

A CALENDAR OF
THE COURT MINUTES

ETC. OF THE
EAST INDIA COMPANY

1650-1654

BY
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WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY
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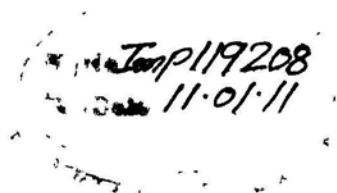
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INTRODUCTION

AT the beginning of the period under review we find no less than three stocks, running side by side—the Fourth Joint Stock, the Second General Voyage, and the United Joint Stock. Of these the burden of administration rested chiefly upon the shoulders of the first; and a heavy burden the shareholders found it, for the Fourth had proved the most unremunerative of all the Joint Stocks. Started in 1642, it had encountered an unusual combination of adverse influences. Civil war, depressed markets as a consequence thereof, and the active competition of interlopers were among the chief of these; while a further handicap was an insufficient capital, (which was only a fourth of what had been subscribed for the preceding Joint Stock), necessitating extensive borrowings both in England and India, and a correspondingly heavy charge for interest. Moreover, the wreck of the *Discovery* and the betrayal of the *John* (narrated in the last volume) had caused heavy monetary loss. As the result of all these difficulties, the shareholders had as yet received nothing in the way of dividends; though they had a considerable estate in the East, both in money and in goods, and consequently might yet hope for some return. The Second General Voyage, which dated only from 1647, had been more prosperous. It possessed a much larger capital than the Joint Stock, and at the same time had less charges to bear, since it made use of the Stock's factories and servants at a low percentage; and it had already declared divisions equivalent to a return of three-quarters of the paid-up capital.

The third body, termed the United Joint Stock, was the most interesting of all. As we saw in the last volume, it was the result of a coalition between the older members of the trade and a new body of adventurers, headed by Maurice Thomson, with wider aims and a disposition to try fresh methods. Impressed by the success of the Dutch, these new-comers leaned towards a system of colonies, to be used as bases of trade, and were parti-

cularly interested in a scheme for a settlement upon the island of Assada (now known as Nossi-bé), on the north-western coast of Madagascar, which was to be a centre of commerce with East Africa, Asia, and even America. Of the success of such projects the older adventurers were dubious; but seeing no other prospect of raising the necessary capital for carrying on the trade, they consented to join in a modified scheme. At the same time it was understood that the new venture was only a temporary one, to carry on the trade until Parliament found time to make a more permanent settlement.

The subscription list for the new stock was opened on December 26, 1649. No special eagerness was apparent on the part of the investors. The first week produced only a promise of 30,000*l.*, and on January 23, 1650, we find the Committees declining to engage any more factors until the outlook should improve. Meanwhile, however, on January 10 the Council of State had given something like a pledge of support to the Company; and on the last day of the month the Parliament passed a series of resolutions on the East India trade, the most important of which was that this commerce should be carried on 'by one Company and with one joint stock'; and, thus encouraged, the Committees pushed forward their schemes with more energy. Letters were written to thirteen port towns, inviting merchants there resident to participate in the new stock; while special subscription books were laid before the Council of State and the House of Commons respectively, in the hope that further support would be forthcoming from these quarters. The result was disappointing. The two books came back as blank as when they went; while of the thirteen port towns only three even acknowledged the receipt of the invitation, and none of them made any contribution to the subscription list. However, on February 6 the shareholders in the Fourth Joint Stock agreed to take up 26,000*l.* of the new stock, in part payment of the factory houses, ships, etc., which were to be transferred to the latter; while, apart from this, by the 12th of that month the subscriptions totalled over 157,000*l.* Another 8,700*l.* had been added by March 13, and it was then resolved that the date for subscribing should be further extended. What the total came to is uncertain, but it is not likely to have exceeded 200,000*l.* This was far below the

300,000*l.* hoped for, but in the circumstances it was a fairly encouraging result.

Meanwhile, the dispatch of ships to the East was proceeding. In February, 1650, four sailed, viz. the *East India Merchant* and the *Advice* for Bantam, and the *Lioness* and the *Bonito* for Assada (with more colonists) and the Coromandel Coast. The *Lioness*, which was under the charge of John Brookhaven, with James Bridgman as chief merchant, was intended to go on to Hugli, in Bengal, for the purpose of founding a factory there. A new arrangement was made regarding the latter, by which the principal merchants employed were to bear the cost of the factory and to be remunerated by a commission on all goods bought. About two months later, the *Love* and the *Aleppo Merchant* departed for Surat, followed by the *William* and *Golden Fleece* for Bantam. Of these eight vessels the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth had been fitted out on account of the United Joint Stock; the *William* and *East India Merchant* for the Fourth Joint Stock; and the *Advice* and *Golden Fleece* for the Second General Voyage¹. All these were freighted ships except the *William*². In addition, the little India-built vessel called the *Supply* was purchased from the Fourth by the United Joint Stock to carry men and stores to Assada, and then to proceed to Bantam. Her master's commission (*Marine Records, Miscellaneous*, vol. iv, no. 22) is dated May 1, 1650.

Besides ships and factors, it was necessary to furnish both Surat and Bantam with new Presidents. In the middle of February Aaron Baker was asked to undertake once again this responsibility at Bantam. He pleaded for a respite, pointing out that for seventeen years he had only spent one twelvemonth in England; but on the Company persisting he gave way, merely stipulating that he should be allowed to take with him his wife and some women servants. Captain Jeremy Blackman, who had been nominated at the same time to fill the next vacancy in the post of President at Surat, made a like demand, and the Committees agreed to permit this in both cases,

¹ These two were afterwards taken over by the Fourth Joint Stock upon its purchase of the remains of the Second General Voyage.

² It will be seen from p. 38 that the Commonwealth officials prevented this ship from sailing until the Company's arms had been substituted for those of the late king.

though it was entirely a new departure. Blackman, however, declined on reconsideration to accept the appointment for the present.

The Committees also tackled boldly the question of private trade, which had been a bone of contention between the Company and its servants from the very commencement of its operations. Recognizing that it was useless to attempt the suppression of this illicit traffic, especially now that freighted ships were being used in place of the Company's own vessels, the Committees decided to schedule the commodities which they desired to monopolize, and to give leave to the factors and seamen to bring home a moderate quantity of other classes of goods. Later in the year (September 16) elaborate rules were laid down on this subject. The practical results, however, seem to have been small. Everyone who had the opportunity of taking part in a trade yielding such high profits was naturally eager to invest his own stock of money to the best advantage; and no engagements or formal prohibitions sufficed to prevent broadcloth, quicksilver, and coral being taken out, and calicoes, indigo, pepper, and silk being brought home. Only the rigorous confiscation of all such goods could avail to stop this clandestine traffic, and that course was out of the question now that the Company's charter had lost its validity. Moreover, stern measures of the kind would naturally lead to the surreptitious embarking or landing of goods in the Downs or elsewhere, and already there was too much of this. In most cases, therefore, the Committees, while doing their utmost to prevent the exportation of competing merchandise, contented themselves, in the case of the goods brought home with delaying their delivery, and exacting the payment of a heavy freight, though often, when settling accounts with a returned factor, they took the opportunity to mark their disapproval by imposing a smart fine for private trading.

Early in May the *Endymion* and *Blessing* returned from Bantam with cargoes of pepper on account of the Fourth Joint Stock; and thereupon it was resolved to distribute the bulk of the pepper among the shareholders, each to take to the value of 50 per cent. of his holding and to pay for it at a fixed rate.

It had been part of the scheme of the Assada Adventurers to settle a colony on the island of Pulo Run, in the Bandas, which, though recognized as British by the Anglo-Dutch Accord of 1623,

had ever since been left at the mercy of the Hollanders, who had systematically destroyed the nutmeg-trees in order to discourage its reoccupation by their rivals; and one of the articles of the agreement between those adventurers and the Company had stipulated that the island, when restored to England, should be made over to the new stock. It was also contemplated to revive the claim for damages sustained from the Dutch in past years, and to enlist the aid of the Commonwealth government to this end. The government, however, had other occupations, and nothing was done for some time. Meanwhile on June 21, 1650, we hear of revived hopes of recovering some compensation from the Dutch through the agency of certain private individuals, and early in the following month the adventurers in the now defunct Third Joint Stock were called together to deliberate upon the business, they being considered to be principally interested, inasmuch as the claims upon the Dutch had not formed part of the assets transferred to the Fourth Joint Stock on its formation. A committee of four was appointed to pursue the matter, all present being pledged to secrecy. These negotiations produced no result, and the Company thereupon petitioned Parliament, alleging that the Dutch had during the past twenty years inflicted a loss on them of two millions sterling, and craving redress. On November 14 the petition was referred to the consideration of the Council of State. Nothing more is heard until May, 1651, when the Company presented a fresh memorial, praying that the ambassadors sent to Holland should be instructed to demand satisfaction for the said losses.¹

At a General Court of Election held at the beginning of July, 1650, the question arose whether the election should be made by the shareholders in the United Joint Stock or by those of the Fourth Joint Stock. The Assada Adventurers had been resolute in their opposition to the old form of government, and had proposed instead a committee of fifteen members of the stock, with a president

¹ From a letter written by Princess Mary of Orange in March, 1651 (*Report of the Historical MSS. Commission on the Heathcote MSS.*, 1899, p. 4), it appears that the expected proceeds of the royal—as distinct from the Company's—claims against the Dutch (see the 1635-39 volume, p. 303) had been assigned by Charles I to the Prince of Orange in part satisfaction of the Princess's dowry, and that later on, with the Prince's assent, an attempt had been made (but in vain) to raise money upon them to relieve the necessities of Charles II.

chosen from among these, either monthly or by rotation ; with the result that, in the agreement, the mode of government for the new stock had been left to be determined subsequently by the vote of the adventurers. It was now decided to 'appoint two sets of Committees, one for each body ; and accordingly the United Joint Stock chose thirteen of its members, including Cokayne, Methwold, Massingberd, and Maurice Thomson, while the Fourth Joint Stock re-elected Cokayne as Governor, Methwold as Deputy, Massingberd as Treasurer, and added five new Committees to the existing nineteen.

The Committees of the United Joint Stock set vigorously to work to make plans for the next season's shipping ; and on July 19 they provisionally decided to freight three ships for dispatch to Surat, Bantam, and Madras respectively. Two months later the *Eagle* was engaged for a voyage to Surat ; and subsequently a frigate named the *Welcome* was hired for one to Assada and Madras, while the *Anne* was re-engaged for a voyage to Bantam. A private vessel, the *Recovery*, was licensed to proceed to Assada, carrying out certain settlers at the Company's expense, with permission for the vessel to proceed afterwards to 'the eastwards' (p. 78).

Early in August, 1650, five ships arrived, viz. the *Eagle* from Surat, and the *Ruth*, *Greyhound*, *Farewell* and *Anne* from Bantam. Thereupon a division of 25 per cent. in pepper was ordered to be made to the adventurers of the Second General Voyage. This was a real dividend, i. e. no payment was to be demanded for the goods. The unfortunate shareholders in the Fourth Joint Stock, on the other hand, were told that each must take, and pay for, another lot of pepper to the value of 50 per cent. of his holding, in order to defray the indebtedness of the stock. A week later, however, this decision was suspended, in order to see what the Dutch intended to do with the large quantity of pepper they had lately received. In the end the pepper seems to have been sold instead. At the beginning of October a further dividend of $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in money was ordered to be made to the adventurers in the Second General Voyage.

