹ E.F.I., 1634-1636, p. 66.

⁵⁶² E.F.I., 1634-1636, p. 146.

⁵⁶³ E.F.I., 1637-1641, p. 94.

⁵⁶⁴ Burnell, A.C, and Tiele, P.A, (ed.), (1997). *The Voyage of the John Hughen van Linschoten*, vol. I, p. 268.

the moors, who take from this place with store of benzoin in loves.’⁵⁶⁵ Van Linschoten on his visit describe that,

‘in this town many of the great earthen pots are made, which in India are called martauanas (martaban) and many of them carried throughout all India, of all sortes both small and great some (are so great,that they) hold full two pipes of water. the causes why so many are brought into India, is for that they use them in every houses, and in their ships instead of caske. There are none in India but such as come out of portingall, therefore they use these potes to keep oyle, wyne, and water which preserved it well, and it is a good thing for a traveller.’⁵⁶⁶

Alexander Hamilton, who visited Burma in 1709, mentions that, “They make earthen Ware there still, and glaze them with lead-ear. I have seen some Jars made there, that could contain two hogsheads of liquor.”⁵⁶⁷ Foreign traders who came to Burma in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries found their journeys back and forth from the land of pagodas dominated by the north-east and south-east monsoons, which imposed upon travellers certain definite sailing seasons. it was customary for ships proceedings to Burma from the eastern coast of India to set out in September just as the south-west monsoon was on the change. The best information concerning this sailing between the Coromandel Coast and Burma is in the records of Fort St. George, Diaries and Consultation Books. From about 1686 onwards, the records maintain particulars of all ships arriving at and departing from Fort St. George, Madras, in each case with the name of captain and master and the name of the port bound for was recorded.

In these journeys, September was the favourite time for departure from Madras to Burma, and April was the usual month for their return. At the same time, few ships leave Madras in august and October, and a few return as early as January and as late as May, but majority followed the wind and monsoons pattern. The coming of ships especially from Pegu played a major role for the Madras custom revenue collection. The port of Pegu was one of the largest numbers of ships coming and going from Madras and if it fails to arrive or happens to be late, the revenue collection certainly decreases in the custom’s house as for example it recorded that: “Non-arrival of Pegu ship decreased 2480

⁵⁶⁵ Dames, L.M, (ed.), (1989). *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, vol. II, pp. 158-159.

⁵⁶⁶ Burnell, A.C, and Tiele, P.A, (ed.), (1997). *The Voyage of the John Hughen van Linschoten*, vol. I, p. 101.

⁵⁶⁷ Hamilton, Alexander, (1995). *A New Account of the East-Indies*, vol. II, p. 63.

pagodas on land and sea customs.”⁵⁶⁸ The numbers of ships arrive and depart from Madras are given in table below.

Table 6.2: number of ships ‘arrived and departed’ from Madras to Arakan, Pegu and Tenasserim

Year	Arakan		Pegu		Tenasserim	
	Arrived	Depart	Arrived	Depart	Arrived	Depart
1686		1	3	3	3	4
1687	1	2	2			
1688			2			
1689	6			4		
1690	1	1	3	3		
1691			1	3	1	
1692				1		
1693	1			1		
1694		1	5	4	2	1
1695			5	2	1	1
1696			1	2	1	1
1696						
1697	2		4	7		
1698			1	2	2	
1699			6	4		
1700		1	8	8		
1701	1		5	4		
1702			5	5		
1703	1	1	4	4		
1704	1	3	3	2		
1705	1		7	2		1
1706			6	6		
1707		1	6	8	1	
1708	1	1	8	12	2	
1709			11	11	5	2

⁵⁶⁸ D&CB., 1726, p. 6.

1710	1		6	4	3	
1711	4		9	17		
1712	1	1	12	6	5	2
1713	2	1	5	8		
1714			14	11	6	4
1715		1	7	4	4	1
1716	1	1	4	6	1	3
1717	1	1	5	6	3	3
1718	1	1	11	3	3	3
1719			5	9	3	1
1720	1		14	5	2	1
1721				3	1	
1722	1	1	13	4	2	4
1723	1	1	9	3	4	5
1724	1	1	3	3	2	1
1725		1	7	8	2	3
1726	6	1	8	6	3	4
1727			3	8	2	2
1728		8	6	2	1	3
1729	2	2	2	8	2	1
1730	1	2	7	4		2
1731			3	9	3	2
1732	1	5	12	6	1	1
1733	2	2	6	10	1	1
1734	NOT AVAILABLE					
1735			7	9	2	
1736			11	7		
1737		1	12	9	2	
1738		1	6	7		
1739	1	2	19	8		2
1740	2		6	3	2	3

In 1676, the Dutch East India Company's council at Batavia decided to close its trading operation in Burma. The departure of the Dutch from Burma

coincided with the reinforcement of interest in the Burmese trade by the English Company. It was also due to the fact that the demand of Burmese Stick lac and saltpetre was much increased 'also the merchants having a parcel of Pegu sticklac by them of about 60 candy's. It is resolved to buy it, the price agreed for at 7 and half pagodas per candy with which to complete said ships lading, taking out only so much saltpetre(notwithstanding the order of the 22nd : instant) as that she may take in all the said stick lac and the calicoes now ordered to be packt.⁵⁶⁹ The demand of Burmese lac in the 1670s was less than one hundred ton in a year but in the 1680s, the demand was much increased. From the dispatches to the council of Fort St George, they were told to increase the Burmese lac, if possible by fifty tons.⁵⁷⁰

Saltpetre was considered as an important commodities in the company's trade but not allowed to be exported as Hamilton states 'saltpetre they have in abundance, but it is death to export it.'⁵⁷¹ Still we find coming from Burma. The demand of these two commodities increased by the time of the Dutch pulled out from Burma, making the Fort St. George council to think again for restoring the old Syrian factory that was close in 1657. Streynsham master, who was appointed agent-governor in 1677, took the matter seriously.

Streynsham Master who had a distinguish career at Surat and won much applause from the company's directors started a process to re-negotiation between Fort St. George and the king of Pegu with the main objective to procure 'saltpetre and stick lack.'⁵⁷² The initiative taken by Streynsham Master was due to company's special demand for saltpetre and lac, and in the hope of establishing a successful trade with Burma, in view of the recent withdrawal of the Dutch. On 23 February 1680, at the council meeting it was agreed to appoint Joan Pereira de Faria junior as an emissary to negotiate with the court of Ava. Joan Pereira de Faria junior was frequented in the region because of his traded and had vast experiences of the place at the same time was inhabitants of Fort St. George, was entrusted to negotiate with the king of Ava.

For his services the English reduce one half of the customs on his cargo on the first shipment of English goods to Syrian after the treaty come into effect, and the usual rate of duties levied at the Burmese port.⁵⁷³ The English company's

⁵⁶⁹ D&CB., 1726, p. 6.

⁵⁷⁰ Dispatches from England, 1680-1682, p.41.

⁵⁷¹ Hamilton, Alexander, (1995). *A New Account of the East-Indies*, vol. II, p. 41.

⁵⁷² D&CB., 1680-1681, p. 8. See also E.F.I., 1678-1684, (New Series), vol. IV, p. 17.

⁵⁷³ D&CB., 1680-1681, p. 9.

houses in Pegu, Syrian and Ava were also given to Joan Pereira de Faria for his use. The order was translate that, ‘the company have ground and house standing thereupon at Syrian, Pegu and Ava which have been used by strangers for some years past. It is now resolved to give Joan Pereira de Faria junior order to take possession of the said house.’⁵⁷⁴

More importantly, Streynsham Master asked for trading concession on British goods to 5 percent from the Burmese customs of charging 16 and half percent, which they can save 11 and half percent.⁵⁷⁵ He also requested to allow him to procure saltpetre at cheap price. In his letter, he wrote that:

“may be able to hold the trade, also for saltpetre, for liberty to make it and transport it, if that may be had cheap and we may be free to employ the natives to make it for us and to export it in such quantitys as we shall require it will much encourage us for supply of ballast for our Europe ships, and for our kings want to it by reason of the great expanse of powder in his sea wars with his neighbours. The next thing is how to supply money or goods to pay for those goods we shall carry out of the country, and the last and most needful to continue our commerce is such a freedom and liberty for our factory sang ships as may not discourage our people, for we have forsaken many profitable trades by reason of the inconveniencies that attend an over strick and severe usage, which is altogether needless to the English who are friendly and true people to what they promise as they have approved themselves of all times.”⁵⁷⁶

The proposed articles of commerce were much in favour for the English Company with lot of concession and conditions for the peaceful trading relation between king of Pegu and Fort St. George. These articles were also very important as in the later period most of the Governor of Fort St. George used or based their proposal by citing while negotiating with the rulers of Pegu.⁵⁷⁷ The main idea to draw this proposal was due to the difficulties experience in the past by the company’s official subjected through Burmese officials on the high rates customs duties imposed on the foreigners.

⁵⁷⁴ D&CB., 1680-1681, p. 15.

⁵⁷⁵ D&CB., 1680-1681, p. 9.

⁵⁷⁶ D&CB., 1680-1681, p. 10.

⁵⁷⁷ D&CB., 1680-1681, p. 10-12.

In the following year, on 24 January, Joan Pereira de Faria return from Pegu, along with several ruby merchants, on their arrival order was given specifically with all civility and better treatment to encourage others to come trade at Fort St. George. A cowl was also grant by Streynsham Master to all Pegu ruby merchants:

“that all whatsoever merchants from Pegu or Ava that shall desire to come to this place upon any ship or vessel belonging to this town, or upon any other vessels, and shall bring their rules of rubies, they shall only shew and register them at the country, without being obliged to open the seals or to pay any custom for the said rubies until they does sell them, and after that they have sold them then they shall pay the usual custom of one and half percent: and half percent to the town broker and no more any hindrance carry away their said rubys either by sea or land, or by what means soever they please, without being anywise obliged to any custom for the same, the same shall be understood for jewells and rings as it is for loose rubys, yet no customs shall be paid. For any gold or silver that they shall bring to this place, and for all other goods imported or exported they shall pay no otherwise then according to the customs and usage of the place; and this cowle I the agent and governor with the advise and consent of my councel, do grant in behalf of the honourable English east company.”⁵⁷⁸

He also brings reply from the king of Pegu, it translates and sent home to the company’s official.⁵⁷⁹ The reply he brought from the king, however, postponed consideration of the request for permission to settle factories in his country until the arrival of a special ambassador, who should be sent with presents to be laid under the golden fleet of his majesty.⁵⁸⁰

The Directors were taken completely surprise on hearing on the development at Fort St. George council plan to re-open factory at Burma. They were not in favour of Streynsham Master plan as they were not informed. So the directors at home oppose to open any factory at Burma. In the Dispatch to Fort St. George dated 5 January 1681, they were concern much about supplies of Burmese lac but not ready to open factory: “we have no purpose at present to

⁵⁷⁸ D&CB., 1680-1681, p. 12.

⁵⁷⁹ D&CB., 1681, p. 30.

⁵⁸⁰ E.F.I., 1678-1684, (New Series), vol. IV, p. 34.

settle a trade at Pegu but do again in order to do what is possible for procuring us this year a percent of that sticklack and successively hereafter in other years.”⁵⁸¹

Though the directors were oppose but the request to sent Pegu lac were kept on mentioning in their dispatches, ‘though we have mentioned before we do again commend to your especial care the providing for us to come by this shipping 100 tons Pegusticklac.’⁵⁸² Again, the Pegu lac was included in the list of goods to be sent home: ‘Pegusticklack 150 tons.’⁵⁸³

Dispatches from England continue to demand Pegu lac despite stiff opposition for a settlement of factory. In their dispatch in a year later, 8 February 1682, they wrote,

“We like well, procure and send us all you can thereof but we do not think it worth our charge to settle a factory there. We hope that you being persons that will study our interest and having so many Portugal and other merchants living under your government and some that trade to peg und achene contrive with and so encourage them, that they may in the course of their own trades bring to our town of Madras, Benjamin and the commodities of achene and black sticklack from Pegu, which you may but of hem at moderate rates and which ma come much cheaper to us than by settling of factories in places od such small trade.”⁵⁸⁴

The directors decision not to open factory temporarily cease the interest of energetic governor Streynsham Master for a while, partly it was also due to the increase of Burmese commodities without even opening a factory a large number of ruby merchants and the musk were obtain in good number, and the directors sent instruction that this should be encouraged. At their meeting: “a parcel of Pegu musk being offer’d to sale it is thought fit to but the same for the honble company’s account, some of that sort having been bought for them therefore, besides the honble company have order’d us to encourage that trade, and buying of this parcel may ocation the bringing of greater quantities later, if this parcel is approved of by the honours.”⁵⁸⁵

With the demand for the Burmese commodities increases at home, Fort St. George council decide to approach again to reconsider their decision against

⁵⁸¹ Records of Fort St. George, Dispatches from England, 1680-1682, p. 16.

⁵⁸² Records of Fort St. George, Dispatches from England, 1680-1682, p. 21.

⁵⁸³ Records of Fort St. George, Dispatches from England, 1680-1682, p. 29.

⁵⁸⁴ Records of Fort St. George, Dispatches from England, 1680-1682, p. 72.

⁵⁸⁵ D&CB., 1683, p. 34.

reopening their factory. The Directors at home reply that their previous factory were forced to withdrawn as the trade could not maintain the charges of their factory and royal policy of high charges of customs duties and many restriction imposed on them. Therefore, if they wanted to open the factory gain the directors are willing to agree provided it will be advantageous for the company while negotiating the terms.⁵⁸⁶

On 16 September 1684, at the consultation meeting it was agree to reopen negotiations with the court of Ava. This time William Gyfford, Governor of Fort St. George, chose Captain Peter Dod, commander of ship providence, a private ship plying between Madras and Syrian to be send as agent.⁵⁸⁷ He was given all the instruction, 'to enquire into the state and trade of that country and how the king and people stands effected to us and our settlements in those parts, and to inform himself from ministers to state what privileges we may expect or can procure, particularly what hopes there may be of a settlement at Bhammo.'⁵⁸⁸

Peter Dod takes his journey on 15 September 1684, on the ship *Prosperous*.⁵⁸⁹ Only return next year on 14 February, bringing two letters from the court of Ava.⁵⁹⁰ The letters were just an atrocious letter concerning little about the purpose of the visit and nothing about the trade concession and settlement at Bhamo. On mentioning to bind itself by definite articles of trade, the council decided to send Peter Dod once more to the court of Ava. He left for Pegu on the ship providence before wet monsoon of 1685.⁵⁹¹ This time also there was nothing conclusive on the matter of settlement and return on 19 February, on the same ship with a letter from the king of Ava. 'this evening the providence Peter Dod master arrived here from Pegu and acheen, and the master delivers a letter which came from Ava.'⁵⁹² However, unfortunately Peter Dod died on 25 March 1686, when his ship was weighing anchor in Madras harbour accidentally killed by a bar of capstan.⁵⁹³

⁵⁸⁶ Records of Fort St. George, Dispatches from England, 1681-1686, p. 35.

⁵⁸⁷ D&CB., 1684, pp. 25, 101.

⁵⁸⁸ D&CB., 1684, pp. 23, 101. See also E.F.I., 1678-1684, (New Series), vol. IV, p. 80.

⁵⁸⁹ D&CB., 1684, p. 104. See also Letters to Fort St. George, vol. III, pp. 27-28.

⁵⁹⁰ D&CB., 1684, p. 25.

⁵⁹¹ D&CB., 1684, p. 51.

⁵⁹² D&CB., 1686, p. 20.

⁵⁹³ D&CB., 1686, p. 29. Peter Dob served as a mate in Robert Fleetwood's ship *Recovery* in 1675-1676. In September, 1678, he is describe as a mariner and inhabitant of Masulipatnam. He was then building a ship for George Chamberlain at Gingerlee and was at variance with Mathew Mainwaring. Temple, R.C, (ed.), (1911). *The Diaries of master Stresynsham*, 1675-1680, vol. II, p. 106.

On the other hand, adequate supplies of lac were coming as a result of indirect trade,⁵⁹⁴ and Directors were of the opinion that without exceptionally good trading privileges in Burma the profits of the trade might be swallowed up by the cost of maintaining factory. They wrote, 'we do but rise to fall, and make a noise for nothing.'⁵⁹⁵ Therefore, in August 1685, they send the definite instruction that the project of establishing a factory in Burma was to be given up, 'Pegu will never be a place for us, worth the charge of a factory, so we would have you proceed no further therein.'⁵⁹⁶ These orders arrived in Madras some time in 1686, and there for the time being the matter ended. When next time the issue was taken up, it was the king of Ava who took the initiative by inviting the English to come and open a factory over there. The matters continue to drag on with no support from the home directors. In 6 March 1688, Henry Burton, captain of ship *James* brought a letter from minister and Governors of Syrian, gave approval to settle there with terms given by the Fort St. George council.⁵⁹⁷ The matter was discussed on 8 March: 'the *James* a country ship being lately arrived from Pegu, brought letters to the president from several governors there, inviting us to a settlement, upon unusual good terms, and privileges, and that the king would grant us anything.'⁵⁹⁸

However, the council decided to go beyond their authority as the instruction was very clear not to proceed to open any factory without their approval: 'we could reasonably desire in a settlement there, but the humble company having positively forbid it, we can resolve nothing about treating thereon, till we have better authority for it.'⁵⁹⁹

While the home director's words were final, when Fort St. George may not like but there was some decision that gave some favours to Fort St. George by permitting the inhabitants of Madras and company officials to settle at Pegu. After the decision from Directors we see some of the settlers migrate, for instance, Augustine Hart, which also owned ship *Pegu Merchant* trade regularly with Pegu: 'ship *Pegu merchant* belonging to Hart an inhabitant of this city set sail this evening for Pegu carrying with him his family and several of the inhabitants of this place with him to dwell there by reason of the great famine

⁵⁹⁴ Records of Fort St. George, Dispatches from England, 1681-1686, p. 96.

⁵⁹⁵ Records of Fort St. George, Dispatches from England, 1681-1686, p. 88.

⁵⁹⁶ Records of Fort St. George, Dispatches from England, 1681-1686, p. 165.

⁵⁹⁷ D&CB., 1688, p. 43.

⁵⁹⁸ D&CB., 1688, p. 46.

⁵⁹⁹ D&CB., 1688, p. 46.

here which caused their removals hence.⁶⁰⁰ Not only him some of the company's official had also plan to venture in the Pegu trade by giving petition. For example captain Thomas Lacy, commander of the company ship *Sapphire*, was allowed to leave but his pay to be deducted: 'we do allow thereof, conditionally that he is not to receive any salary or allowance from the honble company,during his absence.'⁶⁰¹ Another such petition brought to the company's notice was Thomas Makreeth: "promissing his best service for the company in procuring privileges from the king In charge of repairing the factory there."⁶⁰² Nevertheless, his salary and all other allowances will be ceased same as with Thomas Lacy.

With no approvals from home Directors in spite of offering concession by the king of Pegu, the Fort St. George council were hesitant to move. This act annoy the court of Ava, by seizing two ships of Bartholomew Rodriguez, *St. Anthony* and *St. Nicholas*, it was while going from Acheen to Bengal, forced to land because due to lack of wood and water. The two ships landed at the Burmese port of Martaban, unfortunately, paid the consequence by the anger of king of Ava. They did, as it was according to their law of Burmese custom. Along with this, the property of Adrian Tilbury, a Dutchman and inhabitants of Fort St. George, who was married to local Pegu woman died while on a trading voyage there at Martaban and the Burmese officials seized it. By the next year, Antonio de Silva was send by Cojee Gregory Paron with presents to give at the court of Ava and his four principal Governors for redemption of Bartholomew Rodriguez's property, his ships, cargo and its crew and for the recovery of the estate of Adrian Tilbury.⁶⁰³

The presents carried by Antonio de Silva in his ship *Sossasenhora de san juan*, never reached the said destination because his ship was wrecked in the island of Negrais. The news of shipwrecked brought in the next year on 23 March 1695, says,

'Thomas Plumb Master of ship *Jelpha Merchant* from Pegu arriving this day reports that the ship of Antonio de Silva which went from hence in in September last bound for Syrian, and fetch'd point bargo where finding the north easterly winds set in put back for negrais to stay there till the winds changed, and anchored between the island and the main about the 17th of October. The next day the monsoon came on, and the wind blew

⁶⁰⁰ D&CB., 1688, p. 143.