Meanwhile the estate in the Indies belonging to the Second General Voyage had, according to orders, been made over to the Fourth Joint Stock, and intimation had been received that the latter was in consequence indebted to the former to the extent of about

43,000*l.*, for which sum bills were drawn from Bantam on the Joint Stock in favour of the Voyage. Later on in the year (December 11) the Committees for the Fourth Joint Stock agreed to purchase also the remainder of the calicoes which the Voyage had in hand in London. The latter was thus able to declare a further dividend of 25 per cent. in money early in 1651. Another division, this time of 15 per cent., was ordered on August 6 of that year, one of 12½ in January, 1652, and a final dividend of 8½ per cent. on January 28, 1653. This gave in all a return of 173*l.* 10*s.* for every 100*l.* invested.

On November 8, 1650, Captain Blackman was engaged to proceed to Surat as President. He was permitted to take his wife and two sons, with the necessary servants, while, as a further concession, his salary of 300*l.* was to commence at his departure from England and to continue until his arrival home, instead of beginning and ending in India, as was the Company's rule. Further, it was resolved to send the *Blessing* to Surat as well as the *Eagle*, both vessels going of course on the account of the United Joint Stock. These ships sailed on April 1, 1651, accompanied by the *Anne* for Bantam.

During his voyage out to Surat, Blackman, in obedience to his instructions, called at the island of Assada, but only to find that the disheartened settlers had abandoned the plantation twelve months before his arrival. Of the proceedings of the earliest body of colonists, sent out in the *Assada Merchant* early in 1649, under the care of Colonel Robert Hunt¹ as Governor, we know very little; but they appear to have established themselves in the first instance, not upon Assada itself, but upon a smaller island in the neighbourhood, which they called Goats Island. Here Hunt and a number of others died; and the survivors, growing desperate, embarked in the *Assada Merchant* and went to the mainland of Madagascar, where the master, the purser, and nine others were enticed ashore and murdered. The rest put to sea, and greatly to their joy espied an English vessel riding near Assada (June 29, 1650). This proved to be the *Bonito*, which, with her consort the *Lioness*, had brought

¹ Among the Thomason Tracts at the British Museum is (E 778) an eight-page pamphlet by Hunt upon the proposed settlement. It gives a glowing account of the island, but is clearly based on hearsay evidence only. The writer more than once compares Assada with Barbadoes, the successful colonization of which was probably a main inducement to many to join in the new venture.

out a fresh body of settlers from England. It was now decided to attempt a plantation upon Assada, a spot being chosen for the purpose at the southern end of the island. The colonists and their stores were landed, with provisions for six months, and Sergeant-Major Hartley was placed in charge; after which the two ships resumed their voyage, leaving behind the *Assada Merchant* and a pinnace for the use of the settlers. The decision to make this further attempt had not been unanimous, and it had been generally agreed that, unless further aid came from England by the end of August, the enterprise should be abandoned. A brief experience soon confirmed the unfavourable impressions already formed. The natives, as was natural, maintained a hostile attitude towards the intruders and cut off any who ventured to straggle into the woods; whilst others of the settlers, ignorant or careless of the precautions necessary in a tropical climate, fell victims to 'the contagion of the place'. So, without waiting for the appointed date, the remainder on August 20, 1650, embarked in their two small vessels and made for Surat, where they arrived on October 5. Most of them were persuaded to enter the service of the Company as seamen, and the rest were sent home.

Meanwhile the *Supply*, with about forty more would-be colonists, had arrived off Assada early in October, 1650, but, failing to find any trace of a settlement, proceeded to the mainland, in the hope of obtaining information from the natives there. The latter proving hostile, a return was made to Assala, the coast of which was again searched in vain for any signs of the colony, and it was then resolved to make for the Comoros to obtain provisions. There the captain was told that the Assada plantation had been abandoned, and that the survivors had gone to 'Martaledge', on the coast of Madagascar, intending afterwards to make for Mozambique. The *Supply* accordingly followed, hoping to transfer her passengers to the *Assada Merchant*; but naturally nothing was to be heard of the latter at 'Martaledge', and after a vain struggle against adverse winds to get to Mozambique, the voyage to Bantam was resumed.

Blackman reached St. Augustine's Bay with the *Eagle* and *Blessing* in the middle of July, 1651. There he learnt the failure of the colony from a letter left by the *Assada Merchant*, which had been specially sent from Surat for that purpose; while another letter

informed him that the *Welcome* had arrived at St. Augustine's in May (some time before the visit of the *Assada Merchant*) and, ignorant of the fate of the plantation, had proceeded to Assada to land the settlers she had brought. Her consort, the *Recovery*, had lost company at sea, but was expected to meet her at that island. Anxious as to the fate of these two vessels and their predecessor the *Supply*, and being moreover desirous of avoiding a breach of contract with the planters on board the *Blessing*, Blackman determined to proceed to Assada with his two ships. The island was reached early in August, and a visit was paid to the Governor, who stoutly denied any knowledge of an English plantation and refused to permit trade without the sanction of his master, 'the King of Assada', whose residence was on the mainland. There being no sign of the vessels of which he was in search, Blackman resumed his voyage and late in September anchored at Swally, where he found the *Recovery* just arrived with her disappointed passengers, most of whom, like their predecessors, joined the Company's service. The *Welcome* meanwhile had made her way to Fort St. George, which she reached in July, 1651; and there she landed the settlers she had on board. Both ships seem to have touched at Assada on their way, but of course found the settlement deserted. Blackman himself was evidently much impressed by the fertility of the island and regretted its somewhat hasty abandonment; but he admitted that it would be necessary to send out six or eight hundred men to secure the settlement against the hostility of the natives, and that this would entail an expenditure which was out of the question. Thus ended an experiment which had been begun with such high hopes, only to result in utter failure.

In June, 1651, the United Joint Stock at last took over from the Fourth Joint Stock the main burden of the administration. Most of the clerical staff were re-engaged by the new body, though others were dismissed, including all the officials at Blackwall Yard, which was about to be sold, if a customer could be found. The earlier stock, however, could not dissolve until it had realized its estate and paid its debts; so on July 2 the adventurers met and re-elected the Governor, Deputy, and Treasurer, and filled up some gaps among the Committees. A fortnight later the shareholders in the United Joint Stock elected fifteen Committees to

manage their affairs, including (as before) the Governor, Deputy, and Treasurer.

In the middle of June, also, the Company were rather disturbed by intelligence imparted in a letter from the well-known traveller, Tavernier (p. 109), that the young King Charles was considering the dispatch of an ambassador to Persia to 'obstruct their trade' (and also obtain money, if possible, from the Shah). Tavernier had been much in Holland about this time, prosecuting certain claims against the Dutch East India Company; and apparently, having picked up this piece of intelligence, he thought it worth his while to communicate it to the English Company, at the same time offering to carry letters for them to India, as he was about to start on a fresh journey overland to that country. It was decided to decline his offer¹; but instructions were at once dispatched to Surat that, should any such ambassador arrive there, he was at once to be seized and sent home. The embassy did not, in fact, take place until 1653, when Viscount Bellomont was dispatched by way of Smyrna to Persia and India, and took with him from Venice as an attendant Niccolao Manucci, whose well-known narrative is our chief authority for the proceedings of the ambassador. The mission to the Shah proved an utter failure, and Bellomont then proceeded to India in the hope of succeeding better with the Great Mogul; but he died at Hodal in June, 1656, before anything had been effected.

In July, 1651, the *Love*, the *Lioness*, and the *East India Merchant* are mentioned as having returned from the East, while subsequent references show that the *William* and the *Golden Fleece* arrived at the same time. The large stock of pepper thus brought into the Company's warehouses enabled the Fourth Joint Stock in October to offer each shareholder the opportunity of taking out pepper at a shilling per pound to the full extent of his subscription; while a certain Richard Clutterbuck promised to purchase all that should be left.

By this time events were moving rapidly towards a war with Holland. After a fierce struggle the Commonwealth had, by the

¹ Apparently this decision was reconsidered, for a letter from the Gombroon factors (O.C. 2270) records the arrival of Tavernier at that place in April, 1652, bringing a letter from the Company addressed to the President and Council at Surat.

sword of Cromwell, beaten down all opposition in the British Islands; and it had now time to look to foreign affairs and to assert its position in the face of a hostile Europe. Thanks to Blake, Prince Rupert's marauding fleet had been dispersed, Portugal had been humbled, and Spain had been induced to recognize the new republic; while the reduction of the royalist garrisons in the Channel Islands and Scilly and the organization of regular convoys had made the main trade routes moderately safe for merchant vessels. France, which had warmly welcomed the exiled royal family and had permitted her subjects to prey unchecked on British shipping, was punished by the issue of letters of marque to privateers, which retaliated with great effect upon the commerce of the French. In Holland, where, owing to the popularity of the Princess of Orange, daughter of the late King Charles, much sympathy was shown for the royalist cause, there was a general feeling against the new English government. The mission of St. John and Strickland, who had been sent to the Hague in the spring of 1651, to treat for an alliance between the two republics, proved an utter failure; while the annoyance caused by the breakdown of the negotiations was accentuated by the ill-treatment the ambassadors had received at the hands of some Royalists at the Hague itself. There seemed to be no further reason why England should study Dutch commercial interests in any way, and the pressure of mercantile opinion, which was now far more powerful in a Parliament closely in touch with the leading merchants than in the times of the monarchy, led to the passing, on October 9, 1651, of the celebrated Navigation Act, which was chiefly aimed at the enormous carrying trade of the Dutch. By its provisions no goods of Asiatic, African, or American origin could be introduced into any part of the British dominions, except in vessels owned by Englishmen or English colonists, and manned by crews of which a majority were of English nationality; while goods of European origin could only be imported either in English ships or in the ships of the countries actually producing the articles. Moreover, salt-fish could only be imported or exported in English vessels—a proviso specially prejudicial to the interests of the Dutch fishermen.¹

¹ *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum*, vol. ii, p. 559. On the whole subject of

Alarmed at the probable consequences of this measure, the States-General in December, 1651, dispatched three ambassadors to London. Their arrival induced the East India Company once again to bring forward their claims against the Dutch for losses received in the East. In the previous September they had invoked the aid of Cromwell in the matter; but the great man had replied rather roughly that 'hee had soe much busines for the publick as hee neither could nor would meddle with any private busines'. Now a petition was presented to the Council of State, and by them referred to the Committee for Trade and Foreign Affairs, who were furnished with a detailed account of the Company's grievances. The Dutch ambassadors, however, were more troubled over the loss resulting to their fellow countrymen from the operations of the English privateers holding letters of reprisal against the French. These were held to cover the seizure of Dutch vessels supposed to have French goods on board; and although the vessels themselves were always released, the insecurity thus created threatened the annihilation of the carrying trade in such goods. For these proceedings the ambassadors could obtain no redress; and the States-General began to make preparations for strengthening the Dutch navy with a view to eventualities. In April, 1652, the ambassadors were informed that the English government were determined to carry out the Navigation Act, to maintain their claim to the North Sea fisheries, and to require an indemnity for the losses suffered in the East Indies and elsewhere, and although a more conciliatory attitude was adopted during the next few weeks, the two navies came into collision in the middle of May over the old question of the striking of foreign flags in British waters, and war broke out at the end of June.

The Company's fleet for 1652 consisted of the *Smyrna Merchant*, bound for Surat, the *East India Merchant* and *Roebuck* for Bantam, and the *Love* for the Coromandel Coast. The *Roebuck* lost sight of England on the first day of the year, the rest sailed later. Although on March 10 the shipping of the treasure was ordered to be postponed, 'in regard of some disturbances which is feared might happen by the Hollanders', they all got safely away from the English coast in March. So confident were the Committees that

Dutch and English relations at this period see Dr Gardiner's *History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate*.

the differences with the Dutch would be 'fairly composed' that in April they rejected a proposal to insure the shipping expected from the East, notwithstanding the fact that the United Joint Stock then owed 34,000*l.* more than it had means in England to pay. On June 18, however, when war seemed unavoidable, a policy of insurance for 40,000*l.* was ordered to be drawn up, while letters of warning were sent out to the settlements in the East; and three days later a petition was presented to the Council of State, begging for the assistance of some men-of-war for convoying the expected ships through the Channel. The Council thereupon sent orders to Plymouth to dispatch two small vessels to cruise off the Land's End, to warn all incoming ships of their danger from the Dutch and advise them to seek shelter until convoys could be arranged; and a little later the Company supplemented this by arranging for the dispatch of other vessels on a similar errand. Towards the end of July the Council of State called upon the Company to set out some vessels against the Dutch; but reply was made that until ships arrived from the East the Committees were totally unable, from want of means, to do anything of the kind.

The Fourth Joint Stock was still the figurehead of the Company, and even the borrowings of the United Joint Stock were made in the name of the older body. On July 2, 1652, therefore, the members of the latter were called together, to elect a Governor, Deputy, Treasurer and Committees, in accordance with the charter. Cokayne, Methwold, and Massingberd were re-appointed to the first three posts, and six new Committees were nominated. At the same time, as the amount of business was likely to be small, it was intimated that every one would be expected to serve without remuneration. A month later the adventurers in the United Joint Stock re-elected thirteen members of the old Committee, and added two fresh ones to fill the vacancies.

In August news was received that the *Eagle* and *Aleppo Merchant*¹ were safe in Plymouth Harbour; and a few weeks later they arrived in the Thames, together with the *Anne* and the *Welcome*.

¹ Her commander, John Millet, is commemorated by a tablet in the south aisle of St. Bartholomew the Great, Smithfield. On this it is stated that:

The Turkey and the Indian trade
Advantage by his dangers made.

In the *Eagle* Thomas Merry returned, having handed over the post of President at Surat to Captain Blackman in the preceding January. Merry seems to have been ambitious of civic honours, for in December, 1652, he was elected Alderman of Portsoken Ward; but three months later he obtained his discharge, on a fine of 500*l.* (information from the Rev. A. B. Beaven). He appears to have afterwards settled at Friern Barnet; but he did not long survive his return from India, for he died sometime in January, 1655.

On November 17, 1652, the news that an interloping ship, the *Dove*, was being prepared for dispatch to India induced the Company to petition the Council of State to forbid the voyage. In reply they were advised to come to some settlement with the owners of the vessel; and consequently it was agreed that the Company should take over the venture and freight the ship for Surat. With her, on March 14, 1653, went the *Welcome*, bound for the same port. It had been intended that the *Eagle* should also be sent to the East; but the Commonwealth fleet needed every sailor that could be found and the press-gangs were particularly active. The result was that, although a protection order was obtained on April 8 for the men already on board—the plea being that the vessel was being dispatched to fetch saltpetre for the State—it was found impossible to procure the additional fifty needed. A petition was presented to the Council of State, asking that these should be supplied from the fleet; but the request was naturally refused, and thereupon it was resolved to postpone the dispatch of the ship until the autumn. In the meantime she was hired by the Admiralty and took her share of knocks and losses, with the result that in February, 1654, her owners declared that it would cost 1,000*l.* to make good the damages (*Cal. Dom. S. P.*, 1653-54, p. 581).

On March 2, 1653, there is an ominous mention in the Minutes that Methwold, the Deputy Governor, 'lyeth very weake', and on the 9th he is referred to as 'deceased'. From other sources we learn that he died on March 5 at his residence, Hale House¹,

¹ Afterwards known as Cromwell House, from a tradition (apparently baseless) that the Protector resided in it for a time. It stood on the north side of the present Cromwell Road, but was demolished about 1890. Some almshouses founded by Methwold in the same neighbourhood were removed in 1865, on the construction of the Underground Railway.

Brompton, and was buried five days later in Kensington Church. The loss to the Company was severe. During his twenty-three years in India, Methwold had proved himself one of the ablest of its servants, and his agreement with the Portuguese Viceroy in 1635 is a landmark in the early history of the British in that country; while since his return his sagacity and strength of character had been of the greatest value in very difficult circumstances.

Methwold's place as Deputy-Governor was filled on July 6 by the election of Alderman Andrew Riccard; and at the same meeting Cokayne was, in spite of his entreaties, again elected Governor and Massingberd Treasurer. On the same day a general court of the adventurers in the Third Joint Stock was held, at which a strong committee was appointed to follow up the attempt to obtain satisfaction from the Hollanders for the losses sustained by the Company. The members of the committee were to pay all expenses, on promise of being refunded double the amount, if successful, besides a commission on whatever should be recovered. The war was going steadily in favour of England, and there seemed to be a good prospect of the Dutch being forced to submit to the demands that had been made upon them; but the immediate cause of the appointment of the committee was doubtless the arrival in England of four Dutch commissioners, who had come over to learn on what terms peace could be procured. These informal negotiations continued all the rest of the year; and it was in the course of them that the astounding suggestion was made to the commissioners—with, it is said, Cromwell's approval—that, in return for a free hand in America (Brazil excepted) the English should abandon all Asia to the Dutch, who were to compensate the East India Company for its loss of the trade (*Gardiner's History*, vol. iii, p. 49).

Meanwhile, in the East the Company was suffering severe losses at the hands of the Dutch. The latter could not attack the English factories, for fear of offending the monarchs in whose dominions these were situated; but they diligently searched the high seas and captured English vessels wherever they could find them. In the middle of February, 1653, the *Roebuck* and *Lanneret*, on their way from Gombroon to Surat, encountered three Dutch

ships and were taken after a slight resistance. A little later the *Blessing* shared the same fate, while the *Supply* was driven ashore, where she yielded on composition. On July 11 the pinnace *Dove*, returning from Macassar to Bantam, fell into the hands of the Hollanders. At the beginning of the next year the *Endeavour*, which had taken refuge under the guns of the Persian castle at Ormus, was rescued by the *Falcon*, *Welcome*, and *Dove* (not the vessel just mentioned), which had been sent from Surat for that purpose. On their way back, however, they were attacked off Lāribandar by five Dutch ships, with the result that the *Falcon* was captured and the *Endeavour* was sunk. The other two made good their escape. A lively description of the fight is given by Tavernier, who was on board one of the Dutch vessels (Ball's edition, vol. i, p. 312).

Early in July, 1653, news came that the *Smyrna Merchant* from Surat had reached Falmouth in safety, though not without a brush off the Lizard with two Dutch privateers; and a month later she was brought into the Thames. As a result a first division of 10s. per cent. in money to the members of the United Joint Stock was ordered on September 21. Two more ships returning from the East—the *East India Merchant* and the *Love*—got safely into Plymouth at the end of July and August respectively; and after some delay they also were brought round to the Thames under convoy.

On August 5 the United Joint Stock reappointed its committee of management. A resolution passed in February, 1650, to the effect that no more shipping should be sent out after Midsummer, 1653, was next considered. It was pointed out that, as the Fourth Joint Stock was merely waiting to realize its estate and wind up, the United Joint Stock was in effect the East India Company and the duty of continuing the trade devolved upon its shareholders. A question was raised, however, as to the exact financial position of the venture; and as this could not be accurately known until the cargoes just received were examined, the consideration of the matter was postponed.

A little later it was decided to open a subscription to fit out privateers against the Dutch in the East, and for this purpose the Council of State was asked to lend five or six frigates. As nothing

more is heard of the matter, it may be concluded that the project proved a failure.

In September, 1653, letters were sent to Persia, directing that, as the sea route was now so dangerous, owing to the war, a quantity of raw silk should be purchased and sent overland to Aleppo and Smyrna, whence it was to be forwarded in the Levant Company's ships (pp. 287, 302); nothing, however, came of this.

The death of John Massingberd in November, 1653, left the post of Treasurer vacant. The Committees of the Fourth Joint Stock decided that it was unnecessary to appoint a successor, 'because this stocke hath noe more trade', and resolved to leave the duties in the hands of a cashier, under the superintendence of some of the Committees of the United Joint Stock. The latter Stock on its part appointed a committee of three, including the Deputy Governor, to supervise the Treasury, the work of which was to be done by the cashier, Michael Dunckin, with the aid of a clerk. Thus the post of Treasurer was put into commission.

A division of 25 per cent. in pepper to the adventurers in the United Joint Stock was decided upon at a meeting held on December 9, 1653. It was also resolved to divide the cardamoms and benzoin as far as they would go, but the value of this dividend is not stated. On March 8, 1654, a further dividend of 16½ per cent.—this time in money—was ordered to be made. Of a division on the Fourth Joint Stock there was as yet no prospect, and in fact none had been made by the end of 1654. As a result the shares were fetching only 20 (p. 285) or 30 (p. 354) per cent. of their nominal value.

The only ship sent to India by the Company for this season was the *Eagle*, with a stock of about 6,000*l*. This seems to have been due, partly to the fact that the adventurers had not yet definitely sanctioned the extension of the limit fixed for the operations of the United Joint Stock, and partly to fear of the Dutch. This partial abandonment of the trade emboldened certain private individuals to send a small vessel, the *Alum*, on their own account to Balasore. Maurice Thomson proposed to dispatch another to the Coast, though this intention was afterwards abandoned, and the Company (February 10) decided to send one thither itself. The *Katherinc* was accordingly freighted for this purpose; but the

owners raised many difficulties as to her proceeding on the voyage, and it was not until May 16, 1654, that these were got over and the vessel sailed.

In April, 1654, the hostilities with Holland were terminated by the signature of a treaty of peace. Each State agreed to expel the enemies or rebels of the other—a clause aimed chiefly at the Royalists who were intriguing against the Commonwealth from the shelter of Dutch cities. The Dutch admitted the English claim to a salute to the flag in British waters, and undertook to do justice on those responsible for the Amboyna tragedy. The English and Dutch claims for compensation for losses suffered in the Eastern seas and elsewhere previous to the outbreak of the war were referred to arbitrators selected by the two nations, with a proviso that, if these failed to agree within three months, the decision was to be left to the Protestant Cantons of Switzerland.¹

The Company lost no time in seeking directions from Cromwell (now the Lord Protector) as to the course to be taken regarding the choice of arbitrators on the English side; and on May 11 four names were submitted to and approved by His Highness, two of them being merchants (William Thompson and Thomas Kendall) and two lawyers (Dr. John Exton² and William Turner). Soon after, the four Dutch commissioners arrived in London and the negotiations were commenced. The English Company presented a claim demanding the restitution of the islands of Pulo Run and Lantore, in the Bandas, besides damages amounting to 2,695,990*l* 15*s.*, to say nothing of interest which, it was hinted, would largely increase the liability. As a further move, a claim was preferred to the Cape of Good Hope, at which the Dutch had recently established a settlement; and satisfaction was also asked for the capture of the four ships in the Persian Gulf, though admittedly this claim was barred by the terms of the treaty. With regard to the details of the statement, it may be remarked that a large proportion of the sum claimed was for losses alleged to have been sustained by the

¹ The original treaty is now in the Public Record Office (*S.P.F. Treaties*, 300), having been purchased from a private collection in 1766. The text is printed (in Latin) in Dumont's *Corps Universel Diplomatique* (vol. vi, part II, p. 74), while an English version will be found at p. 67 of vol. III of a *Collection of Treaties* published in 1732 (British Museum, 594 b. 7).