⁶⁰¹ D&CB., 1689, p. 66.

⁶⁰² D&CB., 1689, p. 68.

⁶⁰³ D&CB., 1694, p. 95.

with extremity for several days as drove the ship ashore & overset her at the same time the flood coming in, increased to that height as covered the ship and forced the men to leave her, those that swam well escaped to the shore when the water increasing upon, and by degrees covering the island, they betook themselves to the trees during the tide, few of the men lived to Pegue, above a dozen Pegue merchants who had freighted goods to a considerable value were all lost.⁶⁰⁴

The mission was completely shattered for Cojee Gregory Paron, as sending further presents will be a profitless. Therefore, it was left to Fort St. George Council to decide in which manner they would deal this long unfinished business. In long discussion held on 11 September 1695, the council finally decided to send Edward Fleetwood and captain James Lesslie with presents to the court of Ava and his subordinate to negotiate the release of Bartholomew Rodriguez cargo's, his crewmen and the property of Adrian Tilbury.⁶⁰⁵

These two emissary returns after two years of negotiation with no definite answer. After their return on 26 March 1697, Nathaniel Higginson called an extraordinary meeting to consult the outcome of the mission sent at Pegu: "the perusal of the council in order to the settling of a method whereby the trade of that place may be rendered useful to this, particularly for the repairing and refitting of ship."⁶⁰⁶ The idea of opening up of a factory became a serious and lengthy discussion, later there was a proposal of forming a private joint stock company to trade at Pegu.⁶⁰⁷ The formation of private joint stock company was just a proposal 'not being subscribed by a sufficient number.' Therefore, the idea was ultimately drop. Instead, this time the council decide seriously to send someone to stay there as representative, so it was chosen Thomas Bowyear, a free merchant, to send 'for redemption of the cargo of Bartholomew Rodriguez, and 'to reside and act as chief of the English affairs in Pegu.'⁶⁰⁸ Thomas Bowyear left his journey on 15 September 1697, by the ship *Pegu* merchant.⁶⁰⁹

Nothing much was heard except his letter written in probably in February 1700, as recorded in the diary:

⁶⁰⁴ D&CB., 1695, p. 41.

⁶⁰⁵ D&CB., 1695, pp. 116-117.

⁶⁰⁶ D&CB., 1697, p. 15.

⁶⁰⁷ D&CB., 1697, p. 84.

⁶⁰⁸ D&CB., 1697, p. 102.

⁶⁰⁹ D&CB., 1697, p. 106.

“I presume this trade may be worth the prosecuting and that it might not be thought the right honble company rejects it, the king being desirous of a trade I have sent cat: hancooke to Ava where he will remain till further orders from your honour & council he being well disposed to the service and willing to try is fortune with a small adventure between capt. Manuel da silva and himself sending seven pieces of beetella’s with him to present the governor at his first arrival. I am told the king is concerned that the company has sent him no present now having pretended to a settlement in his father’s time, as by the present I brought and he having granted most that I requested and willing to grant more. The king is indeed ready to grant almost anytime that can in reason be desired for the encouragement of a trade for more particulars I beg leave to refer to my arrival. Mr .Pearce remains here in Syrian till the next monsoon designing then for Ava.”⁶¹⁰

The ship *Dolphin* that reached Madras on 8 March 1700 brought the letters.⁶¹¹ Soon Thomas Bowyear also arrived by the ship *Messiah* on 11 March.⁶¹² In the next few years, the Company’s official has lost all their interest and Governor Higginson replace by Thomas Pitt. During these years, private merchants were continue to trade though the English Company officially did not participate, and the local merchants of Madras, like Collawa Chitty, who own a large ship *Bon Voyage* regularly, brought elephants, and did most of the trade.⁶¹³ Other residents of Madras like Francis Holt also brought elephant from Pegu.⁶¹⁴

After a long year of silence, there was an English merchant name called Robert Stockes who request to Fort St. George Council to stay at Pegu. In his petition, he wrote that, “desiring that we would countenance him with the company’s protection at Pegu where he designs to reside some time, agreed the same be granted upon the terms of his petition.”⁶¹⁵ whether he was appoint by the Governor of Fort St. George is not known. Regarding his petition where he wishes to stay longer and the king invited to reopen factory,

“I having formerly been at Syria in the kingdom of Pegue, am desirous of returning either to reside for time. And as the humble company have

⁶¹⁰ Letter to Fort George, vol. VII, pp. 27-28.

⁶¹¹ D&CB, 1700, p. 23.

⁶¹² D&CB, 1700, p. 24.

⁶¹³ D&CB., 1703, p. 15.

⁶¹⁴ D&CB., 1703, p. 20.

⁶¹⁵ D&CB., 1708, p. 17.

priviledges there, where which they don't enjoy at present, and as I am informed are invited to resettle a factory there by that king, I humble desire of your honour & that I may have the liberty to remain there under of a notice of a company's servant ; that I will oblige myself to be no way chargeable to the company thereby, and to return whatever your honble& c. shall think fit to recall me, farther desiring that the honble president will honour me with his letter to that king, therein mentioning upon what account I settle there, all which shall be acknowledge as very obligations done to.”⁶¹⁶

His petition was accepted with four conditions. Firstly, to give letters send from the Governor of Fort St. George and present to the prince at Syrian and seek his advice to proceed further to the court of Ava. Secondly, to use the company's house at Syrian and hoist St. George flag and no any other place will allowed to hoist. Thirdly, to use uttermost endeavours and advice and lastly, avoid any dispute with the Government of Pegu and if any unjust done also not to proceed any farther against them.⁶¹⁷

During this gap years Alexander Hamilton visit Syrian in 1709 and what he saw is that the English were already neglected with only doing business in the building and repairing of ships, so the trade was entirely in the hands of Muslim and Telegus of south India, and Armenians, who had the monopoly of the ruby trade.⁶¹⁸ After Robert Stokes death⁶¹⁹, there were no further mentions of the appointment of any representative from the English company until 1724, when Captain Charles Wybergh was send as captain for the English company representative to reside at Pegu and his ship *Barrington* was sailed on 18 of 1724.⁶²⁰ The representatives sent from Fort St. George were temporary for a short period. Most of these posts were given in charge to the English captain whose ships were sailing to Pegu. Captain Charles Wybergh did not stay for long he came back from Pegu on 27 January 1725, on the ship *Barrington* that was command by him.⁶²¹

Next came Leis Torney, he too, didn't stay for as he was very annoyed by failing to capture John Baptiste Alano who took large amount of money in

⁶¹⁶ D&CB., 1708, p. 18.

⁶¹⁷ D&CB., 1708, pp. 25-26.

⁶¹⁸ Hamilton, Alexander, (1995). *A New Account of the East-Indies*, vol. I, p. 236. And vol. II, p. 41.

⁶¹⁹ D&CB., 1712, p. 135.

⁶²⁰ D&CB., 1724, pp. 91, 94.

⁶²¹ D&CB., 1725, p. 12.

Madras, unable to pay back he ran way to join the pirates who intend to built a large ship at Pegu:

‘alano a French man had join a crew of pirates, that they are gone to Pegu to built a large ship which may be of the utmost ill consequence to the trade of India ; and also the said alano having about five year since, borrowed considerable sums at respondentia of several people here, which they have never been able to recover of him, agreed that we give direction by a ship now going to Pegu to our resident there, to size the said alano and send him over to us ; as also so many of his accomplices, as shall plainly appear to be pirates.’⁶²²

Torney reply the reason for not able to seize Alano, but Fort St. George had already decide to change the resident of English representative.⁶²³ His place was given to Captain James Berriman and he was there until 1731: ‘Brigantine Cumberland Captain James Berriman sailed for Pegu and carried a commission from the humble government and council appointing him resident there for the English nation.’⁶²⁴

Captain James Berriman left for Pegu on 8 August 1726, on the ship *Cumberland*. The Company entrust to construct a dockyard to repair the ship, as timber is available in abundance in Pegu.⁶²⁵ Ships were send to repair from time to time, in each ship dispatched for repair a general letter would be directed, mentioning full instructions concerning the exact nature of the repairs to be executed. One such letter has recorded: ‘to oversee the repairing of said brigantine, that the materials be good and the work well and furgally performed, but that as we intend a thorough repair that nothing proper and necessary be wanting that being to be new sheathed they do first search her bottom carefully to see where she is ironsick and drive spicks everywhere wanting, that her upper works be well strengthened and masts and yards surveyed and if any of them faulty that be changed for good & sound, & of stores then aboard.’⁶²⁶ In the following year, the ship *Marlborough* was send to Pegu for a repair with: ‘fifteen hundred ounces of silver to pay the expenses purchase a loading of timber and plank.’⁶²⁷

⁶²² D&CB., 1725, p. 101.

⁶²³ D&CB., 1726, p. 1.

⁶²⁴ D&CB., 1726, p. 102.

⁶²⁵ D&CB., 1727, p. 39.

⁶²⁶ D&CB., 1726, p. 113.

⁶²⁷ D&CB., 1727, p. 112.

One of the assignments given to Berriman was to bring back all the interlopers who were abusing the company's rule in Pegu. Letters was received in early 1727 from the home Directors to bring back all the unlicensed private traders. The instruction given to Berriman states:

“several persons without indentures or license to trade as free merchants, enthrusting themselves into several branches of the trade of India, are a great prejudice to the trade in general and to the company's covenanted servants and others and have license, particularly in Pegu, that we are directed by the eleventh paragraph of the general letters from the humble curt of directors dated the 7th 1725/26 to send home all such traders.”⁶²⁸

Ten years after attempting to rout out the unlicensed English traders in Pegu, things had once more develop to such a bad that it comes with the king George II proclamation, forbidding any British subjects from residing or trading in the east contrary to the company's privileges. It was ordered to be posted up in the factory building at Pegu, and Syrian, and the residents instruct to arrest all such offenders, and send them back to be dealt by the Fort St. George authorities:

“the board having received information that several of the kings subjects do annually steal over to Pegu without license from hence and during their residence there live in a riotous and disorderly manners and also that many of them hire themselves to navigate the ships belonging to the moors and other Indians which if not prevented many of great prejudice to the English trade. To put a stop therefore to the mischief's which may arise from such practices, it is agreed to direct the resident that in the first place he admonish all person in the English service that they live soberly and without giving offence to the government or natives of Pegu least they should endanger the priviledges we enjoy there at present. And to prevent the prejudice to the English navigation which may arise from any of his majesty's subjects sailing in the Indian ships, it is agreed to enclose to the resident several printed proclamations by his present majesty forbidding all his subjects trading to or being in the east indies contrary to the priviledges granted to the company which proclamations he must fix up in the factory and if any of the English or others his majesty's subjects shall notwithstanding enter into any foreign service

⁶²⁸ D&CB., 1727, p. 56.

that he be directed to use his best endeavours to secure their persons and send over to us.’⁶²⁹

After James Berriman the next resident appoint Samuel Palmer, who stays for two years. He was unable to utilize the money entrusted to him on the Company’s behalf, and on 3 December 1732 the Fort St. George accountant report to the President and Council that ‘he has an elopement and was not to be found.’⁶³⁰ The next resident was Captain John Kelsall of the ship *Eagle* who went to stay as English agent.⁶³¹ Nothing much information was heard from him except on 20 December 1734, he send timber plank to Vizatpatnam on the ship *George*.⁶³²

Probably the last resident was Jonathan Smart, who held the post until the factory was burn down by the Talaings rebellion in 1734. On 24 May 1737, his letter was receive by the Fort St. George mentioning that they have already built two sloops and there was no crew to navigate the said sloop, so he request to send crews, ‘letter from Pegu relating to the two sloops building there for the company and that we cannot get any able seaman to go over from hence to take charge of them, agreed that we write to the gentlemen in Bengal to send from thence proper person to navigate them with sufficient number of lancars.’⁶³³

During Jonathan Smart tenure the English tried to procure saltpetre, it was due to the continuing shortfall of supply from Bengal. Governor John Stackhouse from Fort William wrote to the president of Fort St. George, asking to approach the Burmese government for permission to procure saltpetre. It was in difficult period, he wrote, in procuring adequate supplies of saltpetre in Bengal. In his letter governor Stackhouse wrote that ‘the difficulty of procuring salt peter in Bengal, intimated that he had been informed hat for a present and proper application a grant might be procured for the company for the liberty of exporting salt peter from Pegu& that large quantities could be made there which if true, it would be worth the company’s while to give a very considerable present for the grant.’⁶³⁴

⁶²⁹ D&CB., 1737, p. 98.

⁶³⁰ D&CB., 1732, p. 112.

⁶³¹ D&CB., 1733, p. 35.

⁶³² D&CB., 1734, p. 157.

⁶³³ D&CB., 1737, p. 84.

⁶³⁴ D&CB., 1738, p. 11.

The President immediately wrote to Jonathan Smart, the resident at Pegu to seek channel for the negotiation with the court of Ava regarding the proposal to procure saltpetre. Smart entrusted the negotiation to an influential Armenian merchant named Koja Simon. Smart also negotiate with the Prince of Ava, who assure him in favourable to the success of the project. The Prince, in fact, went far to promise his own good office and assured that there was saltpetre enough in the country to load many ships annually. However, on another letter dated 18 December 1737, Smart wrote that the court of Ava had intimated to Simon that: ‘it was not impracticable to gain liberty of exporting saltpetre but was he wanted to know whether the company proposed to make a present at once for it or pay an annual rent to the king, to which kojasonreply’d that his instruction went no farther than to know from the ministers whether the king might be prevailed upon to grant such liberty.’⁶³⁵

Fort St. George’s reply show that the council suffer under no illusions regarding the precise value of grants of trading rights, made by the court of Ava. Taken into the consideration the council agreed to write smart, that his own experience of the government in that kingdom is sufficient to convince him. Further it stated that:

‘we can have no reliance upon their faith so as to put any consideration value upon any of their grants besides if we are rightly informed of the constitution of the government no grant of his present majesty will be binding upon his successor for which reasons we shall never advise the company to give any considerable present nor to pay anything annually for a liberty the enjoyment of which will be very precarious.’⁶³⁶

In their opinion, what they said, ‘the only certain and secure terms’ upon which the company could export saltpetre would be by paying the customs duties upon every 100 viss taken out of the country. However, before that they could be decided, whether the quality of the saltpetre was sufficiently high for the company’s use. Smart therefore, request to send a few samples for trial.⁶³⁷ The parcel received from the ship *Rockingham*, when tested it prove too much lower quality than the Bengal variety. The finer report that in the process of refining Pegu saltpetre lost five-eighths compared with the Bengal of one-fourth. The Council decide that nothing further could be done until Smart had furnished full

⁶³⁵ D&CB., 1738, p. 11.

⁶³⁶ D&CB., 1738, p. 11.

⁶³⁷ D&CB., 1738, p. 12.

particulars as to the price at which the commodity could be exported.⁶³⁸ However, any further development occurred, the Talaing rebellion had broken out, and the chaos to which witness during the next decade completely frustrate Fort St. George hopes to procure saltpetre in Burma.

Therefore, it can be seen that the English East India Company trade to Burma is unique as it initiated from the Madras and not from London directors. The home Director policy in the extension of the company's sphere of influence, and the development of the East Indies trade, could be achieved only through factories. However, this did not apply to Burma, the Director has completely ignored the importance in the Burma coast and it was only from Madras officials that really want to open factories, as they knew the coming of ships and the goods valuable in their trade.

From time to time, the Director has officially decline the request from the Madras to open a factory at Burma but still then without authorization from London, the Madras council took the initiative to open a factory, it was because after knowing the importance they disobey the orders from Director's.

This was because Pegu trade was one of the important and fragmented places from the Coromandel Coast. Several sorts of goods came from the Burmese ports (Arakan, Pegu and Tenasserim) like's elephant, precious stones, timber, saltpetre, lac, etc. The company had even tried to have a permanent factory in Burma but due to adverse situation caused by the local rulers as well as due to the opposition by the Directors it was not completed. Nevertheless, through the private merchants' trade flourish and continue to bring all sort of good items from those ports.

⁶³⁸ D&CB., 1738, p. 120.

Chapter 7 Conclusion

The most important thing is the Coromandel Coast had been incorporate in the world of the Indian Ocean maritime trade as one of the exclusive Coast on its nature in the production of textiles. I did not mean that it is not important before seventeenth century. But by the coming of the European Companies it become exclusive coast as when the European came for spices they came to know that Coromandel textiles were the major sources of exchanges in the commodities. Due to this importance, European companies entered into fierce competition, among them, the English East India Company is also one of the major companies who came here to invest in extensive way. As the English Company investment grew, so did their settlement and their potential to wield power to defend their interests. The hinterland authority of Vijayanagar and Golconda in Coromandel were able to keep the English Company in safe place though sometimes disagree, but when these kingdom annexed to the Mughal Empire the English were given slowly a freedom of action in the hinterland of their settlements. The land concessions by the Mughal rulers enable the English Company to expand and consolidate their settlements, and to launch on the path as important port in the Coromandel Coast.

The beginning of the seventeenth century saw a rapid disintegration of Vijayanagar Empire. In 1642 the Vijayanagar kingdom erupt into a civil war after the death of Rajah Venkata TII, the new successor Sri Ranga TII, was refused to recognize by some of the nayaks, which saw the rapid losing authority of the Arividu dynasty. With the losing authority of a king a number of *nayak* become independent rulers, first in Madura and Tanjore, later in Mysore and Ikkeri, and finally in Ginji, and all were expanding their power base and dominions at the expanse of each other. The expansionist policies of Bijapur and Golconda added new players to the political game. New configurations and alliances evolved from time to time, when the Vijayanagar king (or aspirant to the throne) would ally himself with the Bijapur or Golconda forces to defeat the external aggressor or counter the internal threat of rebellious feudatory nayaks. More usually, the external threat of invasion by the Muslim states united the nayak kingdoms in a common cause of Hindu survival. Nevertheless, by the middle of the seventeenth century, the empires of Vijayanagar were reduce to the status of a glorious chapter in the pages of Indian history.

The Qutab Shahi of Golconda was main beneficiaries of this Vijayanagar disintegration, first the heartlands of the empire were conquered by Golconda, and then the rulers of Bijapur conquered its southern and southwestern. However, both this kingdom did not remained independent for long. Bijapur was annexed on 12 September 1686 by the Mughal, and the same with the Golconda in February 1687 and in September the citadel opened its gates. The Qutb Shahi king was send to Daulatabad as a prisoner and the last Bahmani succession state become a part of the Mughal Empire.

After these two kingdoms exit there left Mughal's and Maratha's to fight for supremacy in the southern coast. The last decade of seventeenth century saw as Mughal's century, as the Mughal finally conquered these two Shia kingdom, which was planned from the mid-seventeenth century, finally succeeded in the last second of the century. Same fate happen to the Maratha's, harassed by the Munhall pressure in the north; the Maratha king Rama Raja fled in the Deccan and took refuge in the forts of Ginji. There now took place an eight-year period of conflict in the lowlands between Kanchipuram and the Coleroon River. The Mughals laid siege to Ginji but could not reduce this stronghold for many years. The Mughals sieged territory but were constantly harassed by Marathas armies, which, however, could not hold territory. Ginji finally fell to the Mughals in January 1698, and Mughals authority was established up to the frontiers of Tanjore. Out of the ashes, of these conflicts the Mughals emerged victorious, but just at this point the disintegration of the Mughals at the epicentre began. With the declining of the Mughal power, witness one of the worst political instability in the region, and here the English ports become the sanctuaries for the merchant classes, which they played a major role the expansion of trade along with the English company.