² Judge of the Court of Admiralty.

non-surrender of the two islands, of which Pulo Run undoubtedly belonged to the English, though they had made no serious attempt to take it over, while to Lantore their pretensions were more doubtful. Of the other items, 450,000*l.* was demanded as the English share of the Dutch profits in the other spice islands, and to this it was no doubt answered that the claim was made under a treaty which the English themselves had failed to carry out: 600,000*l.* was set down as damages caused to English trade by the Dutch making war on the King of Bantam—which they had surely a right to do without considering the interests of neutral parties: while the claims of 120,000*l.* on account of the non-payment by the Hollanders of customs at Gombroon, and of 77,200*l.* for money alleged to have been lost through the Dutch protecting certain junks at Surat in 1624, were equally flimsy. The Dutch, not to be outdone, produced claims amounting to 2,919,861*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.*, most of which had quite as slight a foundation.¹ The cost of the blockade of Bantam and the consequent loss of trade accounted for half of the amount claimed, while the bulk of the rest was for expenses alleged to have been incurred owing to the non-fulfilment by the English of their obligations under the Treaty of Defence. In their award, which was made on August 30, 1654, the Commissioners wisely abstained from giving any reasons for their decision, though they were probably influenced by the fact that some years previously the English had been willing to accept 700,000 guilders in settlement of their claims, while the Dutch were prepared to waive their own demands and pay 500,000 guilders.² The Dutch Company was now ordered to pay to its English rival in full satisfaction the sum of 85,000*l.* in two equal instalments by the end of January and March, 1655, respectively, and 3,615*l.* to the representatives of those who had suffered at Amboyna: Pulo Run was to be restored to the English in its present condition, after the Dutch had removed their own stores, etc.: and no claim was to be made in future upon the Dutch for customs at Gombroon. Both sides seem to have been satisfied with the result: the English because

¹ They are set out in full in the Commissioners' award see Dumont, *ut supra*, p. 88, and *Collection of Treaties*, vol. iii, p. 119.

² See the 1640-43 volume, p. xviii. On pp. 198, 203 of the present volume the sum which the English Company agreed to accept in 1640 is given as 80,000*l.*

they had obtained substantial compensation after having despaired of recovering anything: the Dutch because a troublesome dispute had at last been settled (Thurloe's *State Papers*, vol. ii, p. 592).

In the meantime, on May 10, 1654, a general meeting had been held to consider the best means of carrying on the trade. Considerable diversity of opinion was manifested, some favouring the formation of another Joint Stock, while others advocated the organization of the trade on the lines of the Turkey Company, in which the members traded separately under the general supervision of the directorate and its officials. In the end, a large committee was appointed to consider the matter. At the same time sanction was given to the dispatch of the *East India Merchant* to Bantam, mainly to fetch home the goods awaiting shipment there. An entry under June 2 seems to show that Maurice Thomson was then concerned in sending out a vessel named the *Jonathan* to Bantam independently of the Company.

In the middle of June the Company lost its Secretary, Richard Swinglehurst, who had held the post since Christmas, 1641. Both Stocks refused to appoint a successor for the present; but John Stanyan, who had been employed by Swinglehurst as his assistant, was taken into the Company's service and directed to discharge the current duties of the office. Three months later, the death of Valentine Markham left the post of Auditor vacant; whereupon John Pauls, Markham's son-in-law, was appointed.

Another general court was held on June 8, when it was announced that the committee appointed to consider the question had come to the conclusion that the trade could best be carried on by the formation of a new Joint Stock; and in this opinion the members present concurred. A petition was accordingly presented to Cromwell towards the end of August, praying him to confirm the Company's charter and to forbid the dispatch of interloping vessels; and another to the same effect was submitted in the following October. Evidently, however, there was an influential section, headed by Maurice Thomson, that advocated a total change of system; and these found powerful support outside. During the rest of the year we find the two parties arguing the matter between them and laying their schemes before the Protector and his Council. Cokayne and his adherents wished to

follow the practice, which had existed since the foundation of the Company, of trading as a Joint Stock and leaving the management of everything to a central body in London and its servants in the East. The Thomson party, on the other hand, contended that this system had proved a failure and that the time had come for allowing each member of the Company to trade for himself, employing his own ships and factors, the functions of the Company being confined to an impartial supervision of its members and of the necessary officials in the East. Both parties laid their contentions before the Protector in Council and the pros and cons were diligently argued. It was the old controversy as to the relative advantages of the joint stock and the 'regulated' systems of foreign trade, and the arguments ran mostly on familiar lines. It may be noted, however, that both sides assumed that in future more support and protection might be expected from the Government. One document submitted on behalf of the advocates of a joint trade (p. 335) proposed that in future the Company's Presidents should be 'qualified with the authoritye and style of a publicke person and reside in those parts as an Agent from His Highness on behalfe of the nation', while Thomson's proposals included the acquisition of 'a nationall interest in some towne in India, to make the scale of trade for those parts'. Another paper (p. 337) on the same side is remarkable for suggesting that the trade might be farmed out by the State in return for a payment of 200,000*l* a year. In these proposals we see the influence of the Protector's vigorous foreign policy, and the hopes it inspired in the breasts of English merchants. Cromwell himself, it seems, viewed with favour the proposed acquisition of 'a nationall interest' in India, for the suggestion was made that for this purpose the cession of Bassein and Bombay, on the coast of India, and Mozambique, on the coast of Africa, might be obtained from the Portuguese. Current rumour certainly ascribed to the Protector a leaning towards the views of Thomson and his associates, for a letter in Thurloe's *State Papers* (vol. iii, p. 80) dated early in January, 1655, declares that the merchants of Amsterdam were greatly disturbed by news from London that it was Cromwell's intention to dissolve the present East India Company and declare the trade free and open. The Protector, however, was much too busy at this time to make up his mind on

such a momentous question. After long vacillation between an alliance with France or Spain, he had at last decided to attack the latter power; and in December Penn and Venables sailed with a strong fleet for the West Indies. At home he was confronted with a host of difficulties. A new Parliament had met in September, but had soon shown a disposition to question his authority and to object to his control of the army, the strength of which it also sought to reduce; and meanwhile Royalist intrigues and plots continued incessantly. Small wonder, therefore, that the Protector left alone the question of trade with the East Indies, while he grappled with the more urgent problems that beset him.

Meanwhile the trade lay practically open, for the resolution passed in January, 1650, by the now discredited Long Parliament was no longer a deterrent. Both the Fourth Joint Stock and the United Joint Stock were practically at the end of their resources; while there was no prospect of any fresh Stock being started until the Protector should come to a decision. Some private adventurers thereupon determined to send out ships on their own account and, as they mostly professed an intention of bringing back saltpetre for the use of the State, they had no difficulty in obtaining permission to ship out foreign silver. In a memorial presented by Thomson on December 5 mention is made of no less than fourteen vessels having been prepared for dispatch to the East by himself and his associates.

The uncertainty of the situation did not prevent the United Joint Stock from attempting to make what they could out of it. Towards the end of September the Committees resolved to dispatch a vessel to the Coromandel Coast under a couple of supercargoes, who were to buy piece-goods there, carry them to Macassar for sale, and lade cloves at that port for the return voyage. The *Three Brothers* was freighted for the purpose and placed under the charge of William Curtis and John Chambers. Further, in December it was decided to send an expedition to take over Pulo Run from the Dutch and plant and fortify it. By the agreement made in 1649 the island had been recognized as the property of the United Joint Stock, and doubtless the Committees thought that it would be a valuable asset, whatever might be the future of the trade.

Besides the agreement with Holland, a treaty was in 1654 concluded with Portugal.¹ The negotiations had lasted a long time and, although the preliminaries were agreed to in April, 1653, it was not until July 10, 1654, that the Portuguese ambassador affixed his signature. Even then, his sovereign delayed the ratification until May, 1656, when the presence of Blake's fleet in Portuguese waters rendered a favourable decision advisable. By this instrument the right of English merchants to trade freely with the Portuguese possessions in the East was at last formally conceded.

A few miscellaneous topics remain to be noticed. In the first volume of the present series the story was related of the bargain by which in 1640 King Charles, being in urgent need of money for his campaign against the Scots, bought up on credit the Company's stock of pepper and then disposed of it for cash. Bonds for the prompt payment of the instalments of the purchase-money were given by Lord Cottington and the then Farmers of the Customs; but first the necessities of the Exchequer and then the outbreak of the Civil War prevented the finding of the necessary cash; and the only recovery made by the Company during the first few years was a sum of about 13,000*l.*, which they kept back from the customs payable to the royal treasury. This left a debt of over 50,000*l.*—a serious amount for the Company to lose. Yet it was not easy to see how to recover anything, for Lord Cottington's estates had been confiscated and put to other uses²; while the ex-Farmers of the Customs, though they included such wealthy men as Sir Paul Pindar, Sir Nicholas Crispe, Sir Job Harby, Sir John Jacob, and Sir John Nulls, were practically bankrupt, unless they could induce Parliament to accept liability for the large sums they had laid out in the service of the King. In 1649, as we have seen, a sum of 4,000*l.* was extracted from Lord Dirletoun, another of the securities; but this was all that had been yet recovered. Nothing practical was effected in 1650 and 1651, apparently because the negotiations

¹ Dumont, *ut supra*, p. 82; *Collection of Treaties*, vol. III, p. 97.

² An ordinance of October 8, 1645, included them among other estates on which a charge of 6,000*l.* annually was leviable towards the payment of an allowance of 8,000*l.* to the Prince Elector (*Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum*, vol. I, p. 784); while in 1649 the 2,000*l.* a year settled by Parliament on John Bradshaw, President of the Council of State, was also charged upon Cottington's estates (*Calendar of Committee for Compounding*, part I, p. 146).

between the Government and the ex-Farmers were still unconcluded. On April 7, 1652, the latter assured the Company that they were in hopes of obtaining an order for the sale of three forests belonging to the late King, in order to discharge their liabilities; whereupon the matter was once more allowed to stand over. At the beginning of September, as nothing had been effected in this business, orders were given to take legal action against two of the guarantors and the widow of a third, also to threaten Harby and Nulls with bankruptcy proceedings. This brought fresh assurances that progress was really being made towards a settlement of the debt due to the ex-Farmers from the Government, and so the bankruptcy proceedings were stayed.

On December 8 a new proposal was made. Sir Nicholas Crispe and his colleagues were endeavouring to procure an Act of Parliament whereby certain of the late King's lands were to be made over to them at a cheap rate, provided they could furnish the Government with a large cash advance as well, equivalent to the amount of the debt to be discharged.¹ It was suggested, therefore, that the Company should undertake to pay a sum equal to about one-fourth of the debt, on the understanding that they would then receive payment in land for both debt and cash. On these terms the Company agreed to offer 25,000*l.*, stipulating, however, that the matter must be settled by the following Lady Day. The date passed without anything having been effected, and so the Committees gave instructions that the debtors should be 'followed with a statute of bankrupt'. One of them—Sir John Nulls—died on June 29, and three others (Jacob, Harby, and Crispe) on the same day made an offer of 6*s.* 8*d.* in the pound on their several shares of the debt, computing these at 4,000*l.* each, at the same time promising to continue their endeavours to induce the State to assign land enough to enable them to clear off the rest of the debt. This proposal was refused, but in August an agreement was concluded between the ex-Farmers on the one hand and the Company and various creditors on the other, under which, it would seem (pp. 269, 278), the Company's claim was to be settled by the payment of one-third in cash and the transfer of land (when obtained) to the

¹ This method—known as 'doubling'—was much resorted to in Commonwealth finance (see Gardiner's *History*, vol. 1, p. 85, vol. 11, p. 201).

value of the remainder. However, we hear no more till September 28, when Jacob, Harby, and Crispe declared that they had at last obtained the consent of Parliament to the desired bargain regarding the crown lands, whereupon a committee was appointed to co-operate.

The Act for selling the late King's lands passed on November 22. It appointed commissioners to take over certain royal forests, etc., and to survey and sell them as speedily as possible. On the security of the expected proceeds a loan of 400,000*l.* was to be raised for the expenses of the navy; and any person who was already a creditor of the Government and was now willing to contribute towards this loan a further sum of money equal to his existing debt, was to be given a receipt for the full amount of his 'doubled' claim. This receipt could then either be used in payment for any part of the royal lands he had purchased, or be assigned to some other purchaser for the same purpose. The great debt due to the ex-Farmers of the Customs, amounting to 276,146*l.*, was specially mentioned in the Act, and by its provisions they were allowed 'until January 1, 1654, to raise 100,000*l.* of the additional sum payable, another month for the second instalment (of a like amount), and then three months for the balance. Crispe and his colleagues had now a gigantic task before them; but they seem to have been hopeful of raising the money, with the aid of their creditors, who would probably see in this proposal their sole chance of recovering what was due to them. On December 10, 1653, Jacob, Harby, and Crispe attended a general court of the adventurers in the Fourth Joint Stock and urged that the Company should renew its previous offer to advance 25,000*l.* towards the required amount. This request was refused, on the ground that to enter into such an arrangement would postpone the winding-up of the Stock; and moreover, they were frankly told that the Company knew not where or how to raise so large a sum. It was agreed, however, that the debt should be split up among the several adventurers, who could then do what they thought fit about 'doubling' their shares. Any who decided to do so might leave their money with three of the Committees, who would retain it until the first payment was due. However, the ex-Farmers failed to obtain the necessary 100,000*l.* for this purpose, and so the money was returned

to the subscribers. On January 13, 1654, Jacob, Harby, and Crispe petitioned the Council of State to be released from the limitations as to dates of payment and to be allowed the benefits of the Act on such money as they could raise; but the Council passed a resolution that the bargain must be regarded as at an end, and the forest lands were to be discharged from any liability on this account (*Cal. S. P. Dom.*, 1653-54, p. 357). At the same time some annoyance was evidently felt by the Council at the backwardness of the Company, for on January 25 the Committees, learning that 'the State doth resent it as an ill omen that the mony was not paid in which was brought by severall adventurers for doubling about the debt due from the late Farmours of the Customes', resolved to prepare a memorandum for the Secretary of State, showing 'why the adventurers did call for their mony backe againe'. No further progress was made in the matter during the rest of the year.

The sweeping sequestrations of the estates of Royalists had included the property of Lord Craven, the landlord of the Company, and on February 18, 1651, they were ordered to pay no more rent to His Lordship. Thereupon it was resolved to apply for a lease of the house from the State. Negotiations continued for some time, and a promise was received that no rent should be required from the Company until after September 3. In December the Committee of Sequestrations demanded the six months' rent, and this was ordered to be paid; while on January 16, 1652, negotiations were re-opened for granting the Company a lease of the premises from the State. Towards the end of February a preliminary agreement was made for this purpose, the rent to be 140*l.* per annum and the lease to be for seven years; and on March 19 the lease was read and the counterpart was ordered to be sealed. On August 4 the Parliament, in sore straits for money to carry on the Dutch War, ordered the sale of the estates of twenty-six Royalist delinquents, Lord Craven among the number; and thereupon a suggestion was made that the Company should buy its premises with the trust fund of the Poplar Almshouse, the intention being, presumably, that the rent should take the place of the interest allowed on that capital. This proposal, however, was negatived in the interests of the Almshouse, it being thought more profitable to invest the money

in land. The next move (October 8), was to request Methwold and Moyer to purchase the house in their own names and give the Company the refusal of the bargain; this they agreed to do, but for some reason or other the scheme was not carried out. On March 23, 1653, the East India House was sold by the State to Edward Tooke; while on the next day John Pasford bought the little house in Lime Street (at the back of the large one), which was also occupied by the Company. The only notice taken by the latter was to order that the rent should be paid to the new owners.

During the period covered by the present volume the Company leased out its dockyard at Blackwall. It had now become the settled policy of the Company to freight ships instead of building and repairing them, and as far back as April, 1645, it had been proposed to sell the yard, thus ridding the Company of a 'mighty charge'. Its connexion with the property had commenced on January 30, 1621, when William Burrell assigned to three feoffees named by the Company the remainder of a 500 years' lease (dating from 1587) which he held from the Wentworth family, to whom the manor of Stepney belonged. The rent was nominal—only half a crown per annum.¹ In March, 1629, the Company desired to enfranchise the ground, but the Earl of Cleveland, the then representative of the Wentworth family, refused to agree. Towards the end of 1632 the last of the three feoffees died, and in the following May six fresh ones were nominated by the Company and duly admitted, but a lawsuit ensued over the amount of fine leviable, as the Earl demanded 3,000*l*. The case was settled in 1635 (*Court Minutes*, 1635-39, p. 79), the fine being fixed at 500*l*., the six lives changed to one young one (Mr. William Garway), and an agreement made that 'upon any alienation' only three feoffees were to be named. Eight years later, the Earl having become involved in debt, an offer was made to sell to the Company part of the ground and to make the fine certain; but the price asked was thought too high and the matter dropped. In 1650 Lady Frances Weld, to whom the Earl had given a mortgage, was in possession of the Stepney property (*Calendar of Proceedings of the Committee for Compounding*,

¹ These particulars are taken from a privately printed work entitled *The Chronicles of Blackwall Yard*, of which only Part 1 was issued. The Court Minutes for the period are missing.

part iii, p. 2157); and as it was thought that a higher price might be got for the dock and buildings if extra lives were added in the lease, negotiations were opened with her, resulting in four fresh names being inserted, at a cost of 330*l.* (September 17, 1651). The Committees of the Fourth Joint Stock now set to work in earnest to dispose of the dockyard. On November 19, the price was fixed at 6,000*l.*; but this sum could not be obtained, and on December 10 it was resolved to accept an offer of 5,600*l.* from Benjamin Worsley. This individual, however, was in no hurry to complete the bargain, and on March 10, 1652, he offered as an alternative to take the property on a twenty-two years' lease at a rental of 320*l.* and a fine of 600*l.*; failing this, he desired to be released from his agreement, as one who had promised to share with him in the matter was unable to keep his engagement. Hereupon the Company decided to cancel the bargain and look out for another customer. This was found to be a difficult matter, and on September 22 it was resolved to sell the property by auction, if necessary. A little later overtures were received by the Company from the Victuallers of the Navy, who had been allowed to make use of the slaughterhouse, etc., but the offer, which was to lease the premises at 350*l.* per annum, was rejected as insufficient. Finally, on December 3, 1652, the Committees in charge of the business reported that they had let the greater part of the Yard and docks to Henry Johnson, a well-known shipwright, at 200*l.*¹ per annum for 21 years from Christmas, the date of the contract being November 25. The slaughterhouse and other premises were still in the possession of the Navy Victuallers on April 6, 1653, when it was decided to demand from them 125*l.* as half a year's rent. In September the Council of State directed the Admiralty Committee to report whether the dock and yard would be suitable for the navy and, if so, what price would be demanded for them; and on October 21 reference is made to a proposal that the State should hire part of the Yard. Apparently this resulted in some of the storehouses being let to the State at 50*l.* per annum (p. 307).

The volume contains several allusions to the Company's almshouse at Poplar, among them the admission to that charity, in

¹ On p. 307, however, Johnson's rent is stated at 188*l.* Later on (October 4, 1654) he was permitted to sublet certain warehouses.

July, 1651, of George Forbes, 'the onely surviving wittnes' of the Amboyna Massacre. On October 21, 1653, a woman who had lost two husbands in the Company's service was added to the little band of almsmen, but with a proviso that this was to be 'noe president for women for the future'. At the beginning of April, 1652, the inhabitants of the neighbourhood petitioned for assistance towards the building of a chapel close to the Almshouse. The site had already been granted by the Company, together with a quantity of stones for the building, in May, 1642 (*Court Minutes*, 1640-43, pp. 251, 252); and it was now agreed, on condition that a place should be reserved for the almsmen 'to sitt in constantly to heare God's word preached', to contribute 200*l.* out of the Almshouse funds, half to be paid when the walls were up and the rest when the roof was on. The first of these two payments was made in June. On February 4, 1653, a further petition from the inhabitants of Poplar resulted in a donation of 50*l.* from the residuum of the Second General Voyage; and two months later one of the Company's servants, Richard Davidge, requested that 20*l.* should be given to the fund out of the money due to him for arrears of wages. A further sum of 50*l.* out of a fine imposed upon the estate of a deceased servant was, at the suggestion of Maurice Thomson¹, contributed at the end of September. The building seems to have been completed during 1654.

Among minor points of interest may be classed the references to the pay, etc., of the porters employed in the Company's work (pp. 43, 54, 190 258): the demand of the clothdrawers for higher fees (p. 52): the complaint on p. 282 of the slackness of the Customs officials: and the action of Lord Mayor Fowke in resuming the office of City Garbler, which had hitherto been performed by a deputy (p. 207). Fowke's longstanding claims against the Company occupy a considerable space in this volume and were still unsettled at its close. Finally we may note a curious incident which is mentioned in the Minutes for February, 1650. An individual named John Chettwin, who was to go in the *Bonito* to

¹ Thomson took a special interest in the project, and 'at the preaching of the first sermon . . . condescended to go into the clerk's desk and there named and set the first psalm that was sung in this chapel' (Strype's *Stow*, vol. II, appx., p. 102). He was living at this time in Worcester House, on Mile End Green.

Assada as a planter, was found to have 'attributed to himself the name of Jesus Christ' and to have so signed his name to his indenture. The scandalized Committees were inclined to bring the matter to the notice of the Council of State; but after a brief examination, finding him more or less disordered in his intellect, they were content to hand over the offender to the Recorder of London for punishment. What happened in consequence is not mentioned.

As in the case of the previous volumes, the index is the work of Miss Sainsbury, who has also read the proofs of the entire work. It may be well to repeat that, in accordance with the general plan of the series, the names of persons and places are spelt as in the manuscript and no attempt has been made (except in the index) to reduce them to uniformity.

COURT MINUTES, ETC.

OF THE

EAST INDIA COMPANY, 1650-1654

THE COMPANY'S BLACK BOOK, 1624-1655 (*Home Miscellaneous*, vol. xxix).

A record of the 'errors and misdemeanors' of the Company's servants. The entries for 1650-54 occupy ff. 37-51. The persons mentioned are: Matthew Andrews, Henry Barrett, Thomas Best, [William] Blake, [Gabriel] Boughton, James Bridgeman, John Burnell, Richard Davidge, Robert Doughty, Daniel Elder, Henry Greenhill, Francis Hamersly, — James, Edward Knipe, John Lambton, [John] Lewis, [William] Lovell, Thomas Merry, — Mosse, Thomas Owen, Thomas Penniston, — Pitts, — Porter, Frederick Skynner, Edward Steevens, John Swinnerton, [Paul] Waldegrave, and Thomas Winter. (26½ pp.)

LIST OF PIECE-GOODS, ETC., SOLD AND DELIVERED, JANUARY, 1650, TO AUGUST, 1652 (*Home Miscellaneous*, vol. vi, pp. 79-99).

Giving the quantities and prices of the goods and the names of the purchasers. (20½ pp.)