In the expansion of trade, the Coromandel merchants and English Company developed mutually advantageous relationships. The English cannot operate alone with the rapid demand increased of Coromandel textiles in Europe and Southeast Asia. This cooperation increased the Coromandel merchants in their accumulation of wealth. The Coromandel merchants were also looking for an opportunity to expand and influence within the society. This could be fulfil only in the English port cities (as their port was largely built on commerce), since in traditional hierarchy the links with the rural economy always assigned the dominant status to the land owing castes. In the English port cities, it is economic factor and not caste factor in determining their social status. Therefore, it is a chance to achieve their long standing desired in the society. Sadly, we do not see any rich merchants emerged or textiles baron in the Coromandel Coast in the later period.

In the English Company, there was also a growth of free merchant's private enterprise trading in the various ports of Southeast Asia. The trade between Coromandel and Southeast Asia was one of the most lucrative trade for both the Company servants and for free merchants trading on their own. It was illegal in the seventeenth century but it became more open in the eighteenth century, as the Company developed parallel and interlocking systems of institutional trade and permitted private trade. When this happened Coromandel became a major centre in this trade, and financial institutions and partnership contracts came into being. Many free merchants benefited as well as Company servants, given one example, Richard Horden, a company servant who arrived in 1702 and posted at Vizagapatnam as a third factor and his salary began at 15 pounds. But, after eight years in services with promotion he was able to own six ships; *Anna*, *Francis*, *Jambee*, *Kent*, *Beritta* and *Cornelia*. Thus, Madras became a place where quick fortunes could be made by commissions, kick-back and corrupt dealings using administrative and judicial positions, than by speculation in commerce.

In the expansion of the English Company in Coromandel one of the contributions for its success was due to the absorption of the Portuguese and their descendants of mixed breed *mezticos* in the English organization. They were a century ahead compared with the English but in the seventeenth century their power declined and knowing all the trading activities and linguistics in the coast, which is very vital for the establishment, were quickly recognized the utility by the English Company. This turned out to be mutual collaboration and partnership for the growth of trade and commerce as well as security for the various forts. Their indispensable service enlisting in the English troops was the matter of survival for the English threat from European rivals and from hinterland rulers. They rendered their services not only in Fort St. George, but also in various ports of Coromandel Coast and also in Bencoolen, Fort Marlborough. The Portuguese who traded with various sectors of the country trade routes, both in intra-Asian trade from the early sixteenth century became equal partners with the English in the seventeenth century. In this trade both the English Company and the Portuguese benefited from their implicit partnership, the Portuguese amassed huge fortunes under the English flags and the English Company reaped the capitals, knowledge and expertise of the Portuguese diasporas. Thus, Portuguese settlers in Coromandel gradually helped in many ways, which built the English Empire in vast ocean network.

The English East India Company trade to Burma is unique as it was initiated from Madras and not from the London Director's. The Home Director's policy in the extension of the Company's sphere of influence, and the

development of the East Indies trade, could be achieved only through factories. However, this did not apply to Burma, the Director's completely ignored the importance in the Burma Coast and it was only from Madras officials that really want to open a factory as they knew the coming of ships and the goods valuable in their trade. From time to time, the Director has officially declined the request from the Madras to open a factory at Burma but still then without authorization from London, the Madras Council took the initiative to open a factory, it was because after knowing the importance they disobey the orders from Director. The English Company did not have proper settlement in Burma, but the trade routes between Madras and Burma coast is one the largest number of ships operates in the whole of Eastern trade, it meant, collect the largest revenue at port custom house. Therefore, it is one of the most important English 'country trade' in Southeast Asia and in the East.

The English trade with the Eastern and Southeast Asian countries was tremendous. Answer, 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. 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.

The success of the English Company has very much link with the politics of the hinterland. It begins with the destruction of Vijayanagar sovereignty over most of the region and consolidations by Golconda Empire. Almost in the middle, the powerful Mughal's from the north sweeping towards the southern coast, where again bring political changes by annexed the Golconda Empire. The situation compounded by the challenge of the Marathas to Mughal control of this area. All these factors inflamed the entire Coromandel Coast through the last years of seventeenth century to till early years of the eighteenth century. In the end of these conflicts, the Mughals emerged victorious, but at this point, they

were about to decline in all over their empire. The control of Coromandel by the Mughal's completely destabilized the economic activity and the relationships between the political ruling class and merchant's community. These brought much confusion and disarray among the population in the entire coast. During this difficulty the English Company brought a period of integrated regional economic growth, a unitary monetary system, rationalized customs and improved communications in the ocean networks. This brought many opportunities among the merchant, artisan, weavers, etc to integrate into the institution of the Company organization.

The English Company linked up all-important trading bases in Coromandel Coast and established a trading base in the Southeast Asia, which enabled the Coromandel merchants to enter into this trade. The English Company ships provided safe freight for their goods and their passes provided a guarantee of safe conduct on the sea. The free merchants along with the Company's officials also join into the wagon where most of the time it was illicit lucrative trade but latter it was open and permitted to trade. The Portuguese who were overthrown by the Dutch also come into this shade and the English were willingly admitting them for security and safety of the English Fort and towns by enlisting into the Company troops. Many of these migrating Portuguese were wealthy merchants and become prominent within the Company organization and they started to operate in the various overseas ports under the English flag. They were especially instrumental in carrying out trade with the Macao, Manila and the Spice Islands where the English have no or little access.

The English Company trade in the Southeast was not very successful because of the Dutch imposing naval domination. It affected because of shutting of important markets to Coromandel exports and, somewhat less so, the closing of direct access to imports from there. When this embargo was gradually extend, to the Celebes, Java and parts of Sumatra, it shut off the Coromandel merchants and it really hurts English in their procurement of goods. However, it was compensate from the Burmese Coast, where largely, the largest numbers of ships were sail in these coasts. The goods that cannot be procured at Bencoolen were available in this coast especially at Pegu by through various channels.

Glossary: 1

Bahar - a unit of weight usually 400 pounds
Balija - a right-hand merchant caste
Beri Chetti - a left-hand merchant caste
Candy - a unit of weight usually 500 pounds
Chetti (Chetty) - a trader
Choultry - in Madras a public building or resting place
Coincopy - accountant (coincopy in English records)
Corge - a score (20 pieces)
Cowl - a lease or grant in writing
Dubash - local merchants who were agents and men of affairs for Europeans
Estado da India - Portuguese State of India
Fanam (panam) - a gold coin, 36 fanams = 1 pagoda
Faujdar - the Mughal military under-governor of a district
Farman - a written (grant, permission) order issued by a ruler
Gingham - striped or checked cloth
Hasbulhukm - a royal order or command
Havildar - military officers with administrative and revenue control over towns and subdivisions
Idangai - left side, left hand caste
Juncaneer - the collector of the Golconda (juncan) customs
Kling - term for Tamil merchants in Malacca and other Southeast Asian ports
Lascar - a native sailor, an artilleryman
Mestico - mixed breed of Portuguese and Asian descent
Mohur - a gold coin in Mughal India
Nayak - military chief under Vijayanagar, especially of Tanjavur, Madurai and Gingi
Naquoda - the captain of an Arab or Indian trading vessel
Pagoda - a gold coin worth 9 shillings or 3.5 rupees or 4.2-4.5 guilders
Pardao - Portuguese unit of money
Peshkash - an offering or tribute at the royal court
Phyrwana (parwana) - a letter of authority grant by Nawab
Pedda Naigae - the official title of the chief watchman
Punjam - yarn cloth
Quanugo - an officer in charge of land records
Salabad - prescriptive or customary rights
Shahbandar - harbour master
Shroff - a money changer

Subah - a province

Subahdar - the governor of a province

Tarafdar - a revenue fanner, local governor

Tashrif - presents given on ceremonial occasions

The fort gate - the western gate of the inner fort of Madras

The Court of Aldennen - the Mayor's Court

Valangai - right side, right hand caste

Vakil - a political agent employed in diplomatic negotiation

Wazir - a principal minister, generally of finance

Appendix-I

List of Joint Stock Merchants and their shares under the leadership of Beri Pedda Vankatadry. 1680

	Names	Percentages of shares
1.	Beri Pedda Vankatadry and Cassa Muddo Verona	25
2.	Calany Chittee	2 $\frac{3}{4}$
3.	Mutty Chittee and Tilly Chittee	2 $\frac{3}{4}$
4.	Rangui Chittee	2 $\frac{3}{4}$
5.	Sura Yengana	2 $\frac{3}{4}$
6.	Ayapa Chittee	2 $\frac{3}{4}$
7.	Candymalla Madavaya	2 $\frac{3}{4}$
8.	Comarappa Mudaliar	2 $\frac{3}{4}$
9.	Sura Appaya	1 $\frac{3}{4}$
10.	Tanjac Chittee Pereatamby	1 $\frac{3}{4}$
11.	Conacappa Chittee	1 $\frac{3}{4}$
12.	Passumarty Chittee	1 $\frac{3}{4}$
13.	Passumarty Balay	1 $\frac{3}{4}$
14.	Nerella Naran	1 $\frac{3}{4}$
15.	Pinappa Chittee Ponna	1 $\frac{3}{4}$

16.	Shiualoca Mooki Chittee	1 ¾
17.	Peruncolatur Ninapa and Nalla Chittee	1 ¾
18.	Kette Narapa	1 ¾
19.	T egapa Chittee	1 ¾
20.	Pumally Nalatamby	1 ¾
21.	Valashy Chittee	1 ¾
22.	Nallam Iannapa	1 ¾
23.	Yacambarum Peratamby	1 ¾
24.	Verabadra Chittee	1
25.	Nalla Chittee	1
26.	Ulagappa Chittee	1
27.	Pettugani Chittee	1
28.	Adur Kitchaya	1
29.	Pedupauca Tamby Chittee	1
30.	Casturi Chittee	1
31.	Teleasingam	1
32.	Shancaru Gangadaren	1
33.	Cassy Annapa	1
34.	Vira Vasarashiundu	1
35.	Candapen	1
36.	Alla Potana	1

37.	Coata Batchy Murty Muccanty	1
38.	Viraragave Permall	$\frac{3}{4}$
39.	Maha Deundo	$\frac{3}{4}$
40.	Monney Chittee .	$\frac{3}{4}$
41.	Pasumarty Chittee	$\frac{3}{4}$
42.	Cashy Caparty	$\frac{3}{4}$
43.	Rashapundy Chittee	$\frac{3}{4}$
44.	Yerra Chittee Muttamara	$\frac{3}{4}$
45.	Cancarla Langarolo	$\frac{3}{4}$
46.	Cannavaram Ramanaya	$\frac{3}{4}$
47.	Ambarnea	$\frac{3}{4}$
48.	Amara Lingalo	$\frac{1}{2}$
49.	Amara Rangala	$\frac{1}{2}$
50.	Concaple Jogui Papaya	$\frac{1}{2}$
51.	Yerurv Rangapa and Shinragtldo	$\frac{1}{2}$
52.	Pendela Papaya	$\frac{1}{2}$
53.	Carnavaram China Ramanaya	$\frac{1}{2}$
54.	Carnavaram Yenkataputty	$\frac{1}{2}$
55.	Pettugawney Comawry	$\frac{1}{2}$
56.	Velleveatile Muttamara	$\frac{1}{2}$
57.	Nalla Mutty Chittee	$\frac{1}{2}$
58.	Amayapa Chittee	$\frac{1}{2}$

59.	Periatamby Chittee	½
60.	Shancara Mutamara	½
61.	Sura Mussalaya	½
62.	Cancaple Gopalu	½
63.	Notam Rangapa	½
64.	Notan Yenkata Kishna	½
65.	Bogavarapu Polaya	½
66.	PonnuryYenkataputty	¼
	Total	100

(Source; Record of Fort St. George, Diary and Consultation Book, 1680-1681, pp. 48-49)

Appendix-2

List of Joint Stock Merchants and their shares under the leadership of Chinna Vankatadri, 1688

	Names	Percentages of shares
1.	Chinna Vankatardy	6
2.	Allingall Pillia	6
3.	Passapoortee Cashe	3
4.	Carnapa Chhettee	3
5.	Avapa Chetty	3
6.	Ranghia	3
7.	Saravannum Moodelee	3
8.	Copartee Cashe	3
9.	Tandua Chetty	3
10.	Suranadya Appya	3
11.	Durgapa	2
12.	Pereatombe Tanapa Chetty	2
13.	Sura Vencatarama Mutalo	2
14.	Natarya Pillia	2
15.	Conchee Balla Chetty	2
16.	Passamoortee Bala Chetty	2
17.	Ponapa Chetty	2
18.	Yeaumbrum Pereatombe	2
19.	Taragoo Muttamar	2
20.	Pedda Verpa Chette	2
21.	Cassa Jangam Ramapa	2
22.	Candapa Chetty	1 ½
23.	Poonamullee Nallamoorye	1 ½
24.	Pynapa Chetty	1
25.	Condemolla Madua Chetty	1
26.	Severgo Chetty	1
27.	Nerela Narran	½
28.	Sancara Muttamar	½
29.	ChincaPillia	1
30.	Vencachellu	1
31.	Venayca Chetty	1

32.	Mootabaucam Vellapa	½
33.	Puddapawcum Tombe Chetty	1
34.	Yerra Chetty Muttamarr	1
35.	Rachapa Chetty	1
36.	Tappa Chetty Verapa	½
37.	Chittoopautoo Tandua Chetty	½
38.	Pashmoorte Naique Chetty	½
39.	Pettucaune Ballya	1
40.		1
41.	Mana Chetty	½
42.	Tanapa Chetty Nalla Chet	½
43.	Venne Teeta Chetty	½
44.	Comarapa Chetty	½
45.	Chellaia Mooteapa	½
46.	Perreana Chetty	½
47.	Conchella Janga	½
48.	Bogavarpoo Yellapa	½
49.	Corrangolopaulum	½
50.	Aureapa	½
51.	Chevalooroo Chinnia Chetty	½
52.	Andeepooree	½
53.	Colloway Chetty	1
54.	Paukee Chetty	1
55.	Canacapa Tillia Chetty	1
56.	Mauduapa Ancana	½
57.	Tere Vengadum	½
58.	Cana Varum Chinaramana	½
59.	Wollaca Chetty	½
60.	Chinaundee	½
61.	Coondoor Narran	½
62.	Conchellapeda Janzam	½
63.	Monamarr Moota Chetty	1
64.	Velleshary Mootamarr	½
65.	Colapatee Vencataputtee	½
66.	BuntaIa Timma Chetty	½
67.	Aunda Chetty	½
68.	Jalleepoollee China Tombo	½
69.	Pandalee Chetty	½

70.	Amara Oblo	½
71.	Cinna Oblo	½
72.	Caunvanum Vencaraputt Peddaramana	½
73.	Caunvanum Vencaraputt	½
74.	Mogooroo Yellapa	½
75.	Ponooroo Sangapa	½
76.	Tallee Chetty Teagapa	½
77.	Ammyapa Chetty	½
78.	Caurta Chetty	½

(Source; Records of Fort St. George, Diary and Consultation Book, 1688, p. 132-133)

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Appendix-3

List of Joint Stock Merchants and their shares under the leadership of Checca Sherappa, 1696

	Names	Shares in Percentage
1.	Checca Sherappa	15
2.	Nadaraya Pallia	8
3.	Kisna	3
4.	Sura Vincate Rama	3
5.	Coperte Cash	3
6.	Vincate Kisna	3
7.	Serewona Muddelare	3
8.	Conde Mulla Matavia	3
9.	Checca Serveramo	2
10.	Chonee Palchitte	2
11.	Ponctulo Rama Kisna	2
12.	PottegtiDe Ballia	1
13.	Sura Pede Nundia	1
14.	Purso Murte Ballia	1
15.	Coperta Paupia	1
16.	Mute Linglla	1
17.	Eclore Pettee Chittee	1
18.	Chelle Cuttee	1
19.	Turgare Paupia	2
20.	Pede Rama Narrian	½
21.	Ande Chittee	½
22.	Mugolore Ballia	½
23.	Nerrella Naria	½
24.	Checqua Gurapa	½
25.	Passe Murte Naigue Chittee	½
26.	Come Jettee Vincate Puttee	½
27.	Condundum Ponose Vincate Puttee	½
28.	Jallee Puttee Chena Naigulle	½
29.	Pendall Chittee	½
30.	Cornapa Chittee	3
31.	Japa Chittee	3
32.	Ranga Chittee	3
33.	Pupalo Chittee	3

34.	Rajja Chittee	3
35.	Namaesewayapa Bassawapa	3
36.	Pette Tombe Tonapa Chittee	½
37.	Vella Vetula Mutamarra	1
38.	Matava Chittee & Nella Chittee	1
39.	Achera Wacca Cundapa	1
40.	Wallaca Chittee	1
41.	Collaway Chittee	1
42.	Era Chittee Muttamar	1
43.	Paca Tombe Chittee	1
44.	Ecombrum China Walacha	1
45.	Suncara Muttamara	½
46.	Turago Chimaunade	½
47.	Cundor Narriain	½
48.	Cayar Trovungulum	½
49.	Mura Pana Mutta Chittee	½
50.	Vullee Chara Muttamara	½
51.	Wanna Wasaa Corapa Chittee	½
52.	Walwee Chittee and Maude Chittee	½
53.	Vennaiacca Chittee	½
54.	Wottewacca Vellapa Servana	½
55.	Shevaraya Chittee	½
56.	Rashapa Chittee	½
57.	Pinnapa Chittee	½
58.	Corta Chittee and Munna Chittee	½
59.	Venante Chittee	½
60.	Sheapa Chittee	½
61.	Amaravate Chittee	½
62.	Peyamore Chittee	½
63.	Mungate Singa Chittee	½
64.	Mungate Marra Mutta Chittee	½
65.	Cheta Puto Tondapa Chittee	½
66.	Comapa Sepa Chittee Verrapa	½

(Source; Record of Fort St. George, Diary and Consultation Book, 1696, p. 143)

Appendix-4

List of joint stock merchants and their shares under the leadership of Checca Sherappa, 1698.