A COURT OF COMMITTEES WITH THE COMMITTEES FOR THE SECOND GENERAL VOYAGE, JANUARY 2, 1650 (*Court Book*, vol. xx, p. 450).¹

Lead to be provided for the Coast. Richard Clutterbuck allowed for damaged saltpetre. Lead and cloth to the value of about 1,000*l.* to be shipped in the *Lioness*, with 4,000*l.* in silver and gold, she to carry a crew of sixty, and also forty passengers for Assada. The

¹ Entered also in vol. xxii (p. 132).

Bonito to carry forty-five men, besides twenty passengers for Assada, and lead and coin to the value of 10,000*l.* Thirty of the said passengers, being master planters, are to pay 10*l.* a head for their diet and passage, and 4*l.* per ton freight for any goods they take with them; the other thirty to go as the Company's servants. Having regard to the planters who are to go in the *Bonito*, the Husband is to victual that ship for twenty men extra for six months. The said vessels to go to Gravesend next week, with the two ships designed for Bantam. The wife of Benjamin Robinson, a factor at Masulipatam, to be paid 10*l.* quarterly out of her husband's wages. Mr. Ivy to be paid 1,009*l.* 13*s.* 9*d.*, due upon his account. A list of the Company's debtors is read, and Spiller directed to sue those whose debts have been long outstanding. (1¼ pp.)

A GENERAL COURT OF FREEMEN AND ADVENTURERS, WITH OTHERS, JANUARY 2, 1650 (*Court Book*, vol. xx, p. 451)

The Governor reminds those present of the court held last August¹ to consult as to the best way to carry on the trade, when eighteen Committees were chosen to consider this matter, who, after several meetings, declared that a five years' Voyage would be best, and agreed upon a valuation of the houses, shipping, fort, customs, etc., belonging to the Joint Stock in India, which valuation was approved by a general court held last September.² The Governor opines that at that time a considerable amount might have been subscribed, had not an Act been discovered in which some gentlemen desired liberty from Parliament to plant upon Assada, with many other privileges, which if obtained might prejudice the Company; hereupon the Company addressed the Council of State against these desired privileges, and the Council, after hearing the Company and the intending Assada adventurers, ordered them to meet and treat together, this they did, and after some debate and argument 'the difference is now brought to a period and both parties are fully agreed.' The Council of State was further petitioned for privileges and immunities, and it directed the Company to draw up such an Act 'as wee desired'. This was done, with the advice of counsel, and presented to the Council of State, and by them referred to a committee, consisting of the Lord

¹ See the previous volume, p. 341.

² *Ibid.*, p. 356.

President and two Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal, before whom some of the Company appeared last Saturday; and to-day the Council of State have declared their opinion in favour of the Company to Parliament, who will either consider the Act themselves or leave it to the Council to perfect. The Governor further announces that four ships have been freighted for Bantam, two on account of the Joint Stock and two on account of the Voyage: that stock to the value of 1,000*l.* is to be sent in each, and anything remaining in India after the said four ships are laden for England is to be turned over to the new Voyage at 5*s.* 6*d.* the rial. Four ships have also been freighted for the new Voyage, two for the Coast, and two for Surat, money having been provided so that the ships for the Coast may be soon dispeeded; and letters have been sent to Surat, directing that 20,000*l.* be taken up at interest to buy goods cheap in the time of the rains to relade the ships. The minutes of the court of the 15th August and of the 27th and 28th September last, with the Articles of Agreement between the Company and the Assada merchants, are read, and also the preamble of the new stock (to which 30,200*l.* has already been subscribed). The preamble is generally approved; and the Governor declaring that all who are willing may underwrite, many do so. Resolved that no account under 100*l.* be allowed in the books, and that the book of subscription shall remain open in the counting-house for all who please to underwrite therein. (1½ *pp.*)

A COURT OF COMMITTEES WITH THE COMMITTEES FOR THE SECOND GENERAL VOYAGE, JANUARY 4, 1650 (*Court Book*, vol. xx, p. 453).¹

Wine to be provided for the *Bonito*, and cloths for the Coast. Certain Committees are desired to consider the abilities of those who petition to be employed as factors for India, and as purser and steward for the *Bonito*. (¾ *p.*)

A COURT OF COMMITTEES FOR THE FOURTH JOINT STOCK, JANUARY 5, 1650 (*Court Book*, vol. xx, p. 454).

An order of the Committee of the Navy is read, requiring all who have any informations depending against them in the Exchequer

¹ Entered also in vol. xxiii (p. 134).

for buying or selling ungarbled spices which have been transported,¹ to give in their names to that Committee before next Tuesday, if they desire relief from Parliament. Hereupon a general court is summoned for next Monday that all may be informed of this order, and those named in the list now presented, against whom there are informations, are to be given particular notice to be present. Captain Springate and Mr. Porter desire to send ten servants, a minister, and a factor to Assada, and Maurice and William Thomson desire to send ten servants. After some dispute it is agreed that they shall have for every servant thirty acres of land, and pay 4*l.* per acre quit rent to the Company per annum (this not to be paid until June, 1652), 10*l.* a head for each person's diet and passage, and 4*l.* per ton freight for any goods taken. James Anfosse and Alderman Viner accepted as securities for calicoes belonging to the Second General Voyage. ($\frac{3}{4}$ *p.*)

A GENERAL COURT, JANUARY 5, 1650 (*Court Book*, vol. xx, p. 455).

The Governor announces that he has received an order, dated the 31st October last, requiring all Governors, members of Companies, and their officers to take the following engagement: 'I doe declare and promise that I wilbe true and faithfull to the Commonwealth of England as the same is now established without King or House of Lords.' This is read, together with a paper of instructions directed to the Governor, Alderman Pennington, and Sheriff Wilson touching the said order and subscribed by the Lord President of the Council of State.² The words of the engagement are engrossed on two pieces of parchment and signed by the Governor, Alderman Pennington, and several of the generality present. ($\frac{1}{2}$ *p.*)

¹ William Cutler, the Deputy Garbler of the City, had for some time been suing the Company and others for transporting spices ungarbled (see the previous volume, *passim*). The matter had been carried to Parliament, where it was referred to the Committee of the Navy. On June 27, 1650, the Committee reported, recommending that the Company and certain merchants should be exempted from prosecution for any spices transported before the preceding August 28; but the House rejected this proposal and gave Cutler leave to continue the various suits, subject to a revision of the matter in Parliament at the close of the trials (*Commons' Journals*, vol. vi, p. 433).

² See a note on p. 388 of the last volume.

A COURT OF SEVERAL COMMITTEES, JANUARY 7, 1650 (*Court Book*, vol. xx, p. 456).

Charles Wylde is chosen as purser, and Edmund Merchant as steward for the *Bonito*. John Leigh, Robert Doughty, Paul Waldegrave, Edward Steevens, Thomas Symonds, and William Johnson are entertained at stated wages to go as factors to the Coast in the *Bonito* and *Lioness*, and Christopher Blakiston, Jeremy Crew, William Turner, John Rawlins, John Barton, and James Crawforth to go as factors for Bantam in the *Advice* and *East India Merchant*; all to stay five years; their wages to begin from the time they land and to cease when they embark on their return to England; and all to give such security as shall be approved by the Court. Certain Committees to agree with the owners of the freighted ships about taking out and bringing back factors, and the allowance to be given to them for private trade, etc. (1¼ pp.)

A COURT OF COMMITTEES FOR THE FOURTH JOINT STOCK WITH THE MIXED COMMITTEES,¹ JANUARY 9, 1650 (*Court Book*, vol. xx, p. 457).

Messrs. Brett and Andrews allowed for damaged calicoes. Richard Midleton transfers to both Alderman Langley and William Willyams 500*l.* adventure and profits in the Second General Voyage, and a like sum to each in the Fourth Joint Stock. Spiller is directed to take special care about the settlement of Stephen Boreman and John Hobson's debt for pepper. James Anfosse and Alderman Viner accepted as securities for calicoes. Mr. Hanson is refused allowance on aloes and desired to settle his account. Certain Committees are requested to examine the accounts of freight, and to settle concerning tares for goods returned and for those to be dispatched. John Cressy refusing to give any but his own security for goods bought, he is told that it is the custom to give further security, and he must either do so or pay for the said goods before he can receive them. Mr. Tyrrell and Anthony Fenn, presented by Captain Newport, master of the *East India Merchant*, are approved as chief mates for that ship. Samuel Calcott to be given 300*l.* to pay such bills of charges for the

¹ See p. iv of the previous volume.

Lioness and the *Assada* plantation as shall be sent to him signed by Mr. Thomson. Messrs. Thomson, Moyer, Pennoyer, and Captain Blackman are entreated to attend the Council of State and procure a report of the Act of Parliament concerning the trade. (2 pp.)

RESOLUTION OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE ON AN APPLICATION FROM THE EAST INDIA COMPANY, JANUARY 10, 1650 (*Public Record Office*. C. O. 77, vol. vii, no 10).

The Company having suffered much loss and damage at home and abroad by means of many ill-affected persons, who have endeavoured to destroy and disturb their trade, have addressed themselves to the Council of State for redress and support, and for recommendation to the supreme authority of the nation the Parliament, for an Act to establish and encourage their trade. This, being a matter of consequence, cannot have instant expedition because of 'the present great affaires of the nation', but because the said trade may suffer greatly if there is not a present subscription of a considerable sum, the Council thinks good to publish its opinion that the continuation and support of this trade is of special concern to the Commonwealth, and also its intention to further and expedite the desires of the Company, that those who subscribe and adventure with them may not be disappointed of their expectations. ($\frac{1}{2}$ p.)

A COURT OF COMMITTEES FOR THE FOURTH JOINT STOCK, JANUARY 14, 1650 (*Court Book*, vol. xv, p. 459).

An order of Parliament of the 11th inst.¹ is read, in which it appears that the debate touching the East India trade and whether it is to be carried on by one Joint Stock is to be resumed next Friday. Hereupon it is moved that the Company's reasons in favour of a Joint Stock (now read) be printed to give to some members of the House.² After serious consideration 200 copies are ordered to be printed speedily. Matthew Andrews, who is

¹ See *Commons' Journals*, vol. vi, p. 346. No debate took place on the subject at the time arranged, but on January 26 it was resolved that the matter should be considered on the 31st (*Ibid.*, p. 350, and *S. P. Dom.*, *Interregnum*, i. 57, p. 113).

² Two printed copies of this document are in the Public Record Office (C. O. 77, vol. vii, nos 12, 75). It was a reproduction of the paper entered on p. 187 of *Court Minutes*, 1644-49, with the first paragraph omitted.

entertained as a factor for the Coast, not being able to get ready in time, is given permission to await the departure of the ships in March. ($\frac{1}{2}$ p.)

A COURT OF COMMITTEES FOR THE FOURTH JOINT STOCK,
JANUARY 16, 1650 (*Court Book*, vol. xx, p. 460).

The subscription proceeding very slowly, and it being uncertain whether a considerable stock will be underwritten, it is resolved to dispeed the *Bonito* and *Lioness* on account of what is already subscribed. Richard, son and executor of the late Richard Bogan, transfers to Robert Abdy 500*l.* adventure and profits in the Second General Voyage. The Governor is entreated to sign all warrants for the division of 60*l.* per cent. in pepper¹ due to those adventurers in the Fourth Joint Stock who either underwrite or pay in their money by the end of the month. Canvas for store to be delivered to Yates, master of the *Bomto*. Garbled cloves sold to William Hooker. Thomas Symonds entertained at a salary of 20*l.* per annum to go as factor to the Coast in the place of Matthew Andrews. John Bathust and James Martin accepted as securities for calicoes. (1 p.)

A COURT OF COMMITTEES FOR THE FOURTH JOINT STOCK,
JANUARY 23, 1650 (*Court Book*, vol. xx, p. 461).

The Court resolves, as a competent stock has not been subscribed nor the expected encouragement received from the State, to defer the choice of factors, and orders that all who are awaiting entertainment be told of this, and that a written notice be set up in the House a fortnight before any such election. Mr. Rushworth,² secretary to General Fairfax, requests that John Lambton may be sent as an under-factor to India; he is informed of the Court's decision with regard to the election of factors, but is promised that his request shall be remembered. The Treasurer announces that he has provided to the value of 32,000*l.* in coin, bullion, and ingots, that bills of exchange reach him daily which must be paid, and that he has issued for this new Voyage a considerable sum belong-

¹ Ordered on Oct. 3, 1649 (see p. 359 of the previous volume).

² See a note on p. 99 of the preceding volume.

ing to the Stock and to the Second General Voyage, for which he has no order; therefore he desires to be supplied with money and to be saved harmless for what he has done. Hereupon the Governor declares 'they had gone on upon some uncertainties in regard the subscription went so slowly on, yett they should see by the end of January what wilbe done, and the Joynt Stocke must followe the trade if the new subscription doe it not'. For the money bought in Holland an assurance is already made, and it is thought fitting that one should be made on the *Bonito* and *Lioness*. After discussion it is resolved that two policies shall be taken out for the *Bonito* and her lading, and a third for the cargo of the *Lioness*, from the last of January to the last of February, and so *pro rata* for every month until intimation to stop is given by the Fourth Joint Stock, or by whom it may concern. The Treasurer's action in disbursing the money belonging to the Stock and Voyage for the new undertaking is debated, and it being put to the Committees for the Stock whether they approve of it and of the Treasurer continuing to issue their money at six per cent. interest, they signify their approbation and consent. The Committees for the Voyage are told that 7,000*l.* of their money has been issued for the new Voyage, and being asked if they are content that what shall come into cash up to the 10th of April, upon orders and commissions already given, shall be made use of in this way, and six per cent. interest be allowed, they also consent. It is further resolved that the Treasurer shall be saved harmless for any bills of exchange which he has accepted or shall accept. Certain Committees are requested to settle the accounts of freight for the *Fleece* and the *Advice*. Captain Kempe is accepted as security for John Leigh, Christopher Willoughby for Robert Doughty, Thomas Pearle for William Turner, and Walter White for John Rawlins. The Court directs that two securities each be given for youths under age. At the desire of Alderman Atkins, the estate of Richard Evans is to be detained until Monday. Mr. Blount's accounts to be examined. Francis Ash admitted to the freedom, paying 5*l.* fine. Mr. Tryon to be allowed for tare of benzoin. Certain Committees are desired to consider about a clause for hindrance of private trade to be inserted in the preamble. (2½ pp.)

A MEETING OF SEVERAL COMMITTEES, JANUARY 23, 1650
(*Court Book*, vol. xx, p. 463).

Having been desired to consider about a clause for the hindrance of private trade, to be inserted in the preamble, the Committees first cause a similar clause from a former preamble to be read, and after consideration decide that one to the following effect shall be entered in the present book of subscription: 'for the better satisfaction of all that intend to bee adventurers in this Voyage, that they may clearely perceive none of us intend our private advantage before the generall good, wee the subscribers doe further ingage ourselves that if any of us shall have or use any private trade, either outwards or homewards, or in the East Indies, during the continuance of this Voyage, then in that case wee doe hereby engage and oblige ourselves to forfeite and loose to the rest of the adventurers in this Voyage our whole stocke which wee have subscribed and paid in by vertue of this preamble, reserving all rights and privileges graunted by agreement to the planters and adventurers of Assada, and such contracts as shalbe made by those who shalbe entrusted for managing of the said Voyage.' After further debate the Committees declare that in their opinions broadcloth, lead, quicksilver, vermilion, coral, and elephant's teeth should be prohibited from being sent abroad, and raw silk, cinnamon, cloves, cardamoms, benzoin, pepper, mace, nutmegs, aloes, saltpetre, cotton yarn, and calicoes and indigo of all sorts, from being sent home; all other goods to be sent out and returned in allotted proportions by any to whom allowance is given. These opinions to be drawn up and presented at the next court. (1 p.)

A COURT OF COMMITTEES FOR THE FOURTH JOINT STOCK, JANUARY 25, 1650 (*Court Book*, vol. xx, p. 465).

Calicoes bought by Thomas Andrews to be examined. William Ralfe to be paid for bringing four chests of rials from Holland. Certain Committees to perfect the charter-parties of the *Advice* and *East India Merchant*. Two policies of assurance for 10,000*l.* on the *Bonito*, and one for 5,000*l.* on the *Lioness* are read and approved, and the premium fixed at 30*s.* per cent. for the first month and 20*s.* per cent. per month after, until intimation of cessation is given.

John Bland is accepted as security for John Barton. The clause drawn up for the prevention of private trade is read, approved, and ordered to be entered in the book of subscription. A question arising whether those lending money upon bottomry would be liable to penalty, it is unanimously declared that money so lent is not private trade. At the desire of Thomas Rich, who bought pepper and had it sifted by the Garbler, a note is drawn up for those who remember this incident to sign. The owners of the *Golden Flecco* are given 100*l.* in settlement for freight. Abraham Reynardson transfers to his son Abraham 1,000*l.* adventure in the Second General Voyage. Messrs. Thomson, Moyer, Wright, Thomas and Nathaniel Andrews, and Captains Ryder and Blackman are requested to meet on Monday and settle concerning the voyage of the *Lioness*, the Assada plantation, and 'Hewkly' [Hugli]. (1 $\frac{3}{4}$ pp.)

A MEETING OF SEVERAL COMMITTEES, JANUARY 28, 1650
(*Court Book*, vol. xx, p. 466).

Having been appointed to consider about the Assada plantation, Hugli, and the voyage of the *Lioness*, the Committees first turn their attention to the disposal of the *Assada Merchant*, which ship went to the island of Assada last spring. After discussion it is decided to leave this matter to the discretion of Colonel Hunt, Governor of the island, his council, Captain Brookehaven, commander of the *Lioness*, Mr. Yates, master of the *Bonito*, and to such merchants as are to go in the said ships, who are to be put in commission with the Governor, etc., for this purpose, and who are, according to the lading already procured for the said ship, to dispeed her either to Persia, to Hugli for saltpetre, or else to England, whichever they think best and most advantageous for the Company. The Committees hope that the said ship will obtain her lading in sugar, ebony, sandalwood, elephants' teeth, 'bonges', turtle shells, ambergris, rice, etc., and that by the next ships from Surat advice may be received of the settlement of the English on Assada. In their opinion some presents should be sent to the King of Assada; and Mr. Thomson announcing that there is a small chariot which cost 100*l.* and belonged formerly to Queen Anne, which is to be sold for 16*l.* or 17*l.*, Mr. Pennoyer (who gave this information) is to be asked to see to this matter and, if the chariot is not thought suitable

for the King, then to send it out to the Bay or to where it would sell best. It is thought that a sword and a looking-glass should also be sent to the King. The Committees consider that 5,500*l.* should be sent in money in the *Lioness*, with lead, cloth, vermilion, etc., to the value of 1,500*l.* for her relading home; what remains over to be left at Hugli to provide lading for the next year's shipping; also that 5,000*l.* of the 7,000*l.* so sent should be laid out in saltpetre, sugar, calicoes, or what the factors think best, and that the merchants returning in her should bring samples of such goods as they think will sell best in England. A list of provisions to be supplied for the plantation of Assada is read and approved, with the following list of factors entertained by Mr. Thomson to go in the *Lioness*: John Brookehaven, commander of the said ship and merchant, to have 10*l.* per month and to be allowed three tons of goods free of freight on certain conditions. Benjamin Gosnall, master's mate, entertained at 6*l.* per month: James Bridgeman, merchant, second to Captain Brookehaven, and in charge of the cargo and trade, entertained at 100*l.* per annum, he to return in the *Lioness* and his wages to begin when he joins her at Gravesend: George Gawton, merchant, entertained as purser at 40*l.* per annum, and George Stukes as mate at 30*s.* per month. For Hugli, Robert Spaven entertained as factor in chief, William Fairfax as second, William Blake and Francis Taylor as servants. The two factors to be allowed five per cent. 'provision'¹ for what goods they shall buy, and to have 2,000*l.* sent out to buy saltpetre for next year, Spaven to have one-half of this 'provision', and Fairfax and Gawton (if he stays) the other half; these factors to bear the charge of the factory, and to keep the two young men. It is thought that Serjeant-Major Hartly, who has been upon former plantations, should be commissioned to proceed to Assada as Deputy Governor, to succeed as Governor in the event of the death of Colonel Hunt. It is also thought necessary that a clause should be inserted in the instructions to be given to the commanders and merchants proceeding in the *Bonito* and *Lioness*, directing the masters of the ships to be very careful not to lose their monsoon, but if they do, then to go to the nearest of the Company's chief factorics and be employed there to the best advantage; also in case the *Assada Merchant* shall not

¹ 'Commission' is the present-day term.

have arrived at Assada or performed the commission sent by Colonel Hunt, then Captain Brookehaven, with the advice of the master of the *Bonito* and of the merchants in both ships, shall carry out the instructions formerly given to the utmost of their power, but not to the hazard of their intended voyage. The above several opinions to be determined by the Court. Maurice and William Thomson, Thomas James, Robert Spaven, James Bridgeman, [Nathan] Wright, [Robert] Burdett, and [Samuel] Moyer undertake to send twelve men to Assada, who are each to have thirty acres of land at 4*d.* per acre yearly, or 2 cwt. of sugar; they intend to send out eight more men in March. (2 $\frac{1}{4}$ *pp.*)

A COURT OF COMMITTEES FOR THE FOURTH JOINT STOCK, JANUARY 29, 1650 (*Court Book*, vol. xx, p. 469).

The report of the Committees appointed to settle the business of the Assada Plantation is read, but its consideration is deferred to a general court now decided to be held next Friday, by which time it is hoped that a favourable answer concerning the Act for the trade will have been received from Parliament, and by then too the time for underwriting in the preamble will have expired, and therefore some resolution must be come to for prosecution of the trade. The Secretary is desired to request Mr. Pennoyer to accompany him to Colonel Hutchinson¹, who is to report the Company's Act, and to ask his favour therein. ($\frac{3}{4}$ *p.*)

A COURT OF COMMITTEES FOR THE FOURTH JOINT STOCK, JANUARY 30, 1650 (*Court Book*, vol. xx, p. 470).

The money due upon the account of the late Richard Evans to be paid to his administrator, Michael Glover. Mr. Shute, who bought indigo from the Company last September which he could not then have delivered, is told that payment for the same is to begin from the first of December last. On reading the report of the Committees for Assada and Hugli, it is judged necessary that a factor entertained by the Company should be sent to the latter place with those entertained by Mr. Thomson, and that all should be

¹ This was the celebrated regicide, who represented Nottinghamshire in Parliament and was at this time a member of the Council of State.

subordinate to the Agent at the Coast; but decision herein is deferred to the general court. William Francklin, who 'pretended' to have served formerly in the custom-house, is given 10s. ($\frac{1}{2}$ p.)

VOTES OF PARLIAMENT CONCERNING THE EAST INDIA TRADE, JANUARY 31, 1650 (*Public Record Office: C. O. 77*, vol. vii, no. 11).¹

The petition of the East India Company being read, it is resolved that 'the East India trade bee carried on by one Company and with one joint-stocke, and the management thereof to bee under a regulation in such manner as the Parliament shall thinke fit'; also that 'the East India Company doe proceed upon the grounds of the Articles of Agreement made between them and the Adventurers to Assada of the 21st of November, 1649, untill the Parliament take further order.' Signed, Henry Scobell, clerk. ($\frac{3}{4}$ p. Printed. No. 11 I is a duplicate of the foregoing, also printed).