	Names	Shares in Percentage
1.	Checca Sherappa	25
2.	Rayasum Ramapa	10
3.	Nayra Verana	10
4.	Coperte Cash	3
5.	Comapa Chittee	3
6.	Japa Chittee	3
7.	Vincate Kisna	3
8.	Ragga Chittee	3
9.	Purpaula Chittee	3
10.	Berra Ramana	3
11.	Nomesheway Mudeliar	3
12.	Pedda Tombe Chittee	1 ½
13.	Conche Bolla Chittee	1
14.	Coperte Paupia	1
15.	Yeacolora Chittee	1
16.	Punumbola Tondoa	1
17.	Cowalathe Goupala	1
18.	Venia Yembia	1
19.	Ballaw Quonda Chittee	1
20.	Ande Chittee	1
21.	Rawshapa Chittee	½
22.	Venna Tetta Chittee	½
23.	Cheathe Puttoo Chittee	½
24.	Coyaraw Therowvengalum	½
25.	Vena Yaca Chittee	½
26.	Woothe Wacum Vellapaw	½
27.	Condapa Chittee	½
28.	Shankara Muttamar	½
29.	Shevaraya Chittee	½
30.	Conavarum Ramania	½
31.	Mangathe Linga Chittee	½
	Total Shares	83 ½

(Source; Record of Fort St. George, Diary and Consultation Book, 1698, p. 86)

Appendix-5

List of ships owned by the Portuguese or ships command by Portuguese

Year	Name of ships	Captain/Owner	Destination/Route
1687	St. Cruz Nossa Senhora de Rosia	Augustin de Carvalho Jacomme Fersena	Goa Goa
1688	Boa Vista Boa Vista St. Pedro	Don Theodore Don Theodore Anthony de Malas	Cudaloor Manila Goa
1690	St. Thoma Boa Vista	Francisco Mendes Don Theodore	Bengal Manila
1691	Boa Vista	Don Theodore	Manila
1692	Boa Vista	Don Theodore	Manila
1693	St. Francisco St. George	Ferdinando Manuel Francisco Mendes	Bengal Bengal
1694	Nossa Senhora de Cocession Conimere Merchant Nossa Senhora de Espernia	Antonio de Silva Ferdinando Manuel Ferdinando Manuel	Pegu Bengal Bengal
1695	Jaggeryakoola	Joan Ferreira	Barway
1696	Senhora de Remenda Senhora de Rosario Ramoda	Manuel Patchego Joseph de Souza Joan Ferreira	St. Thome St. Thome Barway
1697	Senhora de Rosario Senhora de Souza Elephant	Francis Gomes Manuel Feca Domingo de Souza	Malacca St. Thome Pegu
1698	Good Fortune Latchme Pearl	Francisco Henriques Francisco Cordoza de Macedo Francisco Cordoza de Macedo	Acheen Manila Manila
1699	Susanna Josia	Francisco Newis Anthony Ferreira	Bengal Cochin
1700	Bone Success St. Pedro	Francisco Coelho Manuel Gonsalvas	Pulicat St. Thome

	St. Antonio Prospect Nossa Senhora de Rosario	Juerda Mendez Francisco Nunez Anthony Norangy	Fort St. David Bengal Manila
1701	St.Cruz Pombrupa St. Anthony Resolution Bone Russen	Ignatius Marcoss Simon Rodriguez Manuel Gonsalvas Andrew Ferreira Simon Rodriguez	Macao Macao Macao Pondicherry Pegu
1702	Johanna BonViago Saphir Salamut Nossa Senhora de Rosario Chindradree Good Adventure	Francisco de Saa Diego Moroosse Antonio Fernando Francisco Canor Ignatio Swarez Nicola Simon	Macao Pegu Pegu Macao Pegu Bengal
1703	St. Pedro & St. Paul St. Augo	Manuel Rodriguez Domingos	Macao Acheen
1704	St. Cruz	Ignatius Marcos	Manila
1706	Senhora de Remenda Rawratoon BonViago	Joan Domingos Mathew Carvalho Diego Moroosse	Macao and Siam Siam Pegu
1707	Senhora de Persia St. Martin	Manuel Rodriguez Manuel Gonsalvas	Macao Macao
1708	Nos Senhr de Remeda Trivitore BoneViageo Nossa Senhora de Paina	Joan Domingo Lewis Madera Diego Moroosse	Macao and Siam Manila Manila Macao
1709	Nossa Senhora de Rosario St. Peter & St. Paul	Antonio Cruz Manuel Rodriguez	Bengal Bengal, Pulicat and Nagapatnam
1710	Nos Senhora de Fama Ballasore	Francisco Jores John Batista Gomez	Macao Bengal
1711	Nossa Senhora de Rosario Mahomuddee Messiah Theodora Bon Viago	Antonio Cruz Joan Batista Lewis Madera Senhora Nicholas Ignatius Vera	Macao Pegu China Bengal Pegu Macao

	Boon Novis		
1712	Nos. Senr. de Fema Messiah St. Joan Chinapatam	Francisco Torres Lewis Madera Senhora Ignace Senhora Calacto	Macao China Manila Manila
1713	Bon Novis St. Cruz Brampore	Francisco Carvalo Simon Rodriguez Lewis Madeira	Macao Pegu Manila
1714	St. Antonio Chindradree St. Anna de Boa	Joan Batista Joan Madera Esperance	Bengal Manila Manila
1715	Oxford	Lewis Madera	Batavia and China
1716	Nossa Senhora de Conception	Senhora Jores	Macao
1717	Brampore Colloway	Lewis de Madeira Pedro Domes	Manila Manila
1718	Senhora das Bratas Isabella	Hirenimo de Vadre Francisco Hendricks	Bengal Bengal
1719	Trivitore St. Anthony	Francisco Cardoso Goade Mazerom	Manila Bengal
1720	Jesus Maria Joseph Jesus Maria Joseph St. Pedro	Manuel de Branzo Augustin Basilio Maluho	Goa Manila Bengal
1721	Jesus Maria Joseph Gienno de Franco Tripolore	Augustin Basilio Manuel de Gomes Mathew Pereira	Manila Pegu Manila
1722	Joseph Rosario London St. Rosa Endeavour Jesus Maria Joseph	Francis Pereira Lewis Deas Joan Constantine Lewis Pereira Joan Pereira Augustin Basilio	Cochin Pegu Canton Manila Nagapatnam Manila
1723	Jesus Maria Joseph Triplicane Nossa Senhora de Rosario St Rosa	Augustin Basilio Joao Carvalho Agostinho de Plexeira Antonio Carrari	Manila Manila Macao Macao
1723	Joseph Joseph Brig. Catherine	Francisco Pereira Francisco Pereira Lewis de Estor	Cochin Nagapatnam Goa
1724	Jesus Maria Joseph Arcot	Augustin. Basilio Sebastian Texiera	Manila Manila

	London St. Anthony St. Anthony St. Rosa Triplicane Brampore Triplicane	Joan Constantino Nicholao Fieunes De Villas Anthony Carrarie Joao Carvalho Anthony Bemeval Joao Carvalho	Macao Macao Macao Macao Manila Manila Bengal
1725	Nossa Senhora de Penha Arcot Bon Voyage	Manoel de Leme Sebastin Texiera Thomas Meveral	Macao Macao Pegu
1726	Brampore Black Boy Rahim Brigantine Anne St. Lewis	Joao Carvalho Francisco George Anthony Pereira Andrew de Sera Francisco George	Manila Macao Tenassarim Pegu Acheen
1727	St. Cruz Trivitore Cumberland Triplicane St. John St. Francis	Mathieu Carvalho Joao Carvalho Senhora Duverger Joao Carvalho Francis de la Fontaine Francisco Gonsalves	Malacca Manila Pegu Bengal Goa Mergui
1728	Brampore Brampore Brigantine Francis Nossa Senhora de Conceptao Nossa Senhora de Penha	Joao Carvalho Alexander Carvalho Francis Gregorio Francis de la Fontaine Manuel de Leme	Manila Bengal Pegu Pegu Macao
1729	Galera Nossa Senhora de Penha Triplicane	Madre de Deo Manoel de Leme Francisco Carvalho	Macao Macao Manila
1730	Brampore Brampore	Joao Carvalho Domingo Carvalho	Manila Bengal
1731	Nossa Senhora de Penha St. Anthony Triplicane Nossa Senhora de Conceptao	Santa de Marto Lewis Rodriguez Joao Carvalho Francis de la Fontaine	Macao Macao Manila Porto Novo
1732	Nossa Senhora de Penha	Anthony Pereira	Macao

	St. Cruz Brampore Brampore St. John	George Geronimo Alexander Carvalho Alexander Carvalho Joao Constantinho	Manila Manila Bengal Pegu
1733	Brampore Bon Sewasso Good Success	Joan Baptista Joan Lopez de Cruz Joan Lopez de Cruz	Manila Pegu Cochin and Surat
1735	Nossa Senhora de Perna Brigantine Mary	Manuel Correa Antonio de Silvia	Macao Pegu
1736	Nossa Senhora de Perna Nossa Senhora de Concession Nossa Senhora de Concession	Manuel Correa Pedro Romanco Pedro Romanco	Macao Pondicherry Macao
1636	Samsunderest Samsunderest	Alexander Carvalho Alexander Carvalho	Manila Bengal
1737	St. Anthony Brigantine James Nossa Senhora de Penha Balagopal Balagopal	Mathieu de Souza Joan Vass Vicentede Matta Domingo Carvalho Domingo Carvalho	Macao Bengal Macao Manila Bengal
1738	Nossa Senhora de Conceptao Samsunderest Samsunderest Nossa Senhora de Concession Joseph Maria Jane Narcissaus	Monsimet Alexander Carvalho Francisco Carvalho Manuel Correa Manuel Cameros Manuel de Moro James Manuel	Macao Macao Bengal Macao Bengal Vizagapatnam Bengal
1739	Nossa Senhora de Concession Nossa Senhora de Penha Nossa Senhora de Penha Nossa Senhora de Penha St. Catharina Fame Nancy Nancy Union	Manuel Correa Andrew Correa de Souza Andrew Correa de Souza Andrew Correa de Souza Joan Batista Eugene de Agar Nicolas de Almeida Nicolas de Almeida	Macao Mergui Pondicherry Macao Macao Manila Fort St. David Bengal Balassore Pegu

	St. George Invocation St. Caetano	Pedro Manuel Simon Carvalho Antonio Varella Antonio de Silvia	Macao Bengal
1740	Samsunderest Samsunderest Nossa Senhora de Concession Bon Voyage Bon Voyage St. Thomas St. Caetano Chindadree	Francisco Carvalho Alexander Carvalho Manuel Correa Caetano Caetano Paulo de Cotcheek Antonio de Silvia Gonsalvo Fernades	Macao Bengal Macao Pegu Pondicherry Manila Bengal Arracan

(Source; Record of Fort St. George, Diary and Consultation Book, 1687-1740)

Appendix-6

The Article of Commerce's proposed to the King of Burma and Pegu on behalf of the English Nation for the settling of a trade in that country

1. The English and their ships and Merchandize may freely come into the Kingdom of Burma and Pegu and reside in safety. They will treat with civility and respect by the King's subject, and not to hinder or interfere with. They may voyage back and forth at their pleasure in pursuance of their trade, sell, buy, and barter according to the Custom of the Country. It shall be concede that these articles without any let or hindrance from the Governors or others the Kings Ministers they may carry there as long as they think good and depart the Country again when they please.

2. All goods and merchandize that English sell , buy or barter to and with his Majesty the King of Burma and Pegu no manner of Custom or other duties shall be paid either for Importation or Exportation of the same. All goods and Merchandize, which the English shall sell buy, or Barter with the Merchants or Natives of the Country they shall pay but 5 per cent Custom upon the goods Imported only and nothing upon goods Exported, and for Silver, Gold, Rubies, Timber, Rice and Provisions of all sorts, no Custom is to be paid in or out.

3. No Customs shall be pay on the goods that are not sold there, but after six months, the English may freely carry the same goods away again, or pay the five per cent customs. For the customs, it is to be paid in the current money of the country and not in other way, the goods to be valued at 5 per cent. Under the Bazaar rate and in regard it is very inconvenient and prejudicial to have every parcel of goods opened therefore the English shall give in a list of all their goods, and the Custom's officers shall or they please only open one parcel from the ten choosing which parcels they (please.)

4. All the goods carried in the ships belonging to the English shall pay half the Custom's usually paid in the Country although the said goods do not belong to the English but to merchants that load in the Freight.

5. The English may settle factories at Syrian, Pegu and Ava, and have their old or new ground appointed by the King and may build houses and warehouses by brick of stone to preserve their goods. When they shall depart they may sell and dispose to their best advantage and also that they may settle a factory in like manner at Martaban and send their Ships there if they think it convenient, and their houses may not at any time be forced or entered into by armed men by violence.

6. The English will freely buy or make Saltpeter and Indigo in any parts of the Country, paying the natives for their labour, and exports the same in such quantities as they please, along with other commodities, which the country produces for exports. They promising and obliging themselves not to sell or dispose of any Saltpeter to any other people, but to carry it bona fide to Madraspatam or some other factories in India.

7. To prevent delays in the dispatch the Ships. It shall be permit them at all times to depart from the Port when the English shall dispatch them without attending of orders or license from Ava as had been accustomed.

8. In case any wrack of ship belonging to the English happen in the Kings Dominions the King's subject shall be obliged to help all means possible to save the Ships, Goods, Men and whatsoever belonging to them. Moreover, to restore whatsoever shall be saved, and to prevent all manner of embezzlement, and to let the persons go free with the same.

9. In case of the mortality of any of the English, the goods and estate of the deceased shall be at the dispose of the surviving English according to their manner, and the Kings Ministers shall not intermeddle therein.

10. Offences committed by any of the English shall be punished and accommodated by the Chief of the English and in case any abuse be offered to the English by any of the Kings subjects or others not in the English service, the Kings Governors or Ministers shall do Justice. In addition, the English shall not be obliged to appeal to any Court of Judicature, but only to the king himself for the ending of any controversy that may arise, and they shall be free from paying 10 per cent fees or any other fees in law suits.

11. In case of the English or any Employment desert their services and went to the King or his Ministers or any others services for protection. It shall not be lawful to detain them, but the said persons shall be deliver to the Chief of the English Nation and none of the Kings Ministers may intermeddle in matters which happen between one Englishman and another, or any that serve the English, without the consent of both party and the chief of the English.

12. The English may freely exercise the use of the Christian religion within theirs factory's without any molestation, and if any shall not disturb them, they are to be punished for so doing.

13. In case, any merchants of the country indebted to the English or refuse or neglect to comply with any agreement made with the English, the Kings Ministers shall use means to force every such person to perform his agreement. And in default the English shall and may take and keep such persons as prisoners in their houses until satisfaction be made them, and if any person be indebted to

others besides the English, the debt which he owed to the English shall be first satisfied.

14. In case, any of the English houses or warehouses robbed or plundered, or any persons carried captive within any of the kings' dominions by the kings' vassals or subjects, the Kings Majesty is obliged to make restitution and satisfaction to the English both for the estate and for the persons so robbed, or plundered or captivated.

15. The English either shall not be obliged to give any presents to the Governors at the arrival or at the departure of their Ships, and what is usually paid to those officers of the Kings that do use to accompany the Boats between Ava and Syrian, shall be settled at rates that are more moderate.

16. The English may freely have the disposure of the children, which they may by the women the natives of the country to carry or send the same children out of the Country, at their pleasure notwithstanding the laws of the Country.

17. If the King shall grant any more or other privileges to any other Nation then what are comprehend in these Articles, the same privileges are to be grant to the English.

18. Lastly that the King shall issue out his Phyrmaund or Letters of Command to all his Governors, Officers and Ministers of what quality so ever, strictly charging and commanding them under severe penalty's to observe these Articles of Agreement with the English Nation to all occasion whatsoever.

(Source; Record of Fort St. George, Diary and Consultation Book, 1680-1681, pp.10-12)

Appendix: 7

Shipping list (1686-1740)

Incoming and outgoing ships from Madras Fort St. George to Southeast Asia and East

Year	Name of the ship and date of arrival	Arrived from	Name of the ship and date of departure	Destination
1686	Providence, 19 February	Pegu	Tokla, 11 January	Tenasserim
	Trevitore, 22 January	Macao	Rochester, 23 March	Bencoolen
	Annapouma, 26 January	Tenasserim	Delight, 25 March	Tenasserim
	Nazareno, 24 February	Manila	Annapouma, 4 April	Manila
	Phoenix, 12 March	Siam	Revenge, 19 April	Tenasserim
	Ormus, 16 March	Manila	Prospect, 7 May	Tongking
	Revenge, 18 March	Tenasserim	Dorothy, 5 June	Tenasserim
	Tagraia, 29 March	Pegu	Trevitore, 11 June	Manila
	Chouliar, 29 March	Acheen	Nazareno, 12 June	Manila
	Chindatry, 4 April	Pegu	Phoenix, 13 July	Siam
	Dorothy, 6 May	Tenasserim	Chandos, 4 August	Bencoolen
	Loyal Adventure, 14 May	Mindanao	Ormus, 4 September	Arakan
	Happy Delivery, 11 June	Bencoolen	Pilgrim, 15 September	Pegu
	John & Mary, 8 July	Bencoolen	Senhora de Monte, 16 September	Pegu
	Borneo Merchant, 11 September	Borneo	Borneo Merchant, 25 September	Borneo
			Galliot, 27 September	Pegu
			Great Providence, 12 October	Borneo
			St. Katharine, 18	Borneo

			October	
			Loyal Adventure, 25 October	Acheen and Kedah
1687	Dragon, 2 January	Siam	Arrival, 17 January	Moco
			Ruby, 19 March	Acheen
	Borneo Merchant, 23 January	Junk Ceylon	Moulsford. 1 May	China
	Marmouder, 7 February	Arakan	Princess, 4 May	Acheen
	Ormus Merchant, 12 February	Arakan	Bon Vista. 8 May	Manila and Tongking
	Mahomett, 28 February	Acheen	St. James. 13 May	China
	Jamalulee, 2 March	Acheen	Delight, 25 May	Acheen
	Trevitore. 4 March	Manila	Expectation, 29 May	Acheen
	Annapouma. 9 March	Manila	Borneo Merchant, 2 June	Acheen
	Jasper, 23 March	Acheen	Curtana, 5 June	Tenasserim
	Mamooder, 28 March	Acheen	St. James, 28 June	Acheen and Pegu
	Loyal Adventure, 31 March	Acheen	Marnooder, 27 July	Acheen
	Phoenix, 31 March	Acheen	Mahooder, 28 July	Acheen
	Amity. 31 March	China	Phoenix, 27 August	Acheen
	Royal James, 6 May	Bencoolen	Pearl, 31 August	Tenasserim
	Rose. 17 July	Bencoolen	James. 31 August	Tenasserim
	Arrival, 21 August	Moco	Concord, 2 September	Acheen and Kedah
	Delight, 9 December	Acheen	Trevicane, 2 September	Acheen and Pegu
	Adventure, 14 December	Acheen	Arrival, 11 September	Acheen
	Curtana. 26 December	Tenasserim	Madras Frigate, 30 September	Bencoolen
			Madras Merchant, 30 September	Acheen
			Loyal, 2 October	Acheen and Pegu

1688	Trevicane. 26 January	Acheen	Trevicane. 7 March	Acheen
	Moulsford, 3 February	Amoy	Francis, 10 March	Acheen
	Madras Merchant, 12 February	Acheen	Mahmoodee, 12 March	Acheen
	Loyal, 23 February	Acheen	Nathaniel, 20 April	Canton
	Mamooode, 2 March	Acheen	Rebecca, 25 April	Mindanao
	St. James, 6 March	Pegu	Loyal, 30 April	Canton
	Phoenix, (Capt. Mendis de Livera) 16 March	Acheen	Saphir Frigate, 4 May	Tongking
	Rebecca, 26 March	Acheen	St. James. 4 May	Macao
	Coodaloor Merchant, 31 March	Acheen	Curtana, 4 May	Tongking
	St. Rosa, 2 April	Pegu	Moulsford, 4 May	Amoy
	Phoenix, (Capt. William Miller) 5 April	Acheen and Malacca	Retrieve, 27 May	Acheen
	Royal James. 9 April	Bencoolen	Delight, 13 June	Acheen
	Madras Frigate, 9 April	Bencoolen	Conimeer Merchant, 3 July	Acheen
	St. Joan, 13 April	Macao	Boa Vista, 28 July	Manila
	Delight, 16 October	Acheen	Triblicane, 31 July	Acheen
	Pearl, 22 December	Malacca	Rochester, 15 August	Bencoolen

1689	Pearl, 3 January	Tenasserim	Bencoolen Frigate, 2 February	Bencoolen
	Triblicane, 9 January	Acheen	Resistance, 13 February	Acheen
	Rebecca, 9 January	Macao	Conimere Merchant, 11 March	Acheen
	James, 4 February	Macao	Francis, 16 March	Acheen
	Madras Frigate, 19	Bencoolen	Williamson, 22	Bencoolen

	February		April	
	Loyal Captain, 25 February	Macao	Princess of Denmark, 28 May	Canton
	Beaufort, 3 March	Arakan	Morning Star, 28 May	China
	Defence, 4 March	Arakan	St. Thoma, 1 July	Manila
	Resolution, 4 March	Arakan	Curtana Friggot, 8 July	China
	Recovery, 4 March	Arakan	Defence, 8 July	China
	Mergui Frigate, 4 March	Arakan	Resolution, 19 September	Bencoolen and Batavia
	Diamond, 5 March	Arakan		
	James, 6 March	Acheen		
	Mary, 29 March	Bencoolen		
	Persian, 29 March	Bencoolen		
	Saphir Frigate, 14 March	Tongking		
	Conimere Merchant, 30 September	Acheen		
	Bencoolen Frigate, 7 October	Bencoolen		
	Ruby, 17 November	Acheen and Siam		

1690	Robert, 29 January	Acheen	Four Brothers, 15 March	Acheen
	Mindanao, 3 February	Mindanao	Success, 6 May	Kedah and Junk Ceylon
	Princess, 5 March	China	Elephant, 20 May	Arakan
	Defence, 5 July	China	Diamond, 21 May	Bencoolen
	George, 7 April	Pegu	George, 24 May	China
	St. Thoma, 8 March	Manila	Morning Star, 29 May	China
	Diamond, 22 March	Pegu	Ketch Success, 18 June	Acheen