A COURT OF COMMITTEES FOR THE FOURTH JOINT STOCK, FEBRUARY 1, 1650 (*Court Book*, vol. xx, p. 471).

Several votes of Parliament passed yesterday, decreeing that the East India trade should be carried on by a Joint Stock, are read. Hereupon it is decided to call the new stock the United Joint Stock; and in order that all who please may subscribe to the same, the said votes are ordered to be printed and sent with letters from the Company to all the port towns, the time for underwriting to be until the 10th of March. Although the stock is not 'such as they expected', the Committees resolve to send out ships and to follow the trade upon what has been or shall be underwritten for account of the United Joint Stock, and to extend the time for subscription (which is already expired) for a week. Both resolves to be submitted to the general court. After some debate the Committees present for the Stock decide by erection of hands that the Fourth Joint Stock shall adventure in the United Joint Stock 30,000*l.* of the money due for its ships, customs, etc., and that the adventurers in the Fourth Joint Stock shall be called together to determine concerning this. The result of the meeting of the Committees

¹ See also *Commons' Journals*, vol. vi, p. 353. At the same time permission was given to the Company to transport 20,000*l.* in foreign coin and bullion in the *East India Merchant*, *Advice*, *Bonito*, and *Lioness*.

appointed for the business of Assada and Hugli is read, and debate ensues as to the employment of George Gawton, the stay of the *Lioness* and *Bonito* at Assada, and about writing to the Agent at Fort St. George to render all assistance to Captain Brookehaven in his voyage to Hugli. The Committees formerly appointed and Messrs. Mann and Riccard are requested to meet and settle this business. The following securities are accepted: Aaron Baker for Charles Wyld, Charles Goldsmith for Paul Waldegrave, William Steevens for his brother Edward, George Price for Jeremy Crew, and Mr. Johnson for his son Thomas [*should be* William]. Sarah, widow of William Griffen, a gunner killed in India, to be paid 5*l.* upon her late husband's account. Twenty nobles to be given from the poor-box to the poor of Barking parish, who sustained loss from the recent fire there.¹ Saltpetre to be delivered to William Pennoyer. Thomas Godfrey entertained to go with Captain Minors as chief mate in the *William*. Boatswain Ingram's bill of charges for six months to be paid. (2 *pp.*)

A GENERAL COURT, FEBRUARY 1, 1650 (*Court Book*, vol. xx, p. 473).

The Governor announces that, through the Council of State reporting the Company's business to Parliament, the latter has passed several votes for encouragement of the trade. These are read, together with the Articles of Agreement made with the Assada Adventurers to which they refer, and the Governor adds that the Company has now 'more then they could procure these eight yeares'. He further informs the generality that the Committees are of opinion to follow the trade upon the new United Joint Stock with what has already been or shall be underwritten, and to extend the time for subscription another week so that all who please may adventure: that four ships are ready to depart, two for this account, one for the Joint Stock, and one for the Second General Voyage: that 30,000*l.* in coin and bullion belonging to the Fourth Joint Stock and Second General Voyage is provided for this new stock at six per cent. interest: and that 15,000*l.* is assured on the *Lioness*

¹ This refers to a disastrous fire which took place in the parish of All Hallows, Barking (near the Tower), on January 4, 1650. For details see Strype's edition (1720) of Stow's *Survey*.

and *Bonito*. But the principal point to be decided is concerning the extension of the time of subscription. By request the Governor puts it to the question whether the generality will agree to extend the time of subscription until the 9th instant at night, and to this they unanimously consent; and also that the time shall be extended to the 10th of March next for those who live beyond twenty miles radius of London. The Deputy acquaints the adventurers in the Second General Voyage that there is to be a division of twenty-five per cent. in money the 10th of April next.¹ He also informs the new adventurers that the present undertaking is named the United Joint Stock. Hereupon some dispute ensues as to how long this stock is to continue, and, the Governor putting it to the question, it is resolved, by a general erection of hands, that nothing shall be exported on account of the United Joint Stock after Midsummer, 1653. (1½ pp.)

A COURT OF COMMITTEES FOR THE FOURTH JOINT STOCK, FEBRUARY 5, 1650 (*Court Book*, vol. xx, p. 474).

It is resolved that all factors entertained for Bantam and the Coast shall be given 10*l.* for fresh provisions, they not receiving wages on their outward or homeward voyage. Several letters, commissions, and instructions concerning Assada are read and approved. The Court resolves that the money to be sent to Bantam and the Coast shall be shipped next Friday, and certain Committees are desired to go to Gravesend and clear the ships. On the motion of Mr. Thomson, 1,000 rials are ordered to be sent to Assada to buy ambergris, etc., to increase the trade of the island. (¾ p.)

A COURT OF COMMITTEES FOR THE FOURTH JOINT STOCK, FEBRUARY 6, 1650 (*Court Book*, vol. xx, p. 475).

A discussion is had concerning adventuring money in the United Joint Stock, some thinking that the old stock should be brought to an end, and pay its debts. It is stated that the new stock is not tied to take the houses, etc., from the old stock unless 300,000*l.* is subscribed, and then payment is only to be made at 5*s.* 6*d.* the rial and at eighteen months' time; it is therefore suggested that the

¹ See p. 389 of the last volume.

old stock without any loss or damage might adventure part of this sum in the new stock, in which case it is hoped that the money may in two years produce 10s. the rial and so ease them of all charges. It is resolved that the adventurers in the old stock (who are to meet in the afternoon) shall be moved to adventure 26,000*l.* in the United Joint Stock. Mr. Young is accepted as security for Thomas Symonds, and John Gould for Christopher Blakston. Frederick, son of Daniel Skinner, requesting to be employed in India, he is promised that his entertainment shall have first consideration. Certain Committees are desired to go to Gravesend to clear the ships and settle the factors in them. Mr. Arnold to be paid 300*l.* on account of freight of goods brought home in the *Advice*, and Mr. Newport, master of the *East India Merchant*, 300*l.* in part of what is to be advanced to him. William Nettleam who has been at the Bay [of Bengal] many years, at a salary of 20*l.* per annum, to be allowed 50*l.* per annum if he is continued in employment by the United Joint Stock. The Court orders that Jeremy Crew is not to be employed at 'Sellebarre¹ or any other sickly places in the southwards'. (1½ *pp.*)

A GENERAL COURT OF ADVENTURERS IN THE FOURTH JOINT STOCK, FEBRUARY 6, 1650 (*Court Book*, vol. xx, p. 477).

The Governor recalls that about eight months ago Mr. Hurt, paymaster of the mariners, was found to be short 900*l.* odd in his accounts, for which he was arrested and is still a prisoner in the King's Bench,² and adds that a petition has been presented to him on Hurt's behalf. The petition is read, and after some discussion it is resolved not to release Hurt until he gives an account of how he disposed of the Company's money. The Governor then announces that 112,000*l.* has been underwritten for the United Joint Stock, upon which they are resolved to continue the trade, although by agreement the stock should have been 300,000*l.* when they were to have paid the old stock, according to valuation, for its houses, ships, etc. At a Court of Committees a motion has been made for the Fourth Joint Stock to adventure 26,000*l.* of what will be due for its houses, ships, etc. in the United Joint Stock, for

¹ Sillebar, on the south-west coast of Sumatra, near Bencoolen.

² See the previous volume, p. 325, etc.

which if the latter should pay according to the valuation, it will be eighteen months before it can be received 'at soonest', and then but at 5s. 6d. the rial. The money so adventured it is hoped may in two years yield 10s. the rial, and so ease the old stock from all charges. The Governor puts it to the question whether this sum shall be so adventured, and it is agreed to *nemine contradicente*. (1 $\frac{3}{4}$ pp.)

A COURT OF COMMITTEES FOR THE FOURTH JOINT STOCK, FEBRUARY 11, 1650 (*Court Book*, vol. xx, p. 478).

The Committees appointed to clear the ships at Gravesend report that the *Bonito* and *Lioness* are 'very much pestered', and have asked the *Advice* and the *East India Merchant* to take some of their water; they also desire that alteration may be made in their cargoes. The *Advice* has aboard 1,000*l.* for the Second General Voyage, and 2,000*l.* for the United Joint Stock; the *Bonito* carries gold and silver to the value of 10,473*l.* 10s. and the *Lioness* 7,000*l.* After debate the Committees decide not to alter the disposal of the money in the ships. On a motion for stock to be sent to the southwards to supply the subordinate factories, the Court orders that two chests of money belonging to the United Joint Stock now aboard the *Advice* be shipped in the *Lioness* and landed at the Coast to enable the factors to buy coarse clothing to send to Macassar; also that the factors at Madraspatam be instructed to charge the President and Council at Surat with bills of exchange to the value of 3,000*l.* or 4,000*l.*, to be similarly invested in coarse clothing for Macassar. The ships now setting forth to be directed to keep company as far as Cape Verde. Captain Newport is appointed admiral, Captain Brookehaven vice-admiral, and Captain Arnold rear-admiral. John Nelson, formerly servant to Thomas Milward, is admitted to the freedom by service, paying 10s. to the poor-box. Captain Brookehaven to be paid 26*l.* 13s. 4d., the usual gratuity given to commanders of freighted ships in lieu of primage and average. Two bags, each, containing 500 rials, to be sent to Assada, one in the *Bonito*, the other in the *Lioness*. The Fourth and the United Joint Stocks mutually agree that, when the latter's ships and factors arrive in India, some shall be appointed to value such things as are to be turned over to the United Joint Stock, and

to select such factors as are necessary. Hereupon the names of the factors at the Coast are read, and the Court orders that Benjamin Robinson, who went out for the Second General Voyage, is to return; also the youth, John Gurney, and the surgeon, Nathaniel Lumbly, as another surgeon is going out to remain there. Captain Brookehaven and Messrs. Leigh, Doughty, and Steevens, who go as factors to the Coast, are appointed on behalf of the United Joint Stock to join with Mr. Greenehill, Agent at the Coast, and a like number of factors for the Joint Stock to decide which factors to send home and which to retain there. (2 pp.)

A GENERAL COURT OF ADVENTURERS IN THE UNITED JOINT STOCK, FEBRUARY 12, 1650 (*Court Book*, vol. xx, p. 480).

The preamble, with the additional clause concerning private trade, is read, and the Governor announces that the book for subscriptions was open until last Saturday night, and that upwards of 157,000*l.* (besides the 26,000*l.* to be adventured by the Fourth Joint Stock) has been underwritten. He also states that four ships have been dispceded, one for the Fourth Joint Stock, one for the Second General Voyage (each carrying 1,000*l.*), and two for the United Joint Stock, in which gold and silver to the value of 18,000*l.* is shipped. He then acquaints the Court with the conditions on which 15,000*l.* has been assured on the *Lioness* and *Bonito*, and adds that letters are ready to be sent, with the Articles of Agreement for Assada, containing directions, according to that agreement, for factors to be chosen at the Coast, three for the United Joint Stock, and three for the Fourth Joint Stock, who are to make an indifferent valuation of the household movables and to send home such factors as are not wanted. Business of this nature at Surat and Bantam is to be deferred until March. Besides the book for subscriptions before them there are two more, one of which has been sent to Parliament, the other to the Council of State, but nothing is underwritten in either. Thirteen letters have been sent to the several port towns, giving notice that all who wish may adventure in this stock, but answer has been received from Plymouth only, in which promise is made to acquaint the corporation. Already 40,000*l.* has been laid out by the Fourth Joint Stock and Second General Voyage for this new stock, for which six per cent. interest is to be paid.