	James, 22 March	Pegu	Rebecca, 30 August	Tenasserim
	Morning Star, 22 March	Kedah	Jagernott, 4 July	Manila
	Nathaniel, 31 March	Arakan	Saphir Friggot, 22 August	Acheen and Beencoolen
	St. Rosa, 22 April	Acheen	George, 27 August	Pegu
	Delight, 30 May	Acheen	St. Rosa, 30 August	Pegu
	Madras Friggot, 22 June	Bencoolen	Recovery, 16 September	Pegu
	Conimere Merchant, 23 September	Acheen	Defence, 6 October	Bencoolen

1691	Jerusalem, 16 February	Tenasserim	Recovery, 13 March	Pegu
	Boa Vista, 20 February	Manila	Jerusalem, 14 March	Pegu
	Retrieve, 22 February	Pegu	St. Rosa, 26 March	Pegu
	Diamond, 23 February	Bencoolen	Ruby, 1 April	Acheen, Malacca and Borneo
	Francis, 19 March	Acheen	Francis, 5 July	Junk Ceylon and Kedah
	George, 30 May	China	Morning Star, 29 May	China
	Orange, 3 August	Bencoolen	Mary, 6 June	China
			Conimere Merchant, 14 June	Acheen
			Curtana, 24 June	China
			Boa Vista, 6 July	Manila

1692	Curtana, 10 May	China and Acheen		
	Pearl, 11 August	Bencoolen and Batavia	St. Rosa, 14 August	Pegu
	Tonqueen Merchant, 20 August	Bencoolen		
	Diamond, 23 December	Acheen		

1693	Society, 22 January	Acheen	Northampton, 2 March	Bencoolen
	Morning Star, 16 February	China	Pearl, 23 May	Malacca
	Bencoolen Frigate, 28 February	Tongking	Morning Star, 24 May	China
	Senhore de Rosario, 9 March	Pegu and Acheen	Mahomd Fatteche, 14 July	Kedah
	Annapouma, 14 March	Acheen	Geo!Xe, 10 July	Tenasserim
	Brigantine Francis, 15 March	Kedah	Bon Viageo, 25 July	Kedah
	St. David, 19 March	China and Manila	Morning Star, 2 August	Pegu
	Conimeer Merchant, 22 March	Malacca and Siam		
	Mahomodo, 10 May	Arakan	St. Caetano, 29 August	Bencoolen and Batavia
	Mandapollam, 27 October	Bencoolen		

1694	Tarrakooly, 21 February	Acheen	John and Betty, 5 January	Acheen
	St. Demonte, 21 February	Pegu	Mary, 25 March	Bencoolen
	Senhora de Concession, 6	Pegu	Madapollam, 25 March	Bencoolen

	March			
	Francis, 12 March	Kedah	Royal James, 25 March	Bencoolen
	Happy Return, 20 March	Sukadana	Senhora de Joan, 8 April	Pegu
	Cuddilore Merchant, 3 April	Pegu	Jelpha, 30 April	Pegu
	Morning Star, 12 April	Pegu	Success, 6 June	Sukadana
	Hydra Leack, 10 April	Tenasserim	Mahomod Allea, 19 June	Arakan
	Triplatore, 11 April	Tenasserim	Armenian Merchant, 30 June	China
	Connimere Merchant, 13 April	Manila	Morning Star, 30 June	China
	Boutaracull, 10 August	Malacca	de Bom, 27 July	Kedah
	Diamond, 5 September	Pegu	St. Joseph, 26 August	Manila
	Speedwell, 7 December	Acheen	Bencoolen Merchant, 30 August	Tenasserim
	Dorothy, 16 December	Bencoolen	Diamond, 5 September	Pegu
			St. Rosa, 4 September	Pegu
			Loyal, 11 October	Java

1695	Northampton, 2 January	Bencoolen	Dorothy, 26 March	China
	John and Betty, 24 January	Acheen	London Frigate, 8 April	Bencoolen
	Amity, 9 February	Bencoolen	Morning Star, 27 May	China
	Madapollam, 9 February	Bencoolen	Sarah, 20 June	Batavia
	Armenian Merchant, 25 February	Amoy	Dolphin, 7 May	Cochin China

	Brigantine, 4 March	Acheen	Mary, 24 July	Acheen
	Morning Star, 25 February	China	Boa Viago, 5 August	Kedah
	St. Anthony, 4 March	Macao	Senhora de Rosario, 5 August	Kedah
	Jelpha Merchant, 22 March	Pegu	Mahomed, 3 September	Tenasserim
	Francisco, 22 March	Malacca	St. Rosa, 2 September	Malacca
	Francis, 23 March	Acheen	Welcome, 3 September	Pegu
	Mahomod, 11 April	Acheen	St. Anthony, 3 September	Macao
	Trivlecane, 12 April	Pegu	Loyal, 12 September	Pegu
	Conimere Merchant, 22 April	Tenasserim		
	St. Rosa, 24 April	Pegu		
	Tanckred, 1 May	Acheen		
	Good Hope, 2 May	Pegu		
	Senhora de Rosario, 4 May	Pegu		
	Boa Viago, 4 May	Kedah		
	Pearl, 20 June	Tongking		
	Mary, 22 December	Acheen		
	Fortune, 22 December	Acheen		

1696	Morning Star, 20 February	Canton	Pegu Merchant, 26 March	Pegu
	St. Jude, 17 March	Manila	John and Mary, 7 April	Acheen and Pegu
	Four Brothers, 3 April	Acheen	Salamatt, 20 April	Kedah
	Elizabeth, 4 April	Acheen	Elizabeth, 3 June	Canton
	St. Rosa, 19 April	Malacca	Acheen Merchant, 6 June	Bencoolen
	Mahomodee, 19	Kedah	Fleet Frigate, 21	Bencoolen

	April		June	
	Mahomod, 22 April	Tenasserim	Boa Vista, 24 June	Manila
	Mahomodtar, 22 April	Kedah	Dolphin, 6 September	Pegu
	Gallat, 27 April	Kedah	Hussian, 6 September	Tenasserim
	Welcome, 25 April	Pegu		
	Boa Vista, 29 April	Manila		
	Pearl, 4 May	Tongking		
	Conimere Merchant, 27 December	Acheen		

1697	Loyal, 5 January	Acheen	St. Paul, 4 March	Manila
	Josiah, 5 January	Acheen	St. Paul, 4 March	Macao
	Dolphin, 12 March	Pegu	Manadapollam, 28 March	Pegu
	Brigantine Nera, 15 March	Acheen	Dolphin, 8 May	Pegu
	St. Anthony, 16 March	Pegu	Elizabeth, 25 May	Canton
	Elizabeth, 27 March	Canton	Olive Branch, 30 May	Bencoolen and Priaman
	Dolphin, 1 April	Cochin China	Dolphin, 30 May	Bencoolen
	Boa Vista, 1 April	Manila	Bencoolen Yatch, 14 June	Bencoolen and Priaman
	Rosaria, 2 April	Malacca	Tribecane, 21 June	Manila
	Pearl, 8 April	Pegu	Sedgwick, 22 July	Batavia
	Pegu Merchant, 8 April	Pegu	St. Rosa, 25 August	Pegu
	St. Cajetan, 12 April	Acheen	Ketch Rubie, 2 September	Pegu
	St. Cajetan, 12 April	Manila	Elephant, 2 September	Pegu
	St. Antonio, 15 April	Malacca	Surat Salamatte, 2 September	Pegu

	St. Antonio, 16 April	Macao	Madras Frigate, 10 September	Bencoolen
	Salumatte Surat, 26 April	Kedah	Madras Frigate, 10 September	Bencoolen
	Dolphin, 27 October	Bencoolen	Pegu Merchant, 15 September	Pegu
	Brigantine Olive, 16 December	Acheen		

1698	Amity, 31 January	Acheen	Rosario, 9 January	Arakan
	Mary Buoyer, 7 February	Tongking	Mahmoud. 9 January	Arakan
	Elephant, 28 February	Tenasserim	Pearl, 6 June	Manila
	St. Maria, 27 March	Acheen	Loyal, 4 August	Pegu
	Mandapollam, 9 April	Pegu	Endeavour, 20 August	Acheen
	St. Cajeatan, 12 April	Tenasserim	St. Anthony, 9 September	Acheen and Kedah
	Salamut, 17 April	Kedah	Pegu Merchant, 9 September	Pegu
	Good Fortune, 4 May	Acheen	Salamut, 14 September	Malacca
	Dolphin, 25 May	Bencoolen	Thorndon, 23 October	Bencoolen
	Elizabeth, 18 June	Batavia and China	Armenian Merchant, 2 December	China
	Eagle, 19 June	Batavia		
	Johanna, 27 June	Batavia		
	Syrian Merchant, 17 August	Batavia		
	St. Anthony, 9 September	Kedah		

1699	Pearl, 24 February	Manila and Macao	Welfare, 3 January	Borneo
	Senhora de Rosario, 8 March	Pegu	Joanna, 19 January	Batavia and China
	Salamat, 7 March	Malacca	Ketch Abednego, 3 March	Bencoolen
	Ruby, 4 April	Pegu	Dolphin, 17 April	Pegu
	Loyal, 6 April	Pegu	Nonsuch, 10 June	Acheen
	St. Rosa, 7 April	Pegu	Prince Charles, 10 June	Manila
	Dolphin, 13 March	Pegu	Pearl, 27 June	Manila
	Bon Viago, 16 April	Pegu	Loyal, 27 June	China
	Ketch Abednego, 3 June	Bencoolen	Senhora Corraio, 23 August	Malacca
	Acheen Merchant, 3 June	Java	St. David, 30 August	Malacca
	Buckhurst, 8 September	Batavia	Parr Recovery, 31 August	Pegu
	Queen Anna, 2 December	Bencoolen	Acheen Merchant, 7 September	Pegu
			Boa Vista, 8 September	Pegu
			Scepter, 29 September	Bencoolen

1700	St. Caietan, 5 January	Acheen and Manila		
	Brigantine St. David, 21 February	Malacca		
	Dolphin, 8 March	Pegu	Chintadry, 17 April	Arakan
	St. Maria, 10 March	Pegu	Dolphin, 17 April	Pegu
	Messiah, 11 March	Pegu	St. Maria, 17 April	Pegu
	Par Recovery, 11 March	Pegu	Mahomadee, 18 April	Pegu

	Jerusalem, 12 March	Pegu	Rawratoon, 26 June	Pegu
	MaddapoUam, 13 March	Pegu	St. Peter, 26 May	Macao
	Bon Voyage, 13 March	Pegu	Paul Emanuel, 26 May	Macao
	Sedgwick, 13 March	Acheen	Acheen Merchant, 8 June	Macao
	Alle Madut, 14 March	Acheen	Prince Charles, 2 July	China
	Mahomadee, 28 March	Malacca	Senhora de Rosario, 2 July	Manila
	Chindadry, 28 March	Kedah	Tryall, 9 August	Batavia and Bencoolen
	Loyal, 28 March	Canton	Bon Voyage, 9 September	Pegu
	Johanna, 29 March	Amoy	Madapollam, 19 September	Pegu
	Friendship, 29 March	Pegu	Saree Salam, 11 September	Pegu
	Conjevaron, 30 March	Manila		
	Thankful, 11 December	Acheen and Bencoolen		

1701	Pearl, 7 January	Acheem	Ruby, 8 February	Batavia
	Gosfright, 20 January	Acheen and Malacca	Pearl, 21 February	China
	St. Cruz, 8 February	Macao	Loyal, 21 February	China
	Prince, 16 February	China	Mandapollam, 5 July	Acheen
	Saram, 13 March	Acheen and Kedah	St. Antonio, 6 April	Macao
	Pombrupa, 14 March	Macao	Gosfright, 8 April	China
	Pombrupa, 14 March	China	Hampshire, 23 June	China
	Danceborough, 18	Kedah	Aile Bux, 6 July	Junk

	March			Ceylon
	Mahomud, 22 March	Kedah	Salamt, 31 August	Pegu
	St. Mariah, 31 March	Pegu	St. Mariah, 3 September	Pegu
	Jerusalem, 4 April	Pegu	Bon Viago, 5. September	Pegu
	Dolphin, 5 April	Pegu	Bone Russon, 9 September	Pegu
	Bon Viago, 5 April	Pegu	St. Mariah, 9 September	Pegu
	Madapollam, 8 April	Pegu		
	Bon Voyage, 10 April	Arakan		
	Gennala Abdeen, 20 May	Kedah		
	Rawrattoon, 28 April	Acheen		
	Ruby, 11 December	Acheen and Batavia		

1702	Gosfrigt, 21 January	China	Charlton, 29 April	China
	Sarum, 22 January	Bencoolen	Blessing, 3 June	China
	Johanna, 31 January	Macao	Allee, 5 July	Junk Ceylon
	Pearl, 13 February	Amoy	Hampshire, 18 October	Bencoolen
	Hampshire, 24 February	Canton	St. Cruz, 19 July	Manila
	Benjamin, 21 March	Junk Ceylon	Bencoolen, 27 July	Bencoolen
	St. Mariah, 22 March	Pegu	Madras Merchant, 27 July	Manila and Macao
	Chindadree, 22 March	Pegu	Rival, 20 July	China
	Bon Viagio, 22 March	Pegu	Sedgwick, 3 August	Acheen and Pegu
	Madapollom, 18	Pegu	Mahmoud, 18	Kedah

	April		August	
	Sipher Salamut, 18 April	Pegu	St. Mariah, 3 September	Pegu
	St. Cruz, 6 May	Manila	Bon Voyage, 6 September	Pegu
	Senhora de Rosario, 9 May	Macao	Saphir Salamut, 10 September	Pegu
	Loyal, 11 June	China		

1703	Pearl, 19 January	Batavia	St. Peter & St. Paul, 12 May	Macao
	St. Peter & St. Paul, 29 January	Macao	Sedgwick, 28 June	Acheen
	Rival, 3 March	Canton	Union, 8 July	Canton
	Ketch Josiah, 5 March	Arakan	Diligence, 9 July	Acheen
	Pillaro St. Augo, 9 March	Acheen	Ketch Josiah, 3 August	Arakan
	Charlton, 15 March	Canton	Mahmoud, 17 August	Kedah
	Bon Voyage, 17 March	Pegu	Pearl, 26 August	Malacca
	Sedgwick, 23 March	Pegu	Chindadree, 4 September	Pegu
	Sweet Steak, 25 March	Acheen	Rauwooraum, 6 September	Pegu
	Mahmoud, 26 March	Kedah	Bomrepaum, 6 September	Pegu
	Bombooprau, 29 March	Pegu	Expedition, 14 October	Bencoolen
	Brigantine Good Will, 31 March	Malacca	Adventure, 6 October	Bencoolen
	Madras Brigantine, 31 March	Malacca		
	Good Fortune, 6 April	Pegu		
	Union, 11 June	Bencoolen		
	Francis, 30 May	Acheen		

1704	Madapollam, 13 January	Arakan	Ganges, 27 February	Acheen and China
	Marlborough, 10 February	Amoy	Marlborough, 25 March	Amoy
	Stratham, 10 February	Batavia	Ketch Josiah, 3 May	Arakan
	Destiny, 23 February	Malacca	Mandapollam, 2 June	Arakan
			St. Johan, 11 July	Acheen
	Blessing, 27 February	China	Stratham, 19 May	Acheen
	Chambers, 27 February	China	Queen, 30 May	China
	President, 5 March	Kedah	Hyena, 30 June	Bencoolen
	Allfaunda, 8 March	Mergui	St. Joan de Canterbury, 1 July	Manila
	St. Cruz, 8 March	Manila	Pearl, 28 August	Malacca
	Surat Merchant, 10 April	Pegu	Dorothy, 3 September	Pegu
	Bombooprau, 10 April	Pegu	Destiny, 3 September	Pegu
	Samaritan, 11 April	Acbeen		
	St. Johan, 15 April	Acheen		
	Rawou Rautoon, 18 April	Pegu		
	Queen, 30 April	Bencoolen		
	Greyhound, 29 May	Bencoolen		
	St. George, 14 July	Bencoolen		
	Endeavour, 14 July	Batavia		
	Mary, 19 July	B atavia		
	Hyena, 23 November	Bencoolen		

1705	Ganges, 4 January	Acheen	Charlton, 13 January	Batavia and Bencoolen
	Marlborough, 19 January	China	Sedgwick, 23 January	Batavia
	Mooraud Bux, 27 January	Junk Ceylon		
	Greyhound, 13 February	Bencoolen	Commerce, 13 April	Junk Ceylon
	Loyal Merchant, 13 February	Bencoolen	Hyena, 24 April	Bencoolen
	Loyal Merchant, 13 February	Bencoolen	Loyal Merchant, 4 May	Canton
	Sidney, 15 February	Canton	William, 4 May	Malacca
	Rawratoon, 12 March	Pegu	Chindradree, 17 May	Malacca and Siam
	Sinaudoo, 12 March	Pegu	Rawan Ratoone, 4 June	Malacca and Siam
	Commeree, 13 March	Acheen	Greyhound, 29 June	Bencoolen
	Naudemadut, 14 March	Pegu	Mahmoud, 10 September	Kedah
	Saphir Salamut, 14 March	Pegu	Bon Voyage, 10 September	Pegu
	Dorothy, 16 March	Pegu	St. Naudo, 17 September	Pegu
	Mahmoud, 18 March	Kedah	Nathanial, 26 September	Bencoolen
	Sweep Steaks, 15 April	Pegu		
	St. George, 18 April	Pegu		
	Pearl, 15 April	Malacca		
	Loyal, 29 April	Amoy		
	Chindradree, 1 May	Junk Ceylon		
	Dolphin, 9 May	Acheen		
	Beekwell. 7 June	Batavia		
	Sedgwick. 15 June	Batavia		

	Saruni, 12 August	Bencoolen		
	Adventure, 6 September	Batavia		

1706	Morning Star. 14 January	Acheen	Rajahe, 26 March	Tenasserim
	St. Anno, 17 January	Acheen	Morning Star, 31 March	Pegu
	Todington, 9 February	China	Greyhound, 31 March	Pegu
	Commerce. 15 February	Junk Ceylon	Pekaimmina, 31 March	Pegu
	Destiny, 16 February	Pegu	Nicholas, 12 May	Macao
	Nicholas, 22 February	Macao	Remeida, 21 July	Siam
	Margaret and Francis. 19 February	Acheen	Hyena, 5 April	Bencoolen
	St. Joan de Canterbury, 14 February	Manila	Sedgwick, 23 April	Bencoolen
	Greyhound, 26 February	Bencoolen	Sedgwick. 24 April	Batavia
	Hyena, 27 February	Bencoolen	Mosses, 7 June	Acheen
	Sedgwick, 17 March	Batavia	Resolution. 18 June	Bencoolen
	Chindradre. 28 March	Siam	St. Joan de Canterbury , 30 June	Manila
	Chindradree, 29 March	Pegu	Chindradree. 31 July	Junk Ceylon
	Bomrapoon, 31 March	Pegu	Triblicane, 4 September	Pegu
	Remeida, 5 April	Siam	Boomrapoon, 4 September	Pegu
	Bon Voyage, 9 April	Pegu	St. Joan, 12 September	Arakan

	Josiah, 12 April	Arakan		
	Rawratoon, 12 April	Siam		
	Mahmoud. 29 April	Kedah		
	Morad Bux. 29 April	Kedah		
	Nathaniel, 11 May	Bencoolen		
	Endeavour. 30 June	Batavia		
	Happy Return, 21 July	Batavia		
	Sedgwick, 18 August	Batavia		
	Hyena, 24 September	Bencoolen		
	Mary Gallee, 16 October	Bencoolen		
	Madras Merchant, 24 October	Timor		

1707	Sedgwick, 25 January	Malacca	Charlton, 29 February	Batavia and Borneo
	Dorothy, 28 January	Pegu	Richmond, 29 March	Bencoolen
	Senhora de Pain, 29 January	Macao	Dorothy, 4 April	Pegu
	Brigantine, 4 February	Macao	Mahmoud, 13 April	Pegu
	Hanover, 10 February	China	St. Martin, 22 April	Macao
	Moosack. 13 February	Acheen	Senhora de Paina, 14 May	Macao
	Dolphin, 16 February	Pegu	President, 8 June	Tongking
	Mahmoud, 9 March	Pegu	Marud Bux, 20 August	Tenasserim
	Tribilicane. 13 March	Pegu	Chindrade, 30 August	Junk Ceylon

	Madapollam, 18 March	Acheen	Mahmoud, 30 August	Kedah
	Good Fortune, 21 March	Acheen	Good Fortune, 6 September	Pegu
	Jerusalem, 21 March	Acheen	Morning Star, 6 September	Bencoolen
	Massahee, 4 April	Pegu	Massahee, 11 September	Pegu
	Boomrepau, 5 April	Pegu	Bon Voyage. 11 September	Pegu
	Chindrade. 14 May	Junk Ceylon	Boomrepau, 12 September	Pegu
	Benjamin, 30 May	Junk Ceylon	Charlton, 13 September	Pegu
	Resolution, 16 July	Batavia	Annapurna, 7 November	Arakan
	Endeavour, 21 August	Batavia		
	Charlton, 15 August	Batavia		
	Mary, 7 September	Macao		
	Mary, 7 September	Moco Moco		
	Greyhound, 16 September	Bencoolen		

1708	Dorothy, 15 March	Pegu	Penkaninna, 14 April	Pegu
	St. Joan, 16 March	Arakan	Madapollam, 28 April	Pegu
	Kent, 17 March	China	Prosperous, 11 May	Pegu
	Sweep Steaks, 19 March	Pegu	Good Fortune, 13 May	Pegu
	Chindrade, 21 March	Pegu	Unity, 13 May	Pegu
	Bomrapau, 25 March	Pegu	Francis, 13 May	Pegu
	Prosperous, 27	Tenasserim	Rammaswanna, 18	Pegu

	March		May	
	Good Fortune, 28 March	Pegu	Senhora de Paina, 22 April	Macao
	St. Joan de Canterbury, 28 March	Manila	Kent, 21 May	China
	Messiah, 29 March	Pegu	Senhora de Remda, 27 May	Macao
	Jerusalem, 12 April	Acheen	Greyhound, 14 June	Manila
	Charlton, 13 April	Pegu	Trivetore, 14 June	Manila
	Meera Maudat. 16 April	Kedah	St. John, 5 July	Manila
	Sanjeavee, 19 April	Acheen	Bon Voyage, 5 July	Malacca
	Senhora de Remada, 2 May	Siam	Bon Voyage, 11 July	Manila
	Chindradre, 14 May	Junk Ceylon	Pearl, 14 August	Junk Ceylon
	Queen Anne, 27 May	Bencoole	Vera Latchemy, 8 September	Pegu
	Ganjee Bux, 14 June	Acheen	Endeavour, 7 September	Siam
	Northumberland, 28 June	Bencoolen	Meree Madud, 8 September	Arakan
	Sedgwick, 15 July	Batavia	Mooshehee, 10 September	Pegu
	St. David, 24 August	Batavia	Bon Voyage, 10 September	Pegu
	Harriote, 22 September	Macao	Donna Latchemy, 10 September	Pegu
			Chindradre, 13 September	Kedah
			Sheering Mary, 15 September	Pegu
			St. David, 16 September	Pegu
			Poidoo Rasur, 22	Tenasserim

			September	
			Dansburge. 26 September	Malacca

1709	Resolution, 7 January	Bencoolen	Resolution, 3 April	Pegu
	President, 18 January	Tongking	Rasahee, 15 April	Tenasserim
	St. Mariah, 13 February	Moco Moco	Nanganot Rashee, 15 April	Tenasserim
	St. Louis, 26 February	Tenasserim	President, 17 April	Bencoolen
	Manganatta, 5 March	Tenasserim	Unity, 22 April	Pegu
	Francis, 13 March	Pegu	Mahmoud Bux, 4 May	Pegu
	Mandapollam, 17 March	Pegu	United, 11 May	Pegu
	Hassare Salamut, 18 March	Tenasserim	Madapollam, 21 June	Acheen
	Chindradre, 3 April	Pegu	Darling, 2 August	Bencoolen
	Pegu Rassan, 3 April	Tenasserim	Pederson, 13 August	Junk ceylon
	Pata Mooraad. 3 April	Tenasserim	Saboyhee, 19 August	Pegu
	Moosahee, 3 April	Pegu	Mooselam, 5 September	Pegu
	Sheering Mary, 3 April	Pegu	Joha Latchemy, 7 September	Pegu
	St. Pedro, 3 April	Pegu	Chindradre, 7 September	Pegu
	Latchemy, 3 April	Pegu	Bomrepau, 10 September	Pegu
	Good Fortune, 4 April	Pegu	Messiah, 10 September	Pegu
	Donna Latchemy, 4	Pegu	Donna Latchemy,	Pegu

	April		12 September	
	Ramaswarme, 6 April	Pegu		
	St. Thoma, 3 May	Acheen		
	Kent, 15 May	China		
	Mermaid, 16 May	Batavia		
	St. David, 20 May	Pegu		

1710	Friendship, 9 January	Pegu	Frederick, 11 March	Bencoolen
	Charlton, 9 January	Batavia	Senhora de Fama, 11 May	Macao
	Mary, 12 January	Banjerimasim	Elizabeth, 20 May	China
	St. Joan, 3 February	Manila	Halifax, 26 May	China
	Senhora de Fama, 9 February	Macao	Latchemy, 5 June	Acheen
	Trivitore, 8 March	Manila	Golden Lion, 5 June	China
	St. Cruz, 10 March	Manila	St. Cruz. 3 July	Manila
	St. Cruz. 10 March	Kedah	St. Joan, 7 July	Manila
	Razauee Mahmoud, 24 March	Tenasserim	MasheeLaumence, 13 July	Manila
	Eleanor, 24 March	Tenasserim	Charlton, 15 July	Bencoolen
	Tonking Merchant, 8 April	Tongking	Chindradre, 4 August	Kedah
	St. Perdo, 9 April	Pegu	Meera Madud, 25 August	Kedah
	St. Paulo, 9 April	Pegu	Tonqueen Merchant, 27 August	Junk Ceylon
	Rosario, 9 April	Pegu	Madapollam, 31 August	Pegu
	Bomrapau, 14	Pegu	Singarya, 31 August	Pegu

	April			
	Gea Latchemy, 15 April	Pegu	Bomrapau, 3 September	Pegu
	Mashee Laumence, 18 April	Pegu	Hanover, 26 September	Malacca
	Marlborough, 18 March	Canton		
	Derea Doulel, 23 April	Arakan		
	Charlton, 28 April	Bencoolen		
	Hussein, 23 May	Tenasserim		
	John Lewis, 1 June	Bencoolen		
	Chindradre, 28 June	Siam		
	Gulston Gally, 9 September	Batavia		
	President, 22 September	Bencoolen		
	Recovery, 7 November	Junk Ceylon		
	Frederick, 1 December	Bencoolen		

1711	Raworth, 19 January	Acheen	Mahmoud, 15 April	Pegu
	Ramanaidum, 28 January	Tenasserim	Messiah, 7 May	China
	Satisfaction, 9 February	Pegu	Chindradre, 7 July	Manila
	Elahee, 22 February	Pegu	Conjaveram, 7 May	Tongking
	St. Anthony, 14 February	Acheen	Bon Novis, 10 May	Macao
	St. Genevieve, 23 February	Mergui	White Raven, 16 May	Pegu

	Bon Novis, 24 February	Macao	Satisfaction, 16 May	Jehore
	Pearl, 24 February	Tenasserim	Elizabeth, 23 May	China
	Masauee, 26 February	Pegu	Rosario, 12 June	Macao
	Chindradre, 5 March	Kedah	Triblicane, 16 June	Siam
	Halifax, 20 March	China	Geah Latchemy, 27 June	Acheen
	Bomrapau, 25 March	Pegu	Pearl, 10 August	Junk Ceylon
	Darling, 30 March	Malacca	Golconda, 8 September	Pegu
	Mahmoud, 1 April	Kedah	Bon Voyage, 8 September	Pegu
	Idaree, 2 April	Pegu	Elahe, 10 September	Pegu
	Salamut, 8 April	Pegu	Lagaria, 10 September	Pegu
	Unity, 14 April	Pegu	Bomrapau, 13 September	Pegu
	Razalu, 15 April	Pegu	Salamut Russu, 13 September	Pegu
	Roman, 17 April	Tenasserim	Nashee, 13 September	Pegu
	Rosario, 19 April	Macao	Golden Lion, 30 September	Malacca
	Saibu Jeen, 22 April	Pegu	Elizabeth, 10 October	Bencoolen
	Mary, 22 April	Malacca	Rising Sun, 17 October	Bencoolen
	Madapollam, 22 April	Pegu	Oxford, 27 October	Bencoolen
	St. Cruz, 24 April	Pegu		
	White Raven, 27 April	Pegu		
	Patraus, 28 April	Tenasserim		
	Singaiya, 2 May	Pegu		

	Gaeh Latchmy, 4 May	Pegu		
	Betty, 8 May	Pegu		
	Golconda, 15 August	Batavia		
	Hanover, 2 September	Batavia		

1712	Chindradre, 2 March	Kedah	Chinnapatam, 24 March	Manila
	Senhora de Fame, 8 March	Macao	President, 12 April	Bencoolen
	Toddington, 19 March	Bencoolen	Bon Voyage, 10 May	Pegu
	St. Joan, 19 March	Manila	St. Cruz, 13 May	Pegu
	Oranudallek, 22 March	Pegu	Senhora de Fame, 14 May	Macao
	Durrea Doulet, 28 March	Pegu	Pataloose, 17 May	Arakan
	Kareem, 31 March	Acheen	Arcot, 26 May	Tongking
	St. Cruz, 3 April	Manila	Prosperous, 11 July	Bencoolen
	Salamut Ruzzo, 3 April	Kedah	Hartford, 5 September	Pegu
	Elahee, 10 April	Pegu	Jai Lakshmi, 11 September	Pegu
	Conjaverram, 10 April	Tongking	Bomrapau, 16 September	Pegu
	Bon Voyage, 19 April	Pegu	Chindradre, 17 September	Junk Ceylon
	White Raven, 24 April	Pegu	Elahe, 18 September	Pegu
	Gulston Gally, 27 April	Pegu	Arabbella, 20 October	Batavia and Malacca
	Hertford, 4 May	Pegu		
	Golconda, 7 May	Pegu		
	Barrington, 8 May	Pegu		
	Taggariah, 10 May	Pegu		

	Frederick, 11 May	Pegu		
	Oxford, 19 May	Batavia		
	Mary, 27 May	Batavia		
	Hussadee Salamat, 28 May	Pegu		
	Razahee, 14 July	Tenasserim		
	Elizabeth, 8 August	Bencoolen		
	Triblican, 10 August	Siam		
	Vinketesberon, 4 September	Arakan		
	Expedition, 23 November	Malacca		

1713	Howland, 1 January	Malacca	Josiah, 12 May	Pegu
	Chinnapatam, 28 February	Manila	Amity, 20 May	China
	Mahmoud, 16 March	Pegu	Chinnapatam, 21 May	Siam
	Tagarya, 28 March	Manila	St. Cruz, 25 May	Manila
	St. Cruz, 4 April	Pegu	Jai Lakshmi, 25 May	Pegu
	Salamay, 4 April	Pegu	St. George, 25 July	Junk Ceylon
	Elahee, 4 April	Pegu	Bon Novis, 27 May	Macao
	Mashalaumenee, 5 April	Pegu	Ormond, 28 May	China
	Durrea Doulet, 5 April	Pegu	Bramapore, 30 June	Manila
	Chindradre, 6 April	Arakan	Jai Lakshmi, (Kitte Narran) 21 August	Tenasserim
	Jai Lakshmi, 7 April	Pegu	Vinkety Lathcmmy, 28 August	Arakan
	St. Mark, 15 April	Macao		
	Sebastian, 21 April	Acheen		
	Mera Madut, 18 April	Malacca	Frederick, 5 September	Bencoolen
	Bomrapau, 18 April	Pegu	Hartford, 12 September	Pegu

	Singaria, 18 April	Mergui	Daptor, 12 September	Pegu
	Vinkety Latchmy, 19 May	Arakan	Issewin, 12 September	Pegu
	Prosperous, 4 May	Batavia	Bon Voyage, 12 September	Pegu
	Hartford, 25 May	Pegu	Durrea Doulet, 12 September	Pegu
	Stratham, 24 June	Batavia and China	Salamay, 12 September	Pegu
	Jane, 8 July	Bencoolen and Batavia	Mashalaumenee, 13 September	Pegu
	Danes Ship, 17 September	Malacca	Bomrapau, 20 September	Tenasserim
	William, 9 October	Batavia		

1714	Frederick, 19 January	Bencoolen	Dolphin, 5 February	Bencoolen
	Jane, 27 February	Tongking	Jane, 17 April	Tongking
	Stratham, 8 March	Pegu	Bon Voyage, 28 April	Pegu
	Syriam Bragitanie, 12 March	Pegu	Jai Lakshmi, 7 May	Pegu
	Razahee, 25 March	Tenasserim	Marlborough, 11 May	Tongking
	Caudree, 25 March	Tenasserim	Mercury, 2 June	Batavia
	Jai Lakshmi, 25 March	Tenasserim	Duke of Cambridge, 2 June	Amoy
	Bon Voyage, 26 March	Pegu	Mercury, 2 June	Batavia
	Morning Star, 26 March	Pegu	St. George, 3 June	Junk Ceylon
	Ranganaut, 26 March	Tenasserim	Chindadry, (Joan Madeira) 3 June	Manila
	Silleman, 26 March	Pegu	Britannia, 16 June	Siam
	Frederick, 27 March	Pegu	Virgin Mary, 28 June	Malacca
	Salamut, 29 March	Pegu	Queen Anne, 29	Amoy

			June	
	Pulladee Sheik, 29 March	Tenasserim	Avarilla, 31 June	Bencoolen
	Hartford, 7 April	Pegu	Rahseyhee, 14 August	Tenasserim
	Issave, 8 April	Pegu	Puttee Raman, 28 August	Tenasserim
	St. Cruz, 8 April	Pegu	Mera Madut, 1 September	Tenasserim
	Vankata Lakshmi, 17 April	Arakan	St. Mark, 5 September	Pegu
	Masheaumennee, 19 April	Pegu	Vankata Lakshmi, 4 September	Arakan
	Edward and Francis, 21 April	Pegu	Chindadry, (Colloway Chitty) 9 September	Kedah
	Mashie, 21 April	Acheen	De Cosmo, 9 September	Pegu
	St. George, 7 May	Kedah	Messiah, 10 September	Pegu
	De Peniha, 21 June	Batavia and Macao	Frederick, 12 September	Pegu
	Hanover, 9 July	China	Manganadu, 12 September	Tenasserim
	President, 7 August	Bencoolen	Salman, 12 September	Pegu
	Joseph, 28 August	China	Ishevee, 13 September	Pegu
	Ormond, 23 September	China	General Peace, 14 September	Pegu
	St. Mark, 31 December	Pegu	General Peace, 14 September	Pegu
			Hanover, 14 September	Pegu
			Hartford, 14 September	Pegu

1715	Marlborough, 7 February	Tongking	Adventure, 2 March	Junk Ceylon
	St. Anna de Boa Esperance, 22 February	Manila	Marlborough, 7 May	Tongking
	Bon Novis, 21 February	Macao	Bon Novis, 4 March	Macao
	Britannia, 12 March	Siam	Marlborough, 18 May	Bencoolen
	Edward and Francis, 31 March	Manila	Rochester, 18 May	Bencoolen
	Mandapollam, 7 April	Tenasserim	President, 18 May	Bencoolen
	Bon Voyage, 7 April	Pegu	Tabaculla, 26 May	Pegu
	De Conception, 8 April	Pegu	Vincatte, 2 June	Arakan
	Putte Rama, 8 April	Tenasserim	De Conception, 2 June	Macao
	Hartford, 14 April	Pegu	Chindradry, 6 July	Manila
	Frederick, 25 April	Pegu	Jai Latchmy, 4 September	Malacca
	Lowon, 29 April	Manila	Mandapollam, 9 September	Tenasserim
	Oxford, 15 June	Batavia and China	Providence, 8 October	Moco
	Hanover, 18 June		St. Cruz, 10 September	Pegu
	General Peace, 16 August	Pegu	Hartford, 12 September	Pegu
	Mary, 29 September	Moco	Brigantine George, 15 October	Bencoolen
	Salamat, 7 October	Pegu	Salamat, 31 October	Pegu
	Elizabeth, 26 December	Tenasserim		
	Brigantine George, 27 December	Tenasserim		

1716	Fortune, 12 January	Malacca	Hanover. 16	Bencoolen
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			January	
	de Conception. 2 February	Macao	Borneo. 18 April	Bencoolen
	Marlborough, 14 February	Tongking	Fortune, 20 April	Malacca
	Borneo. 20 February	Bencoolen	Black Boy, 16 May	Manila
	De Carman, 21 March	Manila	de Conception, 16 May	Macao
	Madapollam, 31 March	Tenasserim	Bon Voyage, 18 May	Pegu
	Eli, 3 April	Pegu	Britannia, 6 June	Siam
	Bon Voyage, 4 April	Pegu	William. 27 May.	China
	Hartford, 4 April	Pegu	Hussian, 7 July	Tenasserim
	Endeavour, 4 April	Pegu	Experiment. 21 July	Acheen
	Armenian Merchant, 5 April	Acheen	Jai Lakshmi, 10 August	Tenasserim
	St. Cruz, 8 April	Pegu	Mandapollam, 14 August	Junk Ceylon
	Vankata Lakshmi, 13 April	Arakan	Grean Sallamut, 12 September	Pegu
	Cardinal. 8 August	Bencoolen	Gajundra Verda, 12 September	Aracan
	Hanover. 8 August	Bencoolen	St. Cruz, 13 September	Pegu
	Dartmouth, September 30	Acheen and China	Eli, 14 September	Pegu
	Dartmouth, 1 October	China	Hartford, 15 September	Pegu
	Mary & Leonora, 8 December	Kedah	Kitsna Passado, 15 September	Tenasserim
			King William, 16 September	Bencoolen

1717	Chindadry, 9 February	China	Clrinda«lry, 12 March	Kedah
	Fortune, 11 February	Malacca	Bon Voyage. 23 May	Pegu
	Jai Lakshmi, 16	Tenasserim	Mary, 29 May	Tenasserim

	February			
	Hussein, 16 February	Tenasserim	St. Cruz, 29 May	Pegu
	Sr. Mark, 21 February	Malacca	Jesus Maria, 29 May	Macao
	Colloway Chitty, 26 February	Manila	Essex, 6 June	China
	De Peina, 13 March	Macao	Thistleworth, 6 June	Borneo
	De Anderson, 16 March	Manila	Townsend, 6 June	China
	Mahnuman, 21 March	Tenasserim	Princess Anne, 6 June	Moco
	Britannia, 21 March	Siam	Britannia, 28 June	Siam
	Bon Voyage, 11 April	Pegu	Vankatash, 29 June	Tenasserim
	Hartford. 11 April	Pegu	Brampore, 4 July	Manila
	Eli, 12 April	Pegu	Voosine, 8 August	Tenasserim
	Hope, 21 April	Acheen	Plysbuse, 30 August	Arakan
	St. Cruz. 7 May	Pegu	Jai Lakshmi. 6 September	Pegu
	King William. 25 May	Bencoolen	Eli, 12 September	Pegu
	Marlborough. 28 May	Batavia and Canton	Bombredau. 3 October	Pegu
	Verda, 15 April	Arakan	King George, 4 October	Bencoolen
	Salammany, 22 April	Pegu	Hartford, 30 October	Pegu
	Rahim, 1 October	Acheen		

1718	Blackwell, 16 January	Pegu	Bon Voyage, 17 May	Pegu
	Hussein, 21 January	Acheen	Marlborough, 29 May	Bencoolen
	Brigantine Tabbā, 20 January	Tenasserim	Madras Brigantine, 29 May	Bencoolen
	Elizabeth, 9 March	Mergui	Dionede Fakir, 28	Tenasserim

			July	
	Kareem Salamut, 10 March	Pegu	Dionede Fakir, 28 July	Tenasserim
	Nanganaut, 10 March	Pegu	King George, 2 April	Bencoolen
	Sadaramaude, 10 March	Tenasserim	Mary, 9 June	Tongking
	Brampore, 20 March	Manila	London, 9 June	Macao
	Bon Voyage, 28 March	Pegu	Prosperous, 2 July	Malacca
	Treparow, 28 March	Pegu	Sunka Rama, 5 July	Manila
	Eli, 28 March	Pegu	Bonita, 14 July	China
	Hartford, 29 March	Pegu	Hartford, 6 September	Pegu
	Mary, 29 March	Pegu	Vankatash, 6 September	Arakan
	Vankatash, 1 April	Arakan	Eli, 17 September	Pegu
	Vankatash, 2 April	Tenasserim	Kareem Salamut, 10 September	Tenasserim
	St. Cruz, 8 April	Pegu	Nunginant, 10 September	Tenasserim
	Jai Lakshmi, 11 April	Pegu	Tripolore, 11 September	Tenasserim
	Britannia, 10 May	Siam	Chindadry, 11 September	Junk Ceylon
	Princess Anne, 16 July	Moco		
	President, 29 July	Bencoolen		
	Success, 30 July	Bencoolen		

1719	Margaret, 5 January	Canton	Thislleworth, 14 May	Pegu
	Jambee, 17 January	Malacca	Marlborough, 14 May	Pegu
	Chindadry, 20 January	Malacca	Joseph, 14 May	Pegu
	Nabaeroodut, 9 February	Bencoolen	Bon Voyage, 16 May	Pegu

	Queen Anne, 10 February	Bencoolen	Tiruvallur, 20 May	Pegu
	Marlborough, 22 February	Bencoolen	St. Cruz, 27 May	Pegu
	London, 25 February	Canton	Fortune, 30 May	Malacca
	King George, 2 March	Bencoolen	Charlton, 2 June	Canton
	St. Mark, 6 March	Malacca	Britannia, 24 June	Siam
	Tiruvallur, 6 April	Pegu		
	Rahim, 17 March	Tenasserim	Vankata Lakshmi, 20 June	Tenasserim
	Nathaniel, 4 April	Pegu	Godfrey, 27 August	Bencoolen and Moco
	Shellaman, 4 April	Pegu	Trivadore, 4 July	Manila
	Sunca Raman, 5 April	Manila	Silliman, 4 September	Malacca
	Eli, 6 April	Pegu	Kareem Salamut, 8 September	Pegu
	Woosbane, 6 April	Tenasserim	Eli, 9 September	Pegu
	Bonita, 6 April	Canton	King George, 11 November	Bencoolen and Moco
	Kareem Salamut. 11 April	Pegu		
	Bon Voyage, 16 April	Pegu		
	Vankata Lakshmi, 20 April	Tenasserim		
	St. Paul, 30 April	Macao		
	Masulipatam, 5 July	Bencoolen		
	Princes Amelia, 25 November	Batavia and Banjarmasin		

1720	Jesus Maria, 9 January	Manila	Hartfoed, 30 May	Pegu
	Triplicane, 11 January	Malacca	Jesus Maria, 10 April	Manila
	Santa Maria, 30	Pegu	Lusitanian, 17 June	Pegu

	January			
	Chindadry, 19 February	Arakan	Bonita, 27 June	China
	Fortune, 22 February	Malacca	Recovery, 28 June	Batavia
	St. John, 22 February	Pegu	Hussein, 13 July	Tenasserim
	Tiruvallur, 13 March	Manila	Jerusalem, 28 August	Malacca
	Kareem Salamut, 15 March	Pegu	Chindadry, 30 August	Junk Ceylon
	Salaam, 15 March	Malacca	Masulipatam, 7 September	Moco
	Tripolore, 16 March	Pegu	Young Derby, 7 September	Moco
	Vankata Lakshmi, 17 March	Pegu	Kareem Salamut, 15 September	Pegu
	Joseph, (Capt. John Piel) 17 March	Pegu	Eli, 21 September	Pegu
	Jai Lakshmi, 20 March	Pegu		
	Bonita, 31 March	China		
	Hessian, 8 April	Tenasserim		
	Cornelia, 9 Aril	Pegu		
	Marlborough, 13 April	Pegu		
	Bon Voyage, 14 April	Pegu		
	Narasinga, 14 April	Tenasserim		
	Eli, 15 April	Pegu		
	St. Cruz, 16 April	Pegu		
	Griggs, 17 April	Moco		
	St. Christiania, 21 May	Macao		
	Nabamadusk, 8 June	Pegu		
	Godfrey, 22 June	Bencoolen		
	Joseph, (Capt. Douglas) 2	Moco		

	September			
	Lusitanian, 12 December	Pegu		

1721	Britannia, 2 January	Siam	Alexander, 21 May	Junk Ceylon
	Bon Voyage, 4 January	Malacca	Britannia, 30 May	Bencoolen
	Bridgewater, 9 January	China	Bon Voyage, 31 May	Pegu
	Stratford, 4 February	Siam	St. Maria, (Capt. Coja Meertam) 31 May	Pegu
	St. Maria, 5 February	Pegu	St. Maria, (Capt. Cornelius Anderson) 2 June	Pegu
	Bonita, 23 February	Canton	Bonita, 20 June	Canton
	Scattergood, 23 February	Canton	Jesus Maria, 30 June	Manila
	Trepopilore, 27 February.	Manila	Kingston, 1 July	Siam
	St. Mark, 5 March	Tenasserim	Triplicane, 16 July	Manila
	Jesus Maria, 10 April	Manila	Hastings, 16 July	Canton
	Diligence, 14 April	Pegu	Gienno de France, 2 August	Pegu
	Augulle, 16 April	Acheen	Trepolore, 19 September	Pegu
	Bon Voyage, 18 April	Pegu	Eli, 20 September	Pegu
	Eli, 18 April	Pegu	Munchu, 20 September	Pegu
	Dover, 26 July	Bencoolen	Nabee Madut, 21 September	Pegu
	Dartmouth, 2 November	Bencoolen	Coventry, 2 October	Malacca
			Northampton, 2 October	Bencoolen

1722	St. Maria, (Capt. Joseph Dymond) 2 January	Pegu	Vankata, 28 February	Arakan
	Britannia, 5 January	Malacca	Restoration, 9 March	Malacca
	Fiza Russon, 8 February	Acheen	Cauder Buxe, 22 May	Tenasserim
	Good hope, 12 February	Arakan	Goodfellow, 24 May	Bencoolen
	St. Maria, (Capt. Coja Meertam) 23 February	Pegu	Barrington, 30 May	Pegu
	Triplicane, 6 March	Manila	King George, 17 June	Canton
	Tiger, 15 March	Malacca	Bonita, 30 June	Canton
	Chindradry, 16 March	Kedah	London, 3 July	Canton
	Santa Rosa, 21 March	Macao	Brunswick, 15 July	Bencoolen
	Kingston, 22 March	Siam	Vankata Lakshmi, 5 August	Tenasserim
	Juta Beheeme, 28 March	Mergui	Rahim Hussein, 16 August	Tenasserim
	Coventry, 31 March	Malacca	Paterimaun, 17 August	Tenasserim
	Phoenix, 2 April	Malacca	Kareem Salamut, 1 September	Acheen
	Brampore, 6 April	Manila	Sallamony, 29 September	Pegu
	Rahim Hussein, 14 April	Mergui	St. Cruz, 29 September	Pegu
	Munchu, 14 April	Pegu	Eli, 29 September	Pegu
	Goodfellow, 14 April	Bencoolen	Perry, 27 October	Bencoolen
	Bon Voyage, 19 April	Pegu		
	Comrapab, 20 April	Pegu		
	Tripolore, 21 April	Pegu		

	Eli, 23 April	Pegu		
	Brigantine Coza, 24 April	Pegu		
	St. Cruz, 26 April	Pegu		
	Queen Anne, 26 April	Pegu		
	Phoenix, 28 April	Acheen		
	Mary, 1 May	Junk Ceylon		
	Nabee Madut, 5 May	Pegu		
	Rosario, 5 May	Pegu		
	Kareem Salamut, 7 May	Pegu		
	Tongking Factor, 21 May	Tongking		
	Juta Beheeme,	Mergui		
	Perry, 13 June	Bencoolen		
	Margery, 26 June	Bencoolen		
	Tartar, 24 July	Batavia		
	Drake, 4 August	Bencoolen		
	Young Derby, 12 August	Bencoolen		
	Eagle, 4 December	Canton		
	Sarah, 11 December	Junk Ceylon		
	Triplicane, 21 December	Malacca		

1723	Bonita, 1 January	Canton	Jesus Maria, 17 April	Manila
	Jesus Maria, 17 January	Manila	King George, 6 June	China
	Barrington, 19 February	Pegu	Nabee Madut, 7 June	Tenasserim
	Triplicane, 21 February	Manila	Bon voyage, 15 June	Pegu
	Petersfield, 7 March	Pegu	Nabee Madut, 15 June	Pegu

	Vankatash, 10 March	Arakan	Petersfield, 17 June	Bencoolen
	St. Rosa, 21 March	Macao	St. Rosa, 17 June	Macao
	Rahim Hussein, 28 March	Tenasserim	Fort St. George, 18 June	Malacca
	Vankata Lakshmi, 29 March	Tenasserim	Rosario, 25 June	Malacca
	King George, 30 March	Pegu	Devonshire, 5 July	Siam
	Carolina, 30 March	Pegu	Pheasra Hemame, 8 July	Acheen
	Pattera Heynance, 2 April	Tenasserim	Triplicane, 9 July	Manila
	Chindradry, 14 April	Tenasserim	Hanover, 10 July	China
	Kent, 16 April	Pegu	St. Maria, 18 July	Manila
	Eli, 21 April	Pegu	The Boone, 19 July	China
	Salamut, 21 April	Pegu	Vankata Lakshmi, 20 July	Tenasserim
	Prosperous, 22 April	Junk Ceylon	Munchu, 25 July	Tenasserim
	Bon Voyage, 25 April	Pegu	Rahim Hussein, 7 August	Mergui
	King George, 30 April	Bencoolen	Nancy. 12 August	Malacca
	Rosario, 4 May	Macao	Perry, 20 August	Bencoolen
	Tateira, 6 May	Acheen	Chindradry, 24 August	Junk Ceylon
	Tripolore, 6 May	Pegu	Young Derby, 28 August	Bencoolen
	Perry, 22 July	Bencoolen	Young Derby, 28 August	Bencoolen
	Chinapatam, 10 September	Bencoolen	Tavacur, 29 August	Kedah
	Restoration, 22 October	Bencoolen	Vankatash, 29 August	Arakan
			Cauder Bux, 31 August	Tenasserim
			Tripolore, 19	Pegu

			September	
			Goshawk, 5 October	Bencoolen
			King George, 12 October	Bencoolen
			Success, 16 October	Bencoolen
			Bon Voyage, 26 December	Malacca
			Endeavour, 27 October	Bencoolen

1724	King George, 8 January	Canton	The Boone, 4 June	Canton
	Cassim Bazaar, 13 January	Mergui	Devonshire, 7 June	Siam
	Diana, 22 January	Pegu	Daniel, 9 June	Tongking
	London, 26 January	China	Moylan, 12 June	Canton
	Charles, 28 January	Pegu	Morning Star, 12 June	Canton
	Mary, 28 January	Pegu	St. Anthony, 11 June	Macao
	St. Anthony, 3 March	Macao	Arcot, 18 July	Manila
	Triplicane, 13 March	Manila	Barrington, 18 July	Pegu
	Devonshire, 16 March	Siam	Petersfield, 18 July	Beneoolen
	Brampore, 16 March	Manila	Neptune, 19 June	Pegu
	Vankatash, (Cashinaut Noquedab), 16 March	Arakan	Jesus Maria, 23 July	Manila
	Sarah, 17 March	Junk Ceylon	Vankata Lakshmi, 29 July	Tenasserim
	Chindradry, 21 March	Acheen	St. Maria, 26 August	Arakan
	Vankatash, (Cunnado Naquadab) 23 March	Tenasserim	Salamany, 11 September	Pegu

	St. Rosa, 23 March	Macao	King George, 4 October	Bencoolen
	Petersfield, 9 May	Bencoolen		
	Young Derby, 23 August	Bencoolen		
	Brigantine George, 30 August	Bencoolen		
	Macclesfield, 26 December	China		

1725	Barrington, 27 January	Pegu	Brigantine George, 28 March	Becoolen
	Bon Voyage, 3 February	Pegu and Mergui	Devonshire, 6 May	Tongking
	Tirupathy, 12 February	Malacca	Fiza Morad, 25 May	Malacca
	Hydaree, 3 March	Kedah	Oxford, 16 June	China
	Chandradre, (Capt., Tagera Noqudah) 3 March	Junk Ceylon	The Boone, 17 June	China
	Devonshire, 6 March	Siam	De Piedade, 19 June	Macao
	Tripolore, 8 March	Pegu	Rose, 5 July	Pegu
	St. Cruz, 8 March	Malacca	St. Cruz, 7 July	Pegu
	Chandadre, (Capt. Bakherbeck Noqudah) 10 March	Kedah	Vankata Laksmi, 7 July	Tenasserim
	Delight, 14 March	Pegu		
	Marry Anne, 17 March	Junk Ceylon	Vankata Laksmi, 7 July	Tenasserim
	St. Maria, 20 March	Malacca	Tripolore, 9 July	Pegu
	Allamodut, 23 March	Malacca	Southgate, 15 June	China
	Fatera Heemany, 1 April	Tenasserim	Ruby, 21 July	Pegu
	Vankata Lakshmi,	Tenasserim	Jai Lakshmi, 25 July	Tenasserim

	8 April			
	Eli, 15 April	Pegu	Hydaree, 2 September	Kedah
	Salemay, 15 April	Pegu	Fatera Heemany, 15 August	Tenasserim
	Neptune, 16 April	Pegu	Fyze Raheemany, 25 August	Pegu
	De Piedade, 19 April	Macao	Chandadre, (Capt. Bakherbeck Noqudah) 26 August	Kedah
	Chinapatam, 20 April	Batavia	Vankatash, 29 August	Arakan
	Jesus Mary, 15 June	Banjarmasim	Pondieherry, 3 September	Pegu
	Batavia, 4 August	Becoolen	James, 12 September	Pegu
	Goodfellow, 1 September	Becoolen	Eli, 25 September	Pegu
			Brigantine Loretta, 7 October	Becoolen and Timore
			Lincoln, 2 November	Becoolen

1726	Queen Anne, 3 January	Pegu	Goshawk, 7 June	Malacca
	Petersfield, 28 January	Malacca	Decker, 10 July	China
	Elizabeth, 3 February	Pegu	William Galley, 12 June	Malacca
	Tirupati, 24 February	Pegu	Britannia, 9 July	Siam
	Baddez Sauhee, 25 February	Arakan	Trivitore, 19 July	Manila
	Vakatash, 8 March	Arakan	Hydaaree, 20 July	Pegu
	Triplicane, 21 March	Manila	Ruby, 23 June	Mergui
	Brampore, 22	Manila	Grantham, 23 June	Becoolen

	March			
	Hydaree, 23 March	Tenasserim	Vankata Lakshmi, 24 July	Tenasserim
	Cumberland, 1 April	Siam	Mira Madut, 31 July	Malacca
	Ruby, 1 April	Pegu	Chandradre, 2 August	Junk Ceylon
	Goshawk, 2 April	Becoolen	Raheim, 3 August	Tenasserim
	Raheim, 7 April	Tenasserim	Hydaree, 7 August	Tenasserim
	Grantham, 7 April	Becoolen	Cumberland, 8 August	Pegu
	Blackboy, 8 April	Macao	Vakatash, 9 September	Arakan
	Eli, 19 April	Pegu	Devonshire, 10 September	Malacca
	James, 19 April	Pegu	Brigantine George, 8 September	Pegu
	Chindradre, 21 April	Junk Ceylon	Abdul Cauder, 10 September	Malacca
	Sarum, 21 April	Pegu	Diana, 13 September	Pegu
	St. John, 26 April	Pegu	Bethlehem, 25 September	Pegu
	Petersfield, 26 April	Pegu	Eli, 29 September	Pegu
	Queen Anne, 27 April	Junk Ceylon	Fortune, 9 October	Junk Ceylon
	Cobham, 28 April	Junk Ceylon	Marlborough, 16 October	Becoolen
	Devonshire, 7 June	Tonking		
	Princess Amelia, 17 July	China		
	Bethlehem, 14 September	Moco Moco		
	Brigantine George, 13 August	Becoolen		
	Minervah, 17 December	Mergui		

1727	Brigantine St. Cruz,	Malacca	Courier, 25 January	Pegu
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	(Capt. Matheus Carvalho) 17 January			
	St. Cruz. (Coja Nicose Noqudah) 18 January	Malacca	Neptune, 26 April	Pegu
	George Brigantine, 17 March	Pegu	Jane, 25 May	Pegu
	Trivitore, 24 March	Manila	Britannia, 12 June	Siam
	Ferzenbemany, 1 April	Acheen	Lyle, 17 July	China
	Chandadre, (Capt. Tellisingah Naqudah) 1 April	Junk Ceylon	Bethlehem, 17 July	Pegu
	Decker, 2 April	China	Mira Madut, 27 July	Pegu
	Britannia, 4 April	Siam	St. Francis, 30 July	Mergui
	Mary Magdalene, 5 April	Malacca	Red Cliff, 3 August	Pegu
	Mira Madut, 17 April	Malacca	Chandadre, (Capt. Robert Miller) 31 August	Malacca
	Chandadre, (Capt. Mucaboo Naqudah) 21 April	Kedah	Fazerahemani, 1 September	Pegu
	Cumberland, 21 April	Pegu	Chandadre, (Capt. Abdul Cauder) 14 September	Tenasserim
	Bethlehem, 23 April	Pegu	St. Cruz, (Coja Nicola) 15 September	Pegu
	Vankata Lakshmi, 23 April	Tenasserim	Marlborough, 27 September	Pegu
	Lincoln, 7 May	Batavia		
	Nabe Madut, 19 May	Tenasserim		
	Marlborough. 21 June	Bencoolen		

1728	Diana, 20 January	Pegu	Margaret, 23 January	Syriam
	Margaret, 2 February	Pegu	Marlborough. 24 April	Bencoolen
	Marlborough. 16 February	Pegu	De Conception, 24 April	Macao
	Lyle, 24 February	China	Salamud Rezau, 11 June	Pegu
	Amagri, 25 February	Pegu	Vankatash, 13 June	Arakan
	Patacheem, 12 April	Tenasserim	Amasui, 13 June	Siam
	Francis, 15 April	Pegu	De Pegna, 19 June	Macao
	Brampore, 16 April	Manila	Lyle, 1 July	China
	Brigantine Malacca, 17 April	Malacca	Southgate, 8 July	Cochin China
	De Conception, 24 April	Macao	Arcot, 13 July	Manila
	Bethlehem, 27 April	Pegu	Chandadre, 20 July	Kedah
	St. Louis, 21 June	Pegu	Patacheem, 22 July	Tenasserim
	Petersfield, 1 May	Bencoolen	Bunchier, 11 August	Malacca
	De Pegna, 26 May	Macao	Fiza-Alahi, 24 August	Tenasserim
	Marlborough, 27 September	Bencoolen	Margaret, 5 September	Arakan
			Buddersanbee, 5 September	Arakan
			Bon Voyage, 13 September	Pegu

1729	Jesus & Mary, 2 January	Bencoolen	Tellisinga. 27 March	Kedah
	Mira Madut, 4 January	Malacca	Francisco Xavier, 29 April	Pegu
	Eagle, 7 March	Malacca	Betty, 9 May	Pegu
	Fizerahemani, 21 January	Malacca	Galera Madre de Deos, 30 May	Macao
	St. Cruz, 1 March	Macao	St. Cruz, 11 July	Manila

	Narasinga. 2 March	Tenasserim	Lyle, 11 July	China
	Arcot, 3 March	Manila	De Pregna, 20 July	Macao
	Triplicane, 18 March	Manila	Madras Merchant, 24 July	Malacca
	De Pregna. 19 March	Macao	St. Ignacio, 24 July	Pegu
	Lyle, 22 March	China	Fizeraheemane, 12 August	Pegu
	Tellisina. 27 March	Kedah	Kareem, 12 August	Pegu
	Nunganaut, 28 March	Tenasserim	Nunganaut, 24 August	Tenasserim
	Vankatash, 11 May	Arakan	Nassacoot, 9 September	Pegu
	Buddersahee, 23 May	Arakan	Vankatash, 14 September	Arakan
	Queen Carolina. 3 April	Pegu	Buddersahee, 19 September	Arakan
	Sarum, 18 April	Malacca	Marlborough, 5 October	Bencoolen
	Elohisane, 14 September	Pegu	Amity, 19 October	Pegu
			Hitching, 19 October	Pegu

1730	Cadagan, 4 January	Bencoolen	Brigantine Patna, 25 May	Pegu
	Lyle, 13 January	China	Prince George, 18 June	China
	Amity, 20 January	Pegu	Canton Merchant, 11 July	China
	Daniel, 12 February	Pegu	St. Cruz, (Coja Peter) 22 July	Manila
	Windsor, 19 March	Siam	Marlborough, 25 July	Tenasserim
	Hitching, 28 March	Pegu	Elohisane, 3 August	Syriam
	St. Cruz, (Coja Peter) 31 March	Manila	Hitching, 15 August	Pegu
	St. Cruz, (Capt.	Pegu	Vankatash, 1	Arakan

	Sampoor Naqudah) 4 April		September	
	Brampore, 21 April	Manila	Tellisingah, 8 September	Junk Ceylon
	Marlborough, 12 May	Bencoolen	Danes, 10 September	Pegu
	Jacomma Maria. 12 May	Pegu	George, 18 September	Bencoolen
	Vankatash, 14 May	Arakan	St. Cruz, (Capt. Sampoor Naqudah) 22 September	Pegu
	Tellisingah, 4 July	Junk Ceylon	Buddersahee, 28 September	Arakan
	Julia, 11 December	Pegu		
	Kareem, 20 December	Pegu		

1731	De Conceptiao, 23 Januar y	Acheen	Brigantine Robert, 9 March	Acheen
	Fazarchemanee, 25 January	Pegu	Dolphin, 27 March	Cambodia
	Tellisingah, 8 April	Junk Ceylon	Southgate, 4 May	Pegu
	Pelerahemanee, 8 March	Pegu	Francisco Xavier, 15 May	Pegu
	Pataconjour. 8 April	Tenasserim		
	George, 9 April	Bencoolen	George, 6 June	Bencoolen
	Brigantine Morton, 10 April	Tenasserim	Julia, 17 July	Pegu
	Bratannia, 11 April	Acheen	Jenny, 24 June	Pegu
	Raheeme, 15 April	Pegu	Brigantine Alamadut, 10 August	Malacca
	Brigantine Alamadut, 15 April	Tenasserim	Union, 10 August	Pegu
			Hanover, 14 August	Pegu
			Tellisangah, 28	Junk

			August	Ceylon
			Anapourna, 3 September	Malacca
			Pataconjour, 3 September	Tenasserim
			St. John, 12 September	Pegu
			Bon Voyage, 15 September	Pegu
			Fazerchemane, 20 September	Pegu
			Ruperette, 16 September	Mergui
			Hopewell, 26 September	Malacca

1731	Prince George, 26 January	Canton	St. Anthony, 29 June	Macao
	Triplicane, 13 April	Manila	Triplicane, 1 July	China
	De Peine, 1 May	Macao	De Peine, 7 July	Macao
			Richmond, 17 July	China

1732	St. John, 8 January	Pegu	St. John, 29 February	Pegu
	Shallow Galley, 24 January	Pegu	Brigantine St. George, 22 April	Pegu
	Brigantine Jean, 25 January	Pegu	Annapoura, 26 April	Arakan
	St. Cruz, 2 February	Manila	Bon Voyage, 7 June	Pegu
	Royal George, 2 February	Manila	Royal George, 10 June	China
	Budderlau, 26 February	Arakan	Sea Horse, 3 July	Manila
	Brigantine Robert, 26 February	Acheen	Catharine, S July	Bencoolen
	Shallow Galley, 29 February	Bencoolen	Hopewell, 5 July	Bencoolen
	Hanover, 1 March	Pegu	Fernando, 9 July	Manila

	Margaret Ann, 1 March	Pegu	Parcedon, 9 July	Manila
	Fiza Erahemanee, 9 March	Kadah	De Penha, 15 July	Macao
	Brampore, 16 March	Manila	Hopewell, 15 July	Bencoolen
	Sammud Rezau, 17 March	Pegu	St. Pedro, 15 July	Arakan
	Brigantine St. Curz, 19 March	Pegu	Hopewell, 15 July	Arakan
	Rainbow, 21 March	Pegu	Tassalee, 15 July	Arakan
	Rabbit, 21 March	Pegu	Lyle, 15 July	Siam
	Richmound, 24 March	China	Peter Ganjour, 29 August	Tenasserim
	Bon Voyage, 7 April	Pegu	Salamut, 31 August	Pegu
	Eli, 10 April	Pegu	Budder Shaher, 31 August	Arakan
	Peter Ganjour, 11 April	Tenasserim	Union, 2 September	Pegu
	De Penha, 8 June	Macao	Eli, 16 September	Pegu
	George, 12 August	Bencoolen		
	Triton Galley, 24 December	Pegu		

1733	Charming Phillips, 13 January	Malacca	London, 2 March	Pegu
	Annapoura, 7 February	Arakan	Recovery, 8 March	Malacca
	Wyndham, 11 March	China	George, 8 March	Bencoolen
	Triplicane, 18 March	Acheen	Brigantine George, 2 May	Pegu
	Tellisanga, 21 March	Tenasserim	Betty, 24 May	Acheen
	Brampore, 28 March	Manila	Madras Galley, 25 May	Bencoolen
	Sans Fernando, 28 March	Manila	Prince Augustus, 25 May	China
	Alamat Rasau, 5	Pegu	Wyndham, 25 May	China

	April			
	Noorboy, 7 April	Pegu	Charles, 5 June	Pegu
	Bon Voyage, 8 April	Pegu	Amelia, 17 June	Pegu
	Budderlaw, 9 April	Arakan	Francisco Xavier, 23 June	Pegu
	Francis, 12 April	Pegu	Bon Success, 2 July	Pegu
	Poncdarau, 14 April	Pegu	Jai Lakshmi, 8 July	Arakan
	Brunswick, 15 April	Pegu	Fort St. George, 24 July	Malacca
	George, 10 September	Bencoolen	Eagle, 22 July	Arakan
			Sultan, 2 August	Pegu
			St. Cruz, 8 August	Pegu
			Bon Sewasso, 8 August	Pegu
			Hanover, 14 August	Pegu
			Calladella Shahee, 26 August	Tenasserim

1734	Prince Augusta, 13 January	China		
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1735	Madras Galley, 20 February	Bencoolen	Triton, 27 January	Pegu
	Edward, 24 February	Pegu	Bristol, 25 May	Pegu
	Neptune, 12 March	Pegu	Brigantine George, 4 June	Acheen
	Mary Anthony, 13 March	Pegu	Ceres, 8 June	Pegu
	Brigantine George, 21 March	Malacca	Jerusalem, 23 June	Malacca
	Jerusalem, 23 March	Pegu	Triton, 30 June	Siam
	Catchaale, 29 March	Junk Ceylon	Eli, 25 July	Pegu
	Jai Lakshmi, 8 April	Tenasserim	Catchaale, 27 July	Junk Ceylon

	Bon Esperanca, 9 April	Malacca	De Pena, 27 June	Macao
	St. Joan, 11 April	Manila	Kareem Bux, 7 August	Pegu
	Judith, 13 April	Acheen	Palla Maraуда, 9 August	Pegu
	Triton, 15 April	Pegu	Bon Esperanca, 12 August	Pegu
	Bristol, 21 April	Pegu	Jai Lakshmai, 4 September	Perak
	Lyle, 23 April	Siam	Royal George, 11 September	Pegu
	Hidarabux, 26 April	Tenasserim	Madras Galley, 2 October	Bencoolen
	De Pena, 6 May	Macao	Judith, 4 October	Pegu
	Ceres, 21 September	Pegu	Grandison, 8 October	Malacca
	Nassau, 9 December	Bencoolen		

1736	Mubarack Hussein, 4 January	Pegu	George, 29 January	Bencoolen
	Jerusalem, 4 January	Malacca	Rachel, 16 May	Pegu
	Umlin, 23 January	Malacca	Expedition, 30 May	Pegu
	Bragtine Elihu, 2 February	Pegu	De Peena, 5 July	Macao
	Garland, 2 February	Pegu	Trivitore, 12 July	Manila
	Madras Galley, 16 February	Bencoolen	Garland, 22 July	Acheen
	Samsunderset, 2 March	Manila	Concord, 22 July	Pegu
	Chandadre, 9 March	Pegu	Karrem Bux, 25 July	Pegu
	Essex, 9 March	Pegu	De Concession, 25 July	Macao
	Catchaalee, 30 March	Junk Ceylon	Jersusalem, 27 July	Malacca
	Karrem Bux, 2 April	Pegu	Catchaalee, 16 August	Junk Ceylon
	Fizale, 3 April	Kedah	Chindadre, 17	Perak

			August	
	Mahomud Bux, (Capt. Mahomud Ibrahim) 9 April	Pegu	Fizale, 18 August	Kedah
	Bon Voyage, 14 April	Pegu	Mahomud Bux, (Capt. Mahomud Ibrahim) 27 August	Pegu
	Mahomud Bux, (Capt. Saidoo) 20 April	Pegu	Ceres, 11. September	Pegu
	Ceres, 21 April	Pegu	Paterahemane, 12 September	Pegu
	Nowratan, 24 April	Malacca	Tagaria, 1 October	Malacca
	De Peena, 12 May	Macao	Sea Nymbb, 2 October	Acheen
	George, 11 September	Bencoolen		
	Constantianus, 23 December	Pegu		
	Escape, 28 December	Siam		

1737	Brigantine Good Success, 8 January	Malacca	Triton, 4 January	Siam
	Kent, 15 January	Pegu	George, 8 February	Bencoolen
	Enterprise, 1 February	Acheen	Jane, 14 February	Bencoolen
	Harwich, 1 March	Pegu	Kent, 3 March	Pegu
	Jerusalem, 6 March	Malacca	Urlin, 9 March	Acheen
	Brigantine Etzull, 8 March	Malacca	Chaudarey, 25 April	Kedah
	Jai Lakshmi, 16 March	Junk Ceylon	Brigantine William, 6 June	Acheen
	Sea Crab, 17 March	Pegu	Parthenope, 6 June	Pegu
	Brigantine Meera Madutt, (Shaik	Kedah	Kent, 20 June	Pegu

	Nina), 17 March			
	Meera Madut, (Capt. Rawotan Nina) 20 March	Kedah	Royal Guardian, 20 June	China
	St. Anthony, 20 March	Macao	St. Anthony, 1 June	Macao
	Balagopal, 24 March	Manila	Sea Crab, 7 July	Acheen
	St. George, 28 March	Pegu	Thanjavur, 9 July	Perak
	Catchalee, 31 March	Junk Ceylon	De Penha, 11 July	Macao
	Nabeebux, 1 April	Tenasserim	Daudhelahe, 21 July	Pegu
	Wythan, 2 April	Pegu	Catchalee, 12 July	Junk Ceylon
	Sea Nymph, 2 April	Acheen	St. Domingo, 20 July	Manila
	Brigantine Kareem Bux, 4 April	Pegu	Mahomud Bux, 23 July	Acheen
	Patta Mahomud, 6 April	Pegu	Mahomud Elihu, 9 August	Pegu
	Trivetore, 8 April	Manila	Meera Madut, 12 August	Pegu
	Brigantine Firerassau, 8 April	Kedah	Brigantine Kareem Bux, 21 August	Pegu
	Thanjavur, 12 April	Tenasserim	St. Mark, 25 August	Arakan
	Galatea, 13 April	Pegu	Chandadre, 27 August	Junk Ceylon
	Mahomud Bux, 13 April	Pegu	Ceetaminee, 1 September	Pegu
	Chandadre, 15 April	Kedah	St. George, 5 September	Pegu
	Derreadoulut, 17 April	Pegu	Nabeebux, 9 September	Tenasserim
	De Penha, 27 April	Macao	Fizalee, 18 September	Kedah
	Kent, 30 April	Pegu	Jane, 9 October	Bencoolen
	Fizaalee, 6 May	Acheen		

	Mahomud Elihu, 17 May	Pegu		
	George, 23 July	Bencoolen		
	Jane, 20 September	Bencoolen		
	Pattarahemane, 17 December	Malacca		

1738	Urlin, 2 January	Acheen	Kent, 30 January	Pegu
	St. Domingo, 3 January	Malacca	Rockingham, 30 January	Pegu
	Bon Voyage, 11 January	Pegu	George, 20 February	Bencoolen
	Elihu Mahomud, 15 January	Pegu	St. Domingo, 24 February	Manila
	Britannia, 25 January	Malacca	Stackhouse, 4 May	Pegu
	Princess, 6 February	Manila	Ketch Swallow, 22 May	Pegu
	Elsula Rymanee, 11 February	Malacca	Mahomud Madina, 16 April	Arakan
	Meera Madut, 14 March	Kedah	De Conception, 19 April	Macao
	Triplicane, 20 March	Acheen	Mercury, 8 June	Malacca
	De Conception, 27 March	Macao	Dolphin, 9 June	China
	Samsunderset, 18 April	Manila	De Concession, 29 June	Macao
	Galatea, 24 April	Pegu	Fizaalee, 21 July	Kedah
	De Concession, 30 April	Macao	Triton, 29 July	Pegu
	Brigantine William, 11 May	Malacca	Mahomud Bux, 17 August	Pegu
	Canterbury, 7 May	Pegu	Meera Madut, 18 August	Kedah
	Mahomud Bux, 9 May	Pegu	Canterbury, 23 August	Pegu
	Rockingham, 16 May	Pegu	Galatea, 9 October	Borneo, Sumatra and

				Bencoolen
	Kent, 8 June	Tongking		
	Jane, 18 August	Borneo		

1739	Mercury, 6 January	Malacca	Canterbury, 7 February	Pegu
	Canterbury, 15 January	Pegu	George, 10 February	Bencoolen
	Hawk, 25 January	Pegu	De Penha, 27 January	Mergui
	Pattamum Bux, 29 January	Pegu	Kent, 15 February	Pegu
	Mahomud Bux, 31 January	Pegu	Pegu Merchant, 19 February	Pegu
	Nabee Madut, 6 February	Pegu	Nabee Madut, 18 April	Pegu
	Elihu, 10 February	Pegu	Invocation, 18 June	Macao
	Mahomud Moraud, 17 February	Malacca	Kent, 25 June	Acheen
	Canterbury, 4 March	Pegu	Kent, 25 June	Acheen
	Fame, 14 March	Manila	De Penha, 1 July	Macao
	Fizerassau, 17 March	Kedah	St. Catbarina, 4 July	Macao
	Sarah Galley, 27 March	Manila	De Concession, 6 July	Macao
	Fizaalee, 27 March	Kedah	Sumatra, 10 July	Bencoolen
	Nabe Madut, 28 March	Arakan	St. Domingo, 12 July	Canton
	St. Domingo, 1 April	Manila	Duke of Lorrain, 13 July	China
	Bon Voyage, 3 April	Pegu	Hartford, 16 July	Pegu
	Hartford, 5 April	Pegu	Senhora del Pithary, 18 July	Manila
	Kareem Bux, 5 April	Pegu	Francisco Xavier, 18 July	Manila
	Vankataputty, 5 April	Junk Ceylon	Maurepas, 3 August	Tenasserim
	Catchaalee, 5 April	Kedah	Codanbux, 10	Arakan

			August	
	Patarahemane, 8 April	Pegu	Fizaalee, 17 August	Kedah
	Meera Madut, 9 April	Kedah	Bon Voyage, 25 August	Pegu
	Moden Bux, 10 April	Pegu	Fizerassau, 25 August	Kedah
	Ballogopal, 25 April	Manila	Galatea, 29 August	Acheen
	St. George, 26 April	Pegu	Prince Augusta, 30 July	Malacca
	Tividale, 29 April	Pegu	Catchaalee, 30 August	Junk Ceylon
	Prince Augustus, 1 May	Pegu	Kent, 31 August	Pegu
	Kent, 2 May	Pegu	Chandadre, 17 September	Arakan
	De Concession, 2 May	Macao	St. George, 22 September	Pegu
	Pegu Merchant, 6 May	Pegu		
	Annapoora, 14 May	Pegu		
	Kent, 22 May	Acheen		
	Invocation, 24 May	Macao		
	Parthenope, 12 June	Pegu		
	Galatea, 8 August	Banjarmisim		
	George, 15 September	Bencoolen		
	Galatea, 23 December	Kedah		
1740	Mercury, 2 January	Malacca	Syrian Factory, 7 February	Pegu
	Syrian Factory, 10 January	Pegu	Pearl, 21 February	Kedah
	Raheemam Box, 17 January	Pegu	Kent, 26 March	Malacca
	Duke of Lorrain, 23 January	China	St. Thomas, 28 March	Manila
	Kent, 26 March	Pegu	Brigantine Fame,	Kedah

			11 April	
	Syrian Factory, 10 January	Pegu	Triton, 13 July	Malacca
	Fizaerassau, 30 March	Kedah	Prince Augusta, 8 July	China
	Patarehamee, 5 April	Tenasserim	Mahomud Bux, 17 July	Acheen
	Sumatra, 6 April	Bencoolen	Bon Voyage, 25 July	Pegu
	Samsunderset, 14 April	Manila	George, 28 July	Bencoolen
	Chandadre, 22 April	Arakan	Codah Bux, 9 August	Acheen
	Codah Box, 24 April	Arakan	Catchaalee, 26 August	Junk Ceylon
	Latchmon Prasaad, 24 April	Tenasserim	Fizaerassau, 31 August	Kedah
	Catchaalee, 24 April	Junk Ceylon	Syrian Factory, 4 September	Pegu
	Kent, 28 April	Acheen	Latchmon Prasaad, 11 September	Tenasserim
	Mahomud Bux, 3 May	Pegu	Elihu, 13 September	Tenasserim
	Speed Well, 18 June	Pegu	Gencataish, 22 September	Arakan
	George, 16 July	Bencoolen	Chandadre, 1 October	Tenasserim

(Sources; Records of Fort St. George, Diary and Consultation Book, 1686 - 1740)

Appendix: 8

List of presidents/Agents/Governors of Fort St. George, Madras

1	Name	Year
2	Francis Day	1643-44
3	Thomas Ivie	1644-48
4	Henry Greenhill	1648-52
5	Aaron Baker	1652-55
6	Henry Greenhill	1655-59
7	Thomas Chamber	1659-62
8	Edward Winter	1662-65
9	George Foxcroft	1665*
10	Edward Winter	1665-68
11	George Foxcroft	1668-72
12	William Langhorn	1672-78
13	Streynsham Master	1678-81
14	William Gyfford	1681-87
15	Elihu Yale	1687-92
16	Nathaniel Higginson	1692-98
17	Thomas Pitt	1698-1709
18	Gulston Addison	1709**
19	William Fraser	1709-11
20	Edward Harrison	1711-17
21	Joseph Collett	1717-20
22	Francis Hastings	1720-21
23	Nathaniel Elwick	1721-25
24	James McCrae	1725-30
25	George Moreton Pitt	1730-35
26	Richard Benyon	1735-44

Fort St. George was presidency till 1655, when it reverted to an agency. Again in 1668, it converted to Governor and President.

* Coup by Edward Winter in 1665 who forcibly seized the Governorship, until Foxcroft was restored again in 1668.

** Acting Governor, after the death of Addison.

